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# THE WITNESS

VOL. 65 NO. 1 JANUARY, 1982

*In the Matter of Marriage:*  
**Should the Church  
Divorce the State?**  
Charles R. Wilson

**Death Planning:  
Some Helpful Advice**  
R. Charles Meyer

*& Grand Juries, Again!*



# LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

## Theme Is Narcissism

As I read the October WITNESS, I was struck by a common theme in most of the pieces, and I see this theme more and more in complaints about society and about this administration. The theme is our growing narcissism.

The urgencies I sense in the country today illustrate a change in what people conceive to be the purpose of life. There is much more concern about oneself or one's nuclear family, and for success, fame, or personal satisfaction. This has always been a part of motivation. However, I don't see the transcendent in today's motivation. I worry that in Western Society we will have people who, as they grow older, become bitter, disillusioned and empty. Without a transcendent purpose, success, wealth, or fame are hollow.

"The American Dream" and "America as savior of the world" — these are ideas whose time is over, although they may still be conventional wisdom in some quarters. One may argue that America is better off because these ideas have died, but they did provide a transcendence for generations of Americans, a transcendence that put purpose into lives that otherwise may have seemed humdrum. This America was a religion to many and there are signs that the Moral Majority is a revival of that secular religion.

Most religions provide a transcendence with the idea of the Brotherhood of Man. I am prejudiced enough to think that the larger image of humankind, that

each person is partially divine, is the transcendence which gives people the sanity needed so that they don't succumb to the urgency to make sense of isolated human beings in an illogical world. We must see all humans as related if we hope to find real meaning in life.

**Charles M. Judd**  
Cincinnati, Ohio

## Keep Up Struggle

I was particularly impressed by the force of Canon Robert C. Chapman's piece, "God Bless America, Please!" in the October WITNESS. I share with you the belief that we need and are justified in having a deep anger against a national policy that systematically puts the comforts of the rich over the necessities of the poor.

Though I can see from your letters that enthusiasm for your approach is by no means universal, I urge you to keep up the struggle and not be swayed by set-in-their-ways critics.

**Lawrence M. O'Rourke**  
Washington, D.C.

## Name All Wrong

Your name, THE WITNESS, is all wrong. Sounds like Holy Rollers. There is good stuff inside, but many, many people are going to toss it with junk mail. I did. Read it by accident when my maid put it on my desk. Who in God's name came up with such an awful name?

**Mary O. Smith**  
Columbus, Miss.

*(Cheers to Ms. Smith's maid, who recognized that all types of WITNESS-ing are not the same. Our name goes back to the founding of the publication — Jan. 6, 1917. THE WITNESS has continued to "testify" through many wars, a depression, and the harassment of the McCarthy years. From the earliest days, the editors were united around the fact that they could not abandon the flag, the cross, and WITNESS-ing to the forces of the Right. We carry on in that tradition. — Eds.)*

## Abortion Articles Helpful

Thanks for the Beverly Wildung Harrison pieces on abortion. (See "Theology of Pro-Choice: A Feminist Perspective" in July, Part II in September WITNESS.) I find the writing helpful to me in that abortion is treated as part of other facets of life. Here I feel I'm not either for abortion or against abortion, but the issue is the quality of that life for all involved in the beginning of that life.

**Douglas H. Schewe**  
Madison, Wisc.

*(Theologian Bev Harrison's two-part series on abortion has become the most requested WITNESS feature of last year. Edward P. Morgan made it the subject of one of his daily radio programs, "In the Public Interest," carried by 300 stations nationwide; the Rev. Edward Batchelor asked permission to incorporate it into a book he is editing for Pilgrim Press; the AFSC's Nationwide Women's Program incorporated it into a Reproductive Rights packet; a Planned Parenthood chapter asked permission to circulate it, and Trinity Institute, New York, requested extra copies for group study, among others. — Eds.)*

## Need to Dialogue

Thank you for your perspectives. I rank THE WITNESS along with Maryknoll magazine. I am a Roman Catholic seminary professor very concerned about the stubborn, unjust domestic policy and dangerous and oppressive foreign policy of a certain Ronald Reagan. Elected to office by only 27% of the people, he justifies policy because of some imagined "mandate," — a gross deception and manipulation.

I deeply appreciate your struggle to aid us in becoming Christians once again with a Biblical agenda, not one based solely on "free enterprise" and "corporate capitalism." Your perspectives are for the conversion of the United States — not a manic patriotism that wraps itself in "Old Glory" and then

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## THE WITNESS

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# THE WITNESS EDITORIAL

Powerlessness appears in a multitude of forms, both personal and corporate. Currently in America, those in power in both government and the corporate world appear daily to acquire more power, while ordinary citizens — particularly racial minorities and women — steadily lose even an elementary control over their own lives in matters of health care, schools, adequate food and housing, and a decent job. The icy winds of January seem to blow with particular bitterness in this New Year of 1982, calling to mind the graphic despair of a vanquished Israel lamenting its captivity in Babylon:

*By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept  
When we remembered you, Oh Zion.  
As for our harps, we hang them up  
On the trees in the midst of that land.*

\* \* \*

*How shall we sing the Lord's song  
Upon our alien soil?*

*(Psalm 137)*

Such is the current mood of many in our country as the forces of reaction appear steadily more entrenched, and our own land becomes alien to us.

Yet despair is not the dominant note of the Psalms, nor of the Old Testament. In the Christian religion January brings the Epiphany brilliance of a beneficent God, gracious and universal in power to bring light out of darkness.

And in fact, through the gloom, some pinpoints of light are beginning to appear as 1982 dawns:

- In Europe, massive demonstrations against nuclear weapons are making a major impact. President Reagan, say some observers, has been forced into a negotiating stance with the Soviets by this burgeoning movement. It is more than a mood of pacifist neutralism. It is a resounding "No!" to the madness of preparations for nuclear war on both sides.

- In America, the movement against the arms race led by the churches, slowly begins, like a lumbering jumbo jet, to clear the ground and take off. Even bishops — most of them in the Roman Catholic Church

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## The Power Of Believing

In the Matter of Marriage:

# Should the Church Divorce the State?

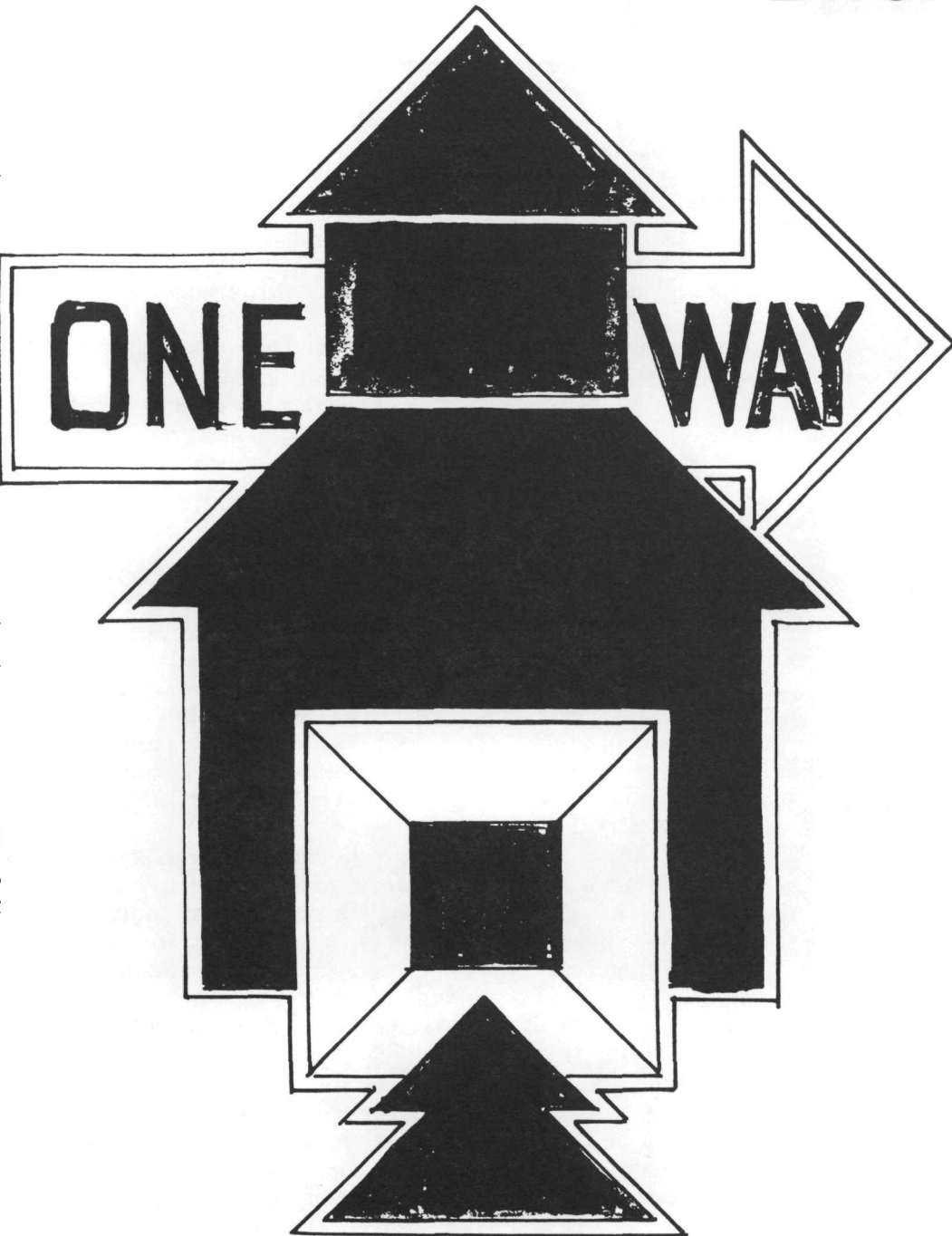
by Charles R. Wilson

It is time for the church to review its partnership with civil authority in the matter of authenticating the marriage contract of couples. As a matter of fact, it may be time for a divorce; that is, a break-up of the church/state partnership. As it now stands, two people wishing to be joined in Christian marriage must meet the requirements of the civil authority, then those of the ecclesiastical authority. And the meaning of marriage in these two systems seems to have less and less in common.

The U.S. practice of having ordained Christian ministers function as civil officers in witnessing the vows of marriage is not a universal practice nor one of long standing. In ancient times Christians were simply expected to observe the civil custom where they lived. Then, the practice of providing for a Christian blessing on the marriage became popular. Still later, with some form of Christianity established as the state religion, the ordained person took on the civil responsibility of witnessing the vows. With the American Revolution and the resultant separation of church and state, religion was accommodated in this one instance by permitting the clergy to continue the practice. However, in other places this was not the case. In France, for

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**The Rev. Charles R. Wilson** is director of Management Services, a group which enables effective church leadership, based in Lebanon, N.J. He is author of numerous articles on church management, and retains copyright on this article.





example, there now must be two complete ceremonies: a civil ceremony at a town registry and the blessing of the marriage in the church. The practice of early Christianity has virtually been reestablished, according to Charles Price and Louis Weil in *Liturgy for Living*.

I can't think of anything else that the church does that involves it in such a partnership with the state. In matters of Holy Baptism, for example, we have no understanding with government that spells out how it is to be done, or under what circumstances it is to be permitted, or what it means, or what standards must be met. This is church business. The same pattern holds true when it comes to ordination, confirmation, or absolution. As a matter of fact, absolution is a good case in point. In a given situation the church may pronounce God's forgiveness, and the state may condemn. No one seems to feel that this is inappropriate.

Yet, in this business of "marrying people," the situation has become a mess. State regulations are increasingly making marriage more of an economic contract. There may still be some sense of social accountability, in divorce settlements, for example. But even there

the whole business finally gets spelled out in economic terms. A young couple, madly in love, desiring to enter into Christian marriage, should receive the church's premarital counseling but probably should also, today, look into some of the other marriage-related state issues. They are contracting for a lot more than a lifetime of mutual love and support. They are contracting for peculiar tax and inheritance treatment as well.

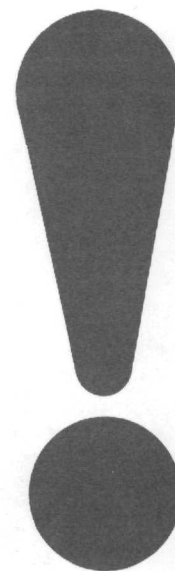
When I was more involved in parochial ministry, I used to caution people in premarital counseling about "side contracts." I felt that it was important to explain what was in the marriage contract and what was not; to even question and to surface side arrangements, or at least help people see that there might be something implied which was improperly considered part of the contract:

*"We decided to get married, but we've agreed that there will be no children."*

*"Well, that's okay if you both agree, but it's not in the contract (the declaration of intention or the service itself). And if one of you has a change of mind later, then it is up for reconsideration by both."*

There can even be third party side contracts. I remember, for example, the mother who agreed to sign for her underaged daughter's marriage if the daughter promised that she would live near her parents. I had to point out to the mother that she could decide to sign or not to sign, but she could not be party to the contract after she signed. Actually, what I said was, *"Look at it this way, you are not gaining a son, you are losing a daughter."* She signed.

Now, however, one can't ignore the side arrangements. If two retired people marry, they are likely to lose some of their Social Security benefits. If two wage earners marry, chances are they will be stuck with a higher tax bracket. According to James and Elizabeth



Duran, in an article entitled "Federal Sin Subsidy," this higher tax bracket produced \$10.9 billion in tax revenue in 1978 and is projected to generate \$28.2 billion in 1984. The arrangement is commonly referred to as the "marriage penalty."

In "Your Money or Your Wife," one judge is quoted as saying that if you divorce and cohabit you can enjoy the blessings of love while minimizing your forced contribution to government, and can thus "synthesize the forces of love and greed." Another judge tried to explain: All the law does is "change the relative attraction of different prospective spouses. For the tax-minded young man or woman with a substantial income, . . . the Internal Revenue Code adds to the attractiveness of a prospective spouse without taxable income and detracts from one with it."

The attitude of Congress, the IRS and the court appears to be, "You don't *have* to marry . . . figure out the tax angles and act accordingly." Suppose a couple decides to share their lives and not marry, then their future Social Security program may be jeopardized, and the inheritance and gift laws enter



into the picture and must be considered. In short, there are so many economic considerations related to age, income, changing work situations, and so on, it really does make sense to sit down and run the calculations. None of this has much to do with Christian marriage — the joining of two people who intend to love, support and be faithful to each other until parted by death.

If we were to divorce the church's responsibility for proclaiming God's blessing on those entering Holy Matrimony from government's need to regulate a couple's "economic partnership" or whatever it might be called, perhaps we could get back to thinking through the real meaning of marriage.

The Anglican Church of Canada has been involved in a hard look at marriage recently. In a major article in the *Canadian Churchman*, some of the new thinking on divorce, on cohabitation and other phenomena of our time was thoughtfully examined. "Where does marriage begin?", the authors asked, " 'Living together' . . . is a widespread fact of life today: it is found among

young and old, rich and poor, believer and unbeliever. There are many difficult situations and many motives." There is an obligation, say the authors, "to examine the historic meaning of marriage and ask whether some kinds of 'living together' do not constitute real attempts at informal marriage." They go on to wonder if such questions might "undo the ties between the church . . . and the social order around us."

If the church declared itself on marriage and in the process divorced itself from the arrangement wherein it functions as an agency of government in performing the marriage, it might indeed find a new connection with the social order around us. Let the state worry about the state issues and the church deal with the couple strictly in terms of Christian marriage:

- Does the couple intend to be joined in Christian marriage, to love and support till death? Then bless the marriage and let them decide otherwise how they want to deal with the civil contract and all the economic considerations that go into that.

- Do they want a civil divorce because of some economic consideration, while still intending to live together in faithful Christian marriage? Why should we recognize a civil contract or the dissolution of one as anything more than an economic arrangement? Let them proceed and let the church recognize their marriage anyway.

- Do they want both a civil contract and a church blessing? That's fine too. But why be bound with all the ramifications of a civil contract as far as

the administration of the church's sacrament is concerned?

Maybe it is time for a divorce . . . the Christian sacrament of Holy Matrimony from the civil contract. At present we are involved in an unfair partnership. We (the church) pronounce God's blessing on the union, while they (the civil authority) determine the advantages, the benefits, the conditions and the regulations without consulting us. Why should we continue in such an unequal arrangement?

In any case, it's time for a review. Who knows, maybe just talking about it would shock our partners into taking another look at the situation. And if we really got into some good dialogue, we might even find a resolution that would be preferable to a continuation of the present situation or to a divorce.

### Resources

Charles P. Price and Louis Weil, *Liturgy for Living* (The Church's Teaching Series, New York: Seabury Press, 1979).

James A. and Elizabeth Duran, "Federal Sin Subsidy," *America*, Vol. 144, January 24, 1981.

Julian Block, "Your Money or Your Wife," *USAir Magazine*, June 1980.

*Canadian Churchman*, Jan. 1980. ■

## One Turn Past

Son of God, please find me again;  
seek me with your flashlight and truck.

I've fallen just outside my map's perimeter,  
one turn past the old road home.

Please bring your stretcher like the first time  
when I crashed among the berry trees:

out of control,  
my stomach heavy with unkind thoughts,

I was gluttoned and lost,  
and you rescued me then.

O Son of God, I know you will greet me,  
not weighing my knapsack, but kissing my hands,

and gently disengaging the rickety bicycle  
which carried all my other plans.

— Leslie M. Williams

### CREDITS

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## Mace for the Child Molester

"What a big chemistry set Santa brought!"  
I exclaimed to Michael, 10,  
son of the chemist turned dean  
when we went nextdoor  
for spicy Christmas cake.  
Michael beamed as his dad peered proudly  
over half-rims.

Mary, 6, nudged to show me her gift:  
"And what a cute nurse's kit,"  
I added with a patron's smile.  
"Doctor's kit," the housewife intruded;  
"tell him it's a doctor's kit, Mary,"  
Mary's mother repeated,  
even as she fetched for me  
a piece of her best mince meat pie.

— Louie Crew

# Death Planning: What We're Afraid to Ask

by Chuck Meyer

*We stand by the bed, his wife and I, watching him breathe and listening to the gurgling in his lungs. Hanging onto life is such work. She holds his hand and gently strokes what remains of his once beautiful, thick white hair. The chemotherapy has reduced it to strands; but she lovingly pats him, kisses him, tells him she loves him.*

*The interval between gasps for breath lengthens. Ten seconds, 15 seconds, 30 seconds — forever. We call for the nurse who searches for and cannot find a heartbeat. The nurse leaves to summon a doctor to make the medical pronouncement. The dead man's wife breaks down and sobs.*

*Then the questions begin.*

*What plans have you made for the body? Do you have a funeral home in mind? Do you want cremation? What kind of service do you want? Was he a veteran? How much do you want to pay for funeral home services? What kind of container do you want with the casket? What about embalming? Have you talked with your clergy about the plans? Will you sign this form to release the body, please?*

*And the answers are usually the same.*

*"I don't know. We never talked about it. Does our church allow cremation? I wonder what his wishes were. My church never taught me about funerals. I wonder if I need to call the clergy? What do I do next?"*

As a hospital chaplain, I see the above scenario repeated at least twice a week. Patients come into the hospital quite ill, in the final stages of disease or in the midst of cardiac, lung or other crisis, and die quickly or unexpectedly. Their family members are then at a total loss about what to do.

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**The Rev. R. Charles Meyer** is Director of the Department of Pastoral Care at St. David's Community Hospital, Austin, Tex. He has also served as a prison chaplain and pastoral counselor, and is the author of several magazine articles.

Often, conflicting wishes or beliefs lead to serious arguments at a time when closeness, consolation and mutual support are important. Sometimes decisions are made in the rush of the moment that are later regretted (embalming, cremation, make-up, closed casket). Frequently, no one has previously talked to the deceased about specific wishes concerning funeral arrangements, even though the person has been sick (although coherent and talkative) for some time. The conspiracy of silence regarding the family member's illness/dying then

results in far fewer options from which to choose — options usually presented only by the funeral home director.

There appear to be at least two reasons for the death planning dilemma:

- **Non-affiliation.** The majority of patients (and staff, for that matter) in the hospital have no church or clergy affiliation. While it is true that most patients state a religious *preference* on their admissions data sheet, very few have any current or on-going relationship with a particular church or clergy. Even in my area of the "Bible

Belt," the clear majority of persons are "unchurched." Often the hospital's Pastoral Care personnel are the first contact with religion the patient/family has had in years. It seems obvious that the real spiritual needs of individuals and families are not being met in the parish church. This non-affiliation issue itself is a major indictment of parish programs; it pales, however, before the next reason for the death planning dilemma.

• **Church Supported Denial.** One could rationalize that unaffiliated persons having no church contact would obviously be less knowledgeable about what to do before, during and after the time of death. It is interesting, however, that even those persons who are weekly attenders, devout Christians, and whose clergy come to visit regularly in the hospital are *equally* frustrated, uninformed, and unprepared for the onslaught of questions to be answered and decisions to be made. It seems clear that the church has, both overtly and covertly, participated in reinforcing its parishioners' denial of death. Furthermore, by failing to deal with the issues of death planning and dying through education, preaching and witness, the church has denied its own powerful message about how to live. This failure of the church has taken three forms: practical, theological, and sacramental.

### Practical Failure

Few persons have been taught by their local parish the practical details of what to do when they or someone they love is about to die. As a result, people seldom know their particular church's rituals or liturgies surrounding dying or even what prayers are appropriate at the time of death. When and how to call for clergy, which funeral home to use, whether or not to embalm or to consider cremation, and whether to have the service (if there is to be one) in the church or funeral home are practical

matters that have largely been ignored by the church. Organ and body donations, extraordinary means of life support (Living Will), and when or whether to discontinue other than palliative medical treatment are practical issues that could be spoken to by informed clergy and laity *before* the need for definitive action arises. Although local physicians, memorial societies and funeral directors would welcome the chance to provide such information along with clergy, they are seldom asked to do so by the church. Thus the practical matters surrounding death remain a mystery to most parishioners until such time as they are forced to discover them.



### Theological Failure

The theological failure of the church is perhaps more obvious and deleterious than its failure to deal with the practicalities of dying. It is primarily due to the church's poor theologizing that most people (churched or unchurched) believe the Bible teaches that good is always rewarded and evil always punished. This "truism" is then used to support the necessity for good behavior, defined as the particular denomination sees fit. Problems arise, however, when someone is sick or dying and the converse of the alleged theological truism comes to mind: If good is rewarded and evil punished, then those who are prosperous and healthy must therefore be living good lives while those who are sick or deter-

ioring must have done something wrong.

Every chaplain has been asked a variation of the question "If good is rewarded and evil punished, why is my good, kind, Christian wife lying here dying in excruciating pain?" One answer, of course, is that the Bible does not promise any such cosmic insurance policy, at least not penultimately. Few clergy, however, choose to deal with this theological issue either educationally or from the pulpit.

Concomitant with the good/evil issue is the sickness/punishment issue. As a variation on the former theme, people frequently assume (again due to inadequate church training) that their sickness is a punishment for something they have done or not done. They then feel frustrated and angry at God, but are further thwarted by poor theologizing from the church (it's not O.K. to tell God how angry you are at God). They end up feeling guilty about feeling angry about feeling punished. A woman whose mother was dying experienced just this emotional cycle. After much discussion she was relieved to have her feelings affirmed and to acknowledge that she could indeed feel angry and frustrated at God while trusting God at the same time.

There is indeed a wealth of theological literature available on the subjects of sickness and death. The parish church has almost universally ignored it to the detriment of patients and their families who are in crisis.

### Sacramental Failure

The failure of the church to teach its people to deal with death sacramentally is the direct result of the expropriation of power and authority from religion to medicine. In the overwhelming presence of "miracle drugs," microsurgery, and biomedical technology, the church has largely discounted the efficaciousness of its own sacraments. Holy Communion, anointing and laying-on-of-hands,



intercessory prayer, confession, absolution, and baptism into the covenant community are, or rather could be, powerful resources for patients and families to confront the reality of dying.

The church's witness to the spiritual/sacramental presence of God in whatever form God's healing may take (death is also healing) could be a valuable tool in treatment of illness and in sustaining and nourishing those who are dying. Unfortunately, the religious community does not take its sacraments seriously enough to proffer them with the assertiveness that the medical community proffers theirs. It is interesting in this respect to note that most of the referrals to Pastoral Care come from physicians and nurses, not parish clergy. Far from being competitive or critical, the medical community seems to be calling on the church to BE the church, to exercise its function and do what mere medicine cannot — support, sustain and transcend. What a meaningful thing it would be if the church believed in the power of its own sacraments as much as its medical colleagues do.

### What's Going On?

The reasons behind the church's failure in death planning rest basically with the clergy. The first issue to examine is the clergy's own denial of death. In order to offer programs, seminars, workshops or sermons about death and dying, the clergy must be somewhat comfortable with their own finitude. To talk about *your* death raises the issue of *mine*. To get into specifics about funeral planning for you and your family raises the spectre of my own demise. Frequently clergy do not offer practical procedures for dealing with dying because they have not yet carefully dealt with their *own* mortality and wish to keep the reality of death a secret for just a while longer.

A second consideration to explain the

current dilemma is the clerical focus on "resurrection theology" to the point of denying the fact of Jesus' death. The constant promulgation of belief in the "pie in the sky in the great by and by" where "we all will meet up yonder" is in effect a discount of the sadness, brokenness and finality of an end we must all face.

Nowhere is this discount more pronounced than on Good Friday. On a day appropriate for mourning, for anger at injustice and for sadness and grief, the focus of the clergy meditation is almost always on the resurrection to come, when it is not yet a fact on that broken Friday. In our hurry to resurrection we, clergy and laity alike, blindly skip over the painful transition of Christ Jesus' — and our — death.

Capitulation of responsibility to cultural caretakers is yet a third means by which clergy and the church have arrived at a death denying stance. By acquiescing to cultural norms dictating that death occur only in a sanitary hospital setting and funeral services be done only in a plastic funeral home, the church has excluded itself from witness at two important times of impact. Fortunately, the recent growing interest in hospice care coupled with the rising concern for simple burial and/or cremation may force the church to regain its position of priority and responsibility in informing the place of the rituals of death.

### What To Do

Both clergy and laity alike have a number of available avenues to explore. The following suggestions will encourage search and study for your own death planning.

- Read about death and dying. The subject is "in" now, and you can find a multitude of paperbacks in the bookstore or library to begin raising your consciousness on the subject. Read about the various options for death planning including burial, cremation,

and simple funeral. Read about the ethics of dying, of euthanasia, of suicide, of discontinuing all but palliative medical care. Read whatever interests you on the subject, and as you read . . .

- Talk with friends and family about what you've read. Talk with your physician about how medical decisions are made. Talk with your clergy about the church's position on abortion, life support, dying at home, funeral practices such as embalming, cremation, scattering of ashes, or burial. Talk about your church's funeral service, about sacraments and their meaning in life and death, about the theology of guilt, forgiveness, sickness, punishment, healing and death. Talk with your loved ones about their wishes and as you talk . . .

- Decide on your own funeral plans. Do you have a will? If you are dying, do you want to be told? What about extraordinary life support? Have you registered with The Living Bank in Houston for body part donations? What hymns, readings, etc., do you want in your funeral? Do you want your funeral in the church or funeral home? What about processing the body? You and your clergy may make a visit to a funeral home to make pre-arrangements. In any case, when you decide, be sure to write down your wishes and go over them with other members of your family so they will know what to do when the time comes. After you decide, or as you are deciding . . .

- Encourage others in the parish to do likewise. You will find that many people share your concern and have simply not had the opportunity to discuss their own death with someone who was willing to listen and take them seriously. Encourage the formation of a study group whose goal would be to have members plan their own funerals. Encourage a conference or workshop

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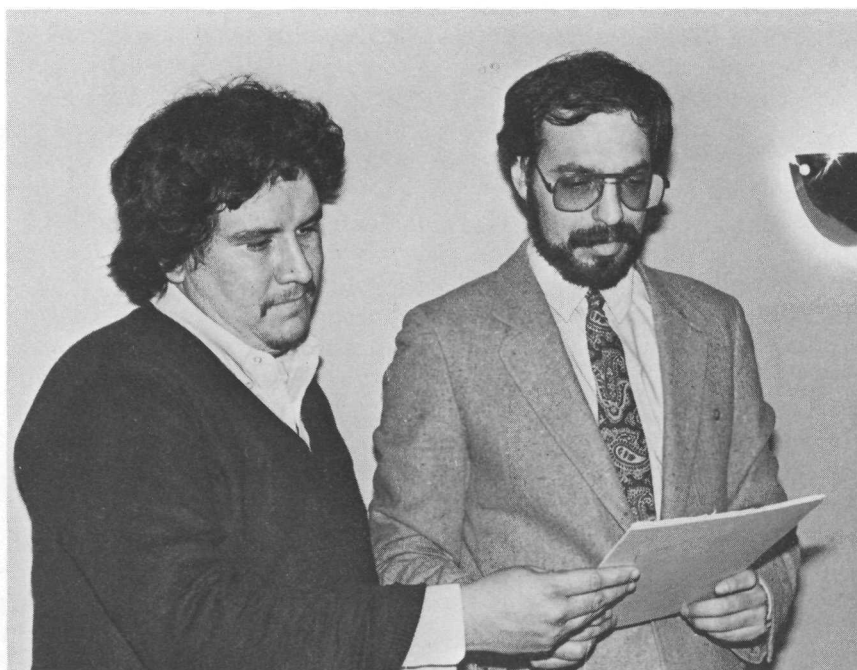
# New Grand Jury Subpoenas Cueto Again, Guerra of ECPC

by Mary Lou Suhor

As THE WITNESS went to press, Maria Cueto and Steven Guerra, two Hispanics with a historical and programmatic relationship to the Episcopal Church Publishing Company, faced the possibility of spending Christmas in jail for refusing to testify before a Federal Grand Jury. Cueto and Guerra had been subpoenaed, along with three others, to appear before Judge Thomas Platt in Brooklyn on Dec. 16.

Guerra, a Puerto Rican community organizer, serves on the ECPC Board of Directors; he also served on the Policy and Action Committee of the Episcopal Urban Caucus, having testified at the Urban Bishops' hearings in Chicago. Cueto, along with Raisa Nemikin, received the Vida Scudder Award at an ECPC-sponsored dinner during General Convention in 1979 for their stand in refusing to testify before a Grand Jury, charging harassment of their people. When jailed 10 months for contempt, Cueto and Nemikin were Director and Secretary, respectively, of the National Commission on Hispanic Affairs of the Episcopal Church.

The plight of Cueto and Guerra has a certain *deja vu* for readers who followed THE WITNESS articles around events which began in 1976, when the Episcopal Church allowed FBI agents access to its national program files after office hours. The precedent-setting event caused alarm bells to go off in Episcopalian and ecumenical circles.



Steven Guerra, left, of the ECPC Board of Directors, reviews points to be covered in court Dec. 16 with his attorney, Michael Deutsch.

Three others who were jailed at that time for refusing to testify before Grand Juries in Chicago and Manhattan had been subpoenaed again to appear on Dec. 16 before Judge Platt. They are Ricardo Romero, a Chicano, of Alamosa, Colo., and Andres and Julio Rosado, Puerto Ricans of New York. Of those subpoenaed, only Guerra had not been jailed during the previous investigations. The five faced a possible term of nine months, the time remaining before this Grand Jury expires.

No indictments were returned in that earlier Grand Jury investigation, called to probe the relationship of the FALN, an alleged Puerto Rican terrorist group, and the Fraunces Tavern bombing in 1975. At the end of the 18-month-life of two Grand Juries, in New York and Chicago, nine people had served an accumulated time of six years, all pointing to the chilling effect of incarceration upon their work in church and secular communities.

It is anticipated that U.S. agents will

try to prove links of a conspiratorial nature between Black, Hispanic and White radicals, and that they will use information obtained from Alfredo Mendez, one of the FALN members captured last year, who has opted to turn state's evidence. The current Grand Jury is seeking information about fugitives.

Michael Deutsch, attorney for Guerra, said that this summons of five Hispanics at one time marks the broadest use of the Grand Jury to date. Defense attorneys say that the Grand Jury is being used as a tool of investigation for the FBI, with agents asking the prosecuting attorney to subpoena whomever it wants. Past experience has shown this tactic to be disruptive to the Puerto Rican and Mexican-American community, and severely punitive to families of activists and organizers who are jailed. The defense is expected to argue that there have been no indictments from the first investigations and that the five who have been called have been operating publicly, speaking and organizing around Grand Jury abuse and/or Puerto Rican independence. All have been under heavy surveillance over the past three years, and therefore incapable of clandestine activity. The five are one in that they will not be coerced into testifying against their people, which is the purpose of incarceration. The defense notes that four have spent previous jail terms as proof. Moreover, it claims that exemplars called for (fingerprints, handwriting, etc.) are superfluous since they were taken during the earlier imprisonment.

In addition to challenging the nature of the investigation, the defense is challenging the Grand Jury itself as presently constituted, claiming that it under-represents Hispanics. Judge Platt will rule on the challenge on Dec. 16. The outlook was only cautiously optimistic, since Judge Platt is the

official who jailed the head of PATCO early on in the Administration's hardline stand on that strike.

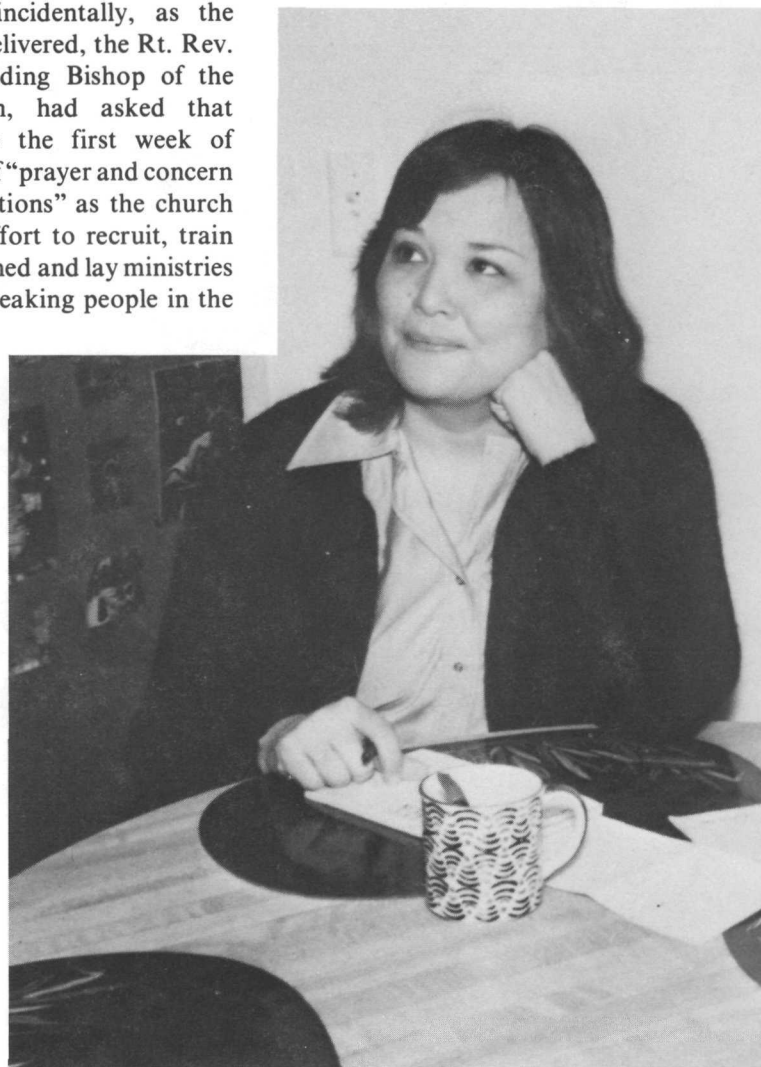
The new developments call attention once more to the potential of Grand Jury abuse, and the fact that reform legislation has never seen the light of day in Congress. In this instance, Hispanic activists face the possibility of repeated jailings for contempt for refusing to testify before Grand Juries, when new Grand Juries are called into being.

Meanwhile, the chilling effect, which Maria Cueto and Raisa Nemikin warned about in testimony in 1977, takes its toll on church and secular communities. Coincidentally, as the subpoenas were delivered, the Rt. Rev. John Allin, Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church, had asked that Episcopalians use the first week of Advent as a time of "prayer and concern for Hispanic vocations" as the church continues in an effort to recruit, train and support ordained and lay ministries among Spanish-speaking people in the United States.

Ironically, it was the women's claim to lay ministry and confidentiality of their files that was at issue in previous court sessions. Their stand, although unsupported by the Episcopal Church administration — was applauded by the National Council of Churches.

As THE WITNESS went to press, ecumenical groups were scurrying to resurrect coalitions which had formed in previous incarnations of Grand Juries, to prevent the "chilling effect" from spreading further. And church agencies were once again dusting off the National Council of Churches' guidelines on what to do when the FBI knocks at the door. ■

Maria Cueto





# A Letter From the Country

by Charles Hawes

*I am a city-born, city-raised-and-educated priest living and working as a planner for an anti-poverty agency in one of the "countriest" counties in North Carolina. Two events occurred recently to make me aware that the church seems to be losing touch with the national rural scene. The first happened at a clergy gathering during which an appeal was made to start a new Diocesan Urban Task Force. Reference was made to the cities currently being "places of great population growth" (not true; the growth is away from the cities) and "centers where everything is happening" (except life and living where they most count for over half the people in my state).*

*The second event was the appearance of an article in the weekly newsletter of one of my favorite inner-city churches, which has a deservedly high reputation as an effective champion of grass-roots causes among the poor. The author, a man I greatly admire, had delivered himself of a vacation essay on how much easier it is to be poor in the country than it is in the city. He went on about how simple it must be for country people to go out and cut their own firewood, to grow and preserve their own garden vegetables, raise their own stock for meat and milk; about how neighborly they all are and how naturally close to God. The following letter was my response to him.*

**Dear City Jack,**

Being a longtime admirer of the work of your parish and the Gospel of your newsletter, I cannot let pass your recent homely rumination about "how much easier it is to be poor in the country."

Please, Reverend sir! I take at face value your wisdom regarding your being "back where you belong"—in the city—and not in the country, where a tired man on a well-earned vacation may be permitted to write philosophy and not have to burden himself with history.

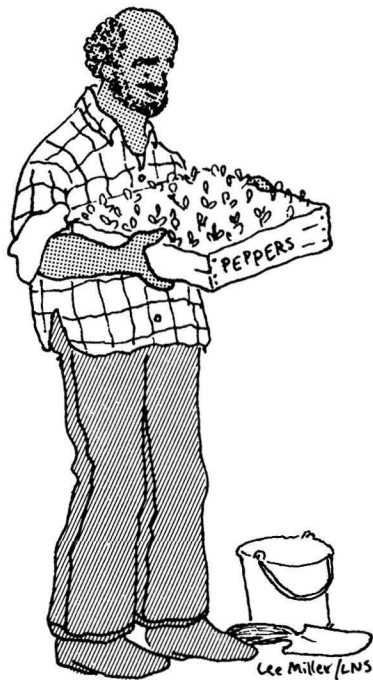
*The country* is where 43% of the nation's poor live. Of the nearly 3½ million Americans who lack running water in their homes, 90% live in *the country*. Eighteen million Americans

presently served by highly contaminated self-supply water systems live in *the country*. Those Americans most likely to have severe and disabling health problems, higher rates of job-related injuries, transportation and housing problems all live in *the country*. And 60% of America's substandard housing is located in *the country*.

*The country* is where I live, too. In Johnston County, North Carolina, a little down and to the right of the Piedmont Region, a long way from the bucolic paradise you suggest rural America really is, and centered in the deprived grace and wisdom that elects and re-elects Senator Jesse Helms.

Let me tell you a little bit about my part of *the country*. We have a lot of





good folks around here but we have a few problems, too. Here we burn kerosene in poor people's heaters, not wood. Wood is for the middle and upper classes, more a matter of aesthetics than for really keeping warm, for lowering the heating bills of those who can afford the full price of oil but who would rather not. The poor have to pay that price and probably chew on wood to ease their hunger. The only wood they're apt to burn is when their badly insulated kerosene stoves catch their dry, wood-frame houses on fire.

It's true some of them plant and keep little gardens in the summer, but not many of them preserve what they grow nor could they afford the necessary equipment even if they knew how to use it. The greater fact about farming these days is that less and less people can make a living at it. Between 1960 and 1970, in just 10 short years, nearly 60% of all our local family farmers went out of business. Farming is getting to be big business out here in *the country*. Federal laws and local lending institutions tend to favor big spreads that offer a lot of security against loans over the family 50 acres that offer

nothing but a century of backbreaking effort. Earl Butz, Secretary of Agriculture under Richard Nixon, once said farmers should "get big or get out." Around here most of them got out.

Most of them had also dropped out of school when they were young, left the classroom because they were needed in the fields and because they were sure they could learn all they needed to know about farming on the job. Now that they can't turn a dollar that way, they're in a whole lot of trouble when it comes to finding other work. If they're lucky, they end up sweating for minimum wage on a mindless, indoor assembly line in one of the new industries that's come South for no unions and cheap labor.

I have to tell you, City Jack, that if a family keeps a few cattle for meat and milk, if they've got chickens and a hog or two, the fact is they're not poor by our standards. Hell, they're doing damn well for themselves!

And relationships around here aren't all you suggest, either. We're civil enough to visitors, that's so. After all, they give us something new to talk about in our largely monotonous lives and they even put a few extra bucks into our economy. But we don't get along all that well among ourselves, truth to tell, and crimes of violence among us rival on a per capita basis the best you've got to offer in the big cities. In these parts, reasonableness isn't our strong suit, and we're inclined to shoot first and repent ourselves at leisure. In my county we've got an active chapter of the Ku Klux Klan and a paramilitary training camp for the American Nazi Party. C.P. Ellis, business manager of the International Union of Operating Engineers and a former Klansman now living up in Durham, was quoted not long ago as saying, "The majority of Klansmen are low-income Whites. They have been shut out as well as the Blacks. They had to hate somebody." True and sad enough.

You suggest prayer is easier out here. Maybe so, but religion isn't. Too much of it is hard, unforgiving, life-denying, impossible to live up to, and hence wretchedly guilt—and sickness-afflicting. Better not to pray at all at these prices.

Actually, I'm not surprised you had a hard time seeing our country-brand of poverty, City Jack. It's a quiet number, doesn't stack up on itself and wave for attention as it does in the cities. We spread it out all over the place around here. Our country poor people quite commonly live at a distance from one another, don't even know their kind of misery's got plenty of company. Devastating loneliness may be the worst of their problems.

Most socialization for them takes place at the family level. Which on the face of it sounds okay, maybe even desirable, until one looks closer and finds a couple of flaws in the design. In the first place, the caste system is real and palpable around here. Membership in the "wrong" family puts a person in a box from which deliverance, even on the day of the Lord's coming, is a fairly doubtful thing. Through family a person inherits a particular station in life and he or she is taught early on that



it's very poor form to question it.

The second problem relates to the first. The family is the principal institution of learning hereabouts. As is generally true the whole world over, it tends to be a school staffed by well-meaning incompetents. The real rub comes, however, from there not being any other serious claimants to the authority of knowledge. In the cities I know, the impressionable child is besieged on all sides by forces good and bad that at least challenge the wisdom of the hearth, that make him think and offer him opportunity and responsibility to pick and choose a way of his own. The very existence of all these visible choices encourages him to believe there is more to life than what he already has. Here the catechism claims

to truth that children learn at home amount to a given immutable reality in their social context. Youthful rebels soon blunt themselves against that wall and fall beaten and bloody into line and submission.

The net effect of all this tends to be a stupefying passivity in and among our country poor. City poor people pushed hard enough by intolerable conditions and injustice, may finally turn and fight. Country poor people, pushed hard by equally intolerable conditions and injustice, are more likely to curl up and die.

Hope lives hard here. And it attaches itself not at all to systems old, reformed, or even new, but rather to flesh pressed tenderly in the darkness with the fond

dream that come the dawn it may not get up and go away. Here I have learned to disbelieve in systems almost as much as any native, to follow kindness and pursue justice as best I'm able for the ones at hand and not for everyone else out there. No, of course I have not become apolitical but rather just put politics in another place. It is a very necessary passing means to a necessarily always passing end. But the Kingdom of God is not at the end of it.

God bless you and your's, City Jack, in your continuing ministry to and among Christ's "little ones" of the city. And please keep in your prayers your poor country cousins who are truly poorer than you think.

Faithfully,  
Country Charlie Hawes

## Meditation: Poor Mrs. Job

by Abbie Jane Wells

People commiserate with Job . . . and all he lost . . . and all he bore . . . but hardly anyone ever gives a thought to Mrs. Job.

Mrs. Job lost all that Job lost, except her health. Mrs. Job, too, lost 10 children — children of her body — and no one came to mourn with *her*. And when Job's fortunes were restored, even unto seven sons and three daughters, Mrs. Job got to bear those 10 children. *Twenty* children that woman bore for Job — 10 in her middle age, too! Her health may not have been so good, either, by the time Job had a second set of children.

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Abbie Jane Wells is a WITNESS subscriber who from time to time provides us with insights and reflections written in her kitchen in Juneau, Alaska.

Satan isn't nearly as smart as people seem to think. Had Satan been really smart, when God said, "Behold, he is in your power, only spare his life," Satan wouldn't have spared Job's wife as well as his life. Without Mrs. Job to scrounge for the food and do all the work while Job sat among the ashes, scraping his sores with a potsherd, Job would *really* have been in a bind. Satan missed playing his trump card when he didn't take Job's wife away along with everything else, leaving Job *completely* alone to contemplate.

Mrs. Job had to go after the food Job ate, and for the wood to cook the food, and carry out the garbage and do the cleaning. And when Job's three friends came to sit with him for days, she got to scrounge up food for three extra mouths, for I doubt if they

brought their own sack lunches.

If Job had had to do for himself all that Mrs. Job did for him, he, too, might have been driven to her words, "Curse God, and die."

Well, next time you are commiserating over Job's sad plight, give a thought to all that Mrs. Job did, behind the scenes, that made it possible for Job to sit in the ashes, talking to his friends for days on end. Moreover, on top of this, she bore for him a second set of 10 children — 20 children that woman bore in order for Job to end up with seven sons and three daughters.

And nobody ever gives Mrs. Job credit for anything except her foolish remark in *Job* 2:9. Nobody mourns with her over her losses at the hand of Satan. No one gives thanks for all she did for Job. And it's about time somebody did.

# Christians and Jews in Context

by Barbara Krasner

I mean to write about Jewish-Christian dialogue. "Jewish-Christian relations." For me the phrase resonates with emptiness, pretense, disappointed expectations, unspoken accusations, mutual exploitation and invisible, insidious and chronic polarization: Us versus them, gospel versus law, love versus justice, faith versus works, messiah come versus messiah yet to be, deicide versus genocide, the establishment of a Palestinian state versus the survival of the Jewish state, Andrew Young diplomat versus Andrew Young partisan, Menachem Begin head of state versus Menachem Begin terrorist. Which side are you on, friends?

Answers prematurely concluded, questions go unasked. To what is a person loyal? What forces shape his or her life? Do we differ, and how? What do we hold in common, and what difference does it make? Can I trust this person to hear my side? If not, what gets in the way?

Before which Jew do we stand? Believing Orthodox? Liberal Reform? People-centered Reconstructionist? Agnostic Conservative? Zionist? Member of Neturai Karta, resisting an Israel created by the hands of men?

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**Dr. Barbara Krasner** is co-director of the Center for Contextual Family Therapy and Allied Studies, King of Prussia, Pa., and an associate clinical professor of psychiatry at Hahnemann Medical College. She also teaches pastoral counseling in the Graduate Division of Religious Studies, LaSalle College.

Chasidic vigilante patrolling the streets of Brooklyn? Jew for Jesus? Illiterate Sephardi? Academic Ashkenazi? Enterprising Russian immigrant? Terrified Damascus resident? Member of the JDL? Cuban refugee twice-fled, the first time from Poland? Zealot of Gush Emunim, settling on disputed land? Israeli military veteran demonstrating for Shalom Achshav (Peace Now)? Blue collar worker? Arthur Ochs Sulzberger? Convert from Roman Catholicism, fearful of another Holocaust that could claim his Jewish son? Israeli physician transplanting a kidney from a Jew killed by terrorists into an hostile Arab girl?

Answers prematurely concluded, questions go unasked. Will the past always be our measure? How long do children have to pay for their grandparents' sins? Is estrangement forever? What do we owe each other, and why? Is competitive behavior to preempt mutual consideration indefinitely? Is power the only resolution to colliding life interests? Can trust ever be merited? Is interhuman justice anybody's goal?

Before which Christian do we stand? Churchman voicing his suspicion that the Holocaust was justified? ("Where there's smoke," he confided, "there must be fire.") Judeophile who claims to love Jews under all and any circumstances? Coptic Christian in Cairo, anticipating genocide by Moslems? Lebanese singing Arab lullabies to a Jewish child on Sabbath? Tenant in Harlem raging at her dunning Jewish landlord? Fundamentalist

Protestant urging an ingathering of Jews to Jerusalem, on behalf of the Parousia? Palestinian in Amman, feared by Jordanians and cut off from his family and roots in Israel? Black power advocate in Hebron finding ways to talk with Arabs, arm-in-arm with a Jewish friend? German man at the Arab League overtly hostile to all things Jewish, working out unfinished Nazi business? German woman in an Israeli kibbutz, working out unfinished family business? American Baptist in Syria offering consolation to an American Jew shaken by Quneitra's utter desolation? Which side are you on, friends?

Thirty-five years after the end of World War II, most attempts to establish equitable relationships between Christians and Jews continue to founder. To be sure, we share the same world. That, alone, seems to provide sufficient motivation for making common cause. Instead, our relationships, or lack thereof, seem to function like a magnet in their capacity to draw particles of suspicion and mistrust. Enmeshed in this complexity, proponents of Jewish-Christian dialogue have all but abandoned their efforts to penetrate and demystify the historic estrangement between our peoples.

Liberal activists, clergy and academicians (and I count myself among them) have all but quit the fray for areas that promise greater compensation, or at least less aggravation. Acceding to a split between the intensity of their private

convictions and the blandness of superficial public positions, they have lent themselves to the stagnation and indifference that currently prevail. Through their withdrawal, Jews and Christians in search of equity have helped create a justice vacuum that has readily been filled by the power-based reductionism of professional ecumenists. And why not?

The naked reality of mistrust and injustice in our world would make any effort at dialogue seem useless and absurd. It may be that the best we can manage is a shadow existence in which the redemptive forces of the human spirit perish *in utero*. On the other hand, life lived in shadows exacts its own pound of flesh.

Sculpted by shame and guilt, charged with helplessness and rage, and veneered with pseudomutuality and a tendency to blame a shadow existence results in a condition of personal captivity. Noted for its inertia and for evasion as a way of life, it is usually associated with a chaotic state of heart and mind that requires no personal courage, takes no personal position, and tolerates no personal disclosure.

In moments of passing condescension, I like to think that some people are more entitled than others to live out a shadow existence — but it doesn't seem to be so. Over the past year, the intolerable costs of living half a life have been shared with me again and again. In one instance that I'd like to recount, the context was Israeli and revolved around Nurit who is a psychologist. For two years she came to classes in family therapy but in all that time, she never said a word. When I asked her to present her family, as other students did, she seemed reluctant and shy. But in the end, she agreed. Entering the class on the day assigned to her, I was unsettled by the large number of stars of David which she had put on the blackboard above her relatives' names. Each of them, it turned out, represented

a family member killed in the Holocaust.

Nurit is the only offspring of parents who are 70 years old. Her parents have taken care not to interfere in her life, and took no exception to her service in the Israeli army. Nurit sees herself as a good daughter. Still, she struggles with guilt over who she wants to be. Reflecting on her situation, she said,

*"I was never aware of the weight of my legacy because of the special way we used to deal with the Holocaust at home. The Holocaust was always confronted as an intellectual issue. It was important for my parents that I know about what happened. We spoke about it and I read about the subject. But it was never confronted as a personal issue..."*

*"I know nothing about what really happened to my relatives during the war; and I don't know what my parents know about it. Many years ago, my mother made a personal comment about her brother, and said that when the Germans came to Poland, he wanted to run away. But he didn't succeed. I was deeply touched. Suddenly, it wasn't 'the Holocaust' anymore, or 'the six million people' that were killed. It was a personal tragedy in my family legacy. Suddenly, the Holocaust was not something removed from my life. It was something that happened to my uncle."*

*"I still don't know much about my parents' family. Was it because of the way that they used to talk about it? Or was it because of the way I used to listen to them? I never saw any real expressions of sad feelings from them. We were not used to sharing at the level of emotional give-and-take..."*

Loyal to her family's ways, Nurit feels stuck in her own situation. Unable to

console her closest friend whose husband's plane was shot down in the last Arab-Israel war, she blames herself. "I have friends," she said, "but I'm helpless to deal with emotional demands. I remain loyal to my parents' taboo, never to evoke pain in the aftermath of personal loss."

*"But now, something new seems possible. I think that our family has the resources to test and to work on changing things. If I can learn what the Holocaust really means for my family and me, I could find relief. I could deal with emotions. I could know their pain. I could cross boundaries. I could be free..."*

Freedom from captivity in our own specific context is everybody's dream. Making the dream come true begins with rejecting the assumption that things have to stay the same. The process is furthered through learning to ask questions, and finding the courage to say our own side. But it's never won cheaply, if it's won at all. Ask an Israeli like Nurit. Ask a German too.

Ask Brunhilde who left her country to visit areas populated by large numbers of Jews. Spending time in the United States, she realized her worst fantasies of what some people think about Germans. She vividly recalls the trauma of the first time that she met a Jew who rolled up his sleeve to show her the numbers tattooed on his skin at Dachau. "History," she says, "is a very heavy package. Whenever I leave Germany, I'm converted into the person who did all of that to the Jews." And more: "We're not just a horrible, brutal, efficient, emotionless race. My family suffered too. The Versailles Treaty forced Germans to their knees. Their humiliation provided fertile ground for extremists. Would other groups have reacted differently?" And still more: "Israel is the only place where I've been treated as a guest. There I've met Germans who take me into their homes.



We have a common language, we have a common bond. I found people there who understand me in my terms. I learned to trust myself in Israel."

Like other people, many Germans have learned to trust themselves in the world. But I wonder if there are Germans, Christians and Jews, who have discovered the courage to trust themselves with their parents, to pose the questions that simply refuse to go away: *Why? How? Did you know what was happening? Did you choose to be silent? Was it business as usual? How could that be? Why didn't you leave when there was time? Were you afraid? Were you sorry later? What would you do differently now? Can it happen again? What did the Holocaust mean to our family? What does the Holocaust mean for me?* I suspect that only the painful reconstruction of guilt and shame-laden human stories have any likelihood of holding the rest of us to account. Answers prematurely concluded, questions unasked.

A long time ago, I learned the efficacy of manipulation: Use the Holocaust, use the Palestinians, use the death of God, use the inevitability of God's grace, romanticize, idealize, criticize,

challenge, refute, negate, polarize, intellectualize, label, be distant, be intimate, be conformed by guilt, be driven by shame, be judged, be indignant, be righteous, be expectant, be disappointed, be triumphant, be contrite — make use of any available instrument to hide me from myself. A long time ago too, I learned the uselessness of blame. Losing my most expedient techniques along with all its sophistries, I was forced into a dialogic context.

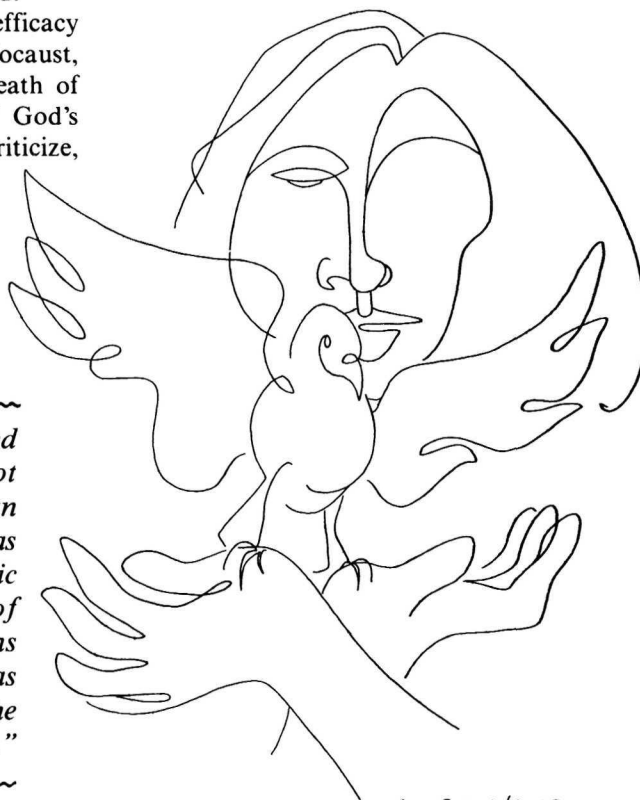
It was at the point when blame no longer served me well that a recognition of my own limitations began to teach me what should have been an obvious fact: That at best, I might know my side. But short of asking questions and getting a response, there was no way on God's earth that I could grasp another's side. Afraid to trust the dialogic process, I could guess, I could fantasize, I could wish, I could anticipate, I could

psychologize, I could intuit, I could affirm, I could condemn. But I simply could not know. Not knowing before whom I stood and disinclined to take risks that might result in rejection or pain, I could try to delegate my priorities to someone of like-mind who could raise my side, state my concerns, project my anger, and ask my questions. But I soon discovered that my questions belonged to me! Moreover, the capacity to surface my questions and to act on answers provided the only way I could find to respond to God's query, "Adam, where art thou?" (Gen. 3:9)

Here, finally, I can end at the beginning, in acknowledgement of the current state of bankruptcy in Jewish-Christian relations — bankruptcy created by a mutual willingness to enter into evasion, denial, flight and blame as acceptable modes of investment and exchange.

Human estrangement need not be forever. We cannot rework history, but we can refuse to let history function as our God. Like other dialogic efforts, the outcome of dialogue between Christians and Jews can be determined as much by the resources as by the pathology that people bring to it. Given courage, there are still ways to convert mistrust into trustworthy relating. There is still a place for individual merit that can mitigate the thrust of national and international power. There is still time to redeem past horror and injustice, through transforming them into reliably just give-and-take. There is still room to draw strength from the given context and tradition into which each of us is born, and which we learn to embrace, without having to distort them into cheap proofs of our own superiority. There is still reason to believe that dialogue, real dialogue — words spoken and heard in trust — has saving and healing power; and can still lead to the truths that over the generations, have set men and women free. ■

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*"Human estrangement need not be forever. We cannot rework history, but we can refuse to let history function as our God. Like other dialogic efforts, the outcome of dialogue between Christians and Jews can be determined as much by the resources as by the pathology people bring to it."*  
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Cindy Fredrick/L.N.S.

**Editorial . . . Continued from page 3**  
— are getting aboard.

- Likewise in this country, organized labor is slowly and fitfully beginning to remember once again its proud heritage of struggle for justice against corporate exploitation, and is becoming more militant. And there are signs here and there that the churches and synagogues are beginning to recall their historic role as advocates of working men and women.

- And, contrary to assessments that by this time the Equal Rights Amendment ratification drive has been stopped dead, the voices for its passage seem to grow weekly in number and intensity. With six months and three states remaining for its passage, might ERA yet be ratified?

We are not as powerless as we might first appear. Historically, significant change has always traced its source to a dynamic minority, advocating with clarion insistence a new course in the face of an intransigent (or indifferent) and even growing majority. Our difficulty as church people may not be principally in our organizing strategies (although we are overwhelmingly deficient there) but simply in our lack of faith in the promises of the God of all love, power

and justice: the God of the Exodus, the God of the Prophets, the God of the carpenter of Nazareth. Writing in last month's issue of THE WITNESS and speaking of the movement to peace, the Rev. Jack Woodard said, "Peace movement leaders must emerge and be accepted who actually believe in the *possibility* of world peace under the sovereignty of God — not only the necessity of it to avoid a nuclear holocaust, but the realistic possibility of it . . ."

We in the churches seldom write such sentences, much less believe them, so languid are we in our beliefs that the promises of God will bring peace and justice to the earth and all its children. Yet the Epiphany text, from Isaiah, heralding the promise of the universalizing of God's love in Christ, boldly proclaims:

*Arise, shine, for your light has come  
And the Glory of the Lord has dawned upon you.  
For behold, darkness covers the land,  
Deep gloom enshrouds the peoples.  
But over you the Lord will rise,  
And God's Glory will appear upon you.*

— R. W. G. and the editors

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### **Planning . . . Continued from page 3**

on options for dying to raise the consciousness of other parishioners. Encourage your clergy to preach, teach and witness to the practical, theological, and sacramental aspects of dying. Finally, in the midst of all the experiences of death . . .

- Live one day at a time. Live hopefully, not optimistically. The smiling cosmic insurance policy resurrectionists want to promote optimism. That's fine as long as it is not confused with Christianity. Christianity is not optimistic about life and death; it is hopeful — hopeful that death is an end but not the end, a last word but not the last word, the end of one life and beginning of another. Optimism denies death and discounts disease; hope affirms death and transcends disease.

In the Episcopal tradition, there is a wonderful prayer in the funeral service

that encourages us to "live as those expecting to die and to die as those expecting to live." In spite of the organized church's failure, let us make our funeral/dying plans *now* in order to come to terms not only with our death but also with our everyday life.

### **Resources**

*The Living Bank*, P.O. Box 6725, Houston, Texas 77005. Provides pamphlets and means for registering organs with nationwide network for retrieval at time of death.

*The Sting of Death*, James R. Adams, Seabury Press. Excellent church group study guide.

*Death and Ministry*, J. Donald Bane, editor, Seabury Press. Collection of articles on all aspects of care for dying patients/families.

*A Manual of Death Education and Simple Burial*, Ernest Morgan, The Celo Press, Burnsville, N.C. (\$2.50) A

practical manual for exploring inexpensive burial. Includes national listing of memorial societies.

*To Live Until We Say Goodbye*, Elizabeth Kubler-Ross, Spectrum Books. Pictorial experiences for patients choosing to die at home.

*Biblical Perspectives on Death*, Lloyd R. Bailey Sr., Fortress Press. Biblical/historical summary with bibliography.

*The Business of Dying*, Yaffa Draznin, Hawthorn Press. A practical approach to the mundane aspects of dying.

*About Facing Death as a Christian*, Channing L. Bete Co. South Deerfield, Mass. Scriptographic booklet useful for patients/families and study groups.

*As Long as There Is Life*. Film available from The Hospice Institute, 765 Prospect Street, New Haven, Ct. 06511. Explains hospice home care concept. ■

**Letters . . .** *Continued from page 2*

continues the process of deepening the red stripes on our flag by soaking them in the blood of the martyred in Latin America.

I am a patriot, I am a citizen of the United States. Communism is not the answer, but our corporate capitalism is not the answer either. We need to dialogue, give and take, in building together a new economic order. Please continue your critical task of informing and educating.

**The Rev. Dennis J. Steik, S.M.**  
Berkeley, Cal.

## **Critique: Bishops' Letter**

I heard the recent Pastoral Letter (October, 1981) of the House of Bishops of the Episcopal Church in the United States on "Apocalypse and Hope" as it was read from the pulpit of Christ Church, Cambridge, Mass. The letter was described as excellent. However, the real issue is whether the letter is of any value in bringing good news to the poor, release to the captive and oppressed, and in inducing the proud and arrogant to walk humbly.

My judgment is that the letter will have little, if any, value in achieving these religious goals as set forth by the prophet Micah and reiterated by Jesus. I may be wrong in this assessment because of the limits of my theological understanding. Nevertheless, I will share these ideas on the random chance that in part they may be right and of some value to some who may read them.

In their letter, the bishops 1) urged business and industry to increase their charitable giving; 2) pledged to increase their own giving; 3) committed themselves to a weekly act of fasting and prayer for peace; and 4) promised to challenge repeatedly the leaders of the United States and of other nations in the world against reliance on military threats as a peace-making method.

The primary action-targets of the House of Bishops were the leaders of business and industry and the leaders of governments. The economic leaders were urged to increase charitable giving

to the poor and the political leaders were challenged to abandon violence as a way of resolving differences. To induce these leaders to act, the bishops promised to increase their own giving, to fast and to pray. The bishops described their actions as reflecting "a new resolve of leadership" and they invited communicants to act as they will act.

It may appear that the issues discussed by the House of Bishops are unrelated to issues of the ordination of women as priests and their full participation in the affairs of the church. But I see a connection.

Over the years I have heard religious leaders say — during the period in the worship service when finances are gathered to support the works of the church — that one should first make amends to others whom one has offended before offering gifts to God. The implication is that the gift to God is no gift at all unless the giver confesses that prior actions have harmed another, repents, and asks the offended for forgiveness.

Some bishops who opposed the ordination of women, who have not taken affirmative action to elect a woman to the House of Bishops, have not confessed their actions against women or their failure to act affirmatively in behalf of women. Their negative action is a form of human oppression and a denial that all are equal in the sight of God; they have not repented and asked women to forgive them.

It strikes me that until the bishops who opposed full participation of women in the church (or who have not acted affirmatively to enhance opportunities for women in the church) confess, repent, and make amends to women, their gifts to God of more money, fasting and prayer are no gifts at all.

Some may interpret the Pastoral Letter of the House of Bishops as a way of putting behind us preoccupation with the church and our internal affairs and getting on with our outreach work. The problem is that those to whom we of the church reach out and of whom specific actions are requested may ignore us

because in our own house we will not do what we ask them to do. In effect, the House of Bishops asked political leaders to confess that they had attempted to secure our nation by the threat of violence to others, to repent for holding such a self-centered and inappropriate national view, and to make amends by way of the discipline of military restraint and negotiations for arms control. In like manner, the House of Bishops asked governmental and business leaders to confess that spontaneous and private caring for the poor is outdated and unworkable, to repent for attempting to return to such a simplistic arrangement apart from serving institutions, and to make amends by continuing organized governmental help and increased charitable giving by business and industry.

Government and business leaders know that the defunct General Convention Special Program was an institutional way of achieving "a higher level of involvement with the poor" by the Episcopal Church that was called for by the House of Bishops in the recent letter. They also know that the church refused to continue this program. How, then, can the House of Bishops ask the economic and governmental systems to do what the religious system would not do? The fasting of individuals and the advancement of personal tax refunds for the care of the poor is an example of the one-on-one pre-institutionalized caring for the poor that the House of Bishops said the nation had outgrown. Yet, these are the gifts the bishops would offer without confession of their inadequacy, repentance for killing the General Convention Special Program that had as one of its goals the empowerment of the poor, and making amends by finding an alternative institutional approach.

We cannot put behind our internal problems and walk away from them through the gifts of our prophecy about apocalypse and hope in the economy and the government without first making amends to those whom we have harmed in our own household.

**Charles V. Willie**  
Concord, Mass.

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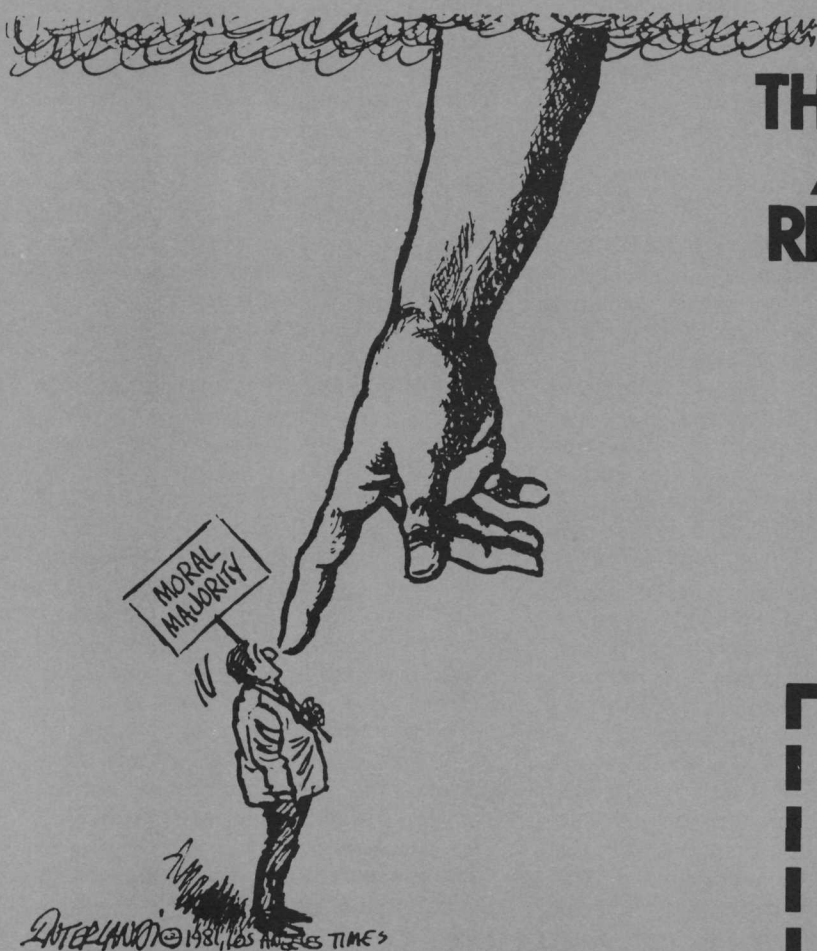
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# BLACK WOMEN'S AGENDA

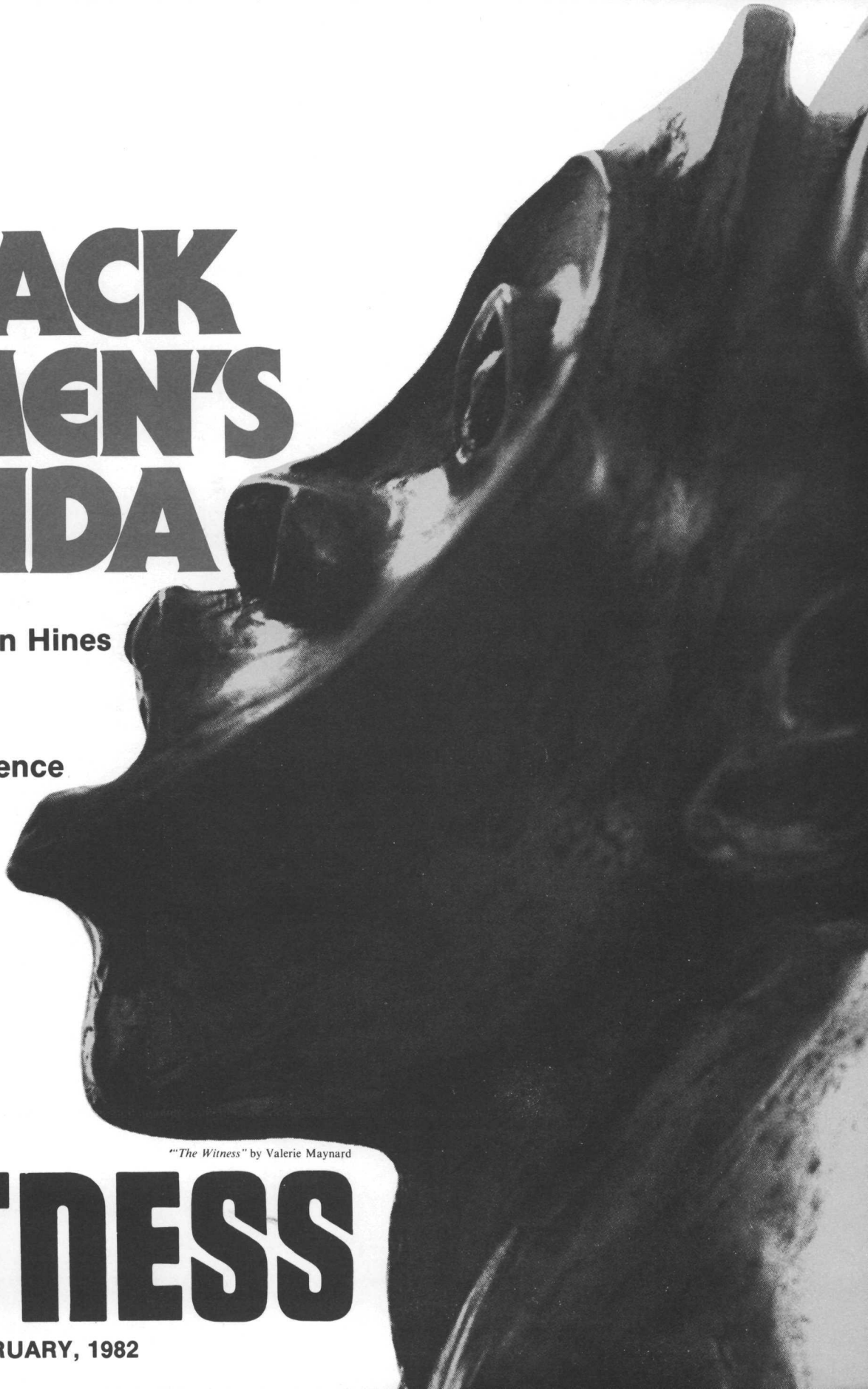
**Part 1:**  
**Deborah Harmon Hines**  
**Myrtle Gordon**

**A Prison Experience**  
**Ben Chavis**

# THE WITNESS

*"The Witness" by Valerie Maynard*

**VOL. 65 NO. 2 FEBRUARY, 1982**



# LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

## Supportive of Labor

I recently got a layoff notice as Colgate shut its West Coast plant down. At a conference in Los Angeles on economic dislocation I picked up a copy of the November WITNESS. I have been a life-long Episcopalian and a member of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship for 15 years. I didn't know the church was supportive of these labor issues. Glad to know it!

**Rick DeGolia**  
Oakland, Cal.

## Cutting New Ground

Just a fan letter to you for that first-rate issue of THE WITNESS — November, 1981. The articles were particularly interesting and cutting new ground, at least for me. Keep up the good work. God bless you.

**The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore**  
Bishop of New York

## Sexism, MNCs Interact

Congratulations on the sharply-focused article by Barbara Ehrenreich, "Multi-National Corporations Exploit Women on Global Assembly Line." (November WITNESS.) Attention to the interaction between sexism and economic giants is long overdue.

Sexism is essential to the multinational's goal of transforming the planet into what Peter Drucker refers to as the "global shopping center." Global corporations literally capitalize on

sexism in three inter-related ways:

1) Perpetuating sexual divisions in the labor force in order to reduce the price of all labor and maximize profits.

2) Promoting a consumerist ideology aimed most specifically at women who are encouraged to participate in the economy by purchasing products "guaranteed" to make them (and their families) feel more happy, secure, free or esteemed.

3) Creating an ersatz culture of global capitalism, which displaces women as teachers and keepers of distinct indigenous cultures.

Most simply stated, sexism in the work force means that women's labor is cheaper to buy than men's. An all-female production line in the U.S. costs only about 1/3 as much as one "manned" entirely by males, and only about 1/2 of that of a sexually balanced work force. In many other countries the disparity is even greater.

Women predominate in the production lines of many, if not most, of the labor intensive industries — textiles and garments, food production and processing, and the rapidly growing electronics industry. As Ehrenreich points out, these are precisely the industries most likely to relocate from a more industrialized (and unionized) part of the globe to areas where unions are non-existent or impotent, and wages and standards of living the lowest.

The corporate consumerist ideology encourages women to believe they participate in the economy through consumption instead of production.

The most important result is the marginalization of women in the economy which creates a constantly available reserve supply of cheap labor.

Finally, women are the keepers and teachers of many, if not most, cultures. The perpetuation of distinct, diverse cultures is anathema to those who seek to sell Nabisco wafers to the indigenous people of Latin America and deodorants to the people of Malasia. In order to survive, corporate capitalism must penetrate national boundaries, ancient religions and an immense variety of ethnic cultures. As the Nestle's infant formula campaign demonstrates, corporations find it necessary to appeal to women to sell products which threaten to maim or destroy the individual consumer, the culture, or both. Enormous amounts of corporate research money is currently invested in analyzing women's roles in different cultures with a view toward using traditional values to convert women from enemies of global corporations into their figurative, if not literal, slaves.

Those of us who would challenge the equation of political freedom and "unlimited economic opportunity" must dedicate a major portion of our resources to understanding exactly how and why sexism spells increased profit for the rich and even heavier oppression for all the poor.

**Linda Backiel**  
**Nationwide Women's Program**  
**American Friends Service Committee**  
*Letters . . . Continued on page 19*

### COVER

The cover of this issue is adapted from Valerie Maynard's sculpture, *The Witness*. The African-American artist sees herself as a "conduit" who articulates social themes or personal emotions which cannot be expressed verbally. She is one of the artists featured in the 22-minute film, "Black Modern Art," available for rental for \$30 from Unifilm, 419 Park Av. So., New York, N.Y. 10016. Her sculptures — in stone, wood and metal, many expressing prison themes — are shown while she comments on the origin and meaning of each work.



**Valerie Maynard**

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# THE WITNESS EDITORIAL

## Revolution on Thursdays

*Waldo: Henry! Henry! What are you  
doing in jail?*

*Henry: Waldo! What are you doing out of  
jail?*

The above dialogue, purported to have taken place during one of the most famous acts of civil disobedience in U.S. history, was resurrected recently in a play commemorating the event, "The Night Thoreau Spent in Jail." The dialogue recalls Ralph Waldo Emerson's visit to the noted Walden dweller who had refused to pay his taxes in protest of President James Polk's invasion of Mexico. Without a declaration of war or Congressional approval, Polk had sent U.S. forces storming into the bloody slaughter of a peasant army. Only one young Congressman had the moral courage to denounce the war — Abe Lincoln of Illinois.

Today, acts of civil disobedience abound, as latter-day Thoreaus protest injustice; e.g., the Plowshares 8 demonstrating against nuclear madness; church women in Los Angeles protesting deportation of Salvadoran refugees from the United States; and most recently, Chicanos and Puerto Ricans refusing to testify before a Grand Jury in Brooklyn, claiming that the legal system is being misused to harass their

people.

While THE WITNESS applauds these efforts to arouse citizens to action across the board, we sense an anomaly here. Writing about the Los Angeles women's protest in the December WITNESS, Joan Trafecanty hit upon it when she said, "Being a middle-aged woman, I find it very stressful to be arrested for civil disobedience and I've made a promise to myself that I won't do it more than once a year."

Drawing the moral to the tale, we note that more often than not, white middle-class or upper class people are in positions to be advocates for the oppressed and can choose to go to jail or not. Minorities and the underclass do not have that luxury.

Thus, Chicanos like Maria Cueto and Ricardo Romero, driven, as was Thoreau, to get the truth out about Mexico's oppressed history, are summoned for the second time before a Grand Jury in an action one can only suspect is designed to keep socially concerned and political activists off the streets. Similarly, Steven Guerra of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company's Board of Directors, and Julio and Andres Rosado, all Puerto Ricans, are summoned

*Continued on page 19*

## Introduction

# Black Women's Agenda

by Janette Pierce

In November, 1981 a national conference of Episcopal women in Indianapolis heard four black women forcefully express their distrust of the feminist movement. They perceived feminism as a white (woman's) concern which drains energy from the liberation battle of people of color.

The Rev. Barbara C. Harris, priest in charge of St. Augustine of Hippo Church, Norristown, Pa.; and educators Dr. Deborah Harmon Hines of Nashville, Mattie Hopkins of Chicago and Myrtle Gordon of Atlanta laid out "The Black Women's Agenda," one of three topics presented at the third national conference of the Episcopal Church's Task Force on Women.

The eight-year-old Task Force is the only entity within the Executive Council structure expressly concerned with empowering women. Unlike the more financially independent Episcopal Church Women, the Task Force is funded by the General Church Program Budget in the Education for Mission and Ministry section. Its primary public program has been three national conferences: in St. Louis 1977, Cleveland in '79 and Indianapolis.

In planning these conferences, the Task Force's concern with empowerment of women for ministry leads it to identify and address those personal and structural blocks that inhibit

women's full response to the Gospel.

In late 1980, when the Task Force began planning for Indianapolis the three-person conference subcommittee, of which I was a member with Marge Christie and Dorothy Brittain, recognized the tension between racism and feminism as a major block for women, the church, and society in general. But since the Task Force then had only one black member and the planning group was all white, the problem was to address the issue in a context that would have validity in the black women's community. Parenthetically, three black women now sit on the Task Force as well as a Hispanic and an Asian-American woman.

Originally, the subcommittee envisioned a dialogue presentation on racism and sexism between a black woman and a white woman. That this would have modeled, incarnated, the very split we were trying to bridge never really entered our minds. Fortunately, an advisory committee formed earlier, in cooperation with the Black Ministries desk at the Episcopal Church Center and our own black member, Vicki Reid, recommended the format and speakers which we heard in Indianapolis.

The four women spoke openly and honestly. Each of the 100-plus women present, at least the white women, had to deal with the pain, anger, frustration, even tears that many thought had been put behind

by the mid-seventies.

Subsequent to the conference, THE WITNESS approached the four women speakers and Task Force officials as to the possibility of publishing major excerpts of the talks to continue the dialogue in a broader forum. Permission granted, Part 1 of the series appears in the following pages.

Cassette tapes of the complete talks, as well as responses, can be ordered from Conference Corder, 3901 Meadows Drive, Suite B-1, Indianapolis, Ind. 46205. Write for two tapes entitled, "The Black Women's Agenda," total cost \$9.75.



Sculpture by Valerie Maynard



## Part 1: Black Women's Agenda

# Racism Breeds Stereotypes

by Deborah Harmon Hines

The black women that I work with, seek advice from, socialize with, go to church with come from a wide variety of backgrounds, economic strata, educational levels, work, family and leadership experiences. These women unequivocally see their roles as maintaining, strengthening and uplifting our race, our families, our culture and heritage, our men and ourselves. And these women see racism as their archenemy in this struggle.

Not a single black woman alive has escaped the blue-eyed monster called racism. Our experiences range from the terribly vicious to the mildly annoying. But in 1981, more than 25 years after the *Brown vs. the Topeka, Kansas Board of Education* decision, more than 10 years after the death of Martin Luther King, Jr. and more than 100 years after the 15th amendment was passed guaranteeing blacks the right to vote, racism still exists.

My black friends still recount tales of white salespeople not waiting on them in turn in department stores. College students complain of being denied entrance into nightclubs and discos for

---

**Dr. Deborah Harmon Hines** is Assistant Professor of Anatomy at Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tenn. She received her Ph.D. in Human Anatomy from University of Tennessee Center for Health Sciences, Memphis, and is a member of the Board of Directors of the Union of Black Episcopalians.



Deborah Harmon Hines

lack of the mandatory "two identifications, one with a picture" rule, when their white counterparts breeze by without identifications or purses. How often still does a black person show up at a personnel office, apartment rental office or real estate agent's office to be told that there is no opening?

Shocking, since the applicant had phoned prior to coming and was thoroughly assured as to a vacancy.

The blue-eyed monster, racism, rears its ugly head by assigning certain roles to black women. I've heard my white step-sisters complain of the roles

assigned them by society and still feel that my plight is worse. My step-sisters are very often as guilty as or guiltier than their menfolk in perpetuating these myths about black women.

Black women are often assigned the role of Aunt Jemima. As Aunt Jemima, we are forced to listen to and solve white folks' problems (the men and the women). As Aunt Jemima, we are also held accountable for the behavior of the entire black race. We solve everybody's problems, keep the race in line and still smile. Atlas did not have so formidable a task. The Aunt Jemima role is awarded to the "good ones" among us.

The rest of us have to contend with even less positive labels, such as that of Jezebel. Jezebel is highly oversexed, promiscuous, and knows all the secrets of exotic sex. This image makes us the prey of all men, black and white, and the envy and enemy of (righteous) white women. Only a few white women in real life or in the movies come close to this image. Yet when portrayed by these women, the erotic fires are exciting. When these same characteristics are assigned black women, they represent the dark, the evil and the degrading. Another side to this is that the whole world knows that there is no such thing as a 21-year-old black virgin. At least that's what the police said when one of my students was raped recently.

Another image assigned to black women is that of welfare seeker. Let's

call her Mary. Everyone knows that the welfare rolls are full of black women having babies to get welfare money. They don't want to work and just love living in the projects. Mary defrauds and takes advantage of the welfare system. Mary wears fur coats and drives a Cadillac, all bought on welfare money. These Marys are far outnumbered by the welfare bureaucrats who take their cut from the top.

Mary is no real competition for the bureaucrats in terms of what she takes from the system illegally. In a recent TV episode of *20/20*, investigative reporter, Geraldo Rivera, outlined the bureaucratic fraud in the New York food stamp program. That program is losing \$1.2 million a year to the bureaucrats, white collar criminals. It is truly ironic that if Mary and the bureaucrat were caught and tried for their crimes, Mary would inevitably be given a longer, stricter sentence for "stealing" infinitely less. The Marys that I know are a far cry from the Cadillac Mary portrayed in the media. Many of them on welfare attempt to go to school to improve their lives. If they succeed in acquiring financial aid to pay tuition, buy books, pay busfare and child care, then their welfare money is reciprocally cut. As a student, they have more expenses and less money, making student status unattractive, if not impossible. And yet, I have seen many Marys rise out of this situation.

I have a theory that the whole welfare system is built on keeping Mary in her place. Without the Marys, the bureaucrats would be out of work. The economy depends upon it.

Then we are portrayed as masochistic women, who enjoy being hit, stepped on and abused. Let's call this woman Lucille. Lucille loves her man so much that she will do anything to keep him and that includes wearing the badges (scars, bruises and broken bones) that are a sign of her love and affection. Of course, Lucille is not uniquely black.

Lucille is not necessarily poor. And Lucille does not love her plight.

Finally, there is the dominant matriarch. Let's call her Martha. Martha takes no stuff from anyone, especially her man or family. Martha calls all the shots. Martha pushes her children and emasculates her man. No wonder they are failures and it's all her fault. Of course the only way to neutralize Martha is for one of her step-sisters to arrive on the scene, provide the necessary comfort to the abused and save the day.

Again, my major objection is that my step-sisters support and perpetuate these myths. I must recount a personal experience. During a national scientific meeting in Miami Beach a few years ago, I was waiting for the elevator, dressed in a business suit, and I wore a convention identification badge. A white woman approached and exchanged pleasantries about the weather. From then on the conversation went downhill. The woman commented on the number of "damned Cubans" around and how she "just didn't trust any of them." She then went on to tell me, "how hard good help was to find." She then offered me a job as companion and baby sitter to her children, explaining that she had just lost her "girl" and was traveling to Jamaica. It never occurred to her that I had business in the hotel, did not aspire to be her "girl" and gave less than a damn about her children. She just knew that I was waiting in that hotel lobby for her to come along and offer me a job.

Racism colors all things black as negative. When black people use drugs, it is labeled as inherent and indigenous to the race. We are just a bunch of junkies. When white people deal with drugs, it is a social experience or an experiment, or even mind-expanding. The recent crackdown on drugs in the exclusively white Bellemeade section of Nashville, the exposure of Elvis Presley's drug habit, and the rampant

cocaine dealing of the white middle and upper classes do not carry the negative connotation that drug dealing in black North Nashville, Harlem, Watts or the Southside of Chicago carry.

Racism implies that venereal disease in the black community is different from sexually transmitted diseases of the white community. To my knowledge, these diseases are transmitted by *Neisseria gonococcus* (gonorrhea), *Treponema pallidum* (syphilis) and *Herpes simplex II* (herpes) in both the white and black communities. The latest information shows that these diseases have reached epidemic proportion among white college age young people.

Racism bares its venomous fangs in the form of genocide. In this, the richest country of the world, black babies die at a higher rate than white babies. Washington, D.C., whose population is over 70% black, has the highest infant



mortality rate in the country. There is a higher incidence of hypertension and diabetes among blacks than in the general population. Both maladies can be controlled by diet. Faced with possible cutbacks in school food programs and food stamps, I will not attempt to predict the maladies of this generation of school children.

Black people are much more likely to be subject to crimes of violence. The suicide rate among blacks is climbing. These facts reflect on poor mental and emotional health, direct progeny of racism. Such incidences will increase as social program funding decreases. Systematically my race is being starved, run crazy, made to kill ourselves, our families, our friends and our neighbors. This is systematic genocide.

The politics of racism, subtle and overt, program our black children for failure. School systems label black children early as social or behavioral problem children. Our children are completely frustrated by a system designed on certain entry level behavioral objectives that they have not been exposed to or do not possess. Their inability to deal with this system predisposes them to have behavioral problems. Subsequently, these children are funneled into vocational education programs, mainstreaming them to blue collar status. I highly suspect that many black children are being directed to these programs on general principle alone. A number of my friends have complained to me that white teachers direct black children to become nurses, secretaries and mechanics while telling the white children of the same class to become physicians, executives and astronauts.

While racism cripples our children, it robs us of our men. Our men are psychologically defeated by still not having equal access to jobs or equal pay. The Episcopal Church is a prime example. There is no equal employment opportunity on the local, diocesan or

national levels. At the National Episcopal Church Center, until last year only one black person held a high level executive position — Bishop Richard Martin. Since his retirement, no black presently holds a position on that level. With the exception of the Black Desk and other social ministries, most of the blacks at the Episcopal Church Center hold lower level positions (secretaries). Other than in the Office of Black Ministries, no black women are in charge of programs. Obviously there is no real Affirmative Action Program as far as blacks are concerned. Blacks are summarily discouraged from entering the clergy at the diocesan level with the excuse that there would be no positions available to them upon leaving seminary. This implies that black clergy can only serve black congregations. In these same dioceses, white clergymen and clergywomen are placed with black congregations, effectively blocking positions for black clergymen and clergywomen. Is this equal employment opportunity?

Racism placed a disproportionate number of black men on the battlefield of Vietnam and places them today in disproportionate numbers in prisons. For this reason I cannot support capital punishment. As long as the criminal justice system is weighted as it is, black people will suffer from it more than white people.

So black women's goals and agenda are very different from that of white women. Black women's goals have been defined by our roles, very few of which white women share.

Black women find it very difficult to ally themselves with those who have not been a part of the solution, but a part of the problem. Black women find it extremely difficult to ally themselves with those who say, "We have all suffered the same," when we know it isn't so. Black women find the situation intolerable when we are told (by white women) what we should do in our

struggle, and not asked what *we want to do*. We are being told that apples and oranges are the same, when we can see that they are not. You cannot easily substitute one for the other in a recipe. Their odors are different. They appeal to people differently. *Even a blind person can tell them apart*. Yet, a steady stream of rhetoric is aimed at convincing black women how much alike their lives, experiences, wishes and desires are to those of our step-sisters.

If white women would simply see black women as individuals, not extensions of themselves, but as we (black women) are, with all 57 varieties, perhaps we could begin to speak meaningfully to each other. Until our step-sisters stop superimposing their needs onto us, we have nothing to say to them.

History and memory have made black women more than a little wary of alliances with our step-sisters. In many instances in the past where we have struggled together, when our step-sisters achieved their goals, we were quickly cast aside and forgotten. That's understandable, since our goals were not the same. But we were duped into believing that they were. We are not so easily suckered into that ruse anymore. We really shouldn't have expected you to struggle for what we wanted or needed. It was/is your prerogative to quit. You had/have achieved many of your goals standing on our shoulders and backs. This country was built on our backs. White women have learned well from white men.

So, what is the black women's agenda? Our agenda involves maintaining, strengthening and uplifting our race, our families, our culture and heritage, our men and ourselves. We fight to erase racism. We fight for the right of choice and equal access. This does not imply that we want to be like white people (as has been a basic assumption of desegregation/integration). Black women do not want

or need validation of our humanity from or by white people. Black women have redefined our positions, goals, aspirations and ourselves in our own terms. We have discovered a wealth of resources among ourselves. We single mindedly pursue our agenda. We are experiencing some failures, but enjoying more successes. Anything else takes a backseat.

Unlike the child, Pecola, a character in Toni Morrison's novel, *The Bluest Eye*, black women have discovered that having blue eyes will not solve our problems. Pecola was a jet-black, skinny, ugly, nappy-headed little girl. Everything that could go wrong in

Pecola's life did. She was the butt of all of the schoolyard jokes, no one wanted to sit with her in class, she was raped by her father, etc. In Pecola's class was a fairskinned black girl with hazel colored eyes. The fairskinned girl led a charmed life. People adored her, boys worshipped her, everything went right for her. Pecola's mother worked as a domestic for a white family. In that family was a blue-eyed blond little girl. This little girl was petted, pampered, cooed over and called pet names. She had nothing to worry about. From observing characters like these, Pecola rationalized that blue eyes represented all that was good in life and that if her

eyes magically changed to blue over night, all of her problems would be solved. Pecola even went to a mystic in pursuit of her blue eyes. Having blue eyes will not solve our problems.

Black women have discovered something else voiced in the last lines of the play, *For Colored Girls Who Had Considered Suicide When The Rainbow Was Enough* by Ntozake Shange:

"I found God in myself, I found God in myself.

And I love her so dearly, love her so dearly, Lordy.

I found God in myself."

*Thanks be to God.*

## Bigotry 'Fashionable' Again

by Myrtle Gordon

I am a black woman, wife, mother of three and grandmother of eleven. My particular response is in the area of racism as it affects the black family. Those of you who are mothers as well as all those who have been mothered in such a special, loving relationship, must recognize that our children are as close to our hearts as our relationship with our God, for we have been privileged to give life to them through the birth process. How, then, must we feel when our children are made to feel inferior and second class by so many negative conceptions and misrepresentations?

An African folk tale goes like this: A little African boy went every day to the



Myrtle Gordon

mission school. Each day his father asked, "Son, what did you learn at

school today?" The boy replied, "The missionaries told us, again, that same old weary tale about how the great white hunter kills the lion." The father asked, "What troubles you about that story, son?" The boy replied, "Well, they tell us that the lion is brave and strong — the king of the jungle. So, if this is true, it just seems to me that, *occasionally*, the lion would kill the white hunter!" The father shook his head sadly and said, "Son, until lions learn to write books, that's always the way that story will end."

Hence, black people must tell their own story, both orally and in writing. Traditionally, as much as black people have been "studied," the black family as an institution has not been adequately or objectively investigated. Robert Hill, author of "The Strengths of Black Families," a report undertaken by the National Urban League, states five vital strengths which have served black families well in their struggle to cope

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with American society. These are:

- **STRONG KINSHIP BONDS** where extended family relationships were developed and maintained to care for all black children, from the infamous days of slavery when families were sold apart from each other, up to and including the divisive effects of today's economic pressures on black families.

- **FLEXIBILITY OF FAMILY ROLES** where all members learn to do what is necessary to keep the house in order and to support the family without quibbling about what is woman's work and what is man's work.

- **STRONG RELIGIOUS ORIENTATION** which is characteristic of most black people. This deep core of faith and spirituality has been disparaged by some who would negate every aspect of black life, even the sacred. But it is important to understand that the black church became the one social institution in which blacks were left alone by their oppressors and so it became a socially bonding institution, a political base, and a means of catharsis from the rigors and deprivations of daily life. Not accidentally was the Montgomery bus boycott organized in a black church and converted by a black preacher into the springboard of the major civil rights movement in American history.

- **STRONG WORK ORIENTATION.** From dawn to dusk, in the typical American city, public transportation is overrun with the black working class, going downtown and across town to work; armies of heroic mothers who leave their own homes and children to care for the homes and children of strangers; men and women who work not one, but two or more jobs. (One job at typically low pay scales for blacks will not yield enough income to keep the family going.) One could well wonder, where are all those "lazy" black people one hears so much about? Indeed, black people were the *last* to

come to the welfare rolls and *never* in majority numbers!

- **HIGH ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION.** Hill describes the overwhelming desire of black families from all social, economic, and educational strata, to see their children succeed in the world of formal education or more prestigious occupations than was accomplished by the parent generation. Black families have continued to value education as an equalizing liberator even when racist practices have closed doors and they have had to confront obstacles to learning in spite of "adequate credentials."

I could go on and on, about genocide, about white middle class norms as criterion for viewing black families, about public and private mores that still cannot use a common language to address social traits that are shared by black people and white people alike. In other words, the old "immorality" attributed to black folks (illegitimacy, broken homes, commonlaw marriages, venereal diseases, drug junkies, etc.) has become the "new morality" for white folks (solo parents, parents without partners, drug users, alternative life styles, etc.)

Let me inject here some excerpts from an article entitled, *Bigotry Has Gotten the Signal Again*, by a white columnist writing for an Atlanta newspaper:

"I firmly believe that the majority of people are good, honest, charitable, generous, humanitarian, racially harmonious and imbued with goodwill — right up to the absolute minimum degree that is required of them and not one iota more. . . . Except for the few who are guided by a strong internal moral and ethical compass, most people seem to respond in such matters to external pressures — to follow the course that their society at that moment demands. Laws notwithstanding, it is the public will that determines whether those laws have any effect. The

importance of societal standards affects personal attitudes on strictly moral issues and the individual expression of them.

"For years it has been socially unacceptable to be racist even if bigotries were harbored and only expressed among likeminded people, but that has begun to change now. For some reason, there is less prohibition about airing feelings of prejudice. Somewhere, somehow, people have gotten a signal that it is no longer necessary that we all behave as if we are racially 'liberal,' that we believe in such things as equality and brotherhood. There is an easing of the national campaign for racial equality, a relaxing among businesses of minority hiring and training programs and a closer control of access to power. Reagan's retrenchment on affirmative action and welfare programs that are perceived as being mainly for blacks has given the signal again. A 'conservative' wave is said to have swept the country, so 'liberal' racial attitudes aren't required anymore. A little bigotry is all right again.

"What difference does it make, one might ask, if the more enlightened racial attitudes were only forced and insincere in the first place? A lot. Most of the progress that was made in race relations in this country came while, and because, people were required by societal pressure to behave as though they wanted it. The longer that pressure is relieved, the farther back we will fall, and the longer it will take to regain what is lost. And we should remember that it took hundreds of years to get that far in the first place!"

So you surely must see, along with my black sisters and me, that racism must die so that we all can truly live!

(See Part 2, "Black Women's Agenda," in the March issue of *THE WITNESS* featuring Barbara Harris and Mattie Hopkins.)



Hands Across the Sea

# U.S. Ordains Woman From England

by Suzanne Hiatt

When Elizabeth Canham was ordained Dec. 5, 1981, by the Rt. Rev. John S. Spong, Bishop of Newark, their photos made the front page of the *New York Times*. There was nothing unusual about the ordination of a woman in Newark — 14 women priests already serve in the diocese, and there are more than 500 clergywomen in the Episcopal Church across the nation.

What made the event historical was the nationality of the ordinand. She is English.

Elizabeth Canham is the first woman deacon to transfer from the Church of England to the Episcopal Church in the United States to become a priest.

The Church of England approved the ordination of women to the priesthood

“in principle” six years ago but has not come around to approving it “in practice.” A year ago Ms. Canham came as a deacon to the American Episcopal Church in order to test her vocation to the priesthood. In the normal course of events she has now been ordained priest and is serving as Assistant Rector at St. David’s Church in Kinnelon, N.J. She plans to stay in the United States for several years and to become an active and informed clergy member of her adopted church. But she does plan to return to England some day, and her very presence will challenge the Church of England’s inability to recognize and test the vocations of women.

The present situation is that women priests from the four national Anglican churches that do ordain women (the United States, Canada, New Zealand, Hong Kong) are forbidden to function as priests in parish churches of the

Church of England. Before these four national churches began to ordain women, Anglican priests from abroad were welcome in English churches. However, in 1976 a 19th century law called “the Colonial Clergy Act” was revived. The law states that “colonial” clergy must be licensed to function in the Church of England. The 1976 revision added the regulation that women priests were not to be so licensed. Presumably Ms. Canham will be asked to challenge that law when she returns to England to visit.

Ms. Canham’s ordination was marked by communications from two absent English bishops and the presence and participation of a third, who preached the sermon and joined in the laying on of hands. At the start of the service a letter from the present Bishop of Southwark, The Rt. Rev. Ronald Bowlby, was read. Bishop Bowlby affirmed Ms. Canham’s vocation and in

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**The Rev. Suzanne Hiatt** is currently on sabbatical from Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge, where she is Associate Professor of Pastoral Theology.

general terms pledged his support for her ministry, both in this country and when she returns to England. Ms. Canham comes from Southwark and was ordained a deacon in that diocese in 1978.

A poem written for Ms. Canham by the late Rt. Rev. Colin Winter, exiled Bishop of Namibia and a strong advocate for human rights of all kinds, was also read. The Rt. Rev. Mervyn Stockwood, retired Bishop of Southwark and the bishop who insisted in 1978 that he was ordaining Ms. Canham deacon rather than deaconess, preached and noted in his remarks that he was the first bishop of the Church of England to participate in the ordination of a woman priest.

It was a great occasion for the Diocese of Newark and for Ms. Canham's friends and supporters who made the trip from England to be with her. She was presented for ordination by a number of laypeople and priests from both the Church of England and the Episcopal Church. Among her presenters were two women priests who had been ordained irregularly in Philadelphia and Washington in 1974 and 1975. Anne Hoad, an Englishwoman, was the principal deacon, assisted by Gayle Harris, a Black American deacon. Throughout the service it was clear that both churches were well represented. It was also clear that the American church, especially in the person of Bishop Spong, saw itself as doing something for the Church of England that it is as yet unable and unwilling to do for itself.

As an amateur church historian, I was especially struck by the irony of the situation. The American church had to go to the non-juring bishops of the Church of Scotland for its first bishop. Now, two centuries later, we are quite probably providing the English Church with its first woman priest. I thought of General Pershing's remark when he landed in France with the American



**Elizabeth Canham  
For England, a Priest**

Expeditionary Forces in 1917, "Lafayette, we are here." "Seabury, they are here," I thought to myself as I participated in the ordination.

The ordination was an historic event. Just how it will effect the course of the struggle for the ordination of women in the Church of England is yet to be worked out. Other Englishwomen will be ordained abroad. Kath Burn, an Englishwoman, is in training now in an American seminary and is a postulant

for ordination in an American diocese. Ironically, the second woman ordained priest anywhere in the Anglican communion, the Rev. Joyce Bennett, who was ordained in Hong Kong in 1971, is retired in England now. While she has been honored by Queen Elizabeth with the Order of the British Empire, she is not allowed to function as a priest in England.

There is a debate in the Church of England among supporters of the

## 'Vocation Is Stronger Than Nationalism'

*The Rev. John S. Spong, Bishop of Newark, read the following statement at a press conference before the ordination of Elizabeth Canham:*

**We view this ordination of the Rev. Elizabeth Canham to the priesthood as an exciting event in the life of the entire Anglican Communion. The oppression of women by the church is being countered in our action. The prejudice that seems to demand that women accept the stereotypes created for them by men is being challenged.**

**But more important in this action, a woman's vocation to the priesthood is being affirmed. God calls, and the church tests that call. I can assure you and the leaders of the Anglican Communion all over the world that Elizabeth Canham's call has been tested thoroughly and rigorously.**

**I do hope and pray that this action will call all members of the Anglican Church to end the discriminatory practices that still mark some parts of this worldwide communion. Specifically, I hope the leaders of our mother church, the Church of England, will act quickly to claim for themselves the talent, the treasure, and the enrichment that hundreds of Englishwomen today stand ready to offer their church in the order of priests. If they do not, these women will follow the call of God to other parts of the world, for vocation is a stronger power even than nationalism.**

**Beyond the Anglican Communion, I want to send a signal to Roman Catholic women and Orthodox women that the Christian Church is beginning to hear God calling us all to see the full dimensions of a new humanity that is both male and female. Until that new humanity is affirmed in the priesthood of the church of Jesus Christ, we cannot escape a distorting sexism that will be an increasing source of embarrassment and scandal in the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ.**

ordination of women as to how to proceed. Some advise patience and allowing the debate to continue its slow

course in successive meetings of the church synod. Others support actions such as Ms. Canham's ordination, strictly legal but at least slightly provocative. Still others demonstrate at ordinations of men in England and contemplate action similar to the ordinations in 1974 and 1975 in the American church. Meanwhile, women with priestly vocations and bishops troubled in conscience grow restive, just as they did here nearly 10 years ago.

An English priest here for Ms. Canham's ordination, and thinking about an irregular ordination in England, explained to me that some proponents of women's ordination in England feel that he and his friends are "claiming the wrong bit of history" in supporting her American adventure. The implication is that they are advocating the course by which the ordination of women was won in this country through the controversy over the two irregular ordinations prior to 1976. They are advised to look instead at the history of women's ordination in Canada and New Zealand where everything was done decently and in order. The fact that church leadership was strongly advocating the ordination of women in those two churches, whereas it was not in the American church and is not in England is not taken into account.

The fact is that a growing number of people in the Church of England are claiming the wrong bit of history — our history. Knowing the turbulence of that history as one who helped make it I am anxious for them and wish that the confrontations and heartbreak which lie ahead could be avoided. But at the same time, I am convinced that that history needs to be relived and I rejoice to have our experience acclaimed and affirmed. I welcome Liz Canham as my sister priest in this church and look forward to the day when she will be recognized and her sisters ordained in her own land and church. ■

## The Cost of Discipleship

What you have received  
is what He gave you  
What you know  
and feel is truth  
He has inspired  
that which compels you  
now to leave  
home and hearth and  
loved ones  
He has prepared for you  
you: His strength  
perfected in your weakness:  
Your weakness  
perfect in his strength  
As Deborah was  
a prophetess in Israel  
As Hannah sang out  
her love song  
with liberated heart  
As Mary  
stood immovable  
with sword pierced heart  
in pain wracked  
vigil  
so you must stand —  
you can no other —  
and roll away the stone  
of man-made  
guilt and fears. For  
you are a priest  
forever  
let all acknowledge it  
and recognise the flowering  
of your womanhood  
in each and every priestly deed.

"That which I received  
I also passed on to you . . ."

— Colin Winter

*(The Rt. Rev. Colin Winter, exiled Anglican Bishop of Namibia, wrote the above poem for Elizabeth Canham. He died of a heart attack in November at his London home, at the age of 53. An outspoken opponent of apartheid, he was expelled by South Africa, which continues to administer Namibia in spite of the withdrawal of UN permission to do so. — Eds.)*



# 'Mad Lady' Had Message for Time Present

by Roberta Nobleman

When I was a teenager, there was an elderly lady brought every Sunday into St. John's Church, Tunbridge Wells, England, in a wheelchair. She sat in front, in a large flowery hat festooned with hundreds of dangling safety pins. We called her *The Mad Lady*.

She was marvelously unpredictable. One day she brought a bag of oranges, ate them through the service, and then threw the pits and peel into the collection plate. More disturbing was when she seized the communion wine, drank the entire contents, and then hurled the chalice at the vicar's head. She burst into hysterical laughter. So did I, and was evicted from the church along with a friend. We spent the rest of the service rolling on the church lawn in helpless, wonderful adolescent laughter.

Church became quite dull when the cause of *The Mad Lady's* hysteria was finally revealed. I was there when she delivered an angry diatribe on the entire male priesthood. It seems she would only receive communion at the hands of a woman. A very English compromise was made, and thereafter *The Mad Lady* received her communion from Sister

Barnes, a nun attached to the parish.

I thought of *The Mad Lady* many years later, here in the United States. A man refused communion wine from the chalice I offered. I thought, "He's feeling unworthy, or he's a member of A.A., or a Roman Catholic on a visit." None of the above. He simply did not like to have a woman offering the blood of Jesus Christ who, after all, was a man.

I realized what a profound experience communion is. Watch children's faces, at the communion rail, some giggling, some extra solemn, some filled with wonder, but all overawed by the ritual. In a very deep sense, the communion service is bound up in who we perceive ourselves to be and how we relate to other men and women. The chancel has always been seen to belong to men. See the chancels of our great cathedrals filled with men: bishops, priests, choir boys, all robed and ready, as the female approaches and kneels with outstretched hands. How many women lay readers, new to the job as I, felt somewhat intimidated by the chancel, as though we were trespassing in some Men's Club?

When I shared the chancel last spring with a female priest, I felt a great sense of exhilaration, triumph even, as though we two had, somehow, won through. I thought of the moments of birth,

of quickening, experiences no man can ever know, and yet perhaps the closest we can ever be to that Ground of all Being. The Incarnation touches women differently from men, a kind of compensation for the male Jesus, born into a patriarchal Hebrew society.

A ghostly vision of bare-breasted pagan priestesses, engulfed in steaming incense from ancient times — the spirit of Venus, Diana, Ceres, the witches of Salem and Salisbury — all these we inherit at the altar of Jesus Christ in 1982. "Time Present and Time Past are both perhaps present in Time Future, and Time Future contained in Time Past," said T. S. Eliot. Elaine Pagels, in her book, "The Gnostic Gospels," describes the followers of Valentinus as having all things truly in common. They drew lots for who was to serve the priestly duties that day, and naturally the lots fell equally upon men and women. Our attitude towards this plan may tell us how we feel about men and women and worship in this Time Present, Past and Future.

Now, reflecting back upon the eccentricity of *The Mad Lady* of my youth, I sense that we caught a glimpse even then of an eminently sane and logical outrage at the exclusion of women from the sanctuary.

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**Roberta Nobleman** is a layreader at St. Luke's, Haworth, N.J. and the mother of three children. She is an instructor at Kean College, Union, N.J.



# Freeing Prisoners With the Bible

by Ben Chavis

In the early '70s, as a United Church of Christ minister and field worker, I was organizing black brothers and sisters in North Carolina.

We were working for the rights we knew God intended us to have. But that was more than the state of North Carolina was willing to give. And so nine associates and I had to be framed on false charges of arson.

Our trial was a mockery. The testimony of the chief witnesses was full of contradictions. The charge was patently false. But what did it matter? We were slated for conviction. And the state got what it was after.

Not long after, Amnesty International, after investigating our case, declared us political prisoners. People from around the world pled for our release.

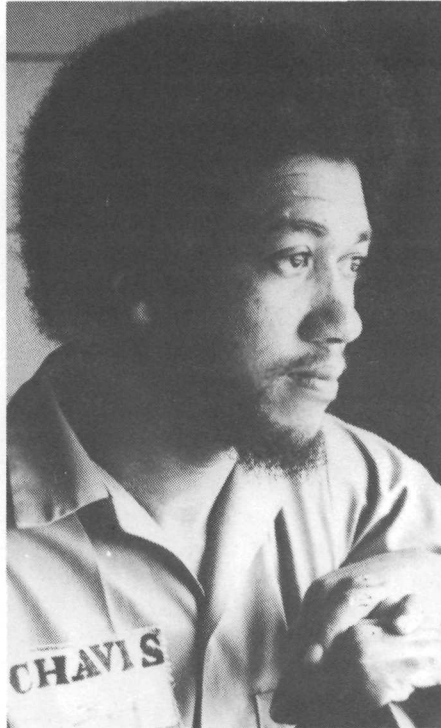
It was to no avail. The state of North Carolina held off my parole till 1979. And the U.S. Department of Justice refused to intervene.

Finally, last December, a federal appeals court quietly overturned our convictions. The court declared what we had known all along: that the charges against us had been totally without foundation.

The four years I spent in prison will never leave me. They showed me the importance of a risking faith. And they reinforced in me the liberating power of the Word.

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Ben Chavis

One incident in particular stands out in my memory. It was 1976 and I had just been transferred to North Carolina's Caledonia State Prison Farm. Now Caledonia is a big plantation-type prison, where prisoners are forced to give their labor to the state for free. Even now, while you're reading this, prisoners are out in the fields at Caledonia. And guards are riding over them with shotguns, just like pharaohs.

Well, shortly after arriving at Caledonia, I met native American prisoners, Spanish-speaking prisoners, white prisoners, and black prisoners — *many* black prisoners. I discovered that they had a small Bible study going, so I asked the prison superintendent if it would be all right if I helped lead it.

At that time, the superintendent's knowledge of what the black church is all about was limited — very limited. "Sure, go ahead," he told me. (The Lord works in mysterious ways!)

Well, I got to work studying the Scriptures, and a strange thing happened. In just three weeks, that little Bible study grew from 30 inmates to 630 inmates! That was most of the prison population, and we had to move the Bible study to the prison cafeteria. In fact, on certain shifts they even had to hire extra guards just to keep a watch on us.

Now I'll be honest with you. I was doing more at the Bible study than just quoting the Scriptures. Of course, there's nothing wrong with quoting the Scriptures — so long as you apply the living Word in your living bodies. When you appropriate the message, you can't help but get strength and determination. You make a channel for the radiance that dwells within the Word. But I was more than quoting. I was applying. And my brothers related to that kind of Bible study.

Let me tell you, Caledonia had a lot of racial problems. And it probably still does. But the Word brought native Americans, blacks, Hispanics, and white prisoners together.

I preached the same message to all. "Even though you're behind bars," I'd say, "you're still a child of God. You have some human rights that no state can take away from you. They are inalienable because they are *God-given*."

And then I told them that we'd have to organize because in the real world, until we organize with power, we'll never have those rights.

The prisoners understood that.

So did the prison superintendent. Not many weeks had gone by when he called me into his office. "Chavis," he said, "the state put you in here for organizing black people."

Well, right off, the first thing I did was to thank him for making that affirmation, because the state had never before admitted the real reason for my imprisonment.

The superintendent, however, wasn't particularly impressed. "Chavis," he continued, "I'm going to give you a direct order."

Now in prison, when you get a direct order it means you have to do whatever the guy says. And if you don't, they throw you in the hole, which is officially called isolation — as if you weren't already isolated enough!

"Don't say anything to those prisoners that's not in the Bible," he growled. "My guards are going to watch you!"

It was all I could do to hold back my smile!

Well, when I got to the Bible study that week, I remembered how David had gone through a lot of trials and tribulations. And I remembered how he had documented a lot of them in the Psalms. So I turned to Psalm 27 and began to read — verbatim: "The Lord is my light and my salvation. Whom shall I fear?" Now the superintendent was sitting right behind me. And he hadn't made a move. So I kept going.

A few lines down, however, I got to where the Psalm talks about what happens to evil doers. I read how in the day of the Lord they will stumble and fall.

As soon as he heard those words, the superintendent jumped up and grabbed the Bible to see if that's what it really said. When he saw that it did, he cleared the hall and sent all the prisoners back to their cells.

And then he ordered me to the hole.

I was sent to isolation not because I

had broken a direct order. I hadn't. I was sent to isolation because the words of Scripture had threatened the prison establishment.

I was reminded of a reality that day. In this evil world, you don't have to break a law to be punished. If you are about the concrete liberation of those who are oppressed, then this world will not let you be free. It will seek to bind you to its ways.

Now all of this happened to me in the same year that a self-professed born again Christian was saying a lot about human rights. The year of his election, the people of North Carolina stripped off my clothes, and they put chains around my ankles, waist, and wrists. They did that, they said, to more effectively throw me in the hole.

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*"Those chains hurt — God knows they hurt! But I was determined not to show any pain. Now as I was walking down the hall, something happened that only God could have arranged. The handcuff on my right wrist came loose."*

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This was no ordinary hole they threw me in. This was one of those fancy ones with sliding electronic doors and all that sort of thing. Let me tell you, they've got some modern holes in this world.

But before they threw me in there, they did one other thing. They took away my Bible.

As I sat in that modern hole with my chains on, I realized that this was not the first time a black man had been put in chains. And it probably wouldn't be the last. But then I remembered that even Jesus had been put in chains. And remembering that gave me strength.

Further, as is so often the case, the world's effort to exercise power boomeranged. Rather than becoming fearful and submissive, the other

prisoners realized that if they did not mobilize, if they did not organize, if they did not analyze their situation and move on it, then they themselves would be thrown in the hole. So even while I was in chains, the movement went on. It multiplied.

This was too much for the authorities. So the prison superintendent got on the loudspeaker and announced to the whole prison that I was being transferred.

Now they don't normally announce when a prisoner is being transferred to another institution. But this superintendent was a hard-core wielder of the world's kind of power. And he was trying to use me to put fear in the other prisoners.

After broadcasting the announcement, the superintendent came to the hole to get me. He gathered my stuff together and gave me some clothes. And then he put the chains back on. Finally, he had all the other prisoners locked up in two large cellblocks that had a central hallway down the middle. The idea was to march me down that hallway in humiliation before all the other prisoners.

The superintendent ordered two guards to take charge of me. One was white, and one was black. But before they marched me through, the superintendent bent down and personally tightened the chains around my ankles. He wanted me to have an expression of pain on my face as I marched in front of the prisoners.

When he had the chains good and tight, the superintendent ordered us to start walking. And those chains hurt — God knows they hurt! But knowing what the superintendent was about, I was determined not to show any pain.

Now as I was walking down the hall, trying to hold back the pain, something happened that only God could have arranged. The handcuff on my right wrist came loose!

I noticed it, of course, right away. But

one of the things you learn in the movement is to have a strategy in mind so that at the most propitious moment you can implement it. I decided that I would wait till I got a little farther down the hall, and then I would raise my fist up in the air. My brothers in the prison, I knew, would understand what it meant. They would see it as an affirmation of struggle, a symbol of solidarity.

And so, just as I reached the middle of the hallway, I raised my fist high in the air and kept on holding it erect.

The prisoners in the cellblock, noticing what I was doing, suddenly stopped playing poker, stopped doing whatever they were doing. Teenage prisoners stopped. Middle-aged prisoners stopped. And even the many, many very old prisoners — some of them almost 100 years old — stopped what they were doing, stopped what they had been doing for years.

And those prisoners, those prisoners that surrounded me in the hallway, risked an administrative write-up. From everywhere, they came up to the bars and raised their fists with me. And in that split second, in that dramatic moment, my two guards — one white and one black — temporarily forgot in whose employ they were. And they, too, raised their fists with me!

It was like a sign, a powerful sign from God that the struggle for freedom will never be defeated. It united us all. It was a sign that the bars and chains of this world will not forever stand.

I know from my experience that day at Caledonia State Prison Farm that there's a power in keeping the faith. There's power in knowing that even when you're going through trial, you *can* stand for what is right. You *can* take the risks.

We need, as a church, to take that risk — much more than we do. No longer can we afford merely to *talk* about a church that's committed to justice. We must risk *being* that church. We must

risk committing ourselves to active struggle on behalf of the poor and oppressed.

I speak from the black perspective and I speak from the perspective of one who has experienced some things that our forebears have experienced, and have experienced some things that probably some of our children will have to experience.

As long as innocent children continue to die in tenement fires, as long as families have to live in winter without heat, hot water and food, as long as people are forced to live with rats and roaches, the Gospel must be heard and judged against the disorder of society, and the church has a responsibility not to point to some way-off eschatological future, but to help them overcome their powerlessness now. The issue for us once again is *survival*. The root problem is human sinfulness which nurtures monopolistic capitalism, aided by racism and abetted by sexism.

The new church, I believe, is envisioned to be an international, ecumenical faith process. I say faith process because if you don't practice your faith you don't have it. The new church is envisioned to be the international, multiracial, ecumenical faith process community from which one receives the inspiration and the motivation to struggle for all of God's people, to transform and revolutionize the world into a holistic human society where universal justice, freedom and peace are a common reality, a concrete reality. This vision comes to life only in those who are committed to an active struggle for the liberation of the poor and oppressed.

The handwriting is on the wall but some can't see it. I'm saying to our white brothers and sisters, those of you who have oppressed your brothers and sisters, allow us to interpret the dream, allow us to interpret the vision because you cannot see it. There is no room in the new church for racism, sexism, or

classism. So the new church by definition must be a prophetic church. A prophetic church is never silent. It is never a non-critical church and it is never a passive church.

What are the tasks of a prophetic church? One of the primary tasks in the 1980s, specifically in the United States, is to help revitalize a mass national freedom movement through the organization and mobilization of the grass roots and the local church. The biggest difference between the 1980s and 1960s is the absence of a visible mass supported freedom movement, led by the oppressed leadership and coalition of all the progressive forces. Lest we forget, it was primarily through the church that Martin Luther King, Jr. successfully organized and mobilized millions of poor people in an activist, militant, and national campaign against racial discrimination, class exploitation and war.

I believe that we can best help our sisters and brothers in Latin America and in other parts of the Americas and in Africa, Asia, and in the native lands, not by making vociferous resolutions of solidarity, but providing the vanguard leadership and direction for a rebuilding of a mass-supported national freedom movement. If we will assume this responsibility, we will not only say that we shall overcome, but that we shall, in fact, be able to overcome. ■

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### Resource

The complete text of Ben Chavis' talk appears in the book, "Theology in the Americas: Detroit II Conference Papers," edited by Cornel West, Caridad Guidote and Margaret Coakley and published by Orbis Books in its Probe Series. Order for \$10 plus \$1 handling from Theology in the Americas, 475 Riverside Drive, Room 1244 AA, New York, N.Y. 10115.

Others in the book include William Tabb, Helen Rodriguez, James Cone, Ed de la Torres, Lolita Lebron, Beverly Harrison, Gustavo Gutierrez, Mike Meyers, Jo Klas, and Wilfredo Velez.

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**Maria Cueto, Steve Guerra (left), and Ricardo Romero take a coffee break between court appearances in Brooklyn. Together with Andres and Julio Rosado, they have refused to testify before a Federal Grand Jury and face possible jail sentences. Guerra is a member of the Board of Directors of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company, publisher of THE WITNESS.**

## Prosecution 'Re-Evaluating' Charges Against Hispanics

by Mary Lou Suhor

The fate of Maria Cueto, Steven Guerra and three other Hispanics subpoenaed before a Federal Grand Jury in Brooklyn must still be described in the subjunctive mood, as THE WITNESS goes to press. (See January WITNESS.)

After two court appearances — Dec. 16 and Jan. 6 — they *could* go to jail on contempt charges for the duration of this Grand Jury, pending Prosecuting Attorney Edward Korman's re-evaluation of the case, or they *could* be released, with charges dropped. A decision was expected about mid-January.

Guerra, Julio and Andres Rosado — all Puerto Ricans — and Ricardo Romero, a Chicano, were cited with contempt after refusing to testify before the Grand Jury Dec. 16. At that time, Cueto was separated from the four men and ordered to appear Jan. 6, when they were scheduled to reappear, expecting sentencing.

In a last minute decision, the prosecution simply processed Cueto on Jan. 6, bringing her litigation up to the others, following her refusal to testify. Then, abruptly, the prosecution told Guerra, who had flown in from California; Romero, from Colorado;

Cueto, from Texas, and the Rosados of New York to return home while the case was being reconsidered.

The five Hispanics have taken the position of non-collaboration, based on their belief that the Grand Jury is being used to disrupt and neutralize their political/community work. All except Guerra have been jailed previously for the same stand.

Guerra, who currently serves on the Episcopal Church Publishing Company Board of Directors, attributed the court's delay to the "quick intervention of the church in this case." Robert C. Potter, Esq., noted Episcopal layman

and Wall Street lawyer, appeared in court Dec. 16 representing Bishops Paul Moore of New York and Francisco Reus-Froylan of Puerto Rico, and the National Council of Churches. He noted that the ministry of the bishops includes ministry to Hispanics, and that they had had privileged communication with some of the defendants who served on the National Commission for Hispanic Affairs of the Episcopal Church, of which Cueto was executive director in 1976.

He also noted that the church was interested in the fate of all five, and as individuals they had the right to express critical views publicly without being challenged for it. All have been outspoken about Puerto Rican independence and the rights of Chicanos and Mexicans.

The Episcopal Church Publishing Company, which publishes *THE WITNESS*, set up a committee last year to inform itself about the issues around Puerto Rican independence, at Guerra's request. The Rev. James Lewis of Charleston, W. Va., is chair; other members are the Rt. Rev. Antonio Ramos, associate director for the Caribbean and Latin America, National Council of Churches; Carman Hunter, Cueto's former supervisor at the Episcopal Church Center, currently with World Education, Inc.; Joan Howarth, Esq., of Oakland, Cal.; and Potter. Hugh C. White is staff liaison to the project. All were in court on Dec. 16 to offer support except for Lewis, whose flight was canceled due to weather conditions.

The Grand Jury, ostensibly, is proceeding on information from Alfredo Mendez, one of the FALN members captured last year, who opted to turn state's evidence. The FALN is an alleged Puerto Rican terrorist group, and the Grand Jury is seeking information about an explosion in Queens in 1978, and related questions concerning fugitives.



**Members of the ECPC Puerto Rican Committee meet to discuss the case of the five Hispanics called before the Grand Jury. Left to right are Robert C. Potter, Carman St. J. Hunter, Hugh C. White, staff liaison, and Joan Howarth. Missing from photo are the Rt. Rev. Antonio Ramos and the Rev. James Lewis.**

Romero, a Chicano activist, pointed out that although the investigation is centered around Puerto Rican concerns, he and Cueto were taking a stand alongside their fellow Hispanics "because we believe that the cause is just."

"It is truly a sacrifice for us, because we are involved in community projects with our own people," he said. "But we believe that Puerto Ricans have a right to speak out and we support Puerto Rican independence. We are two peoples with one struggle for liberation."

Cueto most recently has been working in an adult literacy program in El Paso at Segundo Barrio Center.

Guerra said that the FBI, in calling the Rosados, Romero and Cueto to testify before a Grand Jury for a second

time, were trying to "criminalize Hispanics."

"They appeared surprised when we all showed up in court. Their hope seemed to be that we would not, and then we *would* be criminals. To face jail for a second time is very difficult. There was a buzz in the court when Julio was late; they were hoping he would not appear," Guerra said.

The fact that a person can be re-summoned any number of times to a new Grand Jury points up one of the injustices in the system as presently constituted. Congressional legislation to restructure the Grand Jury has thus far been unsuccessful. Meanwhile, the five Hispanics await the Brooklyn court's decision, aware that each delay ticks off the life seconds of this Grand Jury and shortens their term in jail, should they be sentenced. ■

before the same Grand Jury. All have spoken publicly and openly for Puerto Rican independence.

They do not have the option to resist a subpoena, nor to escape contempt charges for refusing to testify.

One black activist described the situation this way: "You white folks have the choice of fighting the Revolution on Thursdays. We have to struggle to survive every day."

In sum, THE WITNESS, while praising the acts of those who choose to become voices for the voiceless and advocates for the powerless, feels that this is not a place to say, "Vive le difference." Rather, it is an opportunity to reflect prayerfully and rededicate ourselves to the day when the social institutions of this country will function democratically. At the present time, however, when it comes to prison, many are called, but few have the luxury to choose. (M.L.S. and the editors.)

#### Credits

Cover, Beth Seka, adapted from a sculpture, "The Witness," by Valerie Maynard; p. 2, Maynard photo courtesy *Unifilm*; p. 5, Hines photo by Gunter's Studio, Nashville; graphic p. 6, *ISIS International Bulletin*; p. 8, Gordon photo by Torrence Studio, Salisbury, N.C.; graphic p. 10, from Liz Canham's ordination program; photos pp. 17-18, Mary Lou Suhor.

## Glad Subscriber

I am interested in *anything* that stands up to, and challenges, the "Moral Majority." I gladly subscribe to THE WITNESS.

The Rev. John Manola  
Wilmington, Del.

## Simmons Not Guilty

On Dec. 9, 1981, James Simmons, the Muckleshoot/Rogue River Indian accused of killing a white prison guard, was declared not guilty of all charges against him. (See November WITNESS, "Prison Worker's Plea for Native American.") I wish that all of you could have been in the courtroom when the jury brought back this verdict.

So many people have worked towards this victory over the last two and one half years. I would like to thank the people who traveled so far to come to the trial, who donated money to cover expenses, the artists and printers who worked on publicity, the journalists who wrote articles, the musicians and cooks who helped with the benefits, the people who held ceremonies for Jimi and his supporters, the legal workers who volunteered so much time and energy, the people who donated supplies, offered advice, put us up and fed us, and everyone who consistently offered support and prayers.

Many people have asked what will happen now. Jimi Simmons' parole date was originally 1982. He has been held in segregation and isolation, while he awaited trial for over two and one half years. He was informed after the trial that he would be held there for another 30 days. During this time he has not been allowed to participate in the Sacred Sweatlodge ceremonies held in the prison, despite the fact that the legal system found him not guilty. A Sacred Pipe was taken out of his cell and held as "evidence" in his case. The Pipe was never presented during his trial and it still has not been returned to the Brotherhood of American Indians.

We have been informed that the prison administration is going to hold hearings and attempt to transfer James Simmons to another prison, perhaps outside of the state of Washington. We are asking that this be stopped. We all won a victory when James Simmons was found not guilty; now we must cement that victory by insuring that no further retaliation is made.

Karen Rudolph

The Simmons Brothers Defense  
Committee  
Seattle, Wash.

## Statement of Conscience

Our monastic foundation made a statement of conscience on Thanksgiving, 1981, which though controversial is an affirmation of the cause of God. It is a symbolist, mystic-prophet statement which we wish to report as a matter of public record. The monastic chapter decided, in the Name of God, with Jesus in the Spirit to refuse the ministrations (sacramentally) of any deacon, priest or bishop who rejects and denies the validity, regularity, or licity of our sisters who are ordained to the priesthood.

We ask the understanding and help of sympathetic brethren so that we might not be isolated even from the Eucharistic assembly because of reactionary (if veiled) rejection and hate.

Dom Christopher Jones, O.M., Prior  
Transfiguration Retreat Monastery  
Pulaski, Wisc.

## The Old Time Gospel Hour

Printed circuits  
Solid state grace  
Back woods  
White-robed cross burners  
Wield gleaming cleavers  
In televised surgery  
Slicing souls  
To a white bone of hate

Hands washed clean  
With industrial strength blood  
Of black men lynched at midnight

Minds bleached clean  
In the electric glow of preachers'  
Promised forgiveness

Thoughts hard and hairless  
From brains shaved clean  
As a woman's thighs  
Made virginal born again  
Through corrective surgery

— Rod Reinhart



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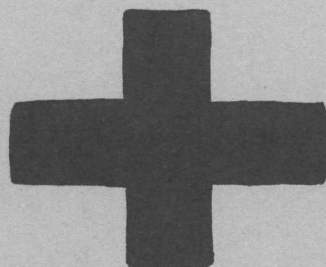


*Part 2*

## **Black Women's Agenda**

**Mattie Hopkins  
Barbara Harris**

**On Rejecting  
God's Agents  
Richard Mansfield**



*Commentary:*

## **Those 'Irregular Ordinations' of Roman Catholic Women**

**Nina Alazraqui  
Carter Heyward  
Flora Keshgegian  
Betty Bone Schiess  
Nancy Hatch Wittig**

**VOL. 65 NO. 3 MARCH, 1982**

# **THE WITNESS**

# LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

## For Automation

An individual — a wealthy investor, a welfare client, a retiree, a child — may consume more than he produces. Society as a whole cannot long consume more than it produces. Farmers must produce wheat before the rest of us can eat bread.

Mechanization or automation increases productivity (the output of goods and services per hour of labor). Computers increase office productivity because computers can search records fast and do arithmetic fast. If the working hours and total employment remain the same, the only way to increase total production is to increase productivity.

Mechanization may reduce the total number of jobs in a particular industry. For example, mechanization in coal-mining between 1910 and 1970 reduced the number of jobs for miners. Because mechanization permitted higher wages for miners, the United Mine Workers did not oppose mechanization.

Automation can reduce employment in one industry without reducing total employment. Building robots provides some employment. If automation reduces prices, consumers can use the extra money to buy more goods and create more jobs in other industries.

Sometimes the alternatives are to modernize the plant, reducing the number of jobs, or to shut down everything. In THE WITNESS, auto makers have been criticized for installing robots, and steel makers for not modernizing their plants. The main reason for modernizing a steel plant is to produce steel with less labor.

Labor unions, by pushing for higher wages, give employers an incentive to automate. A General Motors executive has said, "For each dollar-an-hour wage

increase, we'll install a thousand more robots in our production lines." His purpose is not to punish workers for daring to request a raise, but to make a profit for GM's million, mostly middle-class, stockholders. By encouraging automation unions have contributed to prosperity.

**Richard W. Cole**  
Sharon, Pa.

*(Mr. Cole encourages automation as a social good which more unions ought to affirm, since it increases productivity. But what is happening now is only partly the fault of unions. The "robotization" of heavy industry is accelerating at a furious pace and with projected fatter profits, while millions of workers stand to be automated right out of the workforce in the next decade. This, at a time when the government is with equal swiftness washing its hands of any retraining or regulatory responsibilities. THE WITNESS position is that we should be more worried about the workers, their families and their communities than about GM's stockholders. — Eds.)*

## Liked 'Eurocommunism'

One of the first articles that caught my eye in the November WITNESS was "Eurocommunism, Puzzle to U.S. Leadership." I felt that David Snider's article did an excellent job of presenting in an objective manner information which helps to bring about a better understanding of the political climate of Europe. I was so intrigued with it that I impulsively gave my copy to our minister, to whom I have given a gift subscription for next year. I then realized there were some articles I had not read, and am requesting a duplicate copy.

I am indeed grateful for the way in which you approach many of the critical issues of our day. A truly Christian publication cannot shut its eyes to the widespread suffering in our world and claim to be Christian. I wish that your circulation could be multiplied many times. Your contributors are courageous, thoughtful, and objective

as they deal with the Moral(?) Majority(?) and other political and moral hazards that we encounter in our daily lives.

**Donald L. Tarr**  
Salinas, Cal.

## Responses Revealing

I found the November *Letters* to be exceptionally interesting, especially the notes of either strong objection or strong praise for THE WITNESS.

I could not help but think of the passage in Matthew warning that the coming of Christ into this world is like a sword that will separate people from one another. It is an unsentimental reflection, yet central to the reality of Christian proclamation, and the impact of THE WITNESS and the issues which it demands be given proper attention is surely evidenced by the strong responses of readers.

I continue to appreciate THE WITNESS, as do several others I've introduced to it over the past two years.

**The Rev. Stephen O. Voysey**  
Staten Island, N.Y.

## Misrepresenting Gospel

The Anglican Communion is leading the group of mainline churches that is precipitously losing membership. Yet, the exit is being continuously "greased" by those who misrepresent the Gospel.

The concept of progressive social reform does not exist in the New Testament: In fact, it is obvious that neither Jesus nor his apostles were in the least interested in transforming the social structure of their day. The entire thrust of their teachings was toward inner change within individuals (a process that would, of course, ultimately have its effect on institutions). Yet — we have the clarion call of those (such as THE WITNESS) who constantly disparage government leaders, misinterpret American objectives, and turn the Christian message into some sort of rallying cry for social reform.

Is something being missed? Is the radicalizing of our congregations the

*Continued on page 19*

## THE WITNESS

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# THE WITNESS EDITORIAL

## Facing Up to Realities

**T**he destructive influence of the economic crisis can no longer be neglected by religious and human rights groups in the United States. The crisis cannot be explained away by laying the blame on OPEC and workers' wage demands and big government. The fact that our world is in the midst of creeping stagnation is no longer in doubt. There is increasing evidence that the current economic crisis is likely to come to a head at any time during the next few years.

We must face up to the realities of monopoly and competition, excess production and consumption and the resulting stagnation, idle productive capacity and underinvestment, surplus profits and underconsumption, unemployment and inflation, militarism and imperialism and development and dependence. These are the causes of our problems.

Stagflation, it should be noted, is a new phenomenon. In contrast to the depression of the 1930s when consumer's prices declined by more than 16%, in the 1970s they increased by 86%. Another

critical and distinct factor is the expansion of debt, both public and private, during the past 30 years. Contrary to what most people understand, while public debt has grown 4½ times, private debt has grown 17-fold (four times more rapidly than the public debt.) In the 1970s, corporations and wealthy individuals introduced new forms of gambling such as stock options, interest rate futures, precious metals, and foreign currencies, which spurred on private debt.

Religious and human rights activists have tended to focus on moral issues such as racism, sexism, the arms race and the environment without connecting such critical issues to the economic crisis. Every issue has an economic dimension with moral consequences. To understand the whole truth of any social issue requires that the economic dimension be included. Now is the time for intelligently planned and carefully organized teach-ins and speak-outs that connect the economic crisis of our world with the struggle for peace and justice.

*(H. C. W. and the editors)*

# Roman Catholic Women Who Celebrate Eucharist



As most WITNESS readers are aware, Roman Catholic women have been engaged for some time in a struggle to achieve ordination in their church, spearheaded by their Women's Ordination Conference. In most recent developments, many Catholic women claiming the call of a priestly vocation have been ordained by their communities. The decision was not made lightly, and not without risk.

The Magisterium was threatening excommunication. Reported the *Hartford Courant*, "As far as church officials are concerned, those who take part in a Eucharist without a priest are heretics who have excommunicated themselves and should not be going to Mass." Archbishop John F. Whealon of Hartford, the leader of Connecticut's 1.4 million Catholics, was quoted in the *Courant* as saying, "I would have to tell anyone doing that, if they are Roman Catholic, then they are breaking the canonic rule of the church and in danger of severe punishment."

Many other hard questions emerged: Can and should the community call a woman to full liturgical ministry? Can an ordained minister be kept a secret? Is such a person, validated by a community, solely a priest for that community?

THE WITNESS asked five Episcopalian women priests to comment on the "irregular ordinations" of their Roman Catholic sisters, with regard to theological implications, the issues of authority and validation, and how these actions differ from the first "irregular" Episcopalian women's ordinations.

On the following pages are responses from the Rev. Betty Bone Schiess, a feminist activist priest in the Diocese of Central New York; the Rev. Nina Alazraqui, associate vicar at St. Alban's, Brentwood, Cal., and director of the Centro Consejero Cristiano; the Rev. Flora A. Keshgegian, interim priest at St. Paul's Newton Highlands, Mass., and a doctoral student in theology; the Rev. Carter Heyward, associate professor of theology at Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge; and the Rev. Canon Nancy Hatch Wittig, a feminist priest serving in the Diocese of Newark.



---

# Take Back the Church, Indeed

by Betty Bone Schiess

Ada Maria Isasi-Diaz, of the Women's Ordination Conference, has two recurrent dreams. In the first she does not have to spell her name when she makes a phone call. In the second she wakes one morning to find that *The New York Times* headline reads, "Pope Repents." Of the thousands of Roman Catholic women who join Ada Maria in spirit, hundreds are ready for ordination, some are clearly called to the priesthood by their communities, some are already celebrating the Eucharist. Next October there will be a convention in Cleveland where 5,000 or more women are expected to gather to "take back the church."

They believe, as we do, that to deny ordination to one qualified woman is to deny all women their rightful place in God's creation. Many believe, as we do, that feminist issues are the most important issues of our time, that the church has acted in collusion with other institutions to diminish women, that the church dare not speak to other social issues until it cleans its house vis a vis women, that society cannot change until the church does, so strong is the church's hold on our minds, our hearts and our spirit. Many believe, as we do, that institutional misogyny undermines our faith.

I joined 200 Roman Catholic women as they demonstrated during the last meeting of their bishops in Washington, D.C. Before the demonstration began across from the White House, I had a remarkable conversation with an older nun. For almost a lifetime she had enjoyed the respect of her bishop. They agreed on many things — anti-nuclear efforts, El Salvador, Poland, prison reform, poverty — everything but the ordination of women and birth control. She had terminated her contract to work on women's issues. She was not alone. Other demonstrators had left their dioceses to form new communities, to study for advanced degrees, to work for ordination.

What a demonstration it was! With horns and speeches and new hymns, we marched to the Washington Hilton where bishops peeked from behind curtains to hear women speak from a sound truck about sexism in the church where "women's bodies are seen as evil," where "women are still seen as less than pure during menstruation." "Sexism is a sin. Take back the church," went the litany.



It is hard to tell what effect the demonstration had on the bishops. They may have their curtains drawn permanently. We know from experience that change in the establishment will not be easy, that ecclesiastical overkill is already underway, that the Vatican has intervened in Catholic America in an unprecedented way precisely because women at last are claiming the faith as their own. Hans Kung, who supports the ordination of women and birth control, has had his license to teach revoked; William Callahan of "Priests for Equality" has been silenced; Robert Drinan, the Jesuit supporter of "Freedom of Choice" and the Equal Rights Amendment, has been removed from public office; the Episcopal "dissident" who spoke of the "smell and sound and sight of perversion" during our ordination in 1974 has now been re-ordained by Cardinal Cooke; inquisitions in the guise of seminary reform are underway. One report suggests that "Catholic seminaries in the United States have, in some instances, been seen by church officials as breeding grounds for dissent from official church teaching, especially in the areas of human sexuality and birth control and the volatile issue of the ordination of women." (*UPI*, 9/24/81) Andrew Greeley trivializes the effort to ordain women and Sister Theresa Kane has been criticized for the way she dresses and ignored for her bravery in confronting the Pope.

And we Episcopalians are not so innocent. Having ordained women half way, we now put women's issues on the back burner. We will meet in General Convention and at a gathering of the Coalition of Human Needs in states which have not yet ratified the Equal Rights Amendment. We will speak about hunger and poverty, forgetting that it is women and children who are hungry and poor and that women do not stand a chance until equally protected under the law. At the very least, we could stay away from states which oppose full enfranchisement of women. We seem willing to accept bogus ecumenical excuses as justification for holding back on ordaining women to the priesthood in Great Britain. Our "conscience clause" (allowing bishops to ordain women or not as their conscience directs) remains intact. Our consciences may not. Rebecca West may be right when she says that "men would rather be ruined by one of their own than saved by a woman," and Sally Kempton was certainly right when she said that the "enemy has outposts in our mind."

Never mind. That great sanctifier of human behavior, the church, has been shaken at its roots by women. Neither

popes nor principalities nor the timidity of some, can stop us. I long for the day when Roman Catholic women do not have to celebrate the Eucharist covertly, when the hierarchy repents and says that birth control is a moral imperative, not a sin, when we at last satisfy the ancient promise that we are all one in Christ. But in the meantime, how beautiful it is to see women taking initiative in calling the church to repentance. I rejoice as a woman, as a priest, as a defender of the faith.

\* \* \*

## New Ordinations Pose Hard Questions

by Nina Alazraqui

When the Archbishop of Canterbury placed his hand on my shoulder asking: "My dear, should I call you Father or Mother?" I raised all my 5 feet, 1 inch and smiled: "Your Grace, I have two children. Do, please, call me Mother." It never occurred to me why I was singled out from my fellow priests co-celebrating at the altar. We had all gone to seminary, been duly examined, and were fully and legally ordained together. Why is it that some people assume that the whole issue of women's ordination is either so complicated as to be aligned always with the subjects of power, justice, feminism or frustration or so simplistic as to be worried about how one should be addressed?

Our Roman Catholic sisters' courage and determination to re-examine their relationship with the church is a much broader theological issue than the mere celebration of so-called "irregular" or "clandestine" Eucharists. These issues are not only worthy of their examination, but it behooves Episcopal women priests to study them also.



What is it that our sisters are doing and more importantly, what are they saying by their actions? Is there a new theology of the Eucharist? What is the church, or rather where is the church? Are our sisters merely knocking at the doors of a patriarchal and outdated institution begging to be admitted? Or, rather, like the remnant of true Israelites, are they involved in a process of exodus from a pharaonic system which oppresses both male and female alike?

I remember growing up during the "*Roma locuta, causa finita*" years when the authority of the Magisterium was

unquestioned. Our sisters are saying those years are incompatible with the reality of the adulthood of the world and the personhood of formerly marginalized people. The Vatican Declaration on Women Priests insultingly refers to women "feeling that they have a vocation" and condescendingly recognizes the "nobility" of the attraction and deems it "understanding." In effect, it says that all this could be translated into a genuine vocation if the subjects experiencing those feelings were equipped with male genitalia.

Responding to the call of the Spirit and experiencing the denial of vocation by their church, our sisters have several choices:

- Imitating our own struggle to get themselves irregularly ordained, a futile move in view of their own situation;
- Quietly waiting another 2,000 years (risky considering the prospect of "limited nuclear wars");
- Abandoning the church altogether, or
- Going to the roots of their own tradition and seeking validity there, which they seem to be doing.

These women are saying that their authority resides not at the top of the pyramid, but inside the circle of community of gifts. In procedures similar to those found in the Comunidades de Base springing up everywhere there is oppression, our sisters are breaking bread and acting out their priesthood inside the circle of equality which recognizes the authority of the Giver of gifts.

In the process they are leading the exodus and are determined not to exchange the onions of Egypt for new onions of oppression. They are not knocking at the door, they have left the doors behind; they are not asking for validation, they have gone to the roots and found their authority there. Leaving behind a patriarchal structure with all its idols, these women are now sojourners in the desert, a chosen remnant, a holy people who have adopted, as Mary Daly puts it, a new Trinity of Faith, Hope and Love.

Faith, not as blind acceptance of dogmas and traditions fashioned by centuries of male dominance, but as "ultimate concern." Hope, as a "communal creation of the future" rather than a passive expectation of a change of mind by the Magisterium, and Love, above all Love. The love which dares to challenge structures oppressive of both those who must endure them and those who impose them.

If I am hearing correctly our sisters are also asking us: How free are you? Who still is your authority? Have you merely played with changing structures of oppression by passing through the doors and becoming one with the oppressor?

While congratulating our sisters and rejoicing in their witness let us ponder these issues under the authority of the same Spirit.

# Seeking Equal Rites for Women

by Flora Keshgegian

Soon after the *National Catholic Reporter's* issue on women in the Roman Catholic Church was published, I was co-leading a workshop on women and spirituality. During that workshop, one of the women present introduced herself as the subject of *NCR's* cover story about the woman ordained by her congregation. Mary, as I shall refer to her, told us that she felt enough trust in the group that she chose to share her secret. Her trust was a blessing.

Later on in the workshop, my co-leader and I shared some of our own spiritual journeys. As I did so, I found myself formulating my remarks in relation to Mary and what her presence called up in me. I spoke of my priesthood in the Episcopal Church and how that was not complete somehow as long as my Roman Catholic sisters could not be ordained. I reflected, too, how we women are caught in the conflict between our own visions of God, the church and ministry, and those of the official structures. We claim our own authority, and yet look to the hierarchy for validation. We assume we are accepted, only to come up against another wall of rejection.

It is that on-going reality of oppression and discomfort that is the lot of women priests — whether underground or above ground. Key issues for both Episcopal and Roman Catholic women are ones of authority and validation. What is the nature and locus of authority in the church? Is it the hierarchy that validates me, or God, the community, my community, myself? The issues are similar, but the context is different for Episcopal and Roman Catholic women.

Episcopal women challenged the hierarchy to grant us ordination and in most places in this country and in a few places around the world, we achieved that aim. Authority was conferred upon us in ordination. The church deemed such ordinations valid. Now some of us are discovering that that is not enough. Rejecting the authority of hierarchy alone and the validation of patriarchal structures, we are trying to find ways of living in and around those structures while seeking new forms of priesthood and new sources of validation.

The reverse process seems to be operating with at least some of our Roman Catholic sisters. They have found themselves in communal groupings that recognize and validate their priesthood. These groups are claiming authority to be the church. Yet many of these Roman Catholic women continue to present themselves to the

official church structures in the hopes of being granted ordination.

I wonder sometimes, though, if what they hope for would not in fact invalidate what they already have. Women seeking liberation today are clearly in transition. Part of that process is the need to claim our own authority — not over and against or in isolation from institutions and men — but with enough space of our own to know, name and bless our own beings. That is what it seems to me the Roman Catholic women are doing in their communal groups. I fear the loss of that.

It is only when we women in the church can validate ourselves — truly and fiercely — that we will be free of the church and for the church. Then the issue will be whether the institutional church can be free and authentic enough to respond to Mary and her sisters.

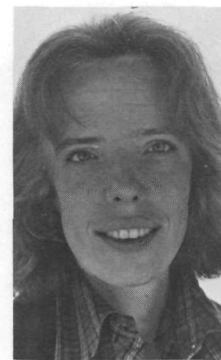
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## Chipping Away At the Rock

by Carter Heyward

As a Christian priest and woman, I rejoice in the integrity, wisdom and courage of my Roman Catholic sisters in their bold response to God's call. Their "extra-canonical" celebrations of the Eucharist constitute a strong *moral* challenge to the Magisterium's traditional exclusion of women from ordained ministry, a stance justified theologically by the sacramental efficacy of Christ's maleness. The traditional position has served the *immoral* effect of symbolizing, and reinforcing, women's "otherness" from Christ.

A legitimate and credible theological response to these sister-celebrations must be rooted in the recognition that *good theology reflects what is actually happening among people, as well as what once happened and what people believe ought to be happening*. The value of history (what once happened) and of our vision of the unfulfilled realm of God (what ought to be happening) is actualized only in relation to human life as we live it now. What this means for Roman Catholic women is that the historical tradition which connects an all-male priesthood with hierarchical authority and sacramental validity has to



be seen theologically in relation to both the contemporary life experiences of women, whose bodies and souls are theologically and morally objectified (objects of men's fears, projections, hatred, doctrines, discipline), *and* the utopic expectation of Christian feminists that, in the realm of God, "no man shall be called Father" (and no woman "Mother"! ) but rather all women and men shall be sisters and brothers in the Spirit.

This suggests that feminist Roman Catholics, both women and men, are obligated — morally (in terms of what is actually right today) — to uphold the traditional teachings and practices of the church *only* insofar as this tradition enhances — positively, constructively — the contemporary situation of women and men: their needs, talents, hungers, calls, as well as their aspirations and expectations for God's realm to break in among us. To idolize tradition is to bow to false gods. To become so wrapped up in our own feelings or our own sense of the present that we lose touch with the past and with the future is to lose the perspective that makes moral choice possible. On the other hand, to understand the past, sorting out its liberative and oppressive dimensions in light of present experience and future hope, is the path of wisdom, the crucible of good theology and tradition as it is being shaped even now by these faithful women and their brothers in the Spirit.

The fact is that Roman Catholic women are *not* full "communicants" of their church. Not in a church in which its celibate male leader, elected by celibate men, declares that only men can be ordained because Jesus Christ was a male. Such men threatening "excommunication" are threatening to murder the dead. Theologically, Roman Catholic women (and perhaps Christian women in general) are not taken seriously as fully human or fully alive persons in Christ. This is orthodoxy, plain and simple. If they are to celebrate their full humanity in Christ, Roman Catholic women have no actual choice except to stand *against* orthodox practice and teaching.

Our sisters and brothers are doing just that in their celebrations of the Eucharist without "benefit" of episcopal hands. They have a far more efficacious benefit: the power of the Holy Spirit which is enlivening communities of faithful women and men, calling for response, demanding action, shattering traditional restraints insofar as they promote injustice, and pushing for a thoroughgoing radicalization of Catholic practice and doctrine.

Of course, the men who rule the Roman Catholic Church *cannot* recognize, much less affirm, what these women are doing without admitting implicitly that a fundamental and huge rock of catholic tradition is crumbling; the rock (I call it "misogyny") which has been historically the cornerstone of clericalism as well as anti-female and anti-sexual

teachings. Our sisters cannot expect to be affirmed by these men. They know that better than I. Happily, their expectation is not for clerical affirmation, but rather for the increase of the realm of God. In this, may they go well — and may the rest of us, especially we Episcopal women priests who are tempted to conform ourselves to an orthodox priesthood, look and see what is happening among our Roman sisters and join them in chipping away at the rock.

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## Institutional Misogyny Undermines Wholeness

by Nancy Hatch Wittig

As I begin to gather and sort out my thoughts on the plight of my Roman Catholic sisters who seek ordination, I am overwhelmed by *deja vu*. How familiar it all sounds and how wearisome it all seems.

I know by heart the arguments pro and con concerning the ordination of women, and I know the feelings they stir up within my soul. On the one hand, the rhetoric seems silly and vacuous. On the other hand, the arguments, whether destructive or noble, are poignantly real. There are of course



a myriad number of theological views being discussed: from tradition to validity, with the question of authority thrown in for good measure. It all seems as "sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal" to one who has so recently crossed the fiery and painful path herself.

A primary question arises, then, amidst the noise of the fray. For what purpose do these women, or does any woman or man, stand up and out of the crowd for recognition by an institution bound to earthly ways? The institutional church's purpose is to transcend human predicaments and to be moving always toward that which is of God. The church's purpose is to proclaim the Good News to all people, without reservation, leaving no person unmoved.

The Good News of Jesus, who is the Christ, calls each of us — man, woman, child — to a wholeness as God's own. We are to be a part of the on-going creation of God. We are to love neighbor as self, bind up the bleeding wounds, comfort the lonely, the sick and the captive, and feed the empty. It is an all-consuming task.

And so the call to priesthood has been heard through the



haze by women. We hear the call and we are responsive. That women should be excluded as a category from this task is ludicrous, destructive, and damning to the body of Christ, whose purpose is to show forth the wholeness of creation. It *does* make a difference then that the institution, a part of the body of Christ, forbids and restricts this calling.

The experience of women sharing with one another our "living" reality has taught us that we have a reality that has been ignored and/or misunderstood by the church as a predominantly male institution. As Christian women, we know this even before we are able to articulate it clearly.

When we become aware of this, we can do no other than want to be a part of and enrich the church's experience and expression toward wholeness. It *does* make a difference, I believe, when a woman opens her hands with her brother to celebrate the Eucharist. It *does* make a difference for God's people to experience and know the wholeness of creation.

We women do believe most earnestly that God has set about, "to create new heavens and a new earth." I can only wish success for my sisters in Christ as they stand upright and glorify God — claiming their inheritance as God's people. ■

## Zapped

*"The only frustration I felt . . . was that my vocabulary was not potent enough." Sonia Johnson, "The Woman Who Talked Back to God", Ms, November, 1981.)*

For all who wish to talk back to God  
singly or in committee,  
some suggestions for improving  
your invective.  
First forswear "----you"  
and all the fecal aspersions  
as trite and all too tasteless.  
In insult as in praise  
the Holy One deserves our best.  
Therefore eschew vulgarity,  
lacerate with literacy,  
impale on images  
bursting like raisins from a Christmas pie.

Say you're as awesome as a worm  
undulating underneath the hearth,  
as glorious as a schoolgirl  
stifling a giggle.  
Say you're as merciful as an overseer  
with a hickory stick;  
your heart is tender like cinderblock.  
Say it  
if you dare to run the risk of  
being zapped into a mess of  
scrambled-eggs-and mushrooms or  
a cinnamon-glazed doughnut  
for God to have for breakfast.

Of course she may invite you in,  
butter you a piece of toast,  
listen and  
give you what you ask.  
There you run the greatest risk of all.  
—Gloria Cushing

## Fate of Hispanics Still in Suspense

The last issue of THE WITNESS left readers hanging in suspense as to the fate of Maria Cueto, Steve Guerra and three other Hispanics subpoenaed before a Federal Grand Jury in Brooklyn. (See "Prosecution Re-evaluating Charges Against Hispanics", February.)

At that time, the prosecuting attorney's office had sent them home while it pondered the jailing of the five, four of whom had served previous sentences for refusing to testify before a previous Grand Jury. At this point, the suspense simply continues to mount. Technically, Cueto, Guerra, Andres and Julio Rosado and Ricardo Romero, who had again refused to testify before the Grand Jury, could be called in and sentenced to jail. But as the WITNESS went to press Feb. 15, no word had been received that the five would be re-summoned.

Neither, however, have their cases been dropped, said Michael Deutsch, attorney for four of the defendants, who remains only "cautiously optimistic" that the prosecution will not proceed with the case.

Deutsch also noted that books and records of the Puerto Rican Cultural Center and the Rafael Cancel Miranda High School and Borinquena College Program in Chicago had been subpoenaed recently. Guerra had been associated with these programs before moving to San Francisco. "These are bank

subpoenas, against which we have no defense," Deutsch said. "The bank has the right not to comply, as in the Cardinal Cody case, but banks usually do."

"The bank subpoenas are an attempt to overturn the tax-exempt status of the school, which currently enjoys a not-for-profit status," Guerra explained. "The school has been in existence since 1973, and has served as the hub for the struggle for democratic rights for the Puerto Rican Community in Chicago," he said.

The Grand Jury investigation has taken its toll in the disruptive effect it has had on the defendants' work in their respective communities. Chicanos Ricardo Romero and Maria Cueto have made three trips from Colorado and two from Texas, respectively, and Guerra, a Puerto Rican, has made three trips from California to answer court summons.

On the positive side, Guerra attributes the fact that the five had not been jailed to the immediate intervention and support of church and community groups. Each day that goes by shortens the life of the present Grand Jury, and therefore the jail sentence of the five, should they be interred. The Brooklyn Grand Jury terminates at the beginning of August of this year. THE WITNESS will continue to monitor the case, as developments warrant.

Shaliach:

# Women As God's Agents

by Richard Mansfield

**W**hen the Son of Man shall come in his glory and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory. And before him shall be gathered all nations: and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divides his sheep from the goats. And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left.

Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, "Come, ye, blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world:

"For I was hungry and you gave me to eat; I was thirsty and you gave me drink; I was a stranger and you took me in; naked and you clothed me. I was sick, and you visited me; I was in prison and you visited me."

Then shall the righteous answer saying, "Lord, when did we see you hungry and feed you? Or thirsty and give you drink? When did we see you a stranger and take you in, or naked and clothe you? Or when did we see you sick or in prison, and visit you?"

And the King shall answer and say, "Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as you have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, you have done it unto me."

— *Matthew 25: 31-40*

**T**he passage from *Matthew 25: 31-46* reminds me of the trips I have made to Israel over the past few years. I remember being struck by the fact that much of life in Palestine has been unchanged since the time of Jesus' ministry. For instance, one sees shepherds in the same dress of Jesus' time, tending their flocks on the hills of Judea. Once when I was walking

through the Kidron Valley just below the walls of Jerusalem, I looked up on the hillside and saw a shepherd tending his flock, but the flock was made up of both white sheep and black goats. I wondered about the Scripture references to separating sheep and goats. Here they seemed to be kept together. I later found out that it was at night that the shepherds separate them, because the sheep with their wool coats could be left unsheltered in the cold winter nights of the Judean hills, but the goats could not survive the cold and had

to be sheltered in the shepherd's tent.

Jesus' examples came from everyday life, but the misinterpretation of Matthew's passage involves the reason for the separation of the sheep and goats, the reason for God's judgment, rather than the judgment itself. Many preachers try to steer away from or gloss over God's judgment, but if we believe in justice at all, we have to believe that God's judgment is real, as real as an everyday fact of life, like the shepherd separating the sheep and the goats. But what is the reason in this passage for

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**The Very Rev. Richard H. Mansfield, Jr.**, is dean of Bexley Hall Seminary, Rochester, New York.

God's judgment? "I was a stranger and you welcomed me or did not welcome me. I was naked and you clothed me or did not clothe me. I was thirsty and you gave me drink or did not give me drink." And in this story, both those who are accepted and those who are rejected say, "When did we do this? We cannot remember." And Jesus answers, "Inasmuch as you have done it unto the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

For many years church preachers and secular humanitarians have used this passage as a piece of ethical teaching, inculcating concern for the victims of famine and oppression and injustice throughout the world. Of course the whole ministry of our Lord points to our calling to minister to the hungry and oppressed, and the whole Gospel points to that necessity. But is this what is really being referred to? Closer examination seems to indicate a more specific concern. The passage is an assertion of a certain Judaic principle in the time of Jesus: Acceptance or rejection of an accredited agent involves the acceptance or rejection of the sender of that agent. It also involves the further assertion that acceptance or rejection of the accredited agent, like the acceptance or rejection of the sender, will be validated at the last judgment. This principle is repeated many times in the Gospels in relationship to Jesus, who was sent by God, and in relation to the disciples sent by Jesus.

The parable of the wicked tenants is probably one of the best known examples of this principle. These wicked tenants refused to give the owner of the vineyard the produce of the vineyard, and so he sent some of his agents to collect what was due him, and the wicked tenants beat the agents and killed others of them. And so finally the owner of the vineyard sent his only son, saying, "Surely they will respect him," but when the wicked tenants saw the son coming, they said, "This is the inheritor,

let's kill him and the inheritance will be ours." In this allegory, it was clear that the owner of the vineyard was God, his Son was Jesus Christ. His agents were his prophets and messengers, and the wicked tenants were the people of God, who rejected God's agents, even God's son. And the story says how those who rejected those that were sent to them were, in turn, rejected by the sender, God.

In the particular passage above, the author of Matthew uses the word "brethren" added to the least of these, which is the tipoff of who is being referred to. This is so even though there



*"Clergy call me looking for a new assistant and they invariably say, 'Our parish isn't ready yet for women.' I used to accept that. No more. Now I ask, 'Why not? How long is it going to take? How much are you trying to bring them along as a leader of that congregation?'"*



were many women disciples of Jesus in those times. So "brethren" referred to women as well as men. Sexist language began a long time ago. But we know that when the Gospel of Matthew records Jesus as saying, "Inasmuch as you have done it unto the least of these my brethren, you have done it unto me," he is talking about what has been done unto his disciples, men and women, the accredited agents sent by him.

So on further examination it seems clear that Jesus is referring to the way the disciples of Jesus are received. They are the ones who are hungry, thirsty, sick, naked, and, as many of them were,

"in prison." Jesus sent them out, as we know, with nothing provided for them. They were completely dependent on those to whom they preached and ministered for their support.

That the passage is limited in this way, not referring to all the world's poor and oppressed but only specifically to Jesus' disciples, may be a disappointment to many, but I think we must interpret the Scriptures as they were intended to be and in the context that they were delivered, or else we preach our own words and not God's and change the basic meaning of revelation. But this interpretation of the passage does not make it any less significant to us today in our lives and in the life of our community of faith, the church. In fact, how some of those who are sent to the church and the world in God's name are received and treated today is a crucial issue for the church.

Now, our seminary — Bexley Hall — is not that different from all the others. Most seminaries have seen a dramatic increase in the number of women preparing for ordination. This presents all the churches represented in our seminary with a tremendous opportunity and problem. Episcopalians were the most recent to allow women to be ordained, but now all the churches represented here face the more difficult problem of the *de facto* discrimination against women. Women face the painful and dehumanizing problems in being received as God's ministers, agents, both in their field work and in their attempts at finding placements after graduation. A woman is told by her field work supervisor, after she has preached, that she should be more feminine in the pulpit or, in other instances, that she is being too sexually provocative. Another one who administers the chalice at communion in her field work parish, has parishioners refuse to receive communion from her.

In most of our polities it is the local

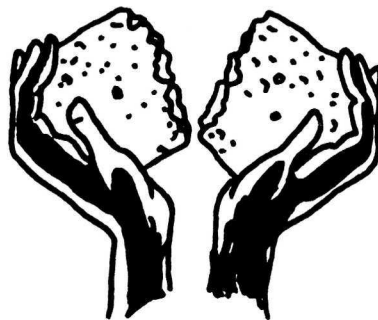
congregation, the pastor and the laity who make the decision on whether to hire a pastor or an assistant. A great majority of them will not even consider interviewing a woman. Clergy call me looking for a new assistant and they invariably say, "Our parish isn't ready yet for women." I used to accept that. No more. Now I ask, "Why not? How long is it going to take? How much are you trying to bring them along as a leader of that congregation?"

The reality of the situation in the Episcopal Church is that there are some assistantships and missions open to women. First placement has not been a problem. Many of the mission churches are open to them because nobody else will go since the mission is not a viable one. And so the woman who goes there is slated for inevitable failure. But when it comes to placing a woman as a rector or head pastor of a self-supporting parish, it is practically impossible. And that is why women who have their seminary degree, have been ordained, and have had experience in the parish ministry, in other words, fully accredited agents of God by the Church of God, are in fact rejected.

It was my hope that the recent struggles of the Episcopal Church over the ordination of women would have raised its consciousness about accepting women and affirming their full personhood in the body of Christ. But alas it seems that many feel that we have somehow taken care of that problem now that we have dealt with the ordination question. The fight over ordination has in fact hidden some of the deeper issues involved in fully accepting women into the body of Christ. We must deal with and fully examine some of the misogynous tendencies of our theological formulations and the sexism in the language of our worship. And in the whole struggle itself, it seems that what was really involved was totally missed

by even some of those who supported the ordination of women. I am infuriated by some of my colleagues who I hear saying over and over again in meetings and from their pulpits that now that we have taken care of the women's issue, we should get on with the *true* mission of the church.

First of all, we have only just begun to deal with the women's issue in the church, but in essence this kind of remark and attitude is the worst kind of putdown: to somehow say and imply that the struggle of the church to accept the full personhood of women is not part, and an essential part, of the true mission of the church. Over and over I



hear how we now need to put all this behind us and get on with ministering to the poor, the friendless, and the needy, as if we should somehow be ashamed that we have wasted our time on some sort of meaningless church infighting. And many of my colleagues use Matthew 25 to justify what is, in their minds, the true mission of the church that we should get back to, when in fact it refers to how God's accredited agents, those who the church has ordained, are received and treated. How can we minister to the oppressed of this world when oppression and discrimination exist in the body of Christ? How can we witness to God's love to the world when we, in fact, reject in many concrete ways the ministry of ordained women in our

own midst?

This to me is why our Lord spoke of God's judgment upon those who did not receive his agents. If we cannot receive God's messengers and their message, then how can we hope to carry it to the rest of this broken world? The struggle for women to be accepted fully in the church has brought a new reality to the judgment of God upon the people of God. This struggle has not been some churchy spat with no meaning to the world, nor has it been an attempt to be trendy by jumping on some secular liberation movement bandwagon. Until we all realize that this issue involves what is basic to our mission and ministry as a church, we will never receive redemption as a church. For make no mistake about it, we all stand under the judgment of God and God's word. There are many things, good things, that contribute to our oneness in Christ as many different denominations, but unfortunately we also share oneness in our failure to measure up to God's calling on this issue.

My hope for the church is that it too can face up to its own oppression of women and deal with both its open and latent sexism, that it will stop trying to justify itself by trivializing the women's issue and listen to the Gospel as we have received it from our Lord Jesus Christ, to realize that we, the church, stand under God's judgment.

The Gospel lesson in Matthew 25: 31-46 says two things, it seems to me. First, that God's judgment is as real as the everyday happenings of our lives, and secondly, that how we receive God's accredited agents has a lot to say about how God receives us, says a lot about our relationship with God. In other words, it calls us to be passionately concerned about justice, both in the church and in the world, and it calls us to witness to God's love and acceptance through how we treat and receive others, especially God's agents, which include our sisters. ■





William Spofford, Sr.



Vida Scudder



Bishop William Scarlett

## Nominations Sought For Three Awards

WITNESS readers are invited to submit nominations for three awards to be presented by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company during the General Convention in New Orleans in September. The awards are named in honor of William Scarlett, Bishop of Missouri from 1930 to 1950; Vida Scudder, prolific writer, educator and social activist, and William Spofford, former editor of THE WITNESS.

Candidates are being sought whose action/involvement has been pointed toward the root causes of oppression, deprivation, and need, and who emulate the courage shown by Scarlett, Scudder, Spofford—who were at the cutting edge of social mission during their lifetimes.

Nominations should be sent to the Rev. Joseph Pelham of ECPC Board of Trustees, 1 Joy St., Boston, Mass., 02108 to be received by April 15.

Brief biographical sketches of the those in whose honor the awards have been named follow:

**Bishop Will Scarlett's** entire ministry was spent on the cutting edge of Christianity's response to the issues of injustice, discrimination and

oppression in the world of men and women. He was a ceaseless battler against the abuse of power, both in the church and in the social order. He coupled this intensity with a profound devotional life which he shared weekly in the Cathedral with the clergy of the Diocese of Missouri and any others who sought it. Bishop Scarlett was the founder of the Church League for Industrial Democracy.

**Vida Scudder** wrote these words in her autobiography, *On Journey* (1937): "For the ultimate source of my socialist convictions was and is Christianity. Unless I were a socialist, I could not honestly be a Christian, and although I was not sure I dared call myself by that name, I could use no other."

Among the several threads running through the story of her life, this is the most persistent. From the time she was confirmed by Phillips Brooks in Boston to her death in 1954, she sought relentlessly to place herself in the arena of social action. Teaching, social work, and writing were her three main competing outlets. To her credit are at least a score of books on socialism, literature, religion, and the saints as well as many poems. St.

Francis, more than Marx, was her mentor as she realized that the poor were leading her closer to the reality she sought in her life and through whom she discovered her own capacity to love.

**William Spofford, Sr.**, noted early editor of THE WITNESS magazine, was an Episcopalian priest who not only made history as an investigative journalist, but was also center stage to bear the brunt of the witchhunting and redbaiting of the '50s.

As a reporter he knew a great many whom the world called "great," but he was nourished as well by his contacts with union organizers, and down-and-outers in various urban Skid Rows. His son, Bill Spofford Jr., wrote, "He had a great grace in opening up a friendly, pastoral conversation with those who served him clams in the Fulton Fish Market or the true believers in the bleachers at Yankee Stadium. I have a hunch that the Christ he knows wasn't clearly divine but was always a Wanderer in the dusty roads, meeting people and trying to make them whole, urging them to await the Kingdom and be actively about the business of building it."

## Black Women's Agenda

THE WITNESS offers the final installment this month of presentations made by four black women who forcefully expressed their distrust of the feminist movement at a national conference of Episcopal women in Indianapolis in November. This issue features major excerpts from presentations by Mattie Hopkins, Chicago educator and noted Episcopal laywoman, and the Rev. Barbara Harris, priest-in-charge at St. Augustine of Hippo Church, Norristown, Pa., and a member of the Episcopal Commission for Black Ministries.

Last month's articles featured educators Dr. Deborah Harmon

Hines of Nashville and Myrtle Gordon of Atlanta.

All four women, under the rubric, the Black Women's Agenda, put forth how they perceived feminist issues as draining energy from the liberation battle of people of color. The presentations were made at the third national conference of the Episcopal Church's Task Force on Women. The Task Force's concern with empowerment of women for ministry leads it to identify and address those personal and structural blocks that inhibit women's full response to the Gospel. Members of the Task Force are Nina Olmedo Alazraqui, Dorothy Brittain, Marge Christie, Carol

Freund, Lynn Glover, Jan Pierce, Vicki Reid, Mary Robert, Carole Jan Lee, Marceline Donaldson, Pat Merchant Park, Babette Prince and Nell Gibson.

In publishing the Black Women's Agenda, THE WITNESS hopes to extend the dialogue begun in Indianapolis to a broader forum. We invite readers to share their views via Letters to the Editor. Cassette tapes of the complete talks, as well as responses, can be ordered from Conference Corder, 3901 Meadows Drive, Suite B-1, Indianapolis, Ind. 46205. (Two tapes, entitled "The Black Women's Agenda," total cost \$9.75.)

## Other Struggles Seducing Blacks

by Mattie Hopkins

Let us take a look at the political, social, and economic results of racism. In "To Hear and To Heed," Dr. Gibson Winter refers to America's being afflicted with a "degenerative disease." That degenerative disease is racism. There are, of course, other "isms" — sexism and classism to name two. But it is racism — the belief in the superiority of one's group over all others, accompanied by the power to exert one's will — that is the ever-present condition of the lives of black people. Please note the dual aspect of racism:



MATTIE HOPKINS

Mattie Hopkins is a member of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company's Board of Directors, a Chicago public school teacher, board member of the Episcopal Urban Caucus, and senior warden of Trinity Episcopal Church, Chicago.

attitude and power. Attitude alone may produce bias or prejudice. It is only when the power is present to exert will

that racism occurs. Therefore, there is no such thing as "black racism." Black prejudice, hate, injustice even. Racism, no!

The history of blacks in America has been one of slavery, three-fifths of a man, no rights which any white person is bound to respect, separate and unequal, last hired-first fired, and triple percentages in unemployment, welfare, poverty, deaths due to poverty-related diseases, self-inflicted and other inflicted crimes. It has been a history of continuous struggle — much failure, some success; one step forward, two steps back.

Although each generation of black folks has moved through the moral suasion phase, the infrastructural dimension of racism has become apparent. We are also aware of the ease

## Part 2

with which we can be seduced into abandoning the fight against racism. From the earliest slave revolutions, through all the movements for liberation in the 19th and 20th centuries, the siren call to fight for the larger causes — world wars, peace, ecology, and now the rights of white women — has haunted us.

Yes, we know that the nuclear arms race is an imbecility that could blow up the whole planet. But if you're black, your stake in the planet isn't that great. All you really care to be certain about is that everybody blows.

Yes, we know that sexism is as tightly woven into the American fabric as is racism. But if all the issues of sexism were settled tomorrow, the degrading, humiliating oppression of racism would continue. It is our experience that every liberating blow struck for black people has magnified as it reverberated upward and outward. Everybody who was oppressed benefitted. On the other hand, everyone else's liberation is at our expense.

Thus when black women come to look at these problems and to set their priorities, a conflict of interest emerges. Sexism is as outrageous a disease among black men as it is among white men. But racism is a disease of white men and women and devastates all our daily lives — both men and women — in ways the battle against sexism alone can never address.

Some political ramifications challenge us today. All over this country new local, state and national maps are being drawn for Congress, state legislatures or city ward districts. Urban areas in the East and the Midwest have lost in population while their suburbs and Southern and Western cities have gained. But the population loss has been from the fleeing white community. In many instances the black population has remained stable or increased a bit. Yet, without exception, every map is being drawn to try to make the lost



-Aegis

representation come from the already under-represented black people.

Now, I ask you, should I be fighting over whether a black man or a black woman should be running, or should my energies be directed to saving the seat? Together we may be able to save the seat. Divided, we shall certainly lose it! Now if somewhere, sometime, the Women's Movement saw the importance of saving representation for black people, some new dynamics might develop. But do not expect that black people — men or women — will accept that a white woman can represent them any better, or even any differently, than a white man.

Poverty plagues the black community. Because of exclusion from the monetary system of this country, just as currencies of African countries are excluded from the monetary systems of the world, a hefty percentage of black people in the so-called "middle class" find themselves employed by one of the branches of government. Thus, when government cuts back, drops programs, refuses bond issues, cuts taxes, the black poor are the first to be hurt and endangered. But also, the black

working person (two weeks from welfare, as the Rev. Jesse Jackson puts it) is hurt and endangered. The lower levels of those hated government bureaucrats are often black people. Black teachers, black social workers, black transit workers, clerks in offices, when laid off are headed for welfare or nowhere.

Concurrently, factories and businesses cut back. We hear great discussions of how productivity must be increased. In simple terms that means how can machines replace people and thus lower the per product cost. Once again the last hired is the first fired.

Then there is the education system to which we as black people have been wedded. For generations it was our upward mobility ladder — the way out. But we did not correctly appraise education either. Education is the reproductive system of society. Through it the *status quo* is maintained. Certain groups are educated for power, others for powerlessness. It maintains the facade of democracy by keeping its lines blurred and indistinguishable, and by allowing a minimum movement among groups and allowing token success from group to group. How can it do this? How can a system that has brought into being a sizeable white middle class of professionals, scientists, theoreticians and politicians, business persons and technocrats, no longer be viable?

The truth is that the education system never lifted up the children of the poor more than a step or two at a time. But the rest of society had a place for them. The illiterate unskilled white workers or farmers could expect their children to become skilled blue collar workers, and the blue collar workers could expect their children to become professionals. And there was still time to acquire land or to create businesses and to build the financial underpinnings for the family.

But racism denied these opportunities to black folk. Land was stolen or

cheated away from our landowners. Jobs were kept at the menial, serving level. Racist unions precluded membership and thus jobs. So education became a must, to jump from illiterate to white collar in one generation, or to be trapped in poverty. Today it is the fashion to scorn public education, to decry its irrelevance, to belittle the teachers. But even though it never did all it was supposed to do, education helped and gave hope. Now with technology and a lowering job market, the aspirations or expectation levels must be lowered. I am always appalled at the stupidity which allows persons who lived through and participated in the 1960s Civil Rights struggle, and who criticize the philosophy, ideas, motivations and/or programs of that era, and blame its demise on one or more of them—rather than on the massive, planned,

governmental and private sector attack on that movement and its leaders to stop it in its track. The police, the FBI, the CIA and the media all worked hand-in hand.

The same massive attack on the education system has been mounted to destroy and discredit public education. And it is in the black community that the options to public education are fewest.

How does one motivate a young black person to go to school when black adults are standing on the streets all day with nowhere to go and nothing to do? Drive through the black section of any city. The hoped-for means of escape have been degraded, the on-level jobs no longer exist, not even the hope is left to carry on. Even so, over the years a larger percentage of black women graduate from high schools and colleges

than do black men. What is black women's quarrel with black men on this score?

And so we develop what John McKnight calls "a useless class." Drugs, prisons, crimes appear as the only alternative to a society which programs blacks that nothing is expected from them, and to expect nothing.

Add to this the resurfacing of blatant public racism — the jokes, the slurs, the names, which for a 10-year period were at least hidden away. Once again top government officials have signalled that this is appropriate behavior. In other words, it's all right to take out the frustrations of one's own life by the traditional method of scapegoating.

So we return to our thesis here. Where is the priority — in what part of the struggle must black women be involved?

## 'You Don't See Most of Us'

by Barbara Harris

Debbie Hines, in her analysis of the Black Women's Agenda, alluded to the problem of racism in the church — the last place where we should be forced to confront this evil and to contend against it. Yet it is here, clothed in the guise of Christian love, that we find some of its most subtle and insidious manifestations. And given the structure of this Episcopal institution in which we claim membership, whites perhaps, tend to feel that the voices of blacks have been least strident and least demanding of their rights. After all, don't we join you in singing, "We are one in the spirit, we are one in the Lord

**The Rev. Barbara Harris** is Vice Chair of the ECPC Board of Directors and priest-in-charge at St. Augustine of Hippo Church, Norristown, Pa.



BARBARA HARRIS

and they'll know we are Christians by our love?" Our voices *have* been both strident and demanding. But you don't

hear many of us because you don't see most of us.

In truth, we have within this Episcopal denomination two churches. One is comprised of white congregations, some with a sprinkling of black members — sometimes enough to give them the appearance of being integrated. The other, the church within the church, is made up of black congregations, which in rare instances, will have an easily identifiable and easily counted, usually on one hand, cadre of white members. Communicant traffic is seldom a two-way street; neither is clergy traffic, except in major urban centers and usually, not even there. We are seen in miniscule numbers at diocesan councils and conventions, diocesan ECW gatherings, deanery and



convocation meetings, and on boards, committees and commissions.

The national picture is even more pitiful, as each succeeding election finds us in a continuing struggle for more than token representation at General Convention, on the Executive Council and in other policy and decision-making bodies of the church. The church seems to reflect the mood of the country as it swings from left or left center to right. Yet, in the quest to claim power I have seen precious few white women radically press to see that that power is shared with blacks. We do not expect it of white men and we are seldom surprised.

So, we're out of sight and thus largely out of mind with regard to the devastating effects of racism on the black church. It is against that backdrop that I would make a few observations about our priorities in this crucial area of our lives. I say crucial because as Myrtle Gordon pointed out, the Christian church is a vital part of our lives and the lives of our families. And let me preface this by saying our well-being in the church is inextricably bound up with the well-being of black men and our black children and our black church. We could look at several areas of the church's life, but I'll focus briefly on just three.

Let us look at evangelism. In the Episcopal Church, historically, where evangelism in its truest form has taken place among blacks, it has been due to the persistence and perseverance of black clergy and some dedicated laity with little or no help from the diocesan or national church structures. Where it has flourished, it has been nurtured in the face of overwhelming odds, but we have seen the rise and development of strong, independent black congregations. In the face of present declining communicant strength, however, we see an emerging mission strategy that makes the church a handmaiden to gentrification as reflected in some

strange and wondrous clergy placements in urban areas that are being reclaimed by whites. On the other hand, we live with the vestiges of white-initiated mission strategies among blacks. This has resulted in a disproportionate number of struggling black congregations, set up for the wrong reasons, programmed for dependence, then written off as having failed their mission. Case in point: the congregation in which I now serve.

Its history reveals that a frail black woman had gathered some other black people in the community around her to worship in an Anglo-Catholic parish in the Norristown community, and they worshipped apart from the whites of the church at a service following the regular service. The rector of the church was distressed by this; this was not right. But



rather than invite blacks into fellowship with the church, on a sunny Easter Sunday, he marched them down to a little plot of land over on the black side of town and said, "I have purchased for you this land on which I will build you a church." So anxious was he to give them *their* church, they broke ground on Easter Sunday, they laid the cornerstone in July and on All Saints' Day, the church and the parish house were open for service.

Recruitment is a problem for us — recruitment of persons for the ordained ministry. There's not much serious recruiting effort going on at the diocesan level to feed potential black clergy into the pipeline. And part of the problem is on our side of the fence as well. Seasoned black clergy cannot in good conscience encourage vocations

among young blacks, when they see no place for them to serve in this church, except to endure the same kind of disadvantages that they have known for many, many years of their ministry — where the maximum salary for black clergy has usually been the minimum norm for any diocese.

Again, as Myrtle has pointed out, traditionally the black church has been the major institution led and controlled by blacks. Black churches have spawned other key institutions in the black community, schools and colleges, burial societies, savings and loan associations and credit unions. I'm speaking of predominantly black denominations: The African Methodist Episcopal Church, The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. This has been true to a much more limited degree in black Episcopal congregations. But such leadership as blacks have exercised in these places is being eroded by the placement of white clergy as vicars and interim priests in charge of these congregations. Invariably, white clergy impose their measurements, their standards and criteria, upon these congregations and the priorities are seldom the same. I have to say that this is particularly true in the case of white women clergy.

For example, inclusive or non-sexist language liturgy and worship would seem to be an overriding and valid concern of white women in the church, and that's all right. But black people don't have any problem relating to "God the Father" or to "His Son." Jesus Christ is not, to us, just heir or firstborn. Given our background where the kingships of Africa were raped and stolen from us, to us he is "King of Kings, Lord of Lords, Jesus Christ the first and last, no man works like him." He is the role model we have to hold up in a community that needs strong male images beyond the "Super Fly" and other characters handed to us by Hollywood. We need the maleness of

Jesus Christ. So, we are too busy trying to reclaim the things of value from the black religious experience to help you rewrite liturgy.

We wish you well. And we're sorry if you feel excluded and put down by "Rise up O Men of God," but to us, that's a challenge for our brothers to come and join us in the struggle. We are busy trying to forge viable communities centered around the one institution from which we possibly can have some direction for our lives and the lives of our community.

Some white women priests are struggling with what they should be called. Some wish to be called "Mother" and that's fine, if you can pull it off in a white setting. But imagine, if you will, a young competent white woman placed in charge of a congregation of middle-aged to elderly predominantly West Indians who are required to call her "Mother." They do it not because they want to but because inherently they respect the clergy role.

One of the functions of the black pastor is that of guidance. As Edward Wimberly says in his slim volume, *Pastoral Care in the Black Church*, "As a symbol in the black church, the black pastor provided affirmation of the fellowship's identity, its purposes, its values and its goals. The black pastor inherited his or her function out of a matrix of social and historical circumstances that made the pastor unique in the entire community. As a symbol, the pastor was supposed to help make life meaningful for the souls under his or her care. As a result of this function, the pastor was expected to help the congregation make some sense out of the chaotic experiences that made life so frustrating" in the black community.

The pastor's task was to bring to bear upon black persons in crisis, and black persons at risk I might add, the ideas and values that traditionally enabled black people to survive in a world of

hostility and oppression. Now I would suggest to you that the expertise for this role was forged in the crucible of the

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## 5 Resolutions on Racism Passed by Conference

**INDIANAPOLIS** — The issue of racism which commanded much of the attention at the third national conference of the Episcopal Church's Task Force on Women was the subject of five conference resolutions, two of which addressed complex questions of the ordained clergy.

The five were passed at the conclusion of the conference at which black and white church women had grappled with the topic "Claiming Our Power." The conference put forth the resolutions as a means of demonstrating the common ground that had been discovered in the exchanges.

Two — directed to the church's Council for the Development of Ministry — urged "that the process of selection and rejection of candidates for ordination be monitored for affirmative action" and that "serious action be taken on both the recruitment of minority persons for ordination and the competition between black clergy and white women clergy for appointed and other positions at local, diocesan and national levels."

The group also asked that the recently-devised "affirmative action" policy, which the Executive Council has accepted in principle, be extended to all church committees.

Two other resolutions praised the National Council of Churches and the church's Standing Commission on Church Music for their sensitivity to both sexist and racist concepts in lectionaries and hymnals.

The final action asked that a planned national conference on racism — sponsored by the Coalition for Human Needs — include one of the black women panelists from the Task Force conference among keynoteers.

—Diocesan Press Service

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black religious experience. Yet, insensitive bishops place a white person in that kind of situation and expect

them to fulfill that role. And for a white clergy person, so placed, to presume to fill that role is ludicrous. This is not to say that white clergy have nothing to offer in a pastoral sense, but what we are saying is that they can't do it in the same way.

Yet, the presumption is that here is a sharp person and this is what they need. "You want a priest, so here's a priest and be quiet." But the person, the white clergy person, if serious about combatting racism — and I say this to white women priests — should refuse that kind of appointment, and tell the bishop to go look for a black person to lead that congregation. But if you're so desperate for your place in the sun that you will be insensitive to the wrongness of your being there, then that's an indication of your complicity in the sin of racism.

Our agenda in the black church is to build strong congregations that are not only centers of worship, but centers of nurture, centers of guidance, centers of leadership development, resources for survival and models of the extended family. We have a parenting function and responsibility, a pastoral care function and responsibility, a crisis intervention function and responsibility and the preaching of good news to the poor, in tangible forms. So do you. But we come at it with different priorities, born out of different needs and different experiences.

Our "box work" (missionary work) is cut out for us, right here at home. And a part of that box work is to equip the saints for the work of the kingdom, including the claiming of our power as people of God in the household of faith.

And in closing, I will leave with you the one bit of lyrical verse I always use in discussing racism with whites, by our poet laureate Langston Hughes. Some of you have heard me use it before. "Seems like what drives me crazy, don't have no 'fect on you, but I'm goin' keep on at it, 'til it drives you crazy too." ■

## Letters . . . Continued from page 2

sole purpose of our faith? Your title — THE WITNESS — should stand for something really meaningful, *i.e.*, encouraging people in their faith. Little wonder that many are becoming disillusioned with religion when they find love twisted into bitterness, success perverted into envy, and a person's salvation taking a back seat to some sort of economic or social "justice." Christianity does not preach a class solidarity that could be used against the rich, but a doctrine of love, faith and reconciliation.

As I see it, you have a golden opportunity to turn those readers — mesmerized with the political scene — back to our most important endeavor: that of witnessing to others the saving grace of Jesus.

**Donald L. Adams**  
Yarmouth Port, Mass.

## Opinion Verified

THE WITNESS was subscribed for me by a cousin, over my objections. It is in every way incompatible with my very serious interest and concern for my country and, of course, my church. I am anti-E.R.A. Phyllis Schaffley is my ideal of a great woman and lady. (I am a member of her Eagle Forum.) I have not sent any money to the National Episcopal Church for 10 years due to its support of Communist organizations, et al. I resent the record of the bishops' "taking the ball and running with it" over the Gallup poll indication that 43% of the laity preferred to keep the book of Common Prayer (intact! or with minor changes.) I am a devout church-goer and faithful to my parish. I wanted it known that I was not remiss in allowing

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my subscription to THE WITNESS to expire. The one year convinced me I was right about my original opinion of it.

**Mary T. Taylor**  
Wilmington, N.C.

## Flower Children in '80s

Reading Miriam Pickett's article, "Where Have All The Flower Children Gone," in a recent issue of THE WITNESS touched a very responsive chord in me. We, too, had moved to a more suburban environment once we had children and we, too, seemed to be caught up in the endless details of raising our children — homework, soccer games, ballet lessons, PTA carnivals.

My friends reinforced my preoccupations, and to a certain extent fueled them. What if my children were the only ones on the block who weren't going to camp and were in city public schools? But, for the sake of my social values, was I denying them experiences they not only deserved, but needed in order to grow up to be happy, well-rounded adults?

These struggles seemed to be taking place in an increasingly hostile environment. It was easy to be idealistic in the '60s because idealism was "in." Now we are in the "supply-side" '80s. The poor are no longer oppressed; they are lazy, using all their energy to defraud the food stamp system. We close schools to build bombs and everyone nods in agreements. Maintaining a social conscience in the '80s is harder because it is truly countercultural.

We are also more practical — trying to raise children certainly does that for you! But we felt isolated in this struggle to maintain a social conscience. We often felt we were one family struggling alone against the tide.

Then we learned of the National Parenting for Peace and Justice Network started by Kathy and Jim McGinnis of the Institute for Peace and Justice in St. Louis. This is a network of families struggling to maintain their social conscience at the same time that they raise their children and try to create affirming environments in their homes.

We found the words to express the meaning we searched for and we were no longer alone in our struggle. There were other families across the country who were trying to do the same things — create priorities that run counter to television advertising and shopping mall materialism; respect all people, whatever their sex, race, or economic class; learn the importance of moving out of ourselves, even out of the security of our own families, to a hurting world.

Miriam Pickett asks: "If only there was a way to galvanize and keep together all those people who cared about the world, the quality of life and future generations. If only there was a way to get people interested again in issues other than personal concerns." The National Parenting for Peace and Justice Network is one way. WITNESS readers interested may write NPPJN, 2913 Locust St., St. Louis, Mo. 63103.

**Wendy Bauers Northup**  
Richmond, Va.

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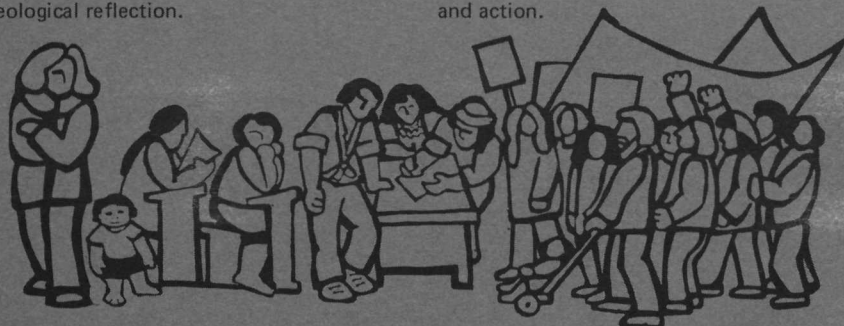
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# THE WITNESS

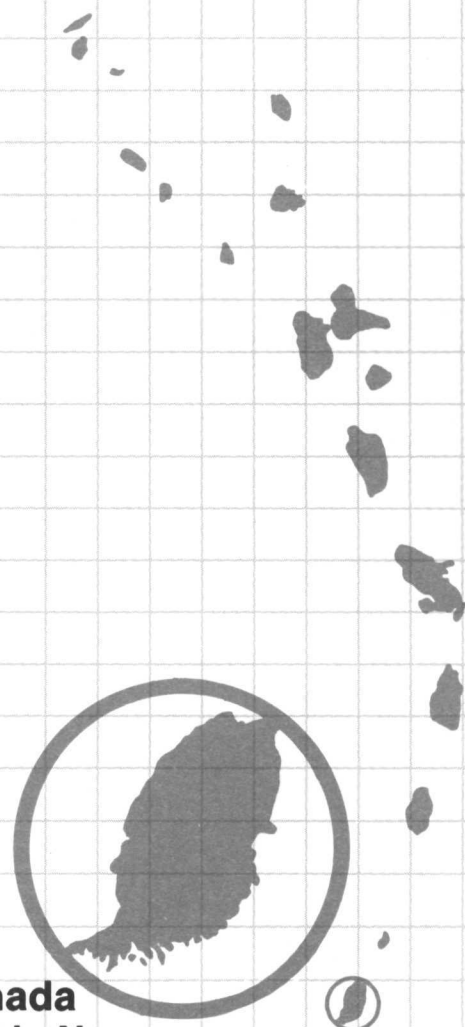
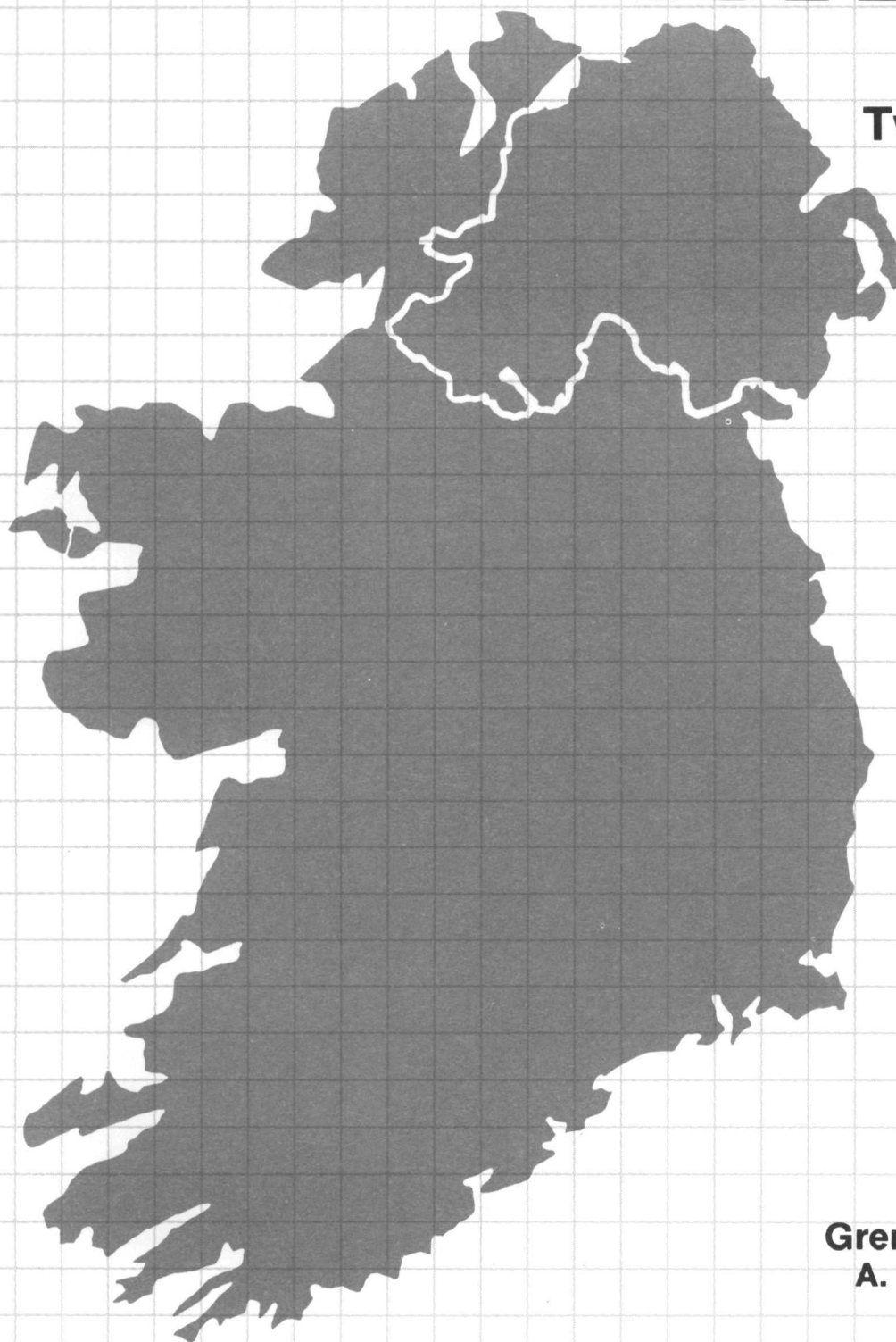
VOL. 65 NO. 4 APRIL, 1982

## Two Islands . . .

**Ireland**

**Mary Condren**

**Nancy Montgomery**



**Grenada**

**A. Lin Neumann**

# LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

## Is WITNESS Serious?

Your magazine is a relatively new periodical in my household. Your professed reason for being, your editorial thrust, and your selection of articles seemed to be a much needed voice in this rather inert church of ours. You gained entrance into my home because of members of your staff such as Robert Dewitt, Hugh White and Joe Pelham and of course H. Coleman McGehee, my canonical bishop.

However, your January issue was very bad, indeed. The article by Charles Hawes, "A Letter From the Country," is so typical of the Episcopal Church's technique of engaging in inner battles while the problem is ignored and most often goes unattended. Ye gods! Are we now going to do battle over who is poorer, those in the city or those in the country? Why not let "Country Charles" drop "City Jack" a note telling him he has no idea of what he speaks, instead of wasting space in the issue?

The article "Should the Church Divorce the State" was extremely amusing. Rev. Wilson insinuates that the real marital mess is tied to the church-state relationship, and uses such terms as *divorce*, *Christian marriage* (whatever that is?) and *civil contracts*. He makes these statements while standing within an archaic church structure that still maintains that marriages are made in heaven; that divorce and remarriage is adulterous; and that annuls marriages (and the children by those unions) in order to live by its own beliefs. Come on! The marriage situation is in a mess, but not because of the state. Let's look at the church's contribution to the mess instead of pointing fingers.

Your editorial was somewhat provocative. The article on "Death

Planning" was old hat. The essay on "Christians and Jews in Context" was a good exercise in clinical therapy. Mary Lou Suhor brought us some news, and Mrs. (Ms.) Wells added a bit of trivia.

Hey! I thought you were serious.

**The Rev. William F. Kehrer**  
Durham, N.C.

## Used Article for Forum

I received for Christmas a subscription to your magazine. I am thoroughly enjoying your publication and have even used your January issue's article on death planning to prepare a public forum on the subject. I look forward to reading future issues.

**Judith M. Kessler**  
Binghamton, N.Y.

## Thoughtful Revolution

Thank you for publishing "Death Planning: What We're Afraid to Ask," by Chuck Meyer in the January issue. My husband and I have been members of the San Diego Memorial Society for approximately 14 years, dating to almost a year after our marriage. Knowing that we had wills, that we knew each other's wishes regarding our burial or cremation, about organ and body donation, has given us a freedom to enjoy life and not worry about the burden of last-minute arrangements.

Belonging to the Memorial Society also helped me greatly when I was called back East to help my mother die. Knowing that final arrangements were made, I was able to focus in, during those 2½ months, on what Rev. Meyer so beautifully says: "Death is also healing." I was better able to handle the grief and to learn the profound lesson that death *is* birth.

As far as the church's handling of death and dying, some educational efforts have been made, but the back of many Sunday church bulletins perhaps explains some of the failure of the church to help people learn to die. The mortuary ads help pay the church's bills.

By the way, I think THE WITNESS is a

great name, contrary to a recent Letter to the Editor. It captures what you're doing and what I pray you will continue to do.

If you and *National Catholic Reporter* and National Public Radio and TV could get together, who knows, we might have a thoughtful revolution!

**Jeanne C. Wulbern**  
San Diego, Cal.

## Building Coffins

Chuck Meyer's article on "Death Planning" raises important issues, but I have found that *awareness* is an insufficient motivator for effective action by the individual, particularly when it involves something we all have to do in the end — die.

I have discovered people most willing to confront their own mortality (discounting easy intellectualizing) when they memorialize their own lives with life-storytelling; i.e., "spiritual legacies". The hidden agenda, of course, is death planning. There have been friends of *Firerose*, my ministry to prepare people for death, who, after videotaping a spiritual legacy, were even able to build their own coffins. That's idea-motivated action!

**The Rev. John W. Bennison**  
San Rafael, Cal.

## Poor Mrs. Job Studied

In the January issue, you printed a meditation on "Poor Mrs. Job," by Abbie Jane Wells. We have used that in one of our study groups, by reading it aloud, and talked about it quite a bit. We would like permission to copy it for our church newsletter.

**Nancy Simons**  
Grace Episcopal Church  
Willoughby, Ohio

## Bennett Not Retired

Contrary to the article, "U.S. Ordains Woman from England" in your February issue, the Rev. Joyce Bennett is not

*Continued on page 19*

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# THE WITNESS EDITORIAL

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## Life in an Unratified Country

How apropos that the countdown campaign for the Equal Rights Amendment coincides in part with the Liturgical period of Lent, for "crucifixion" is not too strong a word to apply to the suffering of many women in this society and worldwide.

Projections are that in the United States by the year 2000 — less than 20 years away — nearly every poor person will be a woman or a child. The National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity calls this condition, *the feminization of poverty*. And when we think of the plight of women and children in Third World countries, we realize, with the poet, that "our star-spangled sorrows are in the kindergarten of the world's woes." But since our economic system deeply influences the world's woes, the feminization of poverty is a profound thought to hold onto as we ponder the fate of the ERA.

Three social factors weigh heavily to tilt the scales, allowing poverty to overtake women and children: economics, racism and

the changing family profile. The ERA addresses all. In our economy, on the average, women are paid 59¢ to every \$1 paid to men. Enter racism, and for Black women, the 59¢ shrinks to 54¢, and for Hispanic women, to 49¢. Today, the average family of four with an employed father, full-time homemaking mother, and two children under 18 describes less than 10% of U.S. households. Unfortunately, many of our laws are based on the assumption that *all* men are breadwinners and *all* women, fulltime homemakers who will never be widowed, divorced or separated from their family.

Support for the ERA goes up 80% when the language is known: "Equality of rights under law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex." Essentially, that is the *full text*. The struggle for equal rights has been obfuscated by the Moral Majority, the Mormon Church and the Phyllis Schlaflys to mean any number of things — unisex, co-ed toilets, co-ed armies. Basically, the ERA is a bread and

*Continued on page 19*

~~~~~  
The response of an Irish woman  
to numerous requests to "help people understand"  
the deep, historical roots  
of the struggle in her native land.  
~~~~~

Ireland:

# A Primeval Drama With Economic, Political Roots

by Mary Condren

In the 12th century, Giraldus Cambrensis, a topographer, wrote an account of his travels in Ireland. He was noted for his hatred of the Irish, and in the course of his work he recounted a conversation with the Archbishop of Cashel. Giraldus had complained to him that the Irish were degenerate, and he drew as his principal evidence the fact that they had not yet produced any martyrs among their prelates "for the church of God." The Irish at that time apparently had a unique capacity to absorb and tolerate diverse religious opinions and even the most vicious of their many conquerors eventually ended up becoming more Irish than the Irish themselves. On this occasion,

however, the Archbishop sensed some fundamental changes, and replied to Giraldus:

*"It is true, that although our nation may seem barbarous, uncivilized and cruel, they have always shewn honour and reverence to their ecclesiastics, and never on any occasion raised their hands against God's saints. But now there is come into our land a people who know how to make martyrs, and have frequently done it. Henceforth Ireland will have its martyrs, as well as other countries."*

The Archbishop was referring to the first British invasion and his words were an ominous foreboding of events to come.

Here, I will try to give a brief overview of the historical events which have led to the present situation, a situation which alternately shocks, mystifies and compels the world to

participate in what has almost become a *primeval* drama. It is my response, as an Irish woman, to the numerous requests I get from people to "help them understand."

Before the arrival of the British, Ireland was governed by what is known as the Brehon Laws. These laws are still a source of wonder to contemporary legislators for their remarkable humanity, common sense and compassion towards offenders. Unlike Roman laws, they were pragmatic rather than principled; inductive rather than deductive. The emphasis was always on the rights of the offender, and insofar as punishment existed it was aimed at re-absorbing the offender back into the life of the community and repairing any damage that his or her act might have caused. The basis for this was the understanding that the individual was part of a wider social network, beginning with his or her

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family and extending outwards. An individual offense was a sign of a deeper malaise. As such, this malaise would have to be rectified as well as the specific act for which compensation might be necessary. The awareness of the family's duties and responsibilities was the basis for stability, rather than a hierarchical or centralized form of power as we know it.

In Brehon law, there was no such thing as an illegitimate child. All children were cared for automatically in the social structure and their rights were recognized. It was probably this awareness that prompted Bernadette Devlin to retort, when asked about the morality of her bearing an "illegitimate" child: "There is no such thing as an illegitimate child. There are only illegitimate parents."

The respect accorded to women's rights was such that in the 17th century Sir John Davies, writing on *Why the Irish are So Hard to Conquer*, concluded that one of the main reasons was that:

*"The wives of Irish lords and chieftains claim to have sole property in a certain portion of the goods during coverture with the power to dispose of such goods without the assent of their husbands; therefore it was resolved and declared by all the (English) judges that the property of such goods should be adjudged to be in the husbands and not in the wives as the (English) common law is in such cases."*

The process of overthrowing the ancient Irish system began in the 12th century with the first invasions from England, but it was not until the 19th century that the full implications of British rule became apparent. One of the incredible ironies of the present situation, characterized as the "War Between Catholics and Protestants" is that few people in Ireland are aware that the first invaders had the support of the then Roman hierarchy and the full sanction of the Pope. Pope Adrian IV

gave permission to King Henry II to go into Ireland and extract from its population the payment of what has become known as Peter's Pence. In writing to Henry, Pope Adrian asked that he take care that "the evil customs of that country may be abolished and that the barbarous nation, reckoned Christian only in name, may through your care assume the beauty of good morals, and that the church there, hitherto disordered, may be set in order and the people may henceforth through you attain the reality, as well as the name of the Christian profession."

Ireland's religious and political fortune was so intricately tied up with England that when the Reformation break with Rome took place, the Catholic Church of Ireland was effectively dispossessed and the tithe was now paid to the "Established

Church," the Church of Ireland, the Irish version of Anglicanism. The payment of this tithe, levied largely on the small scale tillage farmers, was a considerable source of anger to the Irish as late as the 19th century. The tithes had to be paid, for instance, even in the Penal Days, so-called because it was a capital offense for a Catholic priest to be caught celebrating the Mass. The Irish were forbidden to speak the Irish language and in a desperate attempt to retain some control over the propagation of their culture, Irish children were educated literally in "hedge" schools — supremely portable institutions which could be dismantled upon the approach of the English bailiffs.

Ireland's relationship with England is a classic case study in the mechanisms of colonization. Not content with wiping



**Irish activist Bernadette Devlin McAliskey addresses a rally for the hunger strikers, organized by the National H-Block Armagh Committee.** Photo: © Derek Speirs (Report)

out the Irish language and attempting to proscribe the Irish religion, the English abolished the Brehon system of land-holding. In this system land was held by the entire tribe and was equally available for any member of the tribe to use. The English brought in settlers and gave them large tracts of land in return for favors, mostly war-prizes. In the North of Ireland, or Ulster, the settlers were predominantly Scotch Presbyterian, the ancestors of today's Ulster Protestants. Elsewhere the British operated by cultivating the typical dependency elites, including some members of the Irish aristocracy who could be counted on to protect the interests of the English in return for their own protection from native Irish rebellion.

American-Irish mythology usually claims that it was the Great Famine which finally struck a mortal blow to the Irish way of life when a million people died and millions of others were forced to emigrate to America and elsewhere. However, contemporary social historians point out that the massive emigration had started long before the Famine, when English landlords were trying to clear the land of the small scale tillage farmers. This was in order to make way for large scale pastoral farming in response to the English need for food in the birth of the English Industrial Revolution.

Irish agricultural methods were forced to switch back and forth recklessly in response to those changing needs, without regard for the widespread social disruption which it caused. Small scale farmers unable to pay the rent on what had previously been their own property, were now summarily evicted and left to wander the roads, emigrate or die. The Great Famine of 1845-1848 put the final blow to Irish morale as the starving people were forced to watch large ships leaving Irish harbors, laden with food extracted from the peasantry to pay

their rents.

The extent of Ireland's forced dependence upon England at this time can be illustrated with reference to a proposal on the part of Sir William Petty, an English official who seriously suggested that the whole population of Ireland should be cleared with the exception of some cattle farmers who would be left to take care of the cattle and sheep needed to feed England's rising population.

The current strife between Catholics and Protestants is a source of mystification in this ecumenical world. However, deep-seated analysis will reveal that the divisions have economic and political roots and there is even evidence to suggest that the ecumenical movement was well under way in Ireland in the 19th century. At the funeral of a Protestant Vicar General, the Roman Catholic clergy, with their titular bishop at their head, walked in procession, as far as the entrance of the west door of the cathedral, arm-in-arm with their Protestant brethren. During the serious illness of a Protestant Archbishop, Dr. Jebb, the Catholic faithful were exhorted:

*"Let us fall now upon our knees, for the good bishop of Limerick. None before has done as he has done for the poor. Never will they have such another benefactor."*

Apparently few Catholic priests had doubts about the validity of Anglican orders. There is one report of a Catholic priest walking along with a Protestant bishop. Upon leaving him, he bent his knee, as to his own ecclesiastical superior. However, the kindly Dr. Jebb was not so liberal with regard to the possibility of the Roman Catholics retaining any measure of political power:

*"My conviction is unalterable, that the worst consequences, civil and political to England and to Ireland, must result from admitting, under any modification, the Roman Catholic*

*body or any part of it to political power."*

Even within the 18th and 19th century struggle for Irish nationalism, Protestants played a major part. The legendary Protestant Wolfe Tone, in 1790, argued that the old divisions between Catholics and Protestants should be put aside in order that they might work jointly to break the stranglehold which England had on Ireland. Immediately prior to the 1916 Rising in Dublin, Protestants and Catholics walked the streets together in common chorus, demanding just wages, under the leadership of Jim Larkin.

This co-operation was rudely shattered by the old colonialist mechanism, divide and conquer, when the Protestants were given marginal advances over the Catholics in return for their support of the dependency elite through the mechanism of the Masonic Orange Order. To this day, the Orange Order can be counted upon to sabotage any efforts at co-operation between North and South, Protestant and Catholic, in the interest of maintaining their own supremacy in an increasingly scorched patch of earth, Northern Ireland. The parallel between the white settlers of Rhodesia and Northern Ireland would be complete, were it not for the fact that the majority of the "settlers," the Protestants, like their Catholic neighbors, live in relative poverty. Their hopelessness finds relief in the periodic chanting of ancient Protestant supremacist mythologies.

Ireland is now divided into two parts. The Twenty-Six Counties are in the South of Ireland, and the Six Counties are those which comprise Northern Ireland. Catholics are in a 95% majority in the South, while in the North the ratio is 60% to 40% in favor of Protestants. With a rising birth rate among Catholics, Protestants endure the ever present fear of being marginalized or obliterated. In addition, their political usefulness to

Britain has long since passed. To this situation, they react with all the violence and fear of an endangered species. In the last 50 years this has included such means as gerrymandering political boundaries so that even in predominantly Catholic areas, Protestant leaders would be returned to power. In addition, Catholics were often denied access to jobs, housing and political representation.

This situation has lifted up such Catholics as Bernadette Devlin. As a child, she saw her father for two weeks of each year when he returned from his job in Scotland for their annual holidays. At nine years of age, she saw him for the last time. Shortly after he waved goodbye after his annual journey home, he collapsed and died on the emigrant ship.

One of the reasons why the situation is so hard to understand, for outsiders, is that for Protestants the struggle takes on the character of a religious war because their political identity is

integrally tied up with their religion. To be united with the Twenty-Six Counties would be to be swallowed up in a predominantly Catholic state. For Catholics, the problem is different. Insofar as it is a religious war, the god in this case is Mother Ireland. Reunification would solve all ills. Recent studies show that this theme is one which runs right through the poetry of the 1916 leaders of the Rising, a Rising in which many of them expected to lose their lives. Their blood-sacrifice aroused the Irish population to stand behind the previously unpopular political agitators.

It is precisely this mentality which was behind the recent hunger strikes. Without in any way wishing to disparage the validity of many of the requests which the hunger strikers were making, and their courage in so doing, I think it is important to understand that they were drawing on a religious tradition deeply rooted in the Irish psyche.

In many ways their "religion" has solid grounding. Never in the history of Anglo-Irish relations has England conceded anything, without the loss of life on the part of Ireland's most idealistic youth.

Articles like this should end on a hopeful note. Unfortunately, no such optimism is possible on my part. We are no nearer a solution now than 13 years ago when the Civil Rights movement started, a movement which awoke the half-buried corpses of Orangeism and Republicanism, and was quickly swallowed up. There are many who see some hope in the possibility of a socialist Ireland organized on a federal basis. The federation would take in the four provinces of Ireland — Ulster, Connaught, Munster and Leinster — the famous "Four Green Fields."

A socialist Ireland would be far more in keeping with the pre-colonial structures and, I would go so far as to say, with the Irish mentality. Such a

possibility would be fiercely resisted by those who in their own words "have taken Ireland into the 20th century." The 20th century in this case means being tied up with international capitalism and in particular with Ireland losing her neutral status in world warfare and becoming a member of N.A.T.O. Western Europe, and indeed America, could not tolerate the possibility of a bastion of socialism on the edge of Europe.

The fate of Ireland once again becomes intricately connected to interests other than her own — the "Russian Threat" performing the same role as the 12th century Pope, dragging Ireland unwillingly into "civilization." Is it any wonder that the most popular song to be sung in Ireland in the last 13 years, ends with the lines:

*When apples still grow in  
November,*

*When blossoms still fall from each  
tree.*

*When leaves are still green in  
December.*

*'Tis then that our land will be  
free."*

The 12th century Archbishop who spoke of martyrdom, could not possibly have foreseen to what extent, and for how long, his prophecy would be realized. The para-military groups of Catholic and Protestant persuasion are only the tip of the iceberg. The legacy of colonialism has left all the typical traits of victimization, the hatred of the oppressor turned in by the oppressed, against themselves. In this situation, despair, cynicism, and acts of desperation substitute for the concrete political realization of specific goals. England may well, in future years, withdraw physically and militarily from Ireland, after her economic interests have been assured. But it will take centuries after that for the deep wounds inflicted by her on Irish culture to heal. In the meantime, Ireland will continue to have her martyrs. ■



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"A British friend told me,  
'Northern Ireland is our Vietnam.'"  
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# Needed: The Conference Table

by Nancy S. Montgomery

## Four Green Fields

*"What did I have? said the wise old woman.*

*What did I have? that wise old woman did say.*

*I had four green fields, each of them a jewel.*

*The strangers came and tried to take them from me . . ."*

© 1980 Keady Music Company

The poignant words of the modern folk song by Irish composer/performer Tommy Makem have become a rallying anthem for the movement to unite the north and the south of that lovely green island made up of that part of Great Britain known as Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. Other verses speak of blood and bondage and the "wise old woman" cries for her children who starved and calls on her sons' sons to bring them all together again.

The wise old woman is Ireland, of course, and the four green fields are the four provinces. Only Ulster remains a part of Great Britain, separated from the rest of Ireland by the treaty that brought hard-won independence to the republic in 1922.

The emotionally charged problem of a divided Ireland was never far from my

thoughts or from conversations that I had during my trip last summer to that beautiful country. Two of the hunger-strikers in the Maze prison H-block in Northern Ireland died during my visit; the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne — July 12 — took place then. (King William of Orange, who was Protestant, defeated the Irish Earls in a definitive battle which helped bring all Ireland under British rule for the following two centuries.) The date of that battle, still celebrated by Orangemen of the north with parades and drums, mock skirmishes with soldiers in costume, was 1691. Almost 300 years ago, but fresh to the Irish people. Americans have a hard time understanding this concept of history; ours had barely begun then.

On the day after the marches and celebrations, the *Irish Times* in Dublin said, in an editorial: "Unionists or Nationalists, we cannot remain forever prisoners of our history and our myths. The British political and military presence in this island is finite. In the end, we will all have to come to terms with ourselves. We may bewail generations, even centuries of misfortunes and wrong turnings, but we have to start somewhere.

"We can start — and so can the British — by abjuring every kind of

violence and ending the dreadful procession of ghastly and needless deaths . . . Let the British show the humanity and flexibility demanded of them; but let the IRA (Irish Republican Army) learn the futility of the violence they inflict and lay down their guns.

"The guns of the Boyne still sound too loudly today. The question of Ireland will not be settled on the battlefield but at the conference table and it is high time that conference table was brought back into play."

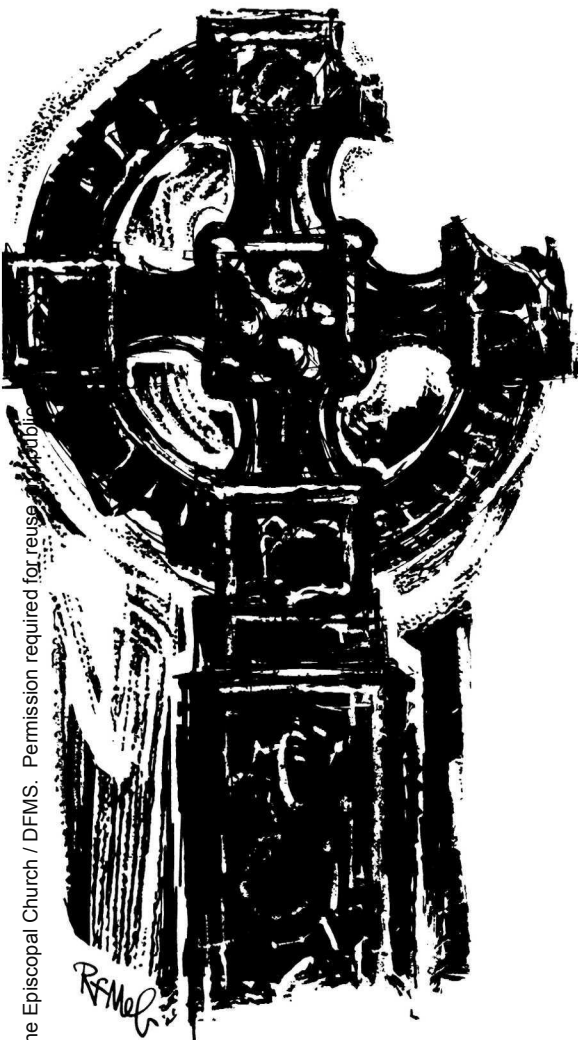
Everywhere I went, everyone with whom I spoke, both North and South, echoed this same sentiment. There must be an end to the violence, to the bloodshed, to "the open wound that is Northern Ireland," as one Dublin newspaperman characterized it.

In Enniskillen in Northern Ireland I saw British soldiers in full battle dress patrolling in trios. The soldier on point at the front had his automatic weapon at the ready across his chest. He walked facing front for three steps, then facing backward for three; the man in the middle faced the street in a sort of sideways sidle and then turned to face the houses; the man at the rear moved from side-to-side covering the whole width of the street with his arcing gun as they progressed. When they reached an

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intersection they deployed, crouching low to run across the street. And all this time women did their Friday afternoon marketing and a group of tourists looked on from a bus stuck in traffic.

The tour guide explained, "Oh, the terrorists blew up a bridge near here last week and what with the anniversary of the Boyne coming up, they're taking no chances. The British soldiers are the ones that get it, don't you know."

A British friend of mine had stated the same thing some weeks before as he and I discussed Northern Ireland and the responsibility felt by the British people to that terrorist-stricken segment of the United Kingdom.

"It's our Vietnam," he said. "If one of my three sons were called up to serve

there, I'd send him to Canada or Australia. There's no reason for our chaps to keep on; it's a stupid waste."

Two weeks in the south, peaceful and prosperous as it is, had not prepared me for the harsh differences one could see in the north. Just a few of the contrasts: the Republic of Ireland is enjoying a prosperity that shines in the eyes of well-fed people basking in the economic upturn that followed their joining the European Economic Community; Northern Ireland lost its last major manufacturing industry which closed in late July. Unemployment there now reaches close to 50% in some parts. For persons under 25 in the hard-hit industrial areas it is well over that figure. It would seem obvious that foreign capital is not going to invest in a country where terrorist guerrilla activity can bring whole cities to a halt. And, despite an annual investment of 1.2 billion pounds by Britain, Ulster's economic future is grim, while the two major industries in the south, agriculture and tourism, are booming and foreign investments grow steadily.

One foreign investment that citizens of both countries deplore is the money sent by Americans to the Provisional IRA, money which is used to buy weapons and explosives. Individuals on both sides of the border begged for greater understanding by Americans, especially those of Irish ancestry.

"The Provos (the Provisional Irish Republican Army) are *not* the old IRA," one Roman Catholic Dublin resident said to me. "They are terrorists, anarchists even. Americans have romantic dreams of the old days when the IRA were fighting the British for Irish freedom. These people are not the same. And they would soon have to stop the shootings and bombings were it not for the money that comes from America."

The only light that shines on the horizon in these dark and troubled days for both Irelands comes from the young

people. A nurse on her way back to Belfast after a holiday in the south explained to me that she and her friends enjoyed the friendship of Roman Catholics in their age group and that "Many of the old prejudices our parents hold" simply did not exist for her. In the south a handsome young Roman Catholic engineer and his beautiful pregnant wife told me how they longed for peace, for reconciliation, and they also said that they felt the old myths of anti-northern, anti-Protestant feeling were rapidly fading away. When the singers in the pub where we sat and talked after dinner began the familiar "Four Green Fields," the voices of my new young friends joined with the others in the plaintive tune.

The Right Rev. Robert H. A. Eames, Anglican Bishop of Down and Dromore in the north, during his visit to this country in the spring, reiterated a plea that I heard many times last summer.

"If Americans want to help Ireland, please do it through a bona fide, worthwhile organization such as Friends of Ireland, not through a group which will feed the terrorists. We are striving for peace and reconciliation, please help us with your prayers."

It is disarmingly easy to talk to Irish people; a smile and a nod, a request for help with a map and you've made a new friend. They will talk with humor on any topic. But they are intensely serious on every level of age, class or educational background about the schism between North and South and about the small number who hold the two countries apart. They speak wistfully of reconciliation and reunion, recognizing the complex cultural and economic differences which exist. Their main hope is that slowly both countries will realize that together they can be stronger and wealthier than they could ever be apart.

*"Then my four green fields will bloom in the sun once more."* ■

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# Grenada: A Revolution A Republican Tourist Could Love

by A. Lin Neumann

*T*iny as Grenada is, it merited mention in President Reagan's speech before the Organization of American States recently, when he announced the Administration's Caribbean Basin initiative. He characterized Grenada, along with Cuba and Nicaragua, as being part of the "tightening grip of the totalitarian left" in the region.

*In a recent visit to the Island-nation, this reporter saw little evidence to bolster the claim that Grenada had become "totalitarian." No restrictions were placed on my movement, individuals were free to criticize the government, soldiers were not seen in the streets. If Grenadians offend the Administration, it would appear that it is because of their relations with Cuba and their strong anti-imperialist rhetoric. — A.L.N.*

Grenadians like to call it the "big revolution in a small country." The Department of State sees it as "in fact a Cuban client state." A businessman on the island referred to it as "Most needed — before no one paid any heed to the needs of the country."

"It" is the revolutionary transformation being attempted in Grenada. Beginning with an essentially bloodless coup on March 13, 1979, this island-nation with an area of 133 square miles and 110,000 people, has become a

focal point of change in the English-speaking Caribbean. As the first revolution in the Black Caribbean, its importance many times outstrips its size.

Before the "revo," as the Grenadians call it, the island was little more than a spice station in the British Commonwealth, noted for lush, pristine beach resorts and the idiosyncratic rule of Sir Eric Gairy. Gairy, to whom the British turned over the reins of power following independence in 1974, brooked no opposition to his rule and allowed the economy to wallow in stagnation. One conservative foreign hotel owner said, "I think everyone was happy when Gairy was kicked out. He was really on

the dictator side." Sir Eric now lives in California.

When Gairy was displaced, the United States was displeased, and served notice that the New Jewel Movement (Joint Endeavor for Welfare Education and Liberation), the party that led the coup and took power, was going to be watched very closely for any signs of pro-communism. NJM leaders were told, for instance, not to attend the meeting of the non-aligned states in Havana in 1979 nor to accept any Cuban aid. Go they did and accept they did and relations between Washington and this tiny island quickly soured.

Much like Nicaragua, Grenada found itself diplomatically isolated after turning for friendship to the only other

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socialist country in the hemisphere. The revolutionary government insists that it is Grenada's prerogative to establish relations with all nations and to resist being dominated by any foreign power. Cuban assistance, and there has been plenty, is therefore warmly received.

"Cuba is a Caribbean country — they are a natural friend of ours," said Unison Whiteman, Minister of External Affairs. "They have been very fraternal, very helpful to us at a critical hour . . . They have put no conditions on us." Grenada also continues to have diplomatic and trading relations with all nations in the Caribbean and most of Latin America.

The New Jewel, which is led by Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, a charismatic London-educated lawyer, emerged out of a discussion group begun in the early '70s by Bishop, Whiteman and others in the current leadership. Originally influenced by the Black Power Movement, an import from U.S. campuses, the NJM has become consciously a part of the socialist world since seizing power. "We are clear we are a nation on the socialist path," said Whiteman. Their program emphasizes a blend of state controlled enterprises with a revitalized private sector. Food self-sufficiency, support for the sagging tourist trade and much-needed social reforms are all on the agenda.

The situation of the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) is one of near-classic underdevelopment. They must make something of a virtual mono-crop economy with bananas, nutmeg (Grenada produces a third of the world's supply), and cocoa accounting for about 95% of exports in 1980. Export earnings that year were \$17 million; imports, mostly foodstuffs, ran to \$50.6 million.

"We inherited an agricultural situation that was the result of years of neglect by the Gairy dictatorship," said Agriculture Minister George Louison. "Grenada was a land of hunger,

malnutrition, unemployment, poverty and idle land during the 1970s."

Unemployment still hovers around 35%. Tourism brings in about \$20 million a year but that is nowhere near enough. The remainder of foreign exchange reserves come from aid and private remittances sent home by the Grenadians living overseas, commonly believed to be 400,000.

Despite the unemployment it has been difficult to lure workers back to the fields. "The people have left the farms, there is a kind of slave stigma attached to agricultural labor here. Part of the British heritage, I suppose," said a foreign technician. The farmers are simply getting too old and are not being replaced. Bob Gordon, the head of the government's cooperative development office, said, "The age of the farmers here averages 62 years. The overwhelming number of them are over 50."

Gordon, an energetic and capable man in his late 30s, seemed to exemplify many of the promises that the revolution holds for people in the Caribbean. A Jamaican who studied at Howard University in Washington, D.C., he worked for several years in the government of Michael Manley. With the swing to the right under Edward Seaga he decided to get out. Grenada offers an environment where "you have the political will to accomplish something."

The co-op movement is at the ground level of a discernible seed-to-table agricultural model. With a high percentage of unused private land in several-acre plots, the PRG has been linking up groups of unemployed farmers with the soil.

Sitting in an office that was little more than a ramshackle cubicle, Gordon seemed the very soul of optimism as he discussed his project. "The government here is very serious about the co-ops. What we are establishing is an alternative model. We are being watched very carefully in the

eastern Caribbean."

Guava jam, banana nectar, and nutmeg jelly will eventually, it is hoped, complement the co-ops and the larger network of state farms inherited from the last government. Much of the cooperative produce goes into a factory that resembles a large home canning operation in which employees grind out a wide variety of nectars, extracts, juices, and jellies. It is a bit startling to the industrial-minded viewer to see women hand stamping cans and pasting labels on each tin individually. But the plant, under the direction of the Agro-Industry Board, and similar operations in coffee and spices, was a part of a 1973 NJM manifesto and is seen by many as a bold step in the import-dependent Caribbean.

Grenada uses mass rallies as a kind of nationwide town meeting. I can't think of another country where the Prime Minister would congratulate a local youth group for building a neighborhood basketball court before launching into a major address. The gatherings are the forum for the dissemination of national policy. As one observer said, "There's a high level of illiteracy and there's no media apart from the radio station so they have to put a lot of emphasis on these speeches."

"Dig the band. They're the best reggae group on the island," said a companion of mine at the start of one rally. And indeed the music was good if a little odd to someone who has always associated military bands with Souzaesque renderings of martial favorites. The reggae beat is in harmony with the popular tone being sought by the PRG. Though the rallies may seem endless — in a recent six-week period there were mass rallies on five Sundays — they provide a light carnival-like atmosphere for the NJM's message of anti-imperialism and popular democracy.

Charges of repression are not unheard of in Grenada. Amnesty

International estimates there are at least 100 political prisoners, most of whom are former Gairy supporters. The majority have not been brought to trial but the PRG denies claims of maltreatment. In addition, the government has delayed promised elections saying that the people and the country are not yet ready. This has led rather predictably to U.S. charges of creeping totalitarianism and reams of bad press from U.S. journalists.

Lack of elections, the closing of an opposition newspaper, and the absence of anything other than official media have led to muted protests from the business community and an unwillingness to invest or expand. But it is clear that the private sector needs to remain at least relatively happy if the revolution is to succeed. The projects, co-ops, organizations, and reforms are all good ideas but they are far from being able to support the country.

The tourist industry is the place where that investment is most needed. As far as foreign exchange is concerned, tourism is the growth industry. Precipitous declines in the world price of cocoa and nutmeg have been disastrous for Grenada — last year's entire crop of nutmeg is warehoused for lack of a buyer, for example. But the tourist industry has been anemic of late.

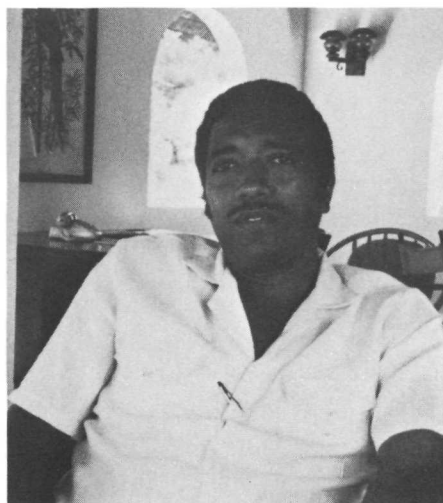
Following a general strike that paralyzed the island in 1973-74, tourism went into a tailspin. As it was recovering, the revolution happened. Fears of violence coupled with hostile stories in the American press further deflated the sun and fun trade. Occupancy was down 9% in 1980 and slipped another 7% in 1981, according to Royston Hopkin, president of the private Grenada Hotel Association.

The decline cannot be laid at the feet of the PRG, however. Tourism is down throughout the Caribbean, and Grenada is an expensive and inconvenient location. Visitors must contend with LIAT (Leeward Islands

Air Transport) from Barbados or Trinidad which flies its old prop planes into the antiquated Pearls Airport.

The government is seeking to address the problem. A new airport is under construction at the southern end of the island at Point Salines. The new facility, with a 9000 foot runway, will easily accommodate jumbo jets from Europe or the United States.

First proposed in a feasibility study in 1966, the airport is receiving massive Cuban aid. And that's the rub, according to the State Department. "We view the airport as a security threat," warned a State Department



**Royston Hopkin, President  
Grenada Hotel Association**

official. "MIGs based in Grenada could attack the Venezuelan oilfields."

Venezuela, apparently not as concerned about its national security as its friends in Washington, has made substantial grants to the \$75 million project. The European Economic Community recently approved a several million dollar grant, despite U.S. opposition, virtually assuring final completion. The bulk of the financing is Cuban, however, mostly in the form of manpower and equipment.

In addition to the 300 workers at the airport site, Cuban technicians are present throughout the island as road

engineers, doctors, and educators. They have been instrumental in a popular education program to improve literacy and without them there would be no dentist outside the capital of St. George's, to cite just two examples.

Largely as a result of the airport, which is scheduled to be completed in 1983, the island's hoteliers are not planning to fold up their tents and steal away. They are even sounding optimistic. I tracked down the local manager of the Holiday Inn, which was partly destroyed in a fire last October. Dire predictions abounded in the wake of the fire that they would not rebuild and that the loss of 186 rooms, by far the most of any facility on the island, would permanently dampen the business. "Nonsense," said Robert Van Voorn, the manager. "Of course we are going to rebuild. We are confident that the airport will improve the situation down here."

The government has also taken steps to cool off the overflow of rhetoric into the unhurried lives of its visitors. The People's Militia, in the early days of the revo, was fond of searching handbags and questioning suspected imperialists. They have been called off.

For Grenadians the biggest fear is continued hostility from the United States. Lorraine Felix, who leads the Young Pioneers, a Socialist Scouting program, said, "We know a mercenary invasion is possible and could happen anytime. Let them invade us and they will see the size of our militia. We will fight to the last. We don't ever want to go back."

The resolve of Ms. Felix is common among the young people staffing this revolution. The United States has done little to allay their fears. A series of military maneuvers in Puerto Rico last August featured an invasion of an island republic with a revolutionary government. I attended those maneuvers and the admiral in charge recognized invasion as "one of the



contingencies in our repertory" for dealing with the islands. The Grenadians denounced the war games as a threat to their sovereignty.

The United States has also cut off aid to Grenada and tied up assistance to the Caribbean Development Bank by trying to exclude Grenada from participation. It has refused to recognize the Grenadian ambassador to Washington. Milan Bish, a Reagan fundraiser, is the new U.S. ambassador to the Eastern Caribbean. He will not

present his credentials to Grenada. The much-touted Caribbean Basin Initiative, a program to bolster private enterprise and development in the Caribbean, conspicuously excludes Grenada.

So there will be no talking for the time being. Unison Whiteman made a trip to Washington last November hoping for an audience with the Reagan Administration, to no avail. "There is really a pressing need for dialogue," said Whiteman. "We have proposed talks

and we are prepared to listen to their concerns and to discuss our concerns. But they have refused."

A U.S. expatriate was more blunt, "I think our State Department has dropped the ball on this one."

What is finally happening in Grenada is independence. The course charted is moderate, logical, far from perfect but at least rational. This is revolution even a Republican tourist could love while sipping rum punch and listening to the tropical breeze. ■

# Your guide to the General Convention



Whether or not you are planning to attend the 1982 General Convention of the Episcopal Church in September, you won't want to miss the Special Convention Issue of THE WITNESS, the monthly magazine of social commentary. Written and edited by some of the most knowledgeable people in and out of the church, the special issue to appear in May is informative and provocative.

## Some of the highlights:

- **The State of the Church** — A comprehensive examination of how the church has responded (or failed to respond) to the massive human needs identified in its midst five years ago by the Urban Bishops' Coalition;

- **The People and the Issues** — What the convention is likely to do (or avoid doing) in areas of

special concern to five important constituencies: women, gays, peace activists, blacks, and urban minorities;

- **The Hoopla** — A hard look at the meaning behind the gaudy and expensive trappings (booths, exhibitions, hotel suites, etc.) in which the church will be doing business at a time of extraordinary national and global hardship;

- **The History** — A fascinating backward glance at past conventions by Bishop Robert L.

DeWitt, editor emeritus and senior contributing editor, who has made church history as well as written it.

- And much more —

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# Affirming a New Public Philosophy

by James M. Campbell

Western tradition, with its values and sources of authority, has crumbled, the conclusion of a process begun more than two centuries ago. Hannah Arendt documents this in her essay "Tradition and the Modern Age." Freud helped the collapse along by saying man was just the product of urges and infantile programming. Kiekegaard helped it by substituting doubt for faith — or making a faith out of doubt. Nietzsche saw it in the crumbling of values and the preeminence of unchecked will. Marx made us the objects of historical necessity.

No more divine right of kings to ground hierarchical authority; no more authoritative, unchallenged Christian assertions about God and God's laws and commandments; no more unchallenged philosophical assumptions; no more acceptance of what we see, hear, feel as real; "I doubt therefore I am." Certainty, security are gone. Even so, it is a time of opportunity. Now we can look at the past and present with fresh eyes, unhampered by authority, which often rigidly told us how to interpret what we were seeing and experiencing.

Evidence of the crumbling of Western tradition is all around us. Gone is the work ethic. Gone is the conviction that we are accountable for the consequences of our actions. Thus all the defense of murder on the grounds of

insanity. Thus adolescents and younger children with little concept of right and wrong. Thus "if it feels good, do it." (To the sadist, abuse and murder feel good!)

A sea of consumerism surrounds us. We are not producers but consumers — of goods, of services, of fads and fancies. Private selfishness abounds; little sense of responsibility for the community exists. Few people have any lively vision and hope for the future except that of more gadgetry that accelerates the rate and amount of our consumption, and makes fantastically easy the communication of nothing to say.

Perhaps causally related to much of the above is the disappearance of self-government in our great urban areas. Many youths don't know what self-governing communities are. Disappearance of self-government means the disappearance, in large cities, of decision-making by local communities about local matters. For example, Detroit's mayor and nine council members govern 1.3 million people. This is *not* local self-government. Consequently, people have no sense of responsibility for what goes on where they live. In contrast, Toronto, whose metropolitan population is 2 million, has six self-governing boroughs: North York, Toronto, York, etc. Even within the borough of North York there are communities with their own post offices, such as Willowdale. People in Toronto are far more self-governing than those in Detroit. If a community can't make basic decisions about its collective life, why shouldn't its citizens throw trash around, steal and rob, and blame the anonymous "them" of

municipal bureaucracy for all their troubles? Self-government was the essential issue at stake in our Revolution.

Additional evidence of deterioration is to be found in the impact of behaviorism (positivism, scientism) on our thought — especially the social sciences and their popularizers — relativizing life, devaluing value, and striking the final blows to belief and hope. ("Lie down, O men of God, there is nothing you can do!")

Consider the degradation of the word *value*. Today, value means a good buy on summer clothes at the end of the season. Or we speak of "value engineering" in automobiles. Not love, honesty, integrity, care of one's neighbor, reliability. Not human values but commodity values. Finally, if everything can be behaviorally explained *and* predicted, who really chooses, who, after debate, makes judgments? We are on a treadmill of necessity. Just "go with the flow." The human sciences, in their jealous rush to emulate the physical sciences, have made us robots — eliminating all that can't be measured, quantified, or verified, as non-existent. Or claiming to measure the immeasurable.

What makes beliefs and values so critical for the United States is that they are all that hold us together. Our Constitution, for the most part, embodies them and gives them the force of law. We are not one race; we have no one religion; there is no hereditary ruling class; we are not even one contiguous land mass any more. Beliefs and values, embodied in a constitution, hold us together. Lose them and we lose

---

**James M. Campbell** works for a Detroit corporation as an internal consultant on people and organization problems. He was a former staff member and executive director of Detroit Industrial Mission.



all cohesion as a people. In light of this, I move to a statement of what I think we need.

The core affirmations of our American heritage can lead us to a new vision of ourselves as a people rooted in the best of our past. These core beliefs need to be reaffirmed, reinterpreted, and re-learned after 200 years. They should form a common ground on which we can rebuild our nation.

• **The first affirmation is that we need to be a self-governing people.** This is the classic point related to “consent of the governed.” But now, consent is almost passive. The American affirmation is that we govern ourselves actively, collectively. As Arendt puts it, “The essence of freedom is not representation but participation.” And to Jefferson the Revolution was all about making the people participators in government.

In our large cities, where so many Americans live and where so many societal ills are concentrated, we have just about lost self-government. Mayors

and councils govern too large a population to be considered local government. No city residents can be participators in governing. The cities must be broken up into smaller (50,000 - 100,000) communities with elected councils that have budgets, and decision-making powers over matters that directly and solely affect that community. Then teenagers can get involved; older adults can get involved and have influence and power. Isolation, irresponsibility, non-accountability will reduce. Rising generations can be schooled in self-government the way our founders intended.

• **The second affirmation is that we believe in the equal opportunity for all Americans to reach their maximum potential.** There are two parts to this: one is what Madison and Jefferson were concerned to build into the Constitution but were only able to get as the first 10 amendments. That is, the tyranny of the majority must be forestalled. Thus there are certain

individual and collective rights that cannot be removed by legislation — freedom of speech, assembly, religion; freedom from self-incrimination. We must reaffirm these. They help assure the equal opportunity of all to reach their maximum potential by preventing majorities from depriving minorities of equal rights.

We are talking about the *opportunity* of individuals and groups to reach maximum potential, not a *guarantee* that everyone will. We are talking about working, and earning, and struggling. But we are saying the path should be equally clear for all. Here, of course, civil rights looms large, as well as the issues of racism and sexism. It is not sufficient to say, “OK. From here on we all play by the same rules.” That would be like playing Monopoly with one set of rules for white males and another for everybody else. And then after the white males own all the railroads and utilities and have houses and hotels on every property from St. James to Boardwalk we would say, “OK. From now on all play by the same rules.” Catch-up would be impossible without positive effort — “affirmative action” — to get minorities and women into the game on some roughly equal footing. We have been struggling now for years — and will yet be struggling — to identify affirmative action that is effective, fair, and non-condescending to minorities and females.

• **The third affirmation is that we need an economic base or floor for all.** This frees us to participate in our own governance and to pursue our maximum potential. The Greeks would not allow slaves, artisans, laborers to be citizens because they knew their lives were dominated by meeting necessities. All their waking hours were spent serving others or eking out an existence. They had no time or opportunity to meet with fellow citizens, reflect, and make collective judgments about the common good. We

are not in that situation. We are blessed with a land and a productive capacity such that none need be the slave of necessity.

Jefferson knew this and he thought property was so important that everyone should have some. Thus in Virginia he proposed a statute granting 50 acres minimum to every family. To be a free and full citizen one needed a solid economic base from which to operate. In agrarian revolutionary America that was land. Today it's a job — because 96% of us are not agrarian. A job for everyone who wants to work, and welfare and assistance only for those who are disabled from doing *any* kind of work. "Full employment" is the modern equivalent of 50 acres and a mule. It's a two-way street. Those who won't work, who expect to be carried by others when they can damn well carry themselves, are *not* carried by the community. The decent economic floor for all is essential to the other two affirmations.

All throughout this discussion, we are talking about opportunity, not necessity — the opportunity to participate in government, the opportunity to reach one's maximum potential — individually and as communities, and finally the opportunity to have an economic base from which to move out into the world. America has been the land of opportunity only for white males for most of our history. We are now engaged in a great struggle to rectify that.

But what makes us think we have the capacity, nationally, to make such affirmations, to choose a different direction for ourselves? Haven't we become just a cacophony of strident, conflicting interest groups and endless compromises? Values, principles, goals have nothing to do with how things get decided and done. The squeaky wheel gets the grease, and the corporate and other institutional elites always manage

to get their slice off the top of everything.

There *is* a side of us that is pretty well determined by heredity and environment. There is also the side that is free to choose, to make new beginnings, to start over.

The most pervasive support for the belief that we can indeed choose our destiny as a people is religion. At the heart of the great Western religions — Christianity, Judaism, and Islam — are concepts such as repentance, forgiveness, choosing to follow a new path, choosing life over death, justice over sin, being born again, being resurrected, making new covenants that reach into the future, communities, nations changing heart and making a new beginning. Unfortunately, religion frequently focuses solely on the individual and misses three-fourths of what Biblical Christianity really is.

The Calvinist churches, before the American Revolution, were an important channel and propagator of the ideas of liberty, freedom, property, public happiness and public good. (They got these ideas from the Scottish

moral philosophers and English scholars such as Locke, whose thinking formed the conceptual foundation for resistance to George III and, ultimately, revolution.) Similarly, the churches today should be in the forefront of our effort to rally the United States around these three basic principles.

- Local churches can be in the forefront of breaking up our large cities and getting smaller self-governing communities established and structured.

- Local churches can provide the group support and even educational opportunities for people striving to realize their maximum potential while at the same time being alert to local violation of civil liberties.

- Local churches can be lobbyists and advocates together with their state and national bodies for full employment, beginning with the local communities. They can also chagrin the moochers and the leeches into earning their own way once that opportunity is there.

I do *not* include the Moral Majority movement. Its moralistic goals are not related to these affirmations. Rather, I am referring to that deep strain of religion reflected in continuing active mainstream churches and church-going, that strain that abides in a country like Poland. The churches are one feasible source of rejuvenation; but perhaps the major action will come from urban community groups as they face the real structural reason for their powerlessness — the fact that they are not governing bodies but only at best well-organized interest groups.

We may even get some leadership for these affirmations from the national level, though that seems less likely.

Whatever the combination, I believe a coalition of forces can and must map a new future for us around these three affirmations, affirmations upon which most Americans, with a little thought, can come to agree. ■

### Resources

After I had arrived at my three affirmations in this article from my own thought and experience, a friend directed me to a gem of an essay written 20 years ago by Alan Gewirth in *Social Justice* (edited by Richard B. Brandt, Prentice-Hall paperback, 1962). Gewirth examines the meaning of "political justice" in western democratic theory and practice and in logical and scholarly fashion arrives at three basic principles which I feel related closely to the affirmations I describe:

The first principle is government by consent of the governed; the second is the principle of equal freedom, and the third, the principle of the common good.

The Arendt essay alluded to in the first paragraph of my article is in *Between Past and Future*.

— J.M.C.



# What To Do With Hungry Sheep

by Grant Gallup

Last Thanksgiving, Christopher Jones, abbot of the tiny Episcopal community at the Transfiguration Retreat in Pulaski, Wisconsin (two monks, a married couple, and their two children) decided he would refuse the ministrations of any clergyman who rejected the validity, licity, or canonicity of ordained women. The priest who has been visiting them for Eucharistic celebration, the Rev. Walton Fitch, is not one of these revanchists, since he himself accepts the ordination of women.

But the Rt. Rev. William Louis Stevens, Bishop of Fond du Lac, on Jan. 5 issued a letter to Jones, demanding a retraction by the end of the month. He didn't get one, and on Feb. 1 he wrote to Jones "withdrawing permission for the Rev. C. Walton Fitch or any priest of this diocese to minister sacramentally to you or to your community except *in extremis*."

Bishop Coleman McGehee of Michigan is the visitor of the Antonians, as the Pulaski pariahs call themselves, and supports them in their conscientious objection under the same rubric of "Conscience Clause" which Stevens and others use to excuse themselves from receiving the ministrations of women in priestly orders. The House of Bishops kited this bad check in 1977 and it has now been presented for payment by an honorable creditor. Stevens' supposition is that by refusing the bishop's ministrations, Jones has put himself out-of-communion. But the Rt. Rev. Otis Charles, Bishop of Utah, has pointed

out that from the beginning of American church life, to be in communion with the General Convention is to be in communion with the Episcopal Church, and in no way has Jones broken his link here. In fact, it is to the General Convention that the community now appeals for a judgment.

This is not the first, and currently not the only instance where bishops and other clergy have acted as if the Sacraments were their own private property. A steward is to be a protector of the flock, and not the keeper of a mutton-factory. A "pontiff," we are told by folk etymology, is a bridge-builder, but Stevens and others seem to want only one-way bridges. The Bishop of Louisiana and others have refused permission for priests even to attend Integrity meetings, much less to preside at Holy Communion services for them. Using the Bread of Life as a weapon of coercion is surely a sacrilege.

What can be done in such cases to provide the people of God with Eucharistic ministry? One way is to have priests who are not intimidated by the local bishop to visit the community to provide the valid grace at table. But service from outside helps to focus attention on a situation which is not salutary or normative anyway. The leader of the community should be the one who is authorized by the church-at-large to celebrate as president of its Eucharists as naturally as he or she leads it in other ways.

We know that many communities of Roman Catholic women, and others, have already begun (without ecclesiastical sanction) to celebrate the Eucharist for themselves, and

apparently this is happening in South America as well, where it is done sometimes because of the shortage of ordained men.

Edward Schillebeeckx in "Ministry: Leadership in the Community of Jesus Christ," discusses such alternative practices, and reminds us that the principle of "extraordinary minister" has frequently sanctioned what was originally called "illegal practice." The Council of Arles (314) sanctioned deacons presiding at Eucharist in the absence of priests, and "for more than a century, abbots consecrated priests, with papal permission."

Another solution in the Pulaski instance would be for Bishop McGehee simply to ordain Christopher Jones to the priesthood, for the community, as has been done in Alaska under Canon 8, where "communities which are small, isolated, remote, or distinct in respect of ethnic composition, language or culture and which can be supplied only intermittently with the sacramental and pastoral ministrations of the church" are provided for.

Still another solution would be for priests on intermittent visits to consecrate "batches" of Eucharist for reservation. Still another is for the community (which is not bound by canons requiring exclusive Episcopally ordained ministers, as in parishes and missions) to invite Christian ministers of other churches — Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Methodist, or others — to celebrate their own Eucharistic rites in the Pulaski chapel. It is time we all dared to live ecumenically anyway.

The best way would be for Bill Stevens to get back to shepherding his flock. ■

**The Rev. Grant M. Gallup** is vicar of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Chicago, Ill.



## Briar Sermon:

### 'You Must Be Born Again'

We've lost the ground from underneath our feet,  
lost the spiritual ground.  
We've run off and left the best part of ourselves.

We've moved to the cities  
moved to town  
and left our spirits in the mountains  
to live like half wild dogs around the homeplace.

you say, Preacher, we have to change.  
That's right.  
But we're forgetful.

It's our forgetfulness that's a sin against ourselves.  
We don't know any more about our history  
than a dog knows about his daddy.  
We're ignorant of ourselves  
confused in what little we do know.  
All we know is what other folks have told us.  
They've said, You're fine Anglo-Saxons,  
pioneer stock.

Then we went to the cities.  
They said we were trash, said we were Briars.  
They said, You're proud and independent.  
They said, You're narrow-minded.  
They said, You're right from the heart of America.  
They said, You're the worst part of America.  
They said, We ought to be more like you.  
They said, You ought to be more like you.  
They said, You ought to be more like us.

You've heard that prayer that goes:  
Help us to see ourselves as others see us.  
Buddy, that's not a prayer we want to pray.  
I believe we ought to pray:  
Lord, help us to see ourselves — and no more.  
Or maybe: Help us to see ourselves,  
help us to be ourselves,  
help us to free ourselves  
from seeing ourselves  
as others see us.

I know it's hard  
to turn loose of that old self,  
that confused self.

You think, That's the only thing I am,  
what someone else has told me I am.  
I've been there, I know.  
I've twisted in that wind.  
But you can turn loose, you can do it.

*Stanzas from Briar Sermon — "You Must Be Born Again . . ."  
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Letters . . . Continued from page 2

retired but is still very active as Head of St. Catherine's School for Girls in Hong Kong.

Although it is not yet time for her to retire she has been to visit her family in England several times since her ordination. During those visits she has had conversations with a number of bishops and clergy, including the past and present Archbishops of Canterbury, about her functioning as a priest in England. She certainly intends to pursue the recognition of her orders when eventually she does return to Britain to retire.

Therefore while it is exciting that the American Church has had a part in providing the English Church with its *second* woman priest we have to give thanks to the Church of Hong Kong for having provided the English Church with its *first* woman priest.

**Patricia N. Page**  
Berkeley, Cal.

## Wants Canham 'Controlled'

Thank you for the February issue of THE WITNESS. I appreciated Sue Hiatt's article about my ordination and thought the presentation was excellent. It was especially good to receive this because in that same day's mail I had received a clipping from London where the Bishop of London made the headlines when he issued a statement proclaiming a House Eucharist that I celebrated in his Diocese "illegal." He has also laid a formal complaint before the Archbishop of Canterbury and one to Bishop Spong asking him to "discipline and control me"!

Once again the ordination of women has been placed in the forefront of people's thinking through this unintentional confrontation in England.

**The Rev. Elizabeth Canham**  
Kinnelon, N.J.

## Spong Seeks Dialogue

Sexism and the integrity of the Anglican Communion were issues raised by the Rt. Rev. John S. Spong, Bishop of Newark, in a statement recently in response to the Bishop of London.

Bishop Spong's remarks were directed to the Rt. Rev. Graham Leonard, who protested the celebration of a house Eucharist in London by the Rev. Elizabeth Canham. The Rev. Ms. Canham is the first Englishwoman to leave the Church of England to be ordained to the priesthood in the American Episcopal Church.

Male Episcopal priests frequently perform ecclesiastical functions in England, Bishop Spong said, and "the leadership of the Church of England must know that they cannot recognize some Episcopal clergy and not all Episcopal clergy. Reciprocity and mutual recognition of the ministry of each autonomous national branch of the Anglican Communion is an essential ingredient in our corporate life, and without it the very matrix of the Anglican Communion is broken."

Bishop Spong invited the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury as well to an "honest, searching, thoughtful public dialogue" on these matters to be carried in the church press.

## Dropped His Pen

After a trip to Germany and France last Spring I was struck by the revival in interest in all things of the Nazi period — books, films, histories, insignia, flags, etc. I was all set to do a piece on it for THE WITNESS when it dawned on me that we, in the United States, were

headed in that direction with a different face and different slogans. I thought of Sinclair Lewis' "It Can't Happen Here," and dropped my pen, as it were. The drift to the right here has really shaken me.

The Reagan administration has brought much hardship to those who can least afford it; it has all but eliminated environmental safeguards, endangered our national heritage in parks and forest lands. It is crypto-racist; health and educational functions of society are cut down. And the wealthy of Los Angeles seem to be inheriting the land. In today's paper I see the administration thinks the United States could survive a nuclear war and rebuild our destroyed industrial and urban complexes in two years. What dangerous and fatuous nonsense!

**The Rev. E. Lawrence Carter**  
Santa Monica, Cal.

## Editorial . . . Continued from page 3

butter issue. It has to do with women's jobs, wages, educational opportunities, pensions, social security and homemakers' economic status.

Three more states must ratify the ERA by midnight, June 30, 1982. Thirty-five states, representing 72% of the population, have already done so. Had 12 legislators changed their votes in key states over the last decade, the ERA would be in effect now.

But win or lose on the ERA, in the spirit of the Resurrection, the struggle for equal rights will go on. Neither God nor Jesus willed the inequality of the sexes, or the feminization of poverty. Fortunately, too many women and men are now committed for the fight to be abandoned. But a setback would prove formidable. What remains to be seen is, are enough resolved to move the struggle along by midnight, June 30? (*M.L.S. and the editors.*)

### Credits

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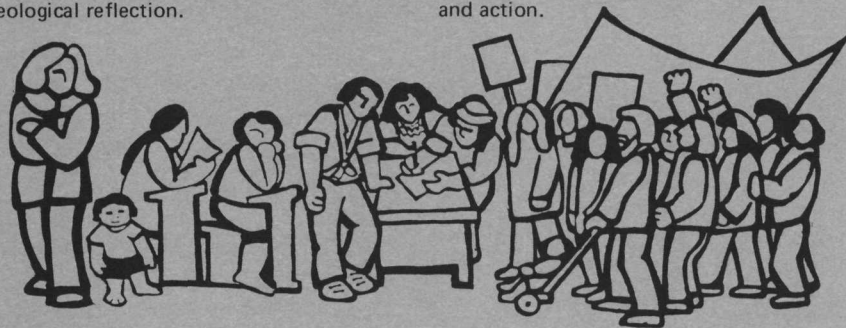
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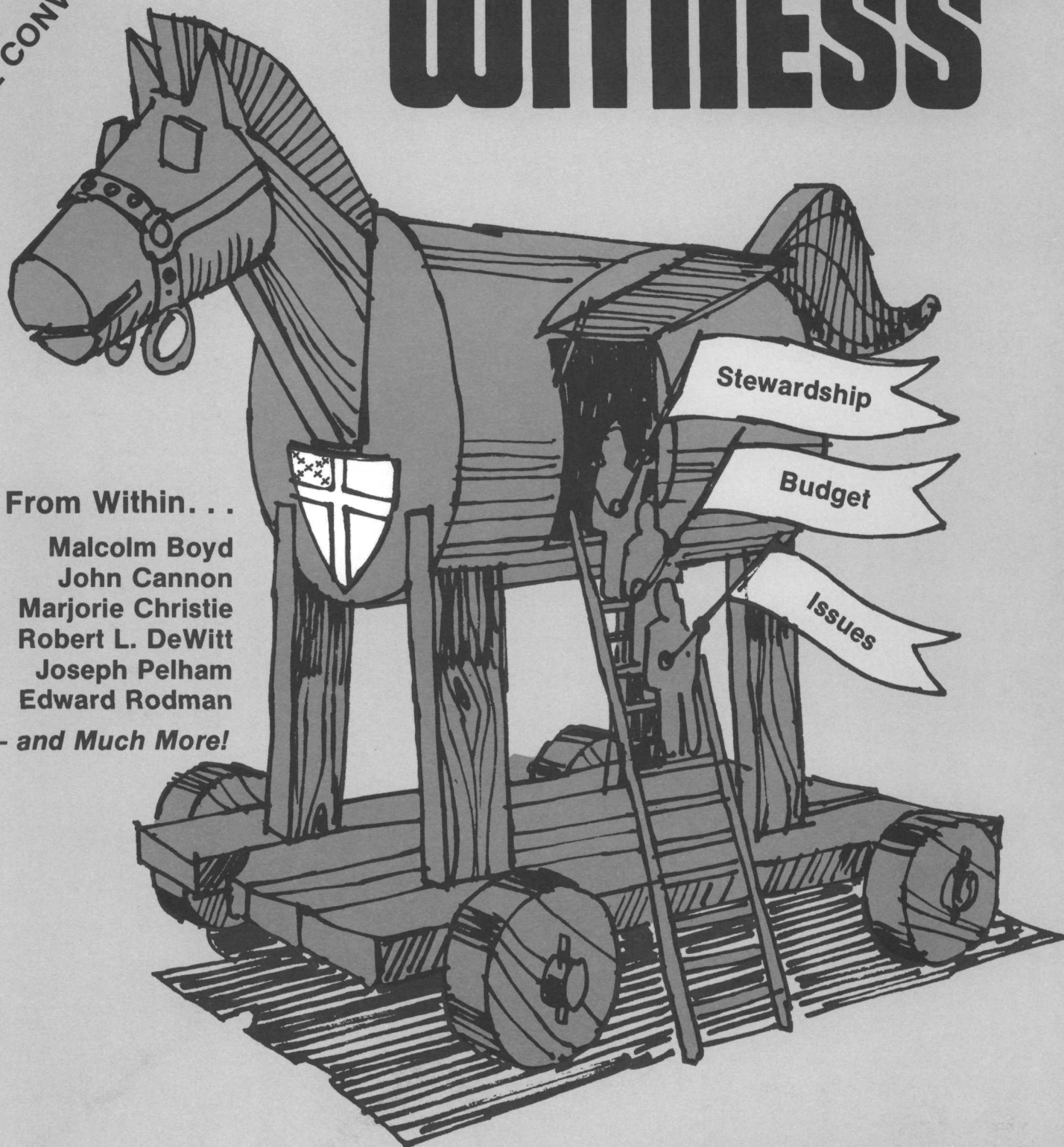
GENERAL CONVENTION ISSUE

# THE VOL. 65 NO. 5 MAY, 1982 WITNESS

## Boring From Within...

Malcolm Boyd  
John Cannon  
Marjorie Christie  
Robert L. DeWitt  
Joseph Pelham  
Edward Rodman

— and Much More!



# LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

## Powerful Sequence

Congratulations on the recent WITNESS issues featuring the "Black Women's Agenda." The sculpture of Valerie Maynard on the February cover sets the visual tone. Janette Pierce's introduction articulates the background clearly. The words of Deborah Harmon Hines, Myrtle Gordon, Mattie Hopkins and Barbara Harris come alive again. A powerful sequence!

The opportunity to share this experience beyond the conference of the Episcopal Church's Task Force on Women is exciting. To confront, to hear and respond is imperative to dialogue, growth and understanding. Thanks to THE WITNESS for helping that dialogue happen so regularly and competently.

**Carol D. Freund, Chair  
National Task Force on Women  
Shaker Heights, Ohio**

## A Bit Shocked

When I returned from the New York meeting of the Episcopal Urban Caucus (which I found to be inspiring and encouraging) I was glad to find the February issue of THE WITNESS. Unfortunately, I was a bit shocked to read in the lead article:

*"In November, 1981, a national conference of Episcopal women in Indianapolis heard four Black women forcefully express their distrust of the feminist movement. They perceived feminism as a White (woman's) concern which drains energy from the liberation battle of people of color."*

I can only conclude that the strains of weary battling are setting in and are unfortunately doing precisely what

those defenders of the status quo hoped for — to divide and conquer all genuinely Gospel-oriented movements aimed at recreating all of humankind. We cannot afford to be divided, for in our weakness lies the diabolic strength and craftiness of Satan, *"And no wonder, for even Satan disguises himself as an angel of light."* (2 Cor. 11:14).

Let's be united in every possible way in the proclamation of the letter and spirit of an oft-quoted theme in the recent caucus: *"To proclaim liberty to the captives . . ."*

**Jerry Connors, Jr.  
Yale Divinity School  
New Haven, Conn.**

## Moved by Black Women

I have just finished reading the "Black Women's Agenda." I can't tell you how moved I was. I know that the women's agenda had to do predominately with White women and Black women. However, I hope and pray that out of this discussion will grow a keen exchange between Black men and Black women in our mutual efforts to support our communities, strengthen our families and be leaders and developers of the Kingdom of God in the Episcopal Church.

I am renewing my subscription and intend to be an active member of the community of THE WITNESS. It's been some time since I was a regular reader, because of work, travel and finishing my education. God give you courage as you continue the efforts of keeping before us our responsibilities as people of God.

**The Rev. Wayland Melton  
Knoxville, Tenn.**

## Option to Fight Not a Sin

If being born White and blue-eyed is a sin in some people's eyes, I must confess to it; if being born into an educated and affluent family is a sin, I must confess to that, too. (I even have to confess to that eternally unpardonable sin of being born in Nazi Germany.) It seems, however, that no matter what I may do to atone for these "sins," no matter how hard I may work to undo the injustices of

times past and present, I am always running into those who insist that even having the *option* to fight the revolution is a sin.

Well, my white skin and my blue eyes are not going to disappear. And here, my friends — brothers or sisters, Black or White, poor or rich, straight or gay, American or foreign, Jew or Gentile — is one of the clues to keep or not to keep me going: you can beat me down for what I am and cannot change, or you can pick me up with an encouraging "come labor on."

I was at the conference in Indianapolis and heard all four women on the "Black Women's Agenda." A lot of hatred seemed to be poured onto the listeners, almost all of whom had fought the "revolution" for many years even though they had the choice not to. The response was pain, anger and frustration — hardly ingredients to incorporate into a new battle hymn.

In the end, those of us who fight the "revolution," on Thursdays only or all week long, are all fighting the same evil, which is oppression — whether White over Black, male over female, rich over poor, straight over gay — economic oppression, which is at the root of racism as well as sexism and many of the other "isms." Our Black sisters (NOT stepsisters!) need to realize that in the war against oppression, it is an occasional "servants, well done," rather than "up yours, Whitey," that will go a long way toward counteracting battle fatigue.

**Annette Jecker  
W. Milford, N.J.**

## Non-White Agenda?

Deborah Harmon Hines' article, "Racism Breeds Stereotypes," in the February WITNESS is most thought-provoking for me. In her words I see the situation of Native Indian women, for here we have many more of them than we do Blacks. They are expected to be like White women, have the same aims as White women, etc. The situation Hines describes could very well be titled

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## THE WITNESS

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# THE WITNESS EDITORIAL

## Taking History Seriously

Someone has calculated that if the earth's 4.4 billion people could be compressed into a room holding 44 persons, each representing 100 million people, we would have 10 Chinese, 10 South Asians, 8 Europeans, 5 Africans, 3 Latin Americans, and only 2 from the United States.

Eighteen of the 44 would be children or teenagers. Twenty would be illiterate, 17 would suffer from hunger or malnutrition, 35 would be astonishingly poor by U.S. standards, and 28 would earn less than \$200 a year.

It is a sobering parable. Not only because it illustrates once again the dramatic disparity between the world's haves and have-nots, but because — if pondered for more than a moment — it points to the direction in which history is moving. Is not the struggle of the last 35 years, since the end of World War II, the movement of the majority of the world's peoples, who are poor, powerless, and largely non-white, to claim their rightful share of life, bread, and dignity? And if we Christians believe in a God who is author and initiator of all history, must we not accept that God is present and seeking to be discerned in this great movement?

Prescinding from this overview to a specific event, we note that the 67th General Convention of

the Episcopal Church will convene in September in New Orleans, bringing together one of the most powerful and privileged assemblages in current-day Christendom. The agenda there will deal with many issues: ministry in metropolis, the arms race, Christian education, liturgy and worship, mission (that oft-appropriated word so easily bent to the purpose of the user), and others. Even as traditional convention strategies begin to take shape, the violence and oppression perpetrated by our nation's leadership, with the tacit consent of many, deepens. Increasing numbers of women and children, most of them Black or Hispanic, slip into malnutrition and outright hunger. Unemployment climbs; industrial plant shutdowns increase, turning thousands more into the streets. Abroad, policies of repression, covert intelligence operations, and militarism continue, while at home the armaments factories turn out three new nuclear warheads every day.

But the God of Abraham, of Isaiah, of Amos, of Jesus Christ, is relentless in history's movements. As the Jahveh of ancient Israel liberated the Israelites from Egyptian bondage, so the God of Jesus Christ is today speaking

*Continued on page 20*

# THE WITNESS

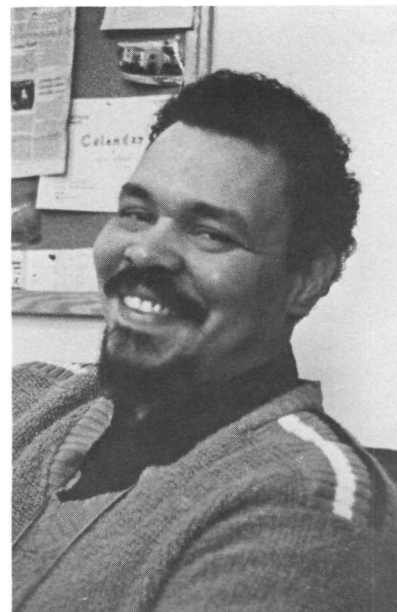
## MEMORANDUM

TO: Our Readers  
SUBJECT: Convention Issue

We asked three noted Episcopalians to lead off this General Convention issue with commentaries on Stewardship, Women's Issues, and the Budget.

Taking on the task, respectively, are the Rev. Edward Rodman, Marjorie Christie, and John K. Cannon, whose photos and credentials appear herewith, followed by their good works.

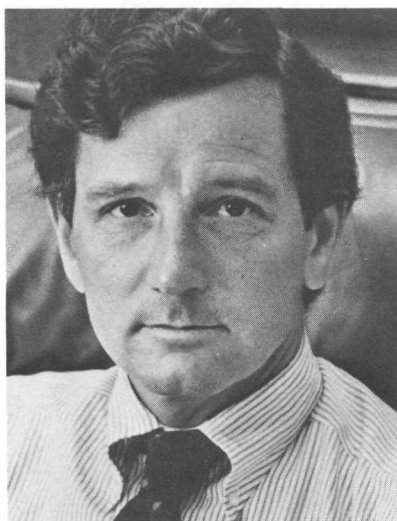
We're mighty obliged . . .



**THE REV. EDWARD W. RODMAN**  
Missioner to Minority Communities for the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts and Canon Missioner at St. Paul's Cathedral, Boston.



**MRS. MARJORIE L. CHRISTIE**  
Member of Executive Council of the Episcopal Church; Former Chair, National Task Force on Women; Deputy to General Convention.



**JOHN K. CANNON**  
Member of Executive Council of the Episcopal Church; Parliamentarian, House of Deputies; Chancellor of the Diocese of Michigan.



# Show Biz or Stewardship?

by Ed Rodman

I have observed over the years that Episcopalians are generally very difficult to embarrass, and this is never more evident than during a period of preparation for the triennial General Convention. The drum beat for the march to New Orleans has begun, and the faithful are saving their pennies for the show.

Like the Grand Canyon, one has to see the General Convention to believe it. But unlike one of nature's wonders, this ecclesiastical extravaganza should not properly be offered as a proof of God's existence. Indeed, given the spectacle that the convention in its sheer size, expense, glitter, and general hoopla represents, it is only fitting that the elected, the wealthy, or the subsidized experience it to the full, thereby having their minds boggled and their pocketbooks busted. In fact, continued existence of the triennial gathering on the grand scale in which it is carried forward disproves the notion of survival of the fittest, and proves the adage that the show must go on.

Episcopalians triennially expose themselves to endless debate (normally on obscure issues), endure fanny fatigue and sore feet, and often flagellate

themselves with fantasies of a smaller, shorter and more frugal experience in a future that seemingly never comes.

As one of the subsidized, I write this article with some trepidation, for to proclaim oneself as a hypocrite in print is usually not wise. However, I offer three mundane and naive, but I trust, critical questions for consideration:

- First, can we calculate how many hungry people could be fed by resources expended at this convention?

- Secondly, how many scholarships for poor youngsters could be funded with the air fare, hotel monies, etc., expended to send us there, keep us there, and get us back home?

- And third, and probably most damning, given the collective energies and resources that go into the carrying forward of this enterprise, what kind of impact would they have if a coordinated use of time, brainpower and money were focused on the social policy concerns of this country rather than squandered on our own self-perpetuation and indulgence?

These questions and many others like them, which I am sure each of us could raise, are particularly embarrassing in this period as the four horsemen of the

Reagan apocalypse ride on before us. Like their biblical counterparts (war, famine, plague and wild animals) — General Haig's foreign policy and Reagan's increased defense budget sharpen the sword of war; the sugar-coated, anachronistic states rights policy masquerading as the New Federalism is a plague on the poor; the reinvigoration of the trickle-down theory in the guise of supply-side economics insures famine for many; and the wild beasts of Reagan's appointments are sure to devour much of the social progress made in the previous decade.

Each in their own way, and certainly together, raise the fundamental question: Can an institution such as the church continue to do business as usual? Unfortunately the answer seems to be — not only can it, but it can do it with a vengeance that must make the merchants of the Crescent City laugh all the way to the bank.

Not wishing to be identified totally as a hypocrite, let me freely admit that I enjoy the show, and have been known to participate in its various activities. However, I also used to enjoy driving at 70 miles an hour, and having my house

at 75 degrees in the winter — two luxuries our society deemed to be both extravagant and dangerous, and has strongly suggested we curb. Thus, the luxury of participating in the Episcopal General Convention may be one of the few left that one can still enjoy without guilt or the fear of social ostracism.

Why is this? And what, if anything, can we do about it?

It has been observed that nothing has a greater hold on the minds of people than ignorance fraught with technicalities. The four-ring circus of the Women's Triennial, the House of Bishops, the House of Deputies, and exposition area clearly fills this bill. Even the austere and socially conscious WITNESS Magazine has been sucked into the vortex of spending a whole issue on the general church's tribal gathering. Only the ignorant would believe that General Convention is God's answer to our official prayer for such occasions, which is:

*"Almighty and everlasting Father, you have given the Holy Spirit to abide with us for ever: Bless, we pray, with his grace and presence, the bishops and the other clergy and the laity here assembled in your Name, that your church, being preserved in true faith and godly discipline, may fulfill all the mind of him who loved it and gave himself for it, your Son Jesus Christ our Savior ..."*

Further, the all too obvious rules of order and parliamentary procedure thinly veil behind-the-scenes maneuvering which marks this as a legitimate political process, and therefore, inviolate in terms of changing in a way that would fulfill socially conscious criteria.

And even awareness of the inability to control our own process is insufficient to overcome the most formidable obstacle — the stoic

pertinacity of Episcopalians that leads us to endure even self-indulgence — if that is what is necessary to make sure all things are done decently and in order.

Given such obstacles, any attempts to alter the juggernaut from its appointed course have proved about as effective as

*"Even the austere and socially conscious WITNESS magazine has been sucked into the vortex of spending a whole issue on the general church's tribal gathering."*

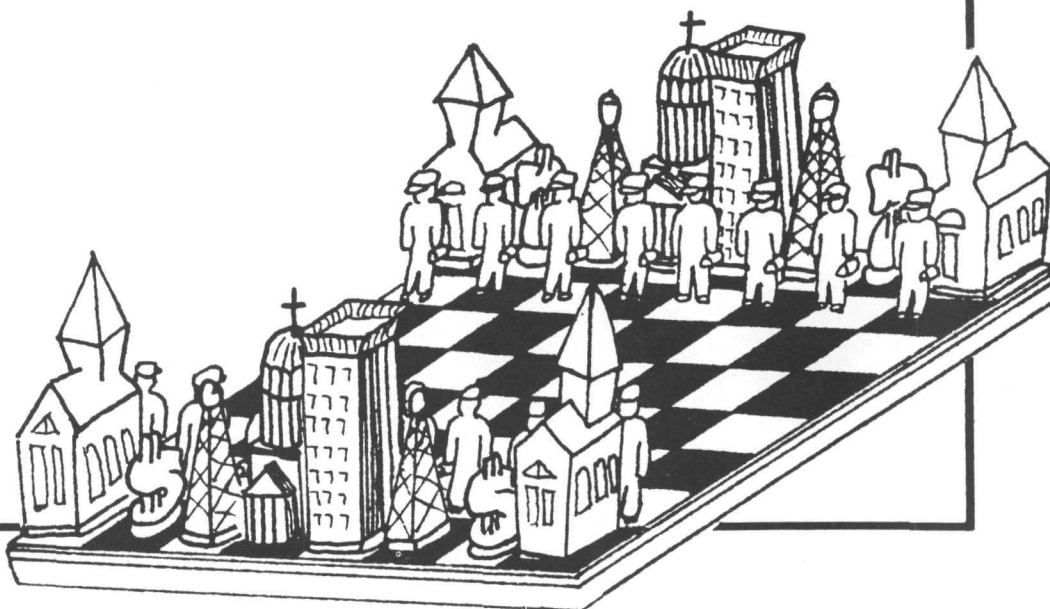
the Social Gospel at a rally of the Moral Majority. Indeed, the current New Orleans enterprise insults women by being in a non-ERA state; insults labor and minorities by taking advantage of the notorious exploitation of the underpaid and poorly unionized hotel workers; and has turned off our youth and forced them to have their own special meeting in Illinois in August. This latter point suggests that young Episcopalians may not be so easily caught up in the ignorance or technicalities of convention, nor disabused from finding a simpler and cheaper way to do it. It is a sad

commentary that we may have to defer to a future generation (which may lack the option to be extravagant) the decision to find a better way.

I would trust therefore, as we endure New Orleans in September, that those of us who resonate to the concerns raised in this article, will do everything in our power to make sure that business is not as usual; that convention decisions impact and unseat the four horsemen of Reagan's apocalypse; thereby helping the church to find a way to direct its attention to the critical needs of the poor. The oppressed, the downtrodden, the hungry, the jobless, and the homeless victims of our insular and self-indulgent society sorely need the collective power, wisdom and resources of the Episcopal Church.

Is it too much to hope that our actions in New Orleans can make a stronger statement and set a direction that will make that General Convention in fact worthwhile, and begin to make real the prayer that we function in true faith and godly discipline and fulfill the mind of Jesus Christ?

I believe it is not too much to hope for, and also believe that we can find a way to follow the lead of our young people into a future that is inclusive of all God's children. □



## The Shadow Church

# Blessed are the Frustrated

by Marge Christie

Next month will mark 25 years since my confirmation into the Episcopal Church. They have been exciting years, full of opportunities to serve, and the sense of challenge I felt in the past remains with me today. My arena has shifted from parish to national and ecumenical involvement, but my principal focus — the women of the church — has not changed.

I believe in the women of the church, feminist and traditional, and support their sense of mission. I affirm the need to include women in all facets of church life, that they may speak out on issues of justice.

These past 25 years have not been tranquil, by any stretch of the imagination! Times of change never are. Roadblocks and barriers have made for frustrations along the way, but there also have been accomplishments, successes, and times of satisfaction. As the time for General Convention approaches, it is hard to tell whether the balance will tip towards frustration or satisfaction.

Current frustrations come forth in questions being asked with increasing frequency. Why is the convention

meeting in a state which has refused to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment? Why is it meeting in a diocese opposed to the ordination of women? Will the planned opportunities for worship include women? Will anyone care enough to use inclusive language? Can the convention make a difference in these issues which particularly concern women? Will the budget reflect those concerns? Will it address today's severe economic climate? Does the church suffer from the "institutional misogyny" referred to by Betty Schiess and Nancy Wittig in the March WITNESS?

Some of the implications behind those questions become apparent as we think about the several thousand Episcopalians who will gather in New Orleans this fall. Hundreds of thousands of dollars will be spent in hotels and restaurants and shops, in many of which the hiring practices and the wage levels are below those of other communities. Project Equality has very few New Orleans establishments on its list of acceptable employers. There are more civil rights violations by the police force there than in any other city in the country. Those of us attending the

convention as deputy or delegate or visitor will worship among congregations which endorse the refusal to accept women in ministry. In the Diocese of Louisiana there are no women priests, no women deacons, no women in seminary.

Women's role has been that of shadow church for many years — separate and not equal. And I suggest that there are connections to be made between those frustrations cited above and the fact that women have only recently begun to take part in the church's decision making. After all, women were first seated as members of the House of Deputies only three conventions ago, and that seating took 50 years to achieve! By comparison the passage of the ordination canon almost seems easy — once you overlook the fact that there never should have been any question about ordaining women in the first place.

In 1970, 24 women took their seats once the vote to amend the constitution was taken. Three conventions later there were 167 women deputies in Denver, five of them in the clerical order. The news this year, however, is

not good. As of the middle of March there are only 156 certified women deputies, including six ordained women. Some changes will occur between now and September — but there is no reason to expect any great shift from male to female, even though there are 172 women among the certified alternates.

The affirmative action policy the Executive Council is recommending to the General Convention is obviously needed. But it refers only to convention committees and staff, suggesting they be as “representative as practical of the racial and sexual makeup of the church.” Referring the guidelines back to the dioceses would seem to be in order.

Since much of the work of convention is accomplished through its committees, those appointments become very important, and the opportunity to chair even more so. There is satisfaction in noting that Dr. Charles Lawrence, president of the House of Deputies, appointed a significant number of women to those committees last time; but there is frustration with the considerably fewer women serving on the commissions which function between conventions and generate much of the convention’s legislation. With the ’82 appointments not known at press time, I wonder which it will be — satisfaction or frustration?

Does it matter? A few examples may

shed some light. Prior to the 1973 convention, a network of volunteer readers examined the proposed prayer book for sexist language. Their findings were reported to the liturgical commission; that the commission chose to ignore the report is evident in the prayer book. Another example — the unsuccessful effort to find a diocese willing to offer itself as a substitute for New Orleans. In both instances, more experienced deputies, better organized, holding key positions might have made a difference.

By contrast, the effort in Denver to restore the budget of the Coalition for Human Needs owed some of its success to the careful committee work done by both women and men.

What does all this mean for the coming convention? Plans are underway to organize a caucus of women deputies within a coalition of all women on the scene. Many women saw the need for such a caucus in the closing days of the last convention; notice of these plans has generated a great deal of interest. Given the decrease in the number of women elected for New Orleans, the need for a caucus has become even more crucial, especially to organize around the social issues facing the convention. Also worth noting here — the House of Bishops is still an all-male club, and the convention still needs the presence of the all-female Triennial Meeting.

One major issue in New Orleans will be the budget, which the Presiding Bishop describes as a “tool” to raise the conscience of the church. The Executive Council refused to adopt the 1983 budget at its February meeting, something the council has never done before, because the budget failed to reflect a significant response to the issues of peace and poverty. Poverty is very much a woman’s issue; a recent study claims one family in three headed by a woman is in poverty, compared to one in 18 families headed by a man. That statistic certainly provides an agenda for the women of the church, in coalition and in caucus.

The Jubilee Ministry, with its concern for the poor and the powerless and its \$2 million addition to the budget, the impact of Venture in Mission grants on the overseas dioceses and the Black Colleges, peace and disarmament, support for the accredited seminaries, the language of the new hymnal, statements on abortion rights, domestic violence, juvenile justice — there will be no shortage of issues around which to organize — and gain strength in community if not in numbers.

I have treasured a little pamphlet for many years. Its title is *Blessed Are the Frustrated*, and the author’s belief that frustration provides incentive for action has comforted me many times, including this year of preparation for the New Orleans General Convention.





# Steps for Economizing

by John Cannon

Mark Twain would love General Convention. Most everybody complains about its cost, but no one, particularly General Convention, seems able to do much about it.

Before one can do something about it, however, it is necessary to analyze the elements of cost which go into a General Convention and which, in the common judgment, make it "too expensive."

Broadly speaking, the costs fall into three categories which, in the aggregate, can be viewed as the amount of money spent by the Episcopal Church each triennial for General Convention. The first element is the money spent by the national church (characterized as "815") from the General Convention Executive Office, mandated to arrange for plenary session facilities for the House of Bishops, the House of Deputies and the Triennial Meeting of the Women of the Episcopal Church; to provide the multiple committee meeting rooms required; to negotiate group rates with hotels, etc. The cost of the 1979 General Convention at Denver (minus the revenues received in the form of registration fees and exhibitor rentals), was approximately \$100,000 for "815."

The second element of cost is the money spent to send the bishops to the House of Bishops, the deputies to the House of Deputies, and the delegates to the Triennial Meeting. Most dioceses, to varying degrees, underwrite or at least partially subsidize these expenses. Because of varying air fares, lengths of stay, hotels selected or available, and culinary tastes, it is difficult to project an average cost per deputy, bishop or Triennial delegate. But, for the 1982 Louisiana convention, it seems this will amount to at least \$1,500 per person staying at a commercial hotel. If each of the 95 domestic dioceses were to send its full complement of eight deputies, its bishops and four Triennial delegates, this element of General Convention expense approaches or exceeds \$1,800,000.

The third element of General Convention cost is even less capable of approximation. It relates to the money spent by visitors and exhibitors whose presence at General Convention is strictly voluntary and unrelated to the business of either House or the meeting of Triennial. Over the course of a typical General Convention (if there be such a thing), the number of people who visit

or exhibit at one time or another exceed by manyfold the number present as bishops, deputies, or delegates to Triennial.

Many people in this category perceive General Convention as a recreational or vacation event, and therefore are likely to spend money that they would ordinarily budget for such diversions. By any account, this represents monies over which neither "815," nor General Convention, nor any constituent diocese has control. Furthermore, by any account, it probably represents the single largest expenditure in connection with a General Convention.

For many, this third element signifies an important and invaluable aspect of the Episcopal Church in General Convention. It represents multiple mini-reunions of seminary classes; an occasion to renew old friendships and a potential for new; and an opportunity to teach Episcopalians about the diversity that constitutes the whole.

Such visitors, on rare occasions, have even been seen in the gallery of the House of Bishops, the House of Deputies or the Triennial, but presence in a gallery is not required and many

*Continued on page 20*

# How EUC, Women, Gays, EPF, Blacks View Convention

**W**hat particular convention issues will be impacting special interest groups in the Episcopal Church? Or, if their key concerns are not on the convention agenda, how will these groups strategize to achieve their goals? THE WITNESS invited five prominent leaders who will be involved in politics on the floor and in the corridors, to present their platforms to our readers. Following are responses from:

- John Fortunato, president of Integrity/International and psychotherapist-author of "Embracing the Exile: Healing Journeys of Gay Christians;"

- Edrick Bain, president, Union of Black Episcopalians, and president of the Board of Action for Boston Community Development (ABCD), an anti-poverty organization;

- The Rev. Patricia M. Park, president of the Episcopal Women's Caucus and director of the Women's Advocacy Program of the YWCA in Richmond, Va.;

- The Rev. John M. Gessell, president of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship and professor of Christian ethics at the School of Theology, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn., and

- The Rev. Lloyd S. Casson, president of the Episcopal Urban Caucus, canon of the Washington Cathedral, and Cathedral Assistant for Community and Ecumenical Affairs.

## Gay Ministry Vital As Violence Escalates

by John E. Fortunato

**T**he 1982 General Convention of the Episcopal Church must be made to hear the urgent pastoral needs of God's Gay and Lesbian children — some 2 million in this country alone — who are being victimized and murdered in increasing numbers. And the church, if indeed it intends to be the church, must be made to respond.

The church's response to the plight of Gay and Lesbian people must be more than renewed gestures of "acceptance" or "support" or, worst of all, "sympathy." Nor can the church allow itself conveniently to be diverted by red herrings like "same-sex marriage" or the "ordination of homosexuals" or the contention that reaching out to Gay and Lesbian people automatically means condoning "homosexual behavior." The church's response must be decisive and substantive because lives are at stake.

The psychological stress with which Gay and Lesbian people must contend in the face of formidable social ostracism and outright persecution is astounding. The incidence of suicide among Gays and Lesbians in the United States is four times the national average. The incidence of alcoholism is seven times higher. And the situation is worsening.

Thanks to the hate-mongering of the New Religious Right during the past year, the number of violent crimes with Gay and Lesbian victims has doubled in most metropolitan areas. The number of murders has risen alarmingly. In Los Angeles now, when police arrest homeless, confused and often drug-addicted young men who are prostituting themselves in order to survive, wax impressions of their teeth routinely are taken. It is a logical procedure. The impressions later will aid the coroner in identifying their abused and mutilated bodies when they are found murdered.

Will the church continue to bury its head and pretend that Gay and Lesbian people are some theoretical minority about which to theologize and hypothesize? Can the church set aside its neurotic need to try to "cure" Gay and Lesbian people long enough to hear their anguish? Is the Episcopal Church at long last prepared to take its Gay brothers and Lesbian sisters just as they are, hear their pain, and be the



church: healing, consoling, and nurturing? Or will the church continue to foist off onto secular society the task of ministry with Gay and Lesbian people?

Can the church begin to fathom that Integrity, with seven solid years of experience in ministry with the Gay and Lesbian community, is the church's resident expert in such ministry? Can the church move beyond tolerating Integrity to supporting it and consulting it about ministry with Gays and Lesbians? Has the church matured enough to see its own past arrogance in trying to prescribe for us what we need without bothering to ask us?

In short, the recent frightening increase in violence against Gay and Lesbian people should be sufficient to motivate the Episcopal Church to do more than offer a patronizing pat on the head and a little guilt money. The signs of the times indicate the need for program, staff and budget. A half million dollars over the coming triennium would barely begin to heal this gaping wound in the Body of Christ. Is the convention prepared to venture half that far?

## Racial Justice First On Black Agenda

by Edrick Bain

Since its inception in 1968 as the Union of Black Clergy and Laity, the Union of Black Episcopalians has looked forward to General Conventions of the Episcopal Church as an opportunity to both state as creatively as possible the needs and the concerns of its Black membership, and to await a positive response to that agenda. Unfortunately, that response has not always been satisfactory, as we still live with the failure of the church to truly put the issue of racial justice first on its agenda.

However, the continuing support of the Episcopal Black Colleges, the existence and activities of Frank Turner's Black Ministries Desk at the Episcopal Church Center, and the mounting interest emerging around the work of the Coalition for Human Needs gives us reason to hope as we look toward 1983.

Basically the agenda of the UBE remains the same as long as racism and inequality exist within both our church and society. We believe strongly that it is imperative that the church make real the Executive Council's recent commitment to a national policy of affirmative action, and we trust that the General Convention will



understand its responsibility to respond to this concern by electing dedicated and qualified Black clergy and lay leadership to positions of responsibility in the House of Deputies, the Executive Council, the Church Pension Fund, and other boards and committees that make the critical decisions between conventions that chart the future of the church.

Secondly, we hope the General Convention will look within its own ranks and see what we fear will be a smaller number of Black deputies than we have had in recent times (which has never been adequate to truly represent the largest minority constituency within the church). Thus, in our opinion, affirmative action has as its second principle the election by dioceses of Black clergy and lay people to key decision making positions, including deputies to convention, assuring that affirmative action begins at home.

As always, another priority of the UBE is the continued support of Black Colleges. We are heartened to learn that an item of \$1 million will probably appear in the convention budget for their continued support. Yet we also look at the failure of dioceses to support the VIM program which generates the resources necessary to ensure, on an endowed basis, their continued existence. Therefore we must applaud the leadership of the Presiding Bishop for starting this process by using undesignated funds for this purpose.

We will look very closely at the budget allocations for the work of the Black Desk and the Coalition for Human Needs. We will strongly oppose any new program or redefinition of ministry which would tend to undercut the creative and critical work that these two organizations, as well as the other Ethnic Desks, are performing, not only for the minority communities, but for the whole church and society.

Beyond these internal concerns, the UBE will be working very closely with Coalition E, and other progressive forces within the convention, to help articulate resolutions on the very vital issues of national and international peace and justice that trouble us all at this time.

We are particularly concerned that there be no reinstitution of the draft, no further intervention in Latin America and rethinking and reversing of the new policy for South Africa by the Reagan Administration. We would also like to see strong opposition mounted against government cutbacks, and the so-called New Federalism which is already wreaking severe havoc on minorities and poor throughout the country.

Finally, and most importantly, we are concerned that the church issue a prophetic call to witness that will make this a truly just society for all of its citizens — not merely those who apparently benefit from the trickle-down economic policies of supply-side economics.

Thus, the UBE looks forward to General Convention

1982 as an opportunity for the Episcopal Church to regain its leadership in the various areas of social justice that it so proudly held in the '60s by redoubling its efforts to make sure that all of God's children share in the blessings of this society.

## Women to Politic, Stage Arts Festival

by Patricia M. Park

For the last few years the Episcopal Women's Caucus has struggled to retain its historic past and reclaim the vision of the church that was seen so clearly during the struggle for the ordination of women to the priesthood. The Episcopal Church remains a deep and powerful oppressor of the spirit-filled lives of many of the women who are its members. As we prepare to attend the next General Convention, we are aware that this church continues to ignore our needs. Marge Christie aptly names the insults and abuses that greet us at General Convention, elsewhere in this issue of THE WITNESS.

The Episcopal Women's Caucus continues to witness to the Episcopal Church the possibilities for taking old symbols and giving them new meanings and for making connections between theology and daily life. This year in New Orleans we will have an Arts Festival, celebrating the artistic gifts of women. We want to communicate to the church that there are Episcopalian women who know and love each other no matter what their differences. These women, whose cultic center is Anglican, communicate through their art their understanding and deep feelings about God and the preciousness of life. We believe that the church is remiss in not understanding how women perceive God. Through the artistic events we will present, we want to communicate women's experience of God with the hope that a new compassion will be felt for all people.

Politically, we will continue to urge and recommend to the Standing Committee on the New Hymnal that the language used be inclusive. We will continue to encourage dioceses and parishes to employ professional women, clergy and lay. Through meetings with the leadership of the church, such as the one we had recently with the Presiding Bishop, we will urge that the Episcopal Church make a



stronger, more definitive statement on the necessity and validity of women in the priesthood.

Our caucus has been invited by the Women's Triennial to participate in its deliberations by sending a delegate. We are pleased to accept this gracious invitation and look forward to strengthening our bonds with our sisters.

Informally we will be present at our booth for support, networking and conversation. We will be selling T-shirts with slogans like *A Woman's Place Is in the House . . . of Bishops*. The community that gathers at the booth will be a source of creativity, vision and humor for the church.

## Disarmament, Peace Focus of EPF Efforts

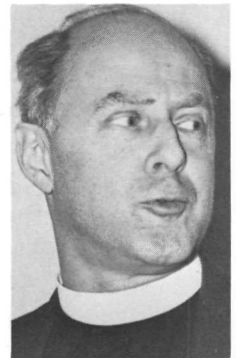
by John M. Gessell

We hear on all sides — in the academy, the market place, legislative halls, and in the churches — that our choice today is war or economic collapse, that we must continue to build more nuclear weapons in order to "keep up with the Russians." The truth is that there is no arms race with the Soviet Union. We in the United States have been engaging in an arms race with ourselves. And it will destroy the earth.

The historic function of nation-states has been to preserve internal order against the threat of chaos, and to protect its citizens from any threat or destruction from abroad. Today, many nation-states act in precisely the opposite way. Their domestic and foreign policies invoke external attack and provoke widespread internal chaos — and threaten all of us with loss of the future without our consent.

I am referring to the military strategies of northern hemisphere nations, and especially to the policies and practices of the superpowers. Strategic assumptions of the United States and the Soviet Union have led to the development of weapons systems which imply a counter-force or pre-emptive first strike strategy and which will certainly create nuclear holocaust. The effects of any nuclear exchange will lead almost inevitably to the extinction of life of every sort and, indeed, of the entire small planet. Nuclear war is the crime against the future.

It is contrary to the law of nations and common sense to risk the world for limited and partial historical goals.





Jonathan Schell in his *New Yorker* piece of Feb. 1, said it for everyone.

*We can say that although the risk of extinction may be fractional, the stake is, humanly speaking, infinite, and a fraction of infinity is still infinity. In other words, once we learn that a holocaust might lead to extinction we have no right to gamble, because if we lose, the game will be over, and neither we nor anyone else will ever get another chance. Therefore, although, scientifically speaking, there is all the difference in the world between the mere possibility that a holocaust will bring about extinction and the certainty of it, morally they are the same, and we have no choice but to address the issue of nuclear weapons as though we knew for a certainty that their use would put an end to our species . . .*

In other words, we are living in the time in which a revolutionary historical change has occurred, in which former ways of thinking and acting are outmoded by nuclear weapons technology.

One of the reasons that we have such a hard time with this is that the impending destruction of the world has already begun to effect the destruction of the language by which to speak of it. Destruction of the language of public discourse has led to incoherence, irrationality, mendacity and, not to put too fine a point on it, sheer gibberish. This babel, the language of barbarians, is nowhere more clearly exhibited than in the hysteria of the Reagan regime as it seeks to rush into a confrontation in Central America with what it calls "Soviet imperialism," before the coalescence of an effective opposition by the public and by the Congress can restrain its adventurism.

Nuclear weapons technology has rendered war impotent as an instrument of national policy. War no longer defends — if it ever did — for the bomb has rendered futile, war itself. This has made all debates about strategy, military procurement and the like, suddenly antic, uncouth, grotesque, useless, beside the point.

War may be the final refuge of the demonic, of the principalities and powers of which St. Paul spoke. But God is calling the church in our time to form itself into a peace fellowship to work for a halt to war and all preparations for war, *now*, before it is too late. Since our public servants seem to be incapable of freezing nuclear weapons at present levels and moving toward disarmament, the people must tell them that it is unacceptable for policy makers to pursue a course that will lead to certain extinction for whatever reasons. The growing international movement for disarmament gives us courage.

General Convention will be much occupied this September with peace and disarmament issues. The report

of the Joint Commission on Peace will merit everyone's sustained attention. The Joint Commission is a first step to the organization of the church for its Gospel task of peacemaking. Let the church end its complicity with war and war-making.

Someone recently wrote that human imagination invented nuclear weapons and put them here; human imagination can remove them. The church is the place to start. God is calling us to this work. It is the last chance for the human race.

## EUC to Pursue Tough, Multi-Issue Platform

by Lloyd Casson

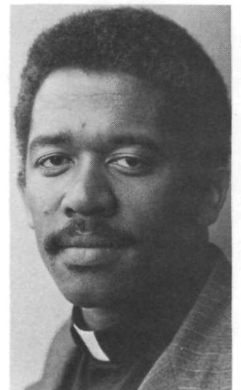
The dynamics and mood which prevail at a General Convention of the Episcopal Church tend to mirror those in the nation as a whole. Invariably, the emotional climate, the issues, energies, official responses and outcomes surrounding national crises, elections, and other events determine (or at least are reflected in) who gets elected as deputies, what priorities the convention establishes and even the way in which convention resolves issues. Given the chaotic situation and tense political climate of our nation and world, some of the resolutions before the New Orleans convention representing Episcopal Urban Caucus (EUC) concerns will be debated in an anxious and even hostile environment.

The same forces which are disrupting the world scene are disrupting things at home. Because of the massive shift to the arms race of financial and other resources, the door to the way out of poverty has been slammed shut in the face of U.S. poor as programs which were meeting basic survival needs for food, shelter, medical care and training have been drastically reduced or abolished.

Moreover, continued plant shut-downs and relocations, business and farm failures and lay-offs of hundreds of thousands of employees due to budget cuts in the public and private sector, have created in short order millions of "nouveau pauvres" — people now suddenly living on the edge of poverty, who just a year or so ago saw for themselves only the securest of economic futures. Some of them will be convention deputies.

The drastic economic crisis and the deep-down-inside fear

*Continued on page 21*



# Demythologizing the Episcopal Church

“**W**hat is the Episcopal Church?” I was asked on a wintry day in Indianapolis by an auto mechanic who was just about to crawl beneath my car. “It’s Catholic *and* Protestant,” I said. “Oh,” he replied, and slid quickly between the wheels.

I have been a part of the Episcopal Church all of my life, although I drifted far, far away from it when I was a student in school. Later, when I had been battered by life and knocked down in youthful collisions with the world, I cast wistful glances toward the church. I was idealistic about the possibility of a better world, and wanted to serve in bringing it about. Could the church partake in such a task?

My belief in God was strong, even though I had recently felt unable to find God inside church as much as outside it. So, was there any point in grappling with the church again? Did a heart beat underneath its stiff trappings? Did a soul stir amid the impersonal counting of monies and the competitive sparring for worldly power? Did anybody there give a tinker’s damn about people, especially sinners?

I prayed. I ate Jesus in the consecrated bread, drank Christ’s blood in the consecrated wine, and fervently pleaded for divine guidance. I read the whole Bible from beginning to end, seeking the Word of God. My heart burned with a new (for me) but very ancient fire, the fire that Moses saw in a burning bush. I felt the death of my old self in immolation and ashes, was born again, understood the newness of pardon and grace, love and resurrection.

I was tired of conflict, which was the child of the devil. I would sit inside a vine-covered ecclesiastical building for the rest of my life, wear a black suit with a round white collar, sip tea with devout

churchwomen, write classic sermons for godlike delivery on Sunday mornings, and be a role-model for holiness.

I was an Episcopalian in the ecumenical crossword puzzle — instead of a Roman Catholic, a Greek Orthodox, a Methodist, a Baptist, a Lutheran, a Presbyterian. Now, 27 years after being ordained a priest, how do I perceive the church?

It seems to me the Episcopal Church is quite different from what it’s generally *supposed* to be. In other words, its prevalent image appears to be a distortion.

For example, the Episcopal Church is held to be “rich” and “social,” yet most of its members whom I know are solidly middle-class; worried about how to pay for an offspring’s education, an elderly parent’s care, needed house improvements, the rising cost of automobile insurance, the food bill, and their own security in a time of coming “retirement” that portends anything but ease, conjuring up a rugged King Learian landscape instead of the measured serenity of an advertised “Leisure World.”

The myth of “rich” Episcopalians is a bore. It is as gross for a newly-moneyed social climber to seek church credentials that are alleged to be “chic” as it is for a “conspicuous consumer” to purchase an immense, guzzling car that is a symbol of social acceptance and prestige.

Wherever and whenever membership in the Episcopal Church is seen as possessing a “Gold Card,” ecumenically speaking, the time has clearly come to demythologize.

In my opinion, many Episcopalians secretly love the false myths about the church. Isn’t it nice to think we are, indeed, a band of millionaires, tycoons, power brokers and world movers? This

is especially true on a rainy, overcast Sunday morning when the worn-out old car won’t start to get us to church, housed in a mortgaged structure whose heat bill is soaring and unpaid.

The Episcopal Church is said to be formalistic, anti-evangelical, and have poor preaching. Nonsense. A robust celebration of the liturgy with rousing hymns, energetic clergy and a fired-up congregation is evangelical to a fault. Preaching in Episcopal parishes is better than in the Roman Catholic, a half-inch beneath peak Presbyterian standards, more literate than Methodist and more interesting than Baptist.

Another classic myth about the Episcopal Church is that we are the bridge church between Roman Catholics and Protestants. Balderdash. Communities like Taizé in France are far more conspicuous and active in bridge capacities than we are; and don’t for a moment forget the Lutherans. In the burgeoning women’s religious revolution, most bridges have been sawed down or blown up, anyhow; bridges are seen as *passé* because the people involved are already *together*.

Women in the Episcopal Church, despite a considerable amount of publicity to the contrary, are still second-class citizens. Female role models — celebrating at altars and preaching in pulpits — are still rare. This sharply refutes a seemingly emergent new myth (one quite prevalent in Roman Catholic circles) that the Episcopal Church has “solved” its problems concerning women as clergy and in other leadership roles.

Episcopalians have a love-hate relationship with bishops, who frequently incarnate their own sets of myths. It took an African Christian (writing in *Prayer in The Religious*

## by Malcolm Boyd

*Traditions of Africa* by Aylward Shorter) to say frankly and up-front what a lot of American Episcopalians feel about a number of bishops, but only say behind their backs, especially at cocktail parties and church conventions:

*Bishops feel superior,  
Behave as if they were Our Lord  
himself.*

Episcopalians are ambivalent about the matter, enjoying episcopal pomp (up to a point, at least) while being riled by pomposity. Priests as well as bishops easily fall into the arrogance of ultimate role-playing: playing god.

The darker side of spiritual arrogance takes different forms of ecclesiastical hubris. Consuelo Vanderbilt Balsan left an unforgettable portrait in her memoir, *The Glitter and the Gold*. The young English duchess visited the imperial court of Franz Joseph where she witnessed the Maundy Thursday observance of the "foot washing." The emperor each year washed the feet of 12 beggars. Mrs. Balsan later wrote of the event:

"Originally intended as an act of humility, it had become, when I saw it, a scene of splendor in which arrogance masqueraded in spurious simplicity. Twelve of the oldest and poorest men in Vienna were seated on a bench just in front of the tribune from which I watched the scene. They had been carefully washed and scented so that no unpleasant odor should offend the imperial nostrils. I was told that on one occasion such precautions had been neglected and that the emperor at the time had been nearly overcome as he knelt to wash the filthy feet extended to him. The feet now were faultlessly clean — one might

almost say manicured — and each man in turn placed a foot in perfumed water. When the emperor reached the last man he raised his weary eyes in which I saw disillusion shine cold and bleak. Then rising he returned to the archdukes, who were dressed in gorgeous uniforms and stood in line facing us. It saddened me that an act of Christian humility such as the washing of the beggars' feet should have become an operatic scene shorn of all spiritual meaning."

The memoir is useful to us simply as a reminder of our own tendency to substitute spiritual arrogance in place of humility before Christ. It is a tendency as strong in the Episcopal Church as in any, and there is a compelling drive underlying it. The answer to the problem? Demythologize. Name the demons. Get back to scriptural basics.

Instead of fastening our attention solely on old myths, we should change focus and perceive different realities. For example, I have a favorite recollection of the Episcopal Church as poor and dispossessed, a fragment of a shattered remnant. One morning I stood at the altar of an Episcopal parish in the Deep South that had a Black congregation and priest. It was a backwater parish, separated by social apartheid, if not theology, from the mainstream of church and society.

The building smelled moldy. The wooden floor on which I stood was unsteady, needing repairs. The prayer book I held was falling to pieces, its pages coming apart and breaking.

I celebrated the Eucharist there, and saw a side of the church that many people never see. In that tiny, poor, embattled parish there was a vision of the Universal Church, the Body of Christ, that was deep and imbedded, and would not go away.

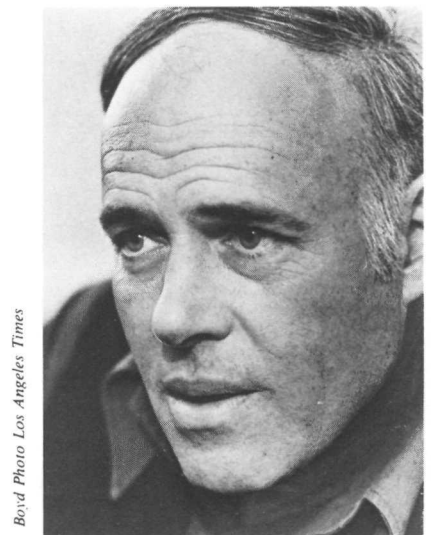
Now, looking around inside the Episcopal Church, I see new breed

Episcopalians: sophisticated beyond belief, yet innocent as lambs; tough survivors and tender lovers of each other; media-saturated women and men who find the gospel, its hope and challenge, ever new. Their diversity is striking: Black, White, Asian, Latino, female, male, heterosexual, Gay, Lesbian, rich, middle-class, poor, young, middle-aged, old. . . .

Sometimes I feel surrounded by a lively cast of unlikely saints who seem to be in a roadshow company of T. S. Eliot's *The Cocktail Party* — vital, caring, concerned people who are truly committed, but wouldn't wear it on their sleeves for all the world.

Hopefully, I will long remain a critic of the church and its myths — always a loving one. I am a member of the particular family that is the church. I know where the skeletons are hidden, the closet doors nailed shut, the unspoken secrets shared in secret. I want the church to be, and do, better than it has. For it is desperately needed as a means of succor, a symbol of conscience, a channel of communication, a vessel of loving, a sacrament of God's purpose. □

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Boyd Photo Los Angeles Times



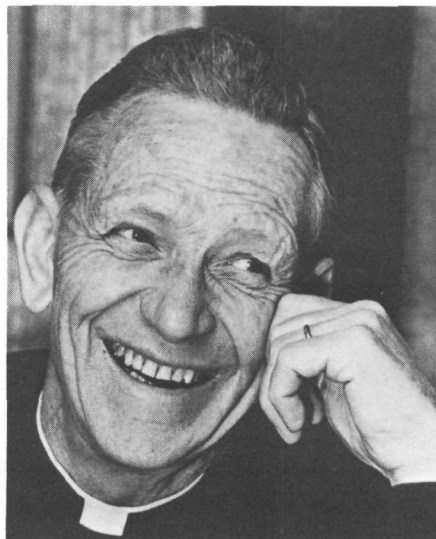
# Colorful Moments, Personalities From Conventions Since 1952

by Robert L. DeWitt

Episcopal General Conventions in recent decades, prior to the Seattle Convention of 1967, were usually *pro forma* occasions. Necessary business was tended to, the church took its collective pulse, host cities rejoiced in the coming of multitudes who had a reputation for tipping, eating and drinking well, and another *Journal of Convention* was printed and bound.

There were exceptions, of course. The Boston Convention of 1952 is often cited as a great convention. What is usually remembered, however, is that buses were chartered from all over New England and thousands of Episcopalians converged on the Boston Garden for a mass service. Not remembered so well is the lively debate over what was perhaps the most important legislative issue at that convention, the revision of the marriage canon to allow the re-marriage of divorced persons.

And the most significant event at that convention is all but forgotten. Bishop Clinton Quin had offered to host the next convention in Texas. Acceptance of such an invitation was customarily greeted with expressions of gratitude and relief, since the problem would be solved for another three years. To everyone's astonishment however, Bishop Norman Nash of Massachusetts rose and said that if Bishop Quin could guarantee that there would be no discrimination in Texas against any Black Episcopalians at the convention, he would gladly vote in favor of that location. The House of Bishops followed his lead, and the invitation was accepted, subject to that condition.



Robert L. DeWitt

After some months spent in assessing the situation, Presiding Bishop Henry Knox Sherrill reassigned the convention to Honolulu.

That episode at Boston in 1952 cast a shadow of things to come. The world was intruding into church affairs. Issues familiar to the daily newspapers would begin to appear on convention agenda. They emerged slowly, to be sure. For example, the next convention, Honolulu in 1955, drew its battle-lines over the new Seabury Series curriculum being offered by David Hunter and his colleagues in the Department of Christian Education. The church was being pressed to decide whether its educational nurture was to continue to consist in an emphasis on tradition, or in learning how to be open to the Spirit. However, what the Spirit might ask the church to be open to was not identified.

The following convention in 1958 in

Miami Beach saw the election of a new Presiding Bishop, Arthur Lichtenberger. Many remember his acceptance speech in which he told of going for a swim after the election, and being tempted to head away from shore, and keep going! My own strongest recollection of that convention was being asked by the Michigan deputation to present a resolution concerning the Church Pension Fund. It was at one of the late-night sessions that I presented the resolution, which called for "the appointment of an impartial committee to investigate the policies and procedures of the Church Pension Fund, and to report back to the next convention." When the vote was called, virtually everybody in that enormous arena voiced their disapproval with a thunder as from heaven.

The following day an old friend, Powell Dawley, of the faculty of the General Seminary, told me, "I would have liked to have voted for your resolution, but I just couldn't. You see, in the church we assume that all committees we appoint are impartial. And further, in the church we don't 'investigate' each other — we 'study a question.'"

The Detroit Convention in 1961 was dominated by an emphasis on the church's relationship to industry, thanks to a committee chaired by Bishop John Hines. The Detroit Industrial Mission under the leadership of Hugh White arranged bus trips to automotive assembly plants, and presentations on the implications for the church of modern industrialization. Though no one made the connection, it



was suggestive of Bishop Nash's intervention in Boston. It asserted strongly that business-as-usual is not an assumption to be made lightly by the church — whether in relationship to race relations, or to the church's mission in the industrial age.

In 1964 the convention was held in St. Louis. William Mead was the new dean of the cathedral which hosted many of the convention services. He had recently come from St. Paul, Minn. Together with an impressive array of pastoral abilities, he was also an avid baseball fan — indeed, a baseball nut, as his many friends in St. Paul well knew. By a coincidence which he thought providential St. Louis won the pennant, shortly after his arrival, and just before the convention.

The convention's presence in a World Series city gave a wry twist to the then-current saying that "The world should set the church's agenda." Yet at that very time Martin Luther King's name was becoming a household word. The marches and the Freedom Rides had begun, and they would not soon stop. The church was already deeply immersed in the '60s, far deeper than it realized.

The new Presiding Bishop, John Hines, realized it full well. His first convention as presiding officer was in 1967 at Seattle. What had seemed in 1952 a nuisance point of social ethics — to alter the location of a convention because of racial discrimination — had become in 1967 a national crisis. Civil rights was the top priority on the nation's agenda. And, thought the new Presiding Bishop, therefore it was a forced option for the church. Empowerment of the poor was the prescription for justice. An astonished and bewildered convention followed his daring lead. The church pledged millions of dollars for empowerment, and "no strings attached" and "self-determination" became the by-words of the church's new approach to mission.

But the church had bought before it had fully appraised the purchase. The implications of the Seattle actions soon became apparent for what they were — a radical change in the understanding of the church's mission. A special convention, the first in generations, was convened in South Bend two years later, in 1969, to deal with the implications of the Seattle actions, and to face the delayed backlash. Housed in dormitories of the University of Notre Dame, the convention had a flavor unique in convention tradition. It was intimate, intense, confrontational, ambivalent. Problems of race were center-stage.

On the one hand, for example, there was an address to a joint session of the two houses by the Rev. James Woodruff, a Black priest. He brought the house down when he pointed out, in a cataloguing of Black contributions to American society, that the in-put of Black music to American culture had been a part of the plan of Providence to save Americans from the music of Lawrence Welk. On the other hand, there was that electric moment, in another joint session, when Muhammed Kenyatta from Philadelphia forcibly took the microphone from Bishop Hines to address the convention, an action which the Black deputies supported.



But as in the nation, so in the church. The backlash was mounting. What the Black community had for decades referred to as "the problem," and what the Swedish sociologist, Gunnar Myrdal, called "an American dilemma," continued to be the problem, remained a dilemma. The quarterly meetings of the Executive Council ("the convention between conventions") were constantly fighting a rearguard action on the approval of grants authorized by the Seattle Convention. At one meeting, Charles Crump from Memphis attempted to block a proposed grant to one Black community organization, characterizing a flyer they had circulated as inciting to revolution. A Black council member, Charles Willie, a sociologist from Syracuse, spoke to the question, referring to the alleged revolutionary rhetoric as "sociological poetry," and the grant was approved. But every meeting of the council was punctuated by debate, sometimes bitter. The lines were drawn. And at the convention of 1970 — ironically, as Bishop Nash would have pointed out, held in Texas — the opposition grew and made itself felt. Brilliant budget work was done by people like Charles Ritchie, to save the heart of the new mission emphasis, but more reactionary people were elected to key posts. Some of the pinions of the fledgling mission thrust were clipped.

It became apparent then that the political process of convention would be the handmaid, or the nemesis, of the church's mission. This point came to mind recently when I had an extended conversation with Byron Rushing, Chairperson of the Board of the Boston City Mission. He has been a deputy to the past three conventions and, with the Rev. Gil Avery, the co-coordinator of Coalition E. I asked him to explain the coalition:

"Coalition E is a loose network of the progressive deputies at convention," Rushing said. "It exists only during

convention. It took form at the Louisville Convention in 1973. Gil Avery and I had been elected deputies, and at a pre-convention meeting of the Massachusetts deputation, we were asked to see if it would be possible to bring together like-minded deputies into some kind of organization at the convention.

"In late 1972 we called together a group of people to discuss the idea. A number of the issues we all stood for — equality, empowerment — began with the letter 'E,' so we decided on that for the name. Actually, Coalition E stands for a whole range of issues that unite many deputies. We drafted a statement of purpose which has not changed. It reads:

*We affirm the direction toward openness, diversity and the investing of ourselves in the social issues of our time, which our church has taken. We are committed to the idea of empowerment — creating the opportunities for all women and men to exercise fully their God-given power through Christ. We see this direction and commitment as the liberating function of a servant church. We prepare for General Convention with this aim: to have openness, diversity, social consciousness and a commitment to empowerment both shape the reforms in our church and inform our strategies to share the Good News with everyone, everywhere."*

Rushing does not exaggerate the importance of Coalition E, but its very existence underscores an important point which can be put simply: a convention counts votes, and votes count. The colorful, irrepressible Bishop Jim Pike was frequently criticized by his friends for not paying enough attention to "floor work," that is, to political process. Frequently, he would be sitting in a session of the House of Bishops, smoking incessant

cigarettes, absorbed in a newspaper account of the address he had made the night before, seemingly oblivious to what was going on. Suddenly, he would drop his newspaper and rush to a microphone to point out that the ineptitude of the action under consideration would defeat the very intent of the House. Such was the acuteness of his legal training. Often he saved the bishops from putting their collective foot in their common mouth.

Yet, when it came to controversies



concerning himself, he would blithely go it alone, only to be shot at, and frequently shot down. His floor work, his political organizing, was abominable. So had it been with many of the concerns of those who came to associate themselves with Coalition E.

An unresolved difference exists over political process and its appropriateness to a convention committed to religious concerns. Some feel it is utterly out of place. Their understanding of how the Spirit of God influences a group of

people is atomistic — God speaks to individuals, and then that message is relayed by individuals to the group. On the other hand, there are those who feel that political process — caucusing, lobbying, organizing — is the proper method whereby the Spirit makes its will known to a group of people.

Political organizing at a General Convention took on dramatic form at Louisville in 1973. A good deal of organizing was done by those who wished to elect John Allin as successor to Bishop Hines. A careful counting of potential votes was made, favorable retired bishops who might otherwise not have attended were urged to come. It was a legitimate, effective process, and proved successful. On the other hand, there was no organizing at all on the part of the progressive bishops. And that helped make possible the election of John Allin. That was the first convention at which Coalition E had been in existence, and they were tracking this issue. In Rushing's words:

"The approval of the House of Deputies is required when the House of Bishops has elected a new presiding bishop," he said. "In the past that has been *pro forma*. The deputies would go into executive session, people would stand up and say what a wonderful diocese the elected bishop came from, what wonderful people lived there, and what a wonderful man had been elected. At Louisville, the closer we came to the election, the stronger Bishop Allin looked, even though he was the most conservative of the candidates. We of Coalition E decided that in the eventuality of his election, there would have to be some kind of response from us. The only 'statement' we could think of that would be effective would be to have a number of deputies vote against approving his election. To accomplish this — it would be so extraordinary — we had to have members of Coalition E speak first when the election came before the deputies for confirmation."

But how was Coalition E to know

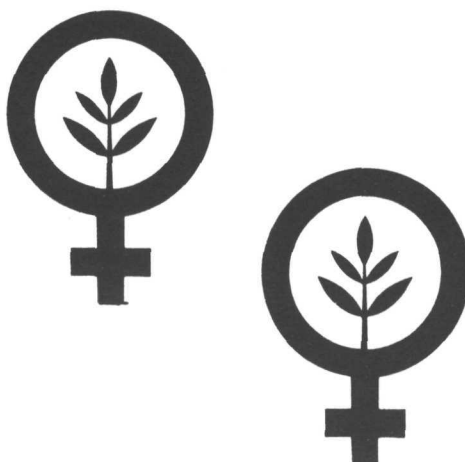
who was elected before the issue was presented to the deputies?

"We were able to persuade one of the members of the committee bringing the report from the House of Bishops to give us a signal on reaching the platform," Rushing explained. "The signal was given to us — without a word being said — which let us know that Allin had indeed been elected. Then while the committee's report was being made, persons from Coalition E stepped up to all the microphones in the hall. When the debate for concurrence was opened, no matter which floor microphone was recognized by John Coburn, the presiding officer, a Coalition E spokesperson responded.

"Our proposal was that the election be reconsidered. We lost, of course, but we were able to raise the issue, and for the first time in the history of our church there was a genuine vote in the House of Deputies on the election of a presiding bishop. Actually, Massachusetts and a number of other dioceses voted against his election.

"This action sent a message to John Allin about the mission priorities of a great number of deputies. It also sent a message to the convention about Coalition E, that there was a considerable group of progressive deputies who were organized. It set our reputation for future conventions."

When 11 women were "irregularly" ordained to the priesthood in Philadelphia in 1974, the church was taken by surprise. The House of Bishops was both confused and outraged by the initiative taken by the three ordaining bishops. The church found itself in a very awkward stalemate. It became clear that only the convention could resolve the impasse. Although it was evident that a majority in the church, and a strong majority of the bishops, were in favor of the ordaining of women, it was not at all clear that the convention would speak affirmatively on the question. The success at the Minneapolis Convention



in 1976 of those favoring the ordination of women was due in large measure to the careful political work of Coalition E and a host of other organizers such as Pat Park and Bill Coats.

Since Boston in 1952 compromise has yielded to confrontation, issues have been sharply defined, lines have been drawn. The one God who out of love created one world seems unalterably opposed to the separate packaging of issues between the church and the world to which it is sent.

For example, those opposed to the ordination of women correctly pointed out that it issued from the movement for women's liberation. And liberation also has a theological aspect which is properly the church's business. In the same way, peace in this nuclear age is a question with military, economic and political facets. And it is very much the concern of the followers of the Prince of Peace.

Convention has lost its innocence, and can never be the same again. Issues may not erupt at this coming convention in New Orleans, or even at the next. But convention has learned how to erupt, and that threat, sheathed though it may be at any one convention, can always be drawn. In the nervous but unavoidable, the tentative but continuing encounter of the church with the world, may that sword be the sword of the Spirit of God. □

## Coming Up . . . in **THE WITNESS**

• **Winners** of the Scarlett, Spofford, and Scudder Awards to be presented by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company at a dinner during General Convention.

• **Nuclear Disarmament** — A major article on how this issue impacts the churches and how churchpersons might strategize to impact the issue, by George Regas.

• **The National Security Agency** — A former NSA official and his wife say the NSA can be harmful to the health of the nation and to families who work for it.

• **The Economy** — An historical and analytical view of how we got into the present dilemma by Frances Fox Piven, noted political scientist who frequently appears in the pages of the *New York Times*.

### Back Issues Available:

• **Black Women's Agenda:** Parts 1 and 2 — Subject of this month's provocative Letters to the Editor, articles include "Racism Breeds Stereotypes," by Deborah Harmon Hines; "Bigotry Fashionable Again," by Myrtle Gordon; "Other Struggles Seducing Blacks," by Mattie Hopkins, and "You Don't See Most of Us," by Barbara Harris. February and March issues. Plus Ben Chavis' stirring article of his prison experiences, "Freeing Prisoners With the Bible." Package, \$2.

• **Two Islands** — The "revolution" going on in Northern Ireland as seen by Mary Condren and Nancy Montgomery, and the socialist revolution in Grenada, "a revolution even a Republican tourist could love," by A. Linn Neumann. \$1.

**Cannon . . . Continued from page 9**  
persons attend General Convention without ever seeing the legislative bodies in action. It is when analyzing this third element of General Convention expense that one must remember that this purely voluntary element expends the most money — money not likely otherwise to be used in furthering the national or diocesan programs of the Church.

The most controllable aspect of General Convention expense is that portion directly related to the way the Episcopal Church goes about the business which is the purpose of its gathering. Yet repeated efforts to reduce even that expense have failed. By all accounts, such efforts will be renewed again in New Orleans, probably with little chance of success.

Proposals to economize include:

- Reducing the size of deputation from four in each order to three or two (eliminating on the way the "divided vote" if the reduction is to three, but also, in the view of many, dramatically reducing representation of minorities and women as well).

- Holding General Convention on a college campus, housing deputies and bishops in student housing, rather than

commercial hotels. This would be enhanced if the size of General Convention were reduced, as the choice of available sites would then be increased.

- Moving General Convention from the Labor Day period to the Fourth of July period. This would make a move to a college campus more viable, and in any event, produce markedly more competitive hotel room prices if it remains in commercial facilities. In many areas, hotel rates are approximately half the price in July compared to September. Such a change would also permit parish priests to be present at the beginning of their church school years.

- Shortening the duration of General Convention. A modest move in that direction from 11 legislative days to 10, is being implemented in New Orleans. A proposal is also forthcoming to reduce the 1985 General Convention to eight legislative days. An eight-day July convention would reduce costs by somewhat more than 50% according to one estimate.

But will an economy model convention serve the needs of the voluntary visitors for whom General Convention is an important triennial



event? Will the several seminaries find facilities on a college campus for holding their traditional dinners? Might not a July convention increase the number of visitors as it falls in more normal vacation periods? Can those greater numbers be accommodated? Will the sense of camaraderie and community that is a part of General Convention be diluted? If General Convention is more accessible to visitors, might not the church as a whole find that it has spent more on its economy model than on its present model?

These questions will again be asked in New Orleans and, perhaps, some answers given. □

**Editorial . . . Continued from page 3**  
through and for the world's poor and deprived. In Central America peasants, priests, nuns, are that voice; in Amarillo, Tex. a Roman Catholic bishop says "No" to the making of the neutron bomb at the Pantex plant there and is that voice. In the throats of increasing millions, both in Europe and the United States, the cry of God for an end to the worldwide nuclear arms race moves to crescendo.

It will not be enough in New Orleans — even though it will be

necessary — to ask for money for the revitalization of ministry to the cities, to denounce racism and sexism, and pass a nuclear weapons freeze resolution. The God of history demands — has always demanded — that people take history seriously.

The greater challenge to the Episcopal Church gathered in New Orleans is whether voices and programs will emerge that help us begin to turn our backs upon the high altars of privilege and power where we have customarily

worshiped, and take the first steps of an Abrahamic journey of risk, into a solidarity with the lost, the rejected, the despised: the majority of the world's peoples. Such an understanding of history would, furthermore, identify the minority peoples within our own borders as part and parcel of it.

By that kind of courage and faithfulness alone will we begin to realize the promise by which all the families of earth will bless themselves.

— R. W. G. and the editors



Casson . . . Continued from page 13

for the coming of the end of it all (by nuclear warfare or otherwise) is beginning to produce severe social disintegration. The stress on families and households is overwhelming and the incidents of divorce, child and spouse abuse and neighborhood crime are on a fast upward spiral. Moreover, official sanction has been granted to identify scapegoats to be blamed for the economic and social disintegration — the poor — especially Blacks as “freeloaders of public funds;” refugees “taking jobs away from people;” Gays “promoting sexual immorality” and women “promoting abortions” to name a few. Racist and anti-Semitic terrorism has increased considerably, resulting in sniper killings, cross burning and desecration of churches, synagogues and cemeteries.

In the face of the economic and social deterioration, more and more Americans are turning to an old time religion which reveres earlier “more stable times” and which honors a sinister God who justifies the survival of the fittest; who justifies the devaluing and the destroying of some human life in order to maintain their own. Some of these will be at convention too.

The convention will play host to all the attitudes and moods described above and they provide the back-drop for the debate on issues of interest to the Episcopal Urban Caucus. The primary concern of the EUC platform adopted at its assembly in New York in February is for the poor and the oppressed whose presence and voices at convention will be minimal. And, in spite of expressed concerns that the EUC agenda is spread all over the map, it is our intention to point out that the luxury of addressing the issues of racism, poverty, injustice, war and peace, foreign policy and all the rest in seriatum fashion is no longer available. They are tragically, inextricably and hopelessly intertwined and we are bombarded with the full implications of each of them, all at the same time.

The Episcopal Urban Caucus will support resolutions before the General Convention which will 1) Support the Jubilee Ministries Program, recommended by the Joint Commissions on the Church in Metropolitan Areas, to raise consciousness about the level of poverty and economic injustice in America, enabling Episcopalians to take active roles in joining with the poor in ministries of advocacy and empowerment. We support the contention that the parish is

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#### SEEKING ADDRESS

THE WITNESS is seeking the present address of Valerie Maynard, the African-American artist whose sculpture appears on the February cover. If any reader out there knows where she is, could you drop us a line — THE WITNESS, P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002? Many thanks!

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the primary base of this ministry and that significant resources allocated for this purpose will be the sure and certain sign of our seriousness; 2) Support a \$1.5 million budget for the Coalition for Human Needs (CHN), in order to continue at more effective levels, our creative national ministry of support to programs for community education, development and other projects for and on behalf of the poor; 3) Support a CHN racism education program to enable Episcopalians to grasp the depth and evils of racism in our public and private lives as well as in the church and to understand clearly the church's teaching in response to racism; 4) Urge the U.S. and U.S.S.R. to adopt a bi-lateral freeze in the production, testing and deployment of nuclear weapons and delivery systems; 5) Urge the U.S. and other nuclear powers to adopt a “no first-strike” policy;

6) Ask for federal legislation to fund the conversion of military production to civilian and socially useful production; 7) Oppose any further increases in military spending at the expense of human services, especially for the poor and the working poor; 8) Support continued funding and the staffing of the Church's Peace Commission; 9) Urge the call by the Presiding Bishop of a national congress in 1984 to address issues of human needs and survival, and to search for ways in which the church should change its ways of acting and speaking in order to relate more effectively the word of God to the human condition; 10) Call for a national energy office with staff to provide consultation, training and resources to dioceses, parishes, and other church groups concerned about energy conservation; 11) Re-affirm civil rights of homosexual persons, and call an end to discrimination against them in the church and society; 12) Oppose military intervention in El Salvador and urge that financial aid to El Salvador be made contingent upon human rights guaranteed by the government.

Given the sense of anxiety, frustration and hopelessness which convention participants will bring with them and which they will project on to the convention process, most of these resolutions and others like them will face hot and divisive debate to say the very least. However, our hope is that with this platform the EUC will assist in getting the crucial issues which these resolutions represent before the church for honest and open discussion. We feel that in these parlous times the church can stand united and firm in commitment to Jesus Christ and to justice and peace.

True, time is running out. But neither paralysis, nor frantic efforts to hold on to things as they are, need define us. In spite of what may, or may not happen at the convention with respect to this platform, the members of the EUC have committed themselves to living out the meaning of these resolutions in our own personal lives and in our parishes, institutions and communities to the fullest extent possible.

~~~~~  
"After you deliberate and identify priorities, we'll be  
here and expecting to hear from you."

— George Quiggle, Testifier  
Urban Bishops' Public Hearing  
Birmingham, Ala.  
~~~~~

# To Hear and Not to Heed

*An Open Letter  
to Mr. Quiggle  
on the State  
of the Episcopal Church  
from Joseph A. Pelham*



In the following pages, the Rev. Joseph A. Pelham, author of *To Hear and to Heed*, (the summary of the Episcopal Urban Bishops' Hearings) presents a response to George Quiggle, who testified with great expectations, in 1977. Pelham is Executive Director of Episcopal City Mission, Boston.

## Dear Mr. Quiggle:

If you and others who share your concern about the church's response to the crisis of the cities and the plight of their people took note of the mood of the Episcopal church and the agenda for its General Convention in 1979, you and they had reason for cautious hope that longstanding issues which had commanded the attention of the church were either resolved or soon to be resolved.

The struggle to realize the wholeness of the ministry of the church, as that struggle was focused in the effort to open access to all levels of ordained ministry to women, had climaxed three years previously in Minneapolis. The time, energy and monies poured into the process of Prayer Book revision seemed to have accomplished their purpose as the 1979 *Book of Common Prayer* moved toward almost certain adoption. The Episcopal Church seemed to have settled the issues of who is authorized to preside at the celebration of its sacraments, and what words the celebrant is authorized to use.

There was reason for hope also in that the Urban Bishops Coalition had emerged after the Minneapolis Convention as the most cohesive and coherent force in the life of this branch of the church. That coalition had grown to virtually half of the membership of the House of Bishops, had demonstrated its ability to vote as a bloc and, therefore, to exert disciplined power in that House.

The coalition had completed its Institutes on Public Policy, designed to examine the way national policies affect the welfare of the cities, and its series of Public Hearings in seven cities in which you, Mr. Quiggle, and over 100 others presented testimony pointing to what one bishop described as a "mosaic about God's people who are hurt, suffering and deprived." The members of the coalition had adopted an agenda for action. That agenda challenged the

bishops themselves and the church at every level, parish, diocesan and national, to make certain unequivocal decisions: to be *for the poor*, to enter into a struggle that has no foreseeable end, to be involved as a servant church which recognizes the priority and authority of the people it serves, to recognize that racism and sexism within the church itself make its mission in the world fraudulent and impotent, to be present in the cities in a way that calls less for *money* than for personal *involvement*, to use power and influence in any appropriate political way to effect changes in the city, and to direct resources away from remedial programs of service to that action which gets at the root causes of systemic ills.

There was hope in that the Urban Bishops had made sufficient gestures that they were prepared to exercise the kind of leadership from which they had largely abdicated in recent years.

The hopeful gathered in Denver (and you, Mr. Quiggle, may have watched from afar), believing that the Urban Bishops, with support from those clergy and laypersons who shared their concern, would indeed be the most effective force in the convention. You may have dared to hope that at last you might get a response!

The apprehension which even the hopeful felt as the convention assembled was grounded in the fact that an agenda related to the needs of the cities and their poor would have to *intrude* if it were to be heard. The formal docket provided little opportunity for bishops and deputies to make the kinds of decisions to which the members of the Urban Bishops Coalition had called themselves and the church as a whole.

As the convention lived out its days, the Urban Bishops Coalition, joined by clerical and lay deputies who shared the same concerns, did manage to fight off proposed reductions in the budget for the Coalition for Human Needs. They

did bring the convention to instruct its Standing Commission on the Church in Metropolitan Areas to prepare a comprehensive strategy for the church's urban mission for consideration in New Orleans in 1982.

However, the old question of who is authorized to exercise ordained leadership in the church surfaced again. The decision to open the priesthood and episcopate to women had been described not long before by the Presiding Bishop as an "experiment" (with which he personally disagreed). Given that kind of leadership, bishops were quick to bless the consciences of their brethren who wished to demur from the formal decision of the church.

The old question demonstrated its persistence also as a behind the scenes deal struck by bishops, including some leading members of the Urban Bishops Coalition, resulted in the rejection of a persuasive report on the appropriateness of the ordination of gay persons, by adding a conclusion that was totally at odds with its premises.

That report as adopted must remain a source of puzzlement to those who expect the Episcopal Church, a body of reasonably intelligent persons, to behave in an intelligible fashion. The puzzlement, however, fades away as one understands more fully the church's ability to act in a totally inconsistent manner, especially when it gathers in formal conclave.

Apprehension was also demonstrated to be well grounded as the soft underbelly of the Urban Bishops Coalition's surface strength and formidability began to be exposed. Officially, the coalition numbered some 50-60 bishops, but there were never more than a dozen who were willing to let their agenda be shaped in significant ways by concern for the plight of the cities and their people. The Urban Bishops Coalition had been, in fact, a bandwagon in a rather brief parade.

Neither could the bishops in that

coalition resist the siren song of Venture In Mission, conceived by those who believed that the way to restore tranquility to the church was to divert its attention away from divisive issues to an ecstasy of fundraising for largely unspecified and undefined programs of "mission."

The Urban Bishops had heard the plea to the church presented by the people of the cities, a plea not for money but for the church's involvement in issues of political, social, economic and racial justice. They had heard the warning that major effort at fundraising could have a diversionary effect. They had heard the plea and the warning. They chose not to heed either.

Mr. Quiggle, the state of the church on the eve of its assembly in New Orleans is not significantly different from the state of the church as it departed from Denver.

The difference is, of course, that history has now moved on. Institutions which do not change with the flow of history find that by standing still in terms of their perceptions and commitments they are, by default, significantly different. If the church has not changed since Denver, historical realities have produced a different world and, therefore, a different church:

- The agonies of the cities and of their poor have increased in a geometric fashion.

- Racism, which lies at the heart of the plight of the cities and their underclass, was on the defensive during the 50's, 60's and 70's. It is on the offensive again. A man occupies the office of the Presidency and exercises profound influence over the executive, judicial and legislative branches of government who "hasn't a racist bone in his body" — he just happens not to like Black persons. He "supports equal rights for women," but just happens to prefer their guarantee not be written into the Constitution but remain dependent on male dominated state

legislatures. If these attitudes and policies represent the national response to Blacks and to women, Latinos, Gays, Native Americans, Asian Americans, and poor Whites fare no better.

- The social contract which determined the way our life together was shaped for many generations has collapsed. That contract which acknowledged that the rich have an obligation to the poor, and the powerful have an obligation to the powerless is now supported by no clear consensus.

- The notion that the chief role of government is to be the instrument through which the needs of the people can be met: the need for food, housing, jobs and for full rights of citizens, has been replaced by the notion that the chief role of government, perhaps its only role, is military preparedness.

- Extensive tax cuts are defended in the face of a horrendous imbalance in the federal budget *because* there is no desire to produce added income which in the hands of the more humane members of the Congress might find its way into restored social programs.

- Withdrawal of federal support for that infra-structure which could make the cities viable places in which more than the affluent can afford to live promises to hasten the collapse of the cities and threatens the sheer survival of their poor and marginally poor.

The historical realities in which the church exists have changed. Since the church has remained essentially unchanged in its perceptions of those realities, it has become more remote from them, and is, *de facto*, a different church. There is less room left in which the church may equivocate. It can respond to you, Mr. Quiggle (if you are still there waiting for a response) *only* if it makes its choices and commitments much clearer than they have been.

A year following the 1979 General Convention, the Episcopal Urban Caucus was born in an assembly in Indianapolis. Concerns and com-

mitments, bottled up and frustrated since the retirement of Presiding Bishop John Hines and the subsequent dismantling of the General Convention Special Program, found a means of expression through the caucus. Five hundred persons gathered in Indianapolis in 1980, and 400 a year later in Louisville. In each of these, the number of bishops dwindled. In February, 1982, fewer than a dozen appeared.

This may mean that they felt more committed to a movement in support of urban mission when it was solely under their direction and control. It may also mean that they prefer more exclusive gatherings where the supportive camaraderie which characterizes



meetings of the House of Bishops prevails. Neither bishops, clergy nor laity seem entirely at ease when all three orders of ministry are, or should be, equally valued participants in the same process. For whatever reason, the conspicuous absence of bishops in recent caucus gatherings is offset only by the presence of laypersons in numbers which approach half of the total.

The caucus became soon after its formation the umbrella under which all sorts of progressive forces in the church gathered — the only game in town. The necessity for and value of its inclusiveness, however, has prevented it from achieving coherence, a clear focus, and a singular commitment to the poor.

The caucus is caught in the dilemma rooted in the fact that U.S. society in which it exists (and the church to which it is related) is oppressive to women, Blacks, Latinos, Gays, the poor and the working poor. However, each of these forms of oppression is distinct. Oppression is a common enemy among all such persons, but the way in which oppression expresses itself is both common *and* unique. Coalitions, and the common strategies of action which can result from the give and take which such coalescing demands, remain beyond the reach of the caucus. The caucus is marked by competing agendas and seems unsure of who and what it is.

Venture in Mission has been the preoccupation of the church at large since Denver, as some had predicted. After a slow start, nearly every diocese participated in some form of capital fundraising. The net result generated a significant amount of money: \$134 million at last count, \$35 million of which has been released for funding programs identified in the national V.I.M. Casebook.

There is some ambiguity in regard to the sense in which the national effort can be declared a success. Some want to declare a victory and bring the matter to a close. Others, including the Presiding Bishop, wish to continue the money raising effort, perhaps so that ambiguities in regard to the degree of its success can be cleared away. Perhaps also because, when the chips pile up it is hard to withdraw from the game.

It is not certain that the cities have benefited from V.I.M. Of the \$9 million which members of the Urban Bishops Coalition had claimed for support of urban mission, less than \$2 million has been identified for that purpose, and of that total, \$1 million is designated for use in the one diocese which generated those monies.

At the diocesan level, V.I.M. campaigns have expended enormous effort. They have, however, produced



additional monies, chiefly for use in the dioceses. Programs funded by those monies cover a wide spectrum, and in some instances certain urban mission efforts have been the beneficiary of additional funds. The question remains, has that funding been accompanied by *presence* and *advocacy*, and a real transformation in the life of the church? Earlier the Urban Bishops Coalition had acknowledged that many of the resources necessary to address the crisis of the cities already exist. What was needed was a tough-minded, careful, honest analysis which could lead to a redeployment of programs, properties, personnel, and resources to the right task. Whether local V.I.M. campaigns were the occasion for that kind of analysis, or lessened the chance for it to occur is worth pondering.

To the degree to which the church moved beyond its preoccupation with money raising during the past triennium, it began to speak to the issue of nuclear arms and, in much more muted tones, to the issues of economic justice in light of the war against the poor being prosecuted at every level of society.

The nuclear arms issue, as welcome as it is to those concerned about the survival of the human race, has a certain weakness about it. The nuclear arms race does not exist in isolation. It is a function of the militaristic and imperialistic foreign policy which the United States has pursued during the modern era. It is, moreover, a function also of the classism and racism which characterize both foreign and domestic policy.

To imagine that the nuclear threat can be overcome without dealing with a host of related issues is to assume that the nuclear arms race is simply an aberration in a society otherwise dedicated to equity, justice and sanity. If the Episcopal Church moves more fully into the arena of nuclear arms (and armaments as a whole), it would do well

to hear and to heed the observation of a perceptive observer of U.S. social policy who was asked, at the height of the last war: "Why are we in Vietnam?" His reply was, "We are in Vietnam because we are in California!"

The church's cautious excursion into opposition to cutbacks in human services likewise remains at surface level if it responds as though these cutbacks are an isolated issue, based solely on the scarcity of resources, and not on an analysis of the root causes for the domestic and global economic stagnation which has made such cutbacks appear justifiable in light of seemingly shrinking resources.

In its typical fashion, the Episcopal Church may inadvertently have started raising questions to which it really would prefer not to have the answers.

What, then, Mr. Quiggle, can you expect to hear from the 1982 General Convention, assuming that you are still waiting and expecting?

Expect above all else that whatever response you receive will be from a church whose present state exhibits these longstanding characteristics written deep into its nature:

- The church remains unclear about its commitments. It knows that by Biblical injunction its commitment ought to be for the poor, but it is so much a part of the culture and political milieu in which it exists that its tentative and extremely cautious efforts to follow good instincts are overwhelmed by its inclination to be a chaplaincy service to the Establishment and to the status quo. It hears the Gospel and responds to it as an affirmation of what it has persuaded itself to be the legitimacy of things as they are, and not as a judgement upon the principalities and powers, the social, political and economic demons which reign supreme in things as they are.

- It confuses talk about mission, preparation for mission, and fund-raising for mission with *engagement* in mission.

- It misuses and misdefines the notion of mission. Its behavior suggests that its definition of mission is the creation of special and exceptional arrangements for keeping traditional patterns of church life from breaking under the pressure of new historical realities. Its mission is, in that sense, no more than the desire for survival.

- It is both the oppressor and the victim. It is not free to be itself or imagines itself not to be. Its captivity leads it to isolate and subvert the efforts of those bishops, clergy and lay persons who are struggling toward their own freedom and the freedom of the church. It has created and validated a new category of ministry which it values more highly than prophets, evangelists or teachers: *managers*!

- It is slow to identify itself with those movements for healing and renewal which exist in this disintegrating society because from its position at the established levels of that society it is largely out of touch with those movements and, when in touch, reluctant to associate itself with them.

- It remains incapable, seemingly, of exorcising from its own life the demons of racism, sexism and classism. By its dilettantism in dealing with oppression, it participates in the pitting of one oppressed group against another.

Mr. Quiggle, you probably know what to expect, given the present and continuing state of the church. It may be that, despite our clear intention to destroy ourselves through nuclear holocaust, or to destroy all but the privileged few by genocide against the underclass, you and others who are God's people can survive and wait yet longer for our response. If you can, let your hope be in a God who confronts us with a history which we cannot forever avoid, and which will eventually force us to deliberate and identify our priorities.

**With hope and with apprehension,  
Joseph A. Pelham**

**Letters . . . Continued from page 2**

"Non-White Women's Agenda," I think. Of course, I look at it from the White perspective and it may look more different from the non-White perspective than I think it does.

I do like her strong words about racism in the Episcopal Church. It is in all churches, but I saw it firsthand mainly in the Episcopal Churches, here, with the Indians and years ago in Texas with the Blacks. It is still rampant in my hometown church in Sealy, Tex.

Your final paragraph in the February editorial coupled with paragraphs three and four present a point that is overlooked more often than not — minorities and the underclass do not have the luxury to choose in hardly *any* areas of their lives — not only in choosing whether to go to jail or not, to do civil disobedience or not. The report on Hispanics and the Grand Jury — involving racism as well as injustice, tops off a powerful WITNESS.

**Abbie Jane Wells**  
Juneau, Alaska

## To Reprint Hines

I am writing to ask permission to use an article in your February edition of THE WITNESS in an upcoming edition of my newsletter, *Fact Sheet*. The article is entitled, "Racism Breeds Stereotypes," by Deborah Harmon Hines. *Fact Sheet* is published by my office on a quarterly basis.

**L. Faye Ignatius**  
**Feminism and the Church Today**  
**National Ministries, ABC**  
**Valley Forge, Pa.**

## Appreciated 'Mad Lady'

I should like to convey my appreciation to Roberta Nobleman and THE WITNESS (February) for the essay "Mad Lady Had Message for Time Present." This charming personal backward glance was the type of retrospection that many religious traditionalists can share and compare with their own experience and spiritual growth. Through swift seasons, we have encountered various changes that seemed both eccentric and wayward. The "Mad Lady" of yesteryear

would be most gratified, I suppose, to find that her idiosyncrasy — the desire to receive communion from female hands — is currently gaining general acceptance in the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Of course, as the author points out, the negative image of pagan "priestesses" still rankles in our somewhat conservative Anglican souls. And it's unfortunate that gender alone should so distract or embarrass any parish community, considering the bright examples of womanhood presented to our Judeo-Christian civilization. Soon the clash of tradition and contemporary societal reality shall be resolved in our churches. Then, perhaps, we shall only wonder why this ecclesiastical change took us so long to effect.

**William Dauenhauer**  
Willoughby, Ohio

## Handicapped to Monitor

The 1981 meeting of the House of Bishops, at San Diego, made a forthright and potentially significant statement about the church's responsibility to the handicapped. It has received little attention so far. It deserves much more. Implementation should be encouraged and accounting asked.

The distinctive clause of the resolution is an affirmative action declaration which calls for "the recruitment and hiring of handicapped persons to committee and staff positions throughout the church, including Executive Council and General Convention." We will monitor this pronouncement during the coming months.

**The Rev. W. J. Johnson, Director**  
**Vanguard Institute**  
**Lakewood, Ohio**

## Opiate of the Masses

Please do not renew my subscription. As a radical evangelical, I have found your magazine to be more concerned with Establishment middle-class liberal ideology than with Biblical Christianity. This Sadduceeism is all too characteristic of mainline denomina-

tions today and is a more insidious obstacle to the Kingdom than the Pharisaism of conservative "fundamentalists." Pseudo-liberation movements like "gay rights" are the opiate of the masses. I am disappointed by your acceptance of these counterfeits.

**Dan Dornbrook**  
Eau Claire, Wisc.

## Destructive Garbage

Please discontinue my subscription to THE WITNESS. It is destructive and negative. You seem to think that invoking the terms school, learning, God, motherhood and apple pie, the "rights" of prisoners, third world populations and women gives some sort of credibility to the garbage you publish.

**Dr. Rachel Nunley**  
Chapel Hill, N.C.

## Sustaining Subscriber

Thank you for one good/great WITNESS after another. Enclosed is my renewal in the category of "sustaining subscriber." I used to do this when Bill Spofford was alive and editor. I can afford it less now in my old age, but want to do some small thing in answer to those depressing "cancellations"! Keep up the good work!

**The Rev. R.M.C. Griswold**  
Lakeview, Ore.

## Water in Desert

I can sympathize with the person who wrote recently to drop the subscription because politics and religion should not be mixed. How well we know! As Jesus was the "wayshower" in many things, He showed us what happens when we cross the establishment and the politicians — crucifixion! Nobody likes that — but how often we forget that Good Friday is followed by Easter. We all like to start over again, renewed, refreshed. And if we are truly willing to follow Him to the cross, there will be a resurrection for us, too.

Thanks for your magazine. THE WITNESS and *The Other Side* are my water in this conservative desert!

**Ms. Mary Gaines Read**  
Santa Barbara, Cal.

## WITNESS Editorial Prompts Tax Resistance

*Just wanted you to know how great I consider your WITNESS magazine and that the February issue with an editorial on Thoreau fell into my hands the Sunday morning before my tax return was due. It was this editorial which gave me the courage to go through with tax resistance this year. My letter to the IRS follows:*

Internal Revenue Service  
Ogden, Utah

Greetings:

Oliver Wendell Holmes advised his reluctant law clerk to pay his income taxes gladly, for "With your tax money you're buying civilization." As a tax payer and tax preparer for the IRS, I have often given the same advice to reluctant clients. For the past two years I have agonized over this position and now after much study, prayer, consultation and fasting I have reluctantly concluded, along with Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen of Seattle, that it is not civilization but "hell on earth" that my tax money is buying.

With more than 50,000 nuclear bombs already in place around the globe and a projected war budget over the next five years of about \$1½ trillion for the USA alone (\$10,800 for every U.S. taxpayer) and the military-industrial power brokers seriously plotting to use these weapons in a first strike tactic, we can be sure if we all

numbly go along with that our mother the earth and all its creatures will be incinerated in our immediate area, if not the entire planet.

To continue freely participating with my tax dollars in this madness is clearly for me a sin on at least four counts. First, the sin of premeditated murder against my brothers and sisters, and I consider all mankind my family, including the Russians; second, the sin of suicide against my own person; third, the sin of injustice against approximately 25% of the earth's people who are homeless, ragged, hungry and sick through no fault of their own. (If solving these human problems was as profitable as preparing for war the solution would have been found years ago.) Lastly, the sin of idolatry for trusting in arms rather than in Jesus Christ: "Thou shalt have no strange Gods before me" . . .

I wish my conscience permitted me to continue to live by the old motto, "My country — right or wrong — my country." However, this is no longer possible for me or for ever increasing numbers of loyal citizens.

In obedience then to my conscience and in the hope that my small act of civil disobedience will help my country and the world to pursue justice and peace rather than war, I join Archbishop Hunthausen in withholding half my income tax. You will find enclosed a receipt from the Ramsey National Bank and Trust Company of Devils Lake, N.D., where I have deposited the missing half in a Peace Trust fund to be used in staffing the proposed U.S. Peace Academy for Conflict Resolution (legislation before Congress).

A few days ago our fifth grandchild was born and I take my stand now as an act of hope in a future Kingdom on earth for Brady Michael Lange and all the other Holy Innocents of the world

...

Deacon Larry Lange  
Devil's Lake, N.D.

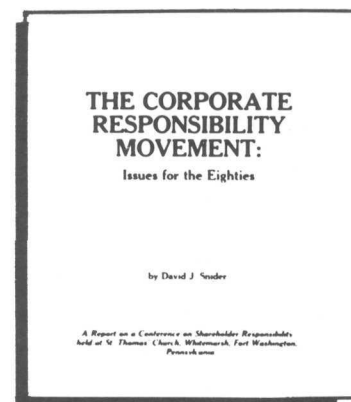
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## Bev Harrison in Book

Readers of THE WITNESS may be interested to learn that a revised and expanded version of Beverly Wildung Harrison's Articles, "Theology of Pro-Choice: A Feminist Perspective," (THE WITNESS, July and September, 1981), are included in my forthcoming book, *Abortion: The Moral Issues*. The book will be published later this year by the Pilgrim Press, New York and Philadelphia, and in Canada by McGraw-Hill-Ryerson, Ltd., Toronto.

Rev. Edward Batchelor, Jr., Chaplain  
City University of New York  
Brooklyn, N.Y.



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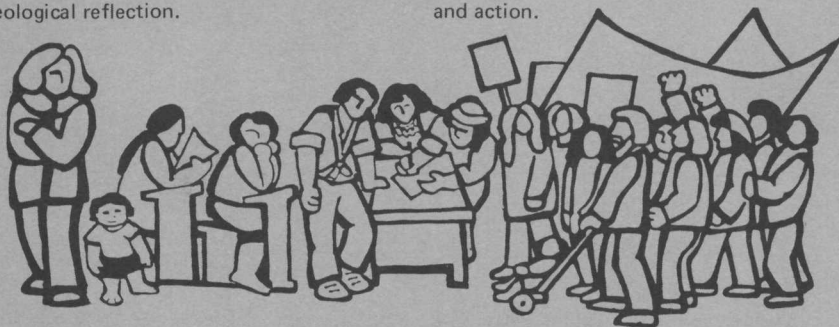
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VOL. 65 NO. 6 JUNE, 1982

# THE WITNESS

ECPC Award  
Winners

Saying 'No'  
to the  
Nuclear Cross  
George Regas



*All of  
humanity  
is hanging  
on a nuclear cross. The world itself  
has become a cross of iron.*

*-Jonah House Liturgy*

# LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

## WITNESS Copping Out

Gentlemen: I hope I did not insult anyone on your staff with that time-honored salutation. With the heavy run of articles recently in your magazine on the various aspects of "women's rights," whatever those might be, I am just a little gun-shy about using that term in this case.

As I read your magazine and sense the gyrations in quality and thrust, I cannot help but wonder how that can be. And why is it that my Episcopal friends, especially some clergy, dislike your magazine to such an extent? As a Roman Catholic, working on a covenant team with a local Episcopal church, I now frequently attend services in this church and have learned the truth of the saying that the Episcopal Church is indeed more Catholic than the Roman. I fail to see that, however, in your magazine. You have several things in common with Connecticut politicians — neither you nor they are talking about the bread and butter issues. Why is it that a group like Clergy and Laity Concerned can address those issues and your staff cannot? Should not your magazine be offering a vision for the church's life that holds promise of new social possibilities in a time of great fear, insecurity, and danger? A vision deeply rooted in worship and practice of personal disciplines? Is not the Gospel to be good news to the poor? Are not the children of God to live in the world as peace-makers?

I would suggest that your heavy emphasis on women's position in the church is a cop-out from the real issues that face us today as human beings and as Christians.

**Charles Riemitis**  
Manchester, Conn.

## First Theologizing

Thanks for the March issue. I am one of the ordained Roman Catholic women — ordained not irregularly, invalidly, illicitly — but by the women I serve and who mutually serve each other. I love it! Your articles are the first theologizing on our reality. Thank you!

**Rosalie Muschal-Reinhardt**  
Fairport, N.Y.

## Used Issue for Meditation

New Jersey Women's Ordination Conference warmly thanks you for the March, 1982 issue of THE WITNESS concerning the movement within our church for justice for women, for renewed priestly ministry and for ordination of women.

During the prayer at our March meeting many excerpts from this issue were read and reflected upon. Again, thank you!

**Jeannine Toscano**  
WOC Steering Committee  
Verona, N.J.

*(Editor's Note: Dom Christopher Jones, prior of Transfiguration Retreat Monastery in Pulaski, Wisc., issued a statement of conscience recently which said that his chapter would refuse the sacramental ministrations "of any deacon, priest or bishop who rejects and denies the validity of our sisters who are ordained in the priesthood." The letter which follows from Thomas Weller responds to that statement. In February the Bishop of Fond du Lac wrote to Jones withdrawing permission for any priest of the diocese to minister to the community except in extremis. See "What to do With Hungry Sheep" in the April WITNESS. Dom Christopher has since received a number of supportive letters, but angry ones as well, and sent the response below to THE WITNESS.)*

## On Dom Jones' Sins

Dom Christopher Jones, your sins are your confident self-righteousness and your display of rejection and hatred against those whom you find guilty of

rejection and hate. From a practical point of view, your action is worthless because human minds are not overcome by repayment-in-kind. From a Christian perspective your resort to hatred and rejection is no more righteous than theirs. You are bound by law and Gospel no matter what others may do.

Furthermore, the sacraments are not the property of those administering them, but the activities and presence of God through the only media he chooses to use: imperfect human beings. If you reject the holy sacraments you reject not priests but Christ!

Your protest could be much more effective were you to work within the community rather than outside and against it. State publicly that you accept the ministration of the sacraments, in love and Christian charity and with full confidence in the understanding grace of God as explained in Article XXVI (in the Book of Common Prayer): "Of the unworthiness of the ministers, which hinders not the effect of the sacraments." Work positively within the fellowship, not negatively by withdrawing from it or sinfully by adopting the attitude of those you oppose.

**Thomas C. Weller, Jr.**  
Mechanicsburg, Pa.

## A Word of Warning

The more I get pontifical letters from "Spikes" the more I am afraid for our church. It becomes obvious that Spikes must see to it that the Episcopal Church invalidates women priests — and they do try their damndest. What I wonder is, do women realize that these people are out for their throats? It would be disastrous if women think that because our church ordains them they are safe. Believe me, sisters, the legalists among us are after your entrails.

More and more I realize the prophetic reality of our stand. Indeed, the twisting of realities Spikes are prone to makes them more, not less, dangerous. I fear we are innocent. We do not know their venom.

We set our directions. We wait for God

*Continued on page 18*

## THE WITNESS

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# THE WITNESS EDITORIAL

## Can Middle-Class Stay Neutral?

We are living in times when people across the entire earth are changing their minds about what is going on in the world. Two irrefutable facts — the threat of nuclear holocaust and the increasing gap between rich and poor, have thrust into prominence the interdependence of the people of planet Earth. Business simply cannot be carried on as usual in the fields of religion, economics, politics, and human rights. Those involved are forced to reexamine their posture in the light of dramatic and often quick-changing world events.

The people of the East, the Socialist Camp, are beginning to show signs of questioning the domination of the Soviet Union; and the people of the West, the Capitalist Camp, are no longer tolerating, sans critique, the domination of the United States.

In the current conflict, consistent with the human struggles of ages past (and with what Arnold Toynbee referred to as the recurring long high wave of history), people are rising up in grass roots locales to make their

will known. What has this to do with Christian faith?

Dorothee Solle, the German liberation theologian, says that the first step for Christians today is to "break neutrality," a step most difficult for the middle-class. Middle-class people have been taught to be neutral, not one-sided; to look at the other side; to listen to the experts and respect the technological givens. Solle points out that this is not totally wrong. But the danger is that the existing culture of injustice dominates their perspective, rendering them incapable of attacking the problem. If their neutrality is broken, however, and they identify with those in need, then the openness of middle-class people, their freedom to listen to both sides, becomes a strength.

The perspective of Christ is one-sided. He is on the side of the victims. To be a Christian today means to look at the world through the eyes of the victimized, to break neutrality, and to join the struggle with that new vision.

*(H. C. W. and the editors)*

"People are realizing that it is irresponsible to allow the military, or any professional elite, to exercise a powerful monopoly over decisions which could determine survival for hundreds of millions, and the planet itself."



# Saying 'No' to the Nuclear Cross

by George Regas

A poll conducted several years ago in California revealed that 85% of the people questioned believed there would be a nuclear war and that they would not personally survive it. The anger, the rage at this movement of our nation toward nuclear oblivion was suppressed in overwhelming feelings of helplessness, powerlessness and resignation. People were enveloped by fatalism.

Three years ago Rabbi Leonard Beerman, Harold Willens (a businessman long active in peacemaking) and I planned a two-day conference for the religious community in Los Angeles on reversing the arms race with the theme, "End the Race or End the Race." Many welcomed the efforts to raise up a strong, informed, articulate, united religious constituency to stop the momentum of the arms race. But

others, incredulous, asked, "Why would you invest so much energy, money and resources in so hopeless a cause? The President and the Pentagon are in charge. You can't change that."

It did seem rather foolish to think a few synagogues and churches banding together could do much against the establishment of military power to reverse the escalating arms race. But today we see signs in Europe and in the United States that hope is returning, public opinion is stirring, and ordinary people are beginning to search for ways to respond to the growing nuclear peril. Hope has risen to topple fatalism. The Spirit is at work, and change is underway.

## What Is This Change?

People are beginning to grasp the reality of our peril. There is increasing comprehension that the danger of cataclysmic nuclear disaster is real and not a crusading preacher's hyperbole.

People are beginning to understand what happened at Hiroshima on Aug. 6, 1945. Jonathan Schell's brilliantly-researched essays in *The New Yorker* in February indicate this bomb was a very small one by today's standards — a mere tactical nuclear weapon. Yet it transformed a city of 340,000 people into hell in a space of a few seconds.

It is becoming clear to more people that the fate of Hiroshima 36 years ago pales in comparison to a nuclear holocaust today. More than 1 million bombs of the destructive power of Hiroshima exist at the present level of world nuclear armament. If this arsenal were activated the results would be magnified more than a millionfold. It would mean the end of life — a dead planet Earth.

Jonathan Schell says one 20-megaton bomb — the kind most likely to be used against our major cities — would totally destroy New York City and kill 20 million people in the area or 10% of the

---

**Dr. George F. Regas**, Rector of All Saints Church, Pasadena, Cal., is a longtime peace activist.



U.S. population. And the Soviet Union is estimated to have 113 such bombs in their nuclear arsenal. The United States has the capacity to render the same kind of destruction on the Soviet Union. These weapons reach their targets within 30 minutes after being launched, from either side.

Dr. Marvin Goldberger, President of California Institute of Technology, confirms our desperate state. To those in government and the Pentagon who speak of preparing for a limited nuclear war, of improving our civil defense system so that this country would be able to recover from a nuclear attack, he says: "Those who use the rhetoric to suggest that we can survive and win a nuclear war are certifiably insane."

People sense more and more that the old ways of solving problems with military force will not work. Christians can no longer think in terms of the balance of power and national security based on the threat of nuclear war. We must find a way to liberate this nation from that deadly scenario. Christians must be committed to a vanguard of new thought. Nothing in our religious tradition justifies support of nuclear war.

Much of the behavior of the Soviet Union is reprehensible to me. But Soviet actions in the international arena do not justify in the slightest degree our failure to engage the U.S.S.R. in negotiations to end the nuclear arms race and establish international order. A world incinerated by nuclear explosion, poisoned by radiation and millions of corpses, and populated by a morally crippled and genetically deformed humanity would be a poor prize for any "victor." A disciple of Jesus would never say yes to a nuclear holocaust.

People are sensing their own power to make a difference. Even conservative columnist James J. Kilpatrick sees a growing involvement of people in shaping their future: "The prevention of

nuclear warfare is on its way to becoming the most popular cause in the world." People are realizing that it is irresponsible to allow the military, or any professional elite, to exercise a powerful monopoly over decisions which could determine personal survival for hundreds of millions, and the planet itself. In the aftermath of Vietnam, the judgments of the Presidency and the Pentagon cannot be accepted without the strongest, most persistent critique; our leaders have made some grave errors. We need to share those burdens of decision-making.

President Eisenhower's words, shortly before his death, summarize the current climate: "Indeed, I think that people want peace so much that one of these days governments better get out of their way and let them have it."

## What Lies Before Us?

Across the country increasing public concern is finding a focus in the move toward a bilateral nuclear freeze. In California, more than 600,000 signatures have been collected to put the freeze initiative on the state ballot in November. Resolutions supporting the freeze have been passed by at least one house in the state legislatures of Connecticut, Massachusetts, Oregon, New York, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas and Maine. The proposal was adopted by 159 of Vermont's 191 towns. A bipartisan coalition of 165 senators and representatives have introduced a freeze resolution in both houses of Congress. The momentum has accelerated, even in the face of the present administration's negative response. President Reagan strongly opposes it and Secretary Haig de-

United Nations  
General Assembly



Second Special Session On  
DISARMAMENT  
1982

### CALENDAR FOR UN SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT II

- June 8-10:** International Religious Conference, New York. A conference of religious leaders, congregation members and religious activists to share, worship and strategize towards building a massive, international religious peace movement. (212-673-1808)
- June 8-11:** International Peace Activists Conference, New York. Delegations from peace organizations around the world.
- June 11:** International Religious Convocation, New York, Interreligious celebration bringing spiritual leaders from around the world to pray with one voice for future generations, St. John the Divine Cathedral, noon to 1:30 p.m. At 1:30 process for further ceremony and prayer in Central Park.
- June 12:** Mass Demonstration and Rally, Central Park.

**Also: June 18, 25 and July 2, 9, New York. Vigils at U.S. and U.S.S.R. Missions in support of weapons freeze. (212-598-0971). And fast for disarmament on Mondays, from now to July 5.**

nounces the proposal as “devastating.”

George Kennan has said the level of redundancy and overkill in our nuclear arsenals is of such grotesque dimensions as to defy rational understanding. The United States has 9,000 strategic nuclear warheads (a gain of 5,000 since 1970) and the Soviet Union has 7,000 (a gain of 5,300 during the past decade). We can kill every Russian 36 times and destroy the world 12 times over. To further expand this arsenal, the United States is about to launch a new generation of nuclear weapons — the MX, the Trident II, the Cruise missile — which will make arms limitation virtually impossible. These new American weapons will undoubtedly be matched by the Soviet Union. And so the deadly race goes on.

The bilateral freeze initiative urges President Reagan to propose a U.S./Soviet agreement “to immediately halt the testing, production and further development of all nuclear weapons, missiles and delivery systems in a way that can be verified on both sides.”

This could transform history. The momentum of the arms race would be stopped by the freeze and parity between the Americans and Russians maintained as we negotiate our way toward radical arms reduction — and the survival of the planet.

It is also urgent that the President clearly articulate to the world that the United States will not use nuclear weapons first. A no-first-strike policy could bring some measure of stability and rationality into an increasingly bleak situation.

We are on the edge of a new generation of weapons, the so-called “counterforce” nuclear weapons. The MX, the Trident II, and the Cruise missile are characterized by their remarkable accuracy. These new weapons, along with our improved Minuteman III and the Soviet modern weapons, such as the SS-18 and SS-19, have greatly increased the ability to destroy enemy missiles in their silos.

These proposed new weapons give a country the capability and incentive to

strike first and empty the enemy’s silos. Soon both sides will fear that the adversary has a first-strike capability that could destroy its nuclear deterrent. The peril is that in a crisis either side, fearful of losing the preemptive advantage, would order a first strike.

On March 18, 1982 Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, said on the *Today* show, “Now we’re in a situation where a Soviet first strike — *and we wouldn’t make the first strike* (italics mine), but a Soviet first strike — would take out in excess of 75% of our ground based missiles . . .” If Weinberger is correct and we would never strike first, why doesn’t President Reagan accept it as national policy and invite the Soviet Union to join us? I believe the Soviets would match the commitment.

Current U.S. policy does not communicate this posture to the world. After the Soviet Union’s violent invasion of Afghanistan, William Dyess, an Under-Secretary of State for President Carter, warned the Soviet

## How Lion, Lamb (Almost) Live Together

**T**here is a story George Regas and I like to tell, and I suppose other clergy like it as well. It concerns a minister who wanted to stage an object lesson for the members of his congregation, so he placed a lion and a lamb in a cage just outside the entrance to his church. And they lived there together — the lion and the lamb — and people came from miles around to see this remarkable phenomenon. Finally, the governor of the state, intrigued by this remarkable feat, sent a delegation to inquire of the minister how he pulled off the

trick. “Oh, there’s no trick at all,” said the clergyman, “All you have to do is put in a fresh lamb from time to time.”

In the real world, lions and lambs do not live together peacefully, and even the prophet, Isaiah, when he spoke of such a possibility, was referring to a time in the distant future, a messianic time. And that is where the rub is, for us: how to face up to the truth of this real world of brutality, fear, mutual rivalry, the need for security, and still retain hope, still work for something different, work to reverse the arms race,

retain our faith in human destiny, and still maintain a firm conviction that we can approach a great common tenderness.

We must not let this hope be crushed amidst the powers and principalities. Let hope give us the courage to say “NO” to all those mighty forces that would condemn us to the continuing despair of the waste and perversion of all that affirms the humane, the intelligent and the tender that is within us.

Let it help us choose the way of blessing and life.

— Rabbi Leonard I. Beerman

Union to remember that the atomic bomb has been used only twice and both times because an American president called for it.

A freeze and a no-first-strike policy are essential. Both represent important steps back from the edge of the abyss.

We must be creative protagonists for reordering the nation's priorities. A good steward is called by God to love creation and use the rich resources of this universe for life, not death. However, in the United States, the richest nation in the history of civilization, 25 million people are malnourished and 10 million children have never seen a doctor. Among Democrats and Republicans alike this position still carries the day in Washington: greater defense spending for arms even if we must cut human services to the bone; \$1½ trillion over the next five years for our military budget with its new generation of weapons even if our cities disintegrate and crime and unemployment and sickness and hunger increase.

We cannot allow that condition to continue. I have hope that a renewed commitment to social justice is emerging. Even without understanding the complexities of the federal budget, people are beginning to see that the rise of militarism is inseparably linked with the misery of the poor and oppressed. The Episcopal Urban Caucus in its early life had significant difficulty seeing this linkage. Today there is no question about it; this linkage permeated almost all deliberations at the recent EUC assembly.

It is the height of fraudulence to suppose the "rearming of America" along with deep budget cuts will not bring suffering to the poor and to those living on the margins of subsistence in our land. The weakest of our people are asked to bear the burden of a strengthened nation. To conservatives and liberals alike the injustice of that is appalling.

One competent analysis says the world powers spend approximately \$17 billion on the military every 12 days, which is the amount believed necessary to provide adequate food, water, education, health and housing for everyone in the world. Without a shot being fired, the arms race is killing people! The resources to transform our cities, end poverty and bring about human well-being are there. Only the political will is absent. That must change.

### What Is the Church's Role?

The General Convention which meets in New Orleans in September will be a gathering of Episcopal leadership faced squarely and powerfully with the question of obedience to the central mission of the church. How will the Episcopal Church exercise its leadership to focus energy and resources toward the issues of justice and peace?

I, as a deputy, along with many other deputies and bishops who believe in the Episcopal Urban Caucus platform for action, will lay before the General Convention resolutions that deal with the issues I have attempted to raise in this article:

- A bilateral nuclear freeze;
- No first strike with nuclear weapons;
- A reorientation of the expenditures of our federal budget away from a military priority to the needs of the poor and oppressed of our land;
- The allocation of new personnel and new dollars in the national church's program that will make the ministry of peacemaking and justice the central mission of the church.

If the Episcopal Church chooses to say by its actions in New Orleans that we can do little about the anguishing needs of the poor and oppressed in our cities, that we are victims of a nuclear policy devised by the experts and over which we have no control, that the

threat of the Soviet Union to our freedom and security is so great that the horrendous risk of world conflagration inherent in the escalating arms race is worth taking — that course of action, in my opinion, would be a gross act of disobedience to the God revealed in Jesus.

The media have recently given much coverage to the many and diverse groups actively involved in an anti-nuclear alliance. The spectrum includes traditionally pacifist groups like the American Friends Service Committee, as well as previously less vocal groups like Physicians for Social Responsibility and the U.S. Roman Catholic bishops. The religious community in America has played a critical role in the emerging citizens' lobby for peace. The concern for the earth's future exists among the rank and file, not merely a radical fringe.

Will the Episcopal Church join this movement to save the planet, eradicate militarism from our national life, and establish justice and human well-being among the poor and oppressed of our land? We could bring so much if we did. The spiritual energy for this long distance run, the power for the transformation of human character without which all technology is bitter, and the hope that God can still make possible the impossible if we are a faithful people — that spiritual foundation the church can bring humbly to the emerging new world.

We are so close to midnight and the end, but I feel profoundly that the urgency pervading many sectors of the church today is the prodding of the Spirit. The Spirit is already at work among the vast numbers of people searching for peace. The quintessential task of the church is to preserve the planet and bring a just life to the human family. If we affirm this conviction in New Orleans, the church then brings its power to help our country change directions. This may be our last great chance to avert the last great war. □

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# How the U.S.A. Will Rise Again (After a Nuclear War)

Based on "How Would the U.S. Survive a Nuclear War?" by Ed Zuckerman, *Esquire*, March 1982

After the missiles stop falling  
in Reagan's "limited nuclear war,"  
Uncle Sam has plans ready  
to get the U.S.A. up and going,  
back on line again.

We're assured it won't be  
like the fictional aftermath of World War III  
described in devastating scientific detail  
some years ago in "On the Beach" —  
a cobalt cloud circling Planet Earth,  
obliterating with invisible radioactivity  
all life in its path,  
and moving steadily south  
until the last human being  
is dead.

The Federal Emergency Management Agency  
will not be dissuaded by estimates  
of Physicians for Prevention of a Nuclear War  
that 200 million American and Soviet citizens  
would die in an atomic conflict  
and that "the social fabric  
upon which human existence depends  
would be irreparably damaged;"  
even though officials admit  
that close to that number may die,  
they argue that those remaining  
must be prepared to continue  
The American Way of Life.

So, Uncle Sam has plans —

- Emergency Change of Address Cards  
will be distributed postage free  
for use "by displaced survivors of an attack  
to notify the Postal Service  
of their emergency mailing address;"

- The Securities & Exchange Commission  
has been directed to develop procedures  
to provide a "stable and orderly market for securities  
when the situation permits  
under emergency conditions;"

- The Public Health Service is commanded  
to plan for "sanitary aspects  
of disposal of the dead;"

- The Department of Housing and Urban Development  
will requisition private homes  
whose owners have disappeared; and

- The Department of Agriculture  
will ration food (if there is any)  
and process radioactive milk  
into cheese.

Upon warning of a nuclear attack,  
the President will board  
his \$250 million windowless sealed airliner  
from which he hopes to direct the nation's affairs  
at thousands of feet above fallout level;  
Emergency Team staffers of Category A agencies  
will report to secret relocation sites  
(never mind what happens  
to their families);  
and a huge computer has been prepared  
to feed back data of every kind  
on post-attack damage  
to (hopefully) surviving officials.

The National Defense Stockpile  
of Strategic and Critical Materials,  
including 61 items from Aluminum to Zinc,  
has 130,000 pounds of opium  
to ease the searing final hours of blast victims



if the warehouses in which it is stored  
survive an attack.

American Free Enterprise  
can't survive without the banking system,  
so we'll conduct our financial affairs  
from the bottom of a salt mine  
wherein is stored  
a large amount of currency.

And, just in case our post-holocaust descendants  
(if, indeed, there are any)  
want to review the precious documents  
upon which their nation was founded,

they may be able to find the Constitution,  
the Declaration of Independence  
and the Bill of Rights  
stored in a 50-ton bomb-proof vault  
especially constructed for them  
under the National Archives Building.

To survive Reagan's "limited nuclear war"  
all we'll really need  
is a positive attitude —  
of course, life will go on,  
if somewhat differently  
for far fewer Americans.

— Mary Jane Brewster

## Profession of Faith

We believe in one God,  
the Pentagon, the Almighty,  
destroyer of heaven and earth,  
of all that is seen and unseen.

We believe in one Lord, the Bomb,  
the only son of the Pentagon,  
continually begotten of the Pentagon,  
Bomb from Bomb, Flash from Flash,  
true War from true War,  
profitable, not sane,  
one in being with the Pentagon.  
For us and for our destruction  
the Bomb came down from heaven;  
by the power of the multi-nationals  
the Bomb was born of fear and became death.

For our sake, the Bomb was exploded over Hiroshima  
where people still suffer, die and are buried.  
On the third day it was exploded again  
in fulfillment of a war game;  
its mushroom cloud ascended into heaven  
and its fallout is seated  
at the right hand of all people.

The Bomb will come again in gore  
to vaporize the living and the dead  
and its devastation will have no end.

We believe in the threat of the Bomb,  
the taker of life,  
which proceeds from the Pentagon and its contractors.  
With the Pentagon and its generals  
the Bomb is worshipped  
and glorified.  
It has spoken through the Joint Chiefs.

We believe in one Holy anti-communist and apocalyptic  
foreign policy.  
We acknowledge multiple pre-emptive strikes  
for the forgiveness of socialism.  
We look for the resurrection of the Right,  
and the death of the world as we know it.

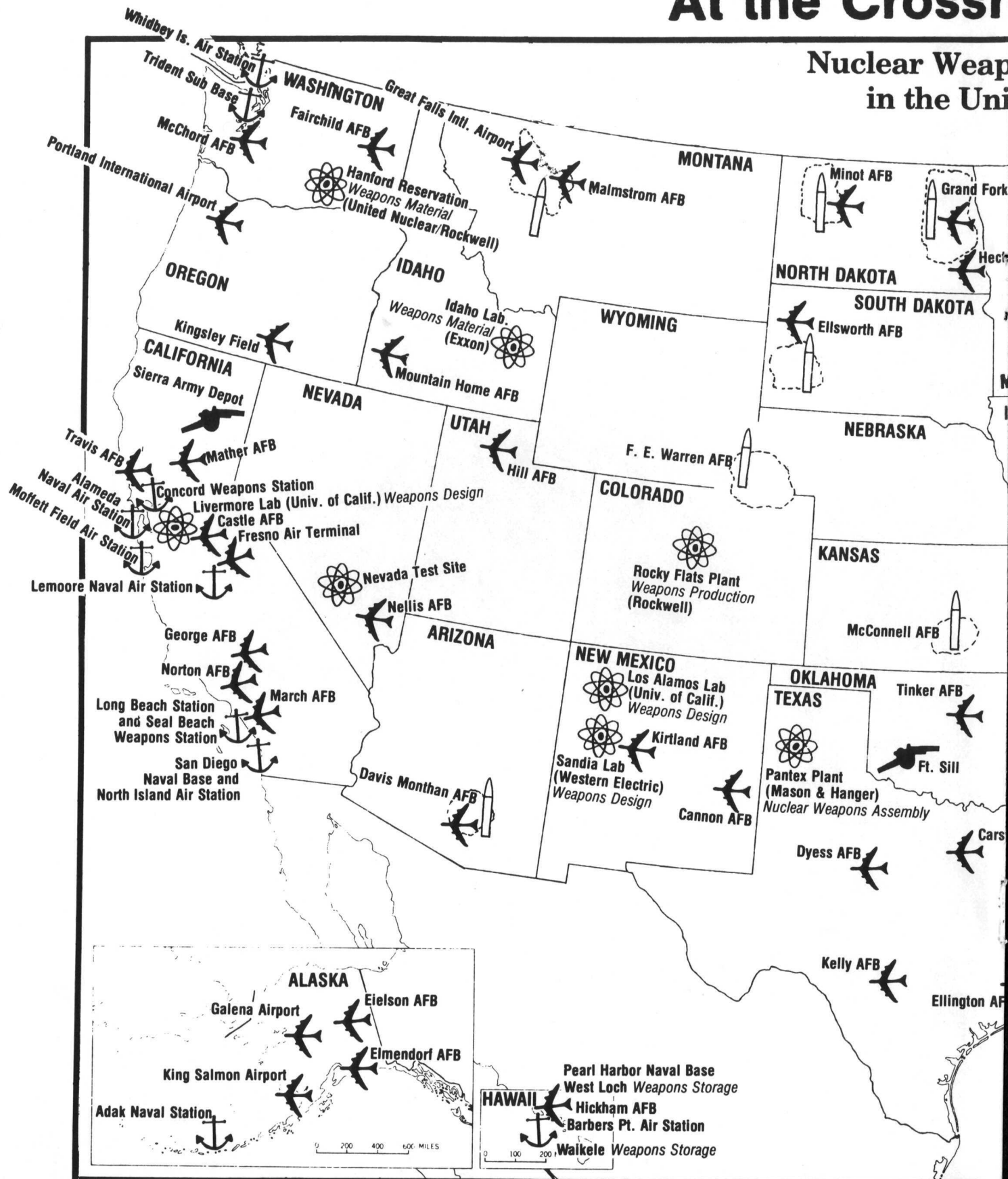
Boom.

— John LaForge



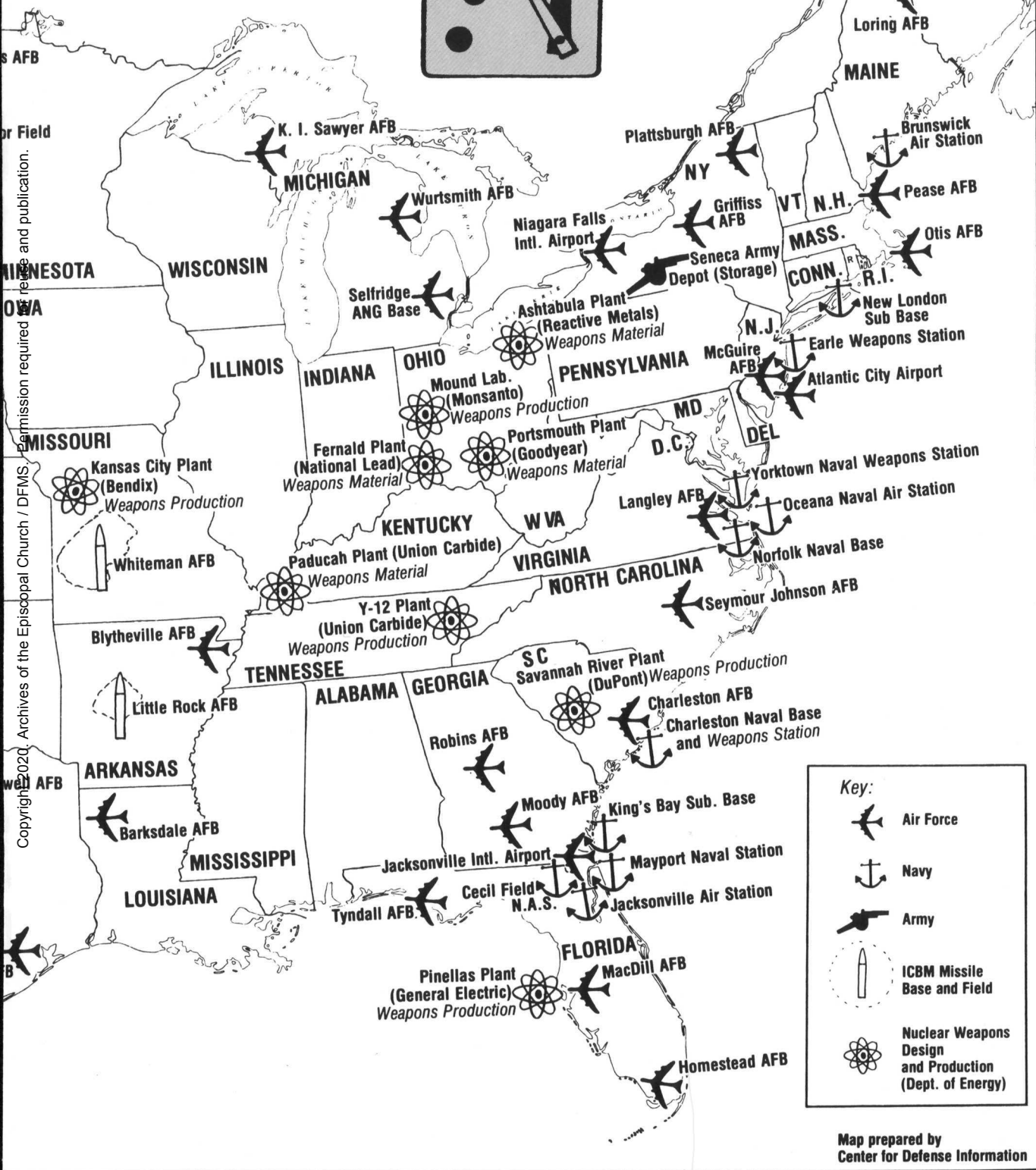
# At the Crossroads

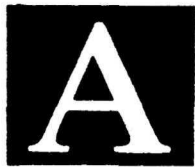
## Nuclear Weapons in the United States



# oads of Time

## ons Locations ted States





**POLITICAL MOVEMENT** is taking root in America today that is profound in its implications and could be historic in its import. It

has appeared on our national landscape not in the form of a single organization or a charismatic leader, but in the myriad forms that movements take when they are shaped by different places and experiences and embrace people of diverse backgrounds and beliefs. It has

# This Is More Than a Peace Movement

by Roberta Lynch

grown from town meetings in New England, from house parties in California, from church pulpits in Texas.

Some call it a peace movement. But it is more than that — for these days even the fiercest hawks are trying to crouch under the wings of the dove and peace has become the coinage of the arms merchants. Some say it is a movement against the draft, or against foreign intervention, or against military spending. It is all of these. But it is more.

For perhaps the first time since the

splitting of the atom, we are witnessing the growth of a deeply rooted popular movement against nuclear weapons in the U.S. This movement is not unanimous in its thrust. Some call for a nuclear freeze. Some for unilateral disarmament. Some for the abolition of all nuclear weapons. But what matters is that it is unified in its essential purpose — a halt to the escalating arms race.

And what matters just as much is that this movement is becoming unified in its essential understanding — a recognition that the fate of all humanity is hanging in the balance, and that our president and his men (and women) are willfully and terrifyingly ignorant of how thin a thread holds back a holocaust.

This movement is not alone. It has its counterparts all over the world. The participants do not necessarily think of themselves as radicals. Yet in placing human survival at the forefront of their agenda — and refusing to be deflected by political cant about mutual deterrence and national defense and Soviet superiority — they are positing the most radical of alterations in the practice of world politics today.

The hard-headed “realists” have already begun to chide them. And the politicians have already begun to try to co-opt them. But I suspect that this disarmament movement will not easily be disarmed of its conviction or its fervor. Whatever course it takes in the





coming years, it already offers us some powerful lessons about the way things — and people — change.

1. Someone has to go out on a limb — and stay there. It may seem to some that this disarmament movement has emerged overnight, like a child born at age 10. In fact, it has been around for decades. Sometimes no more than voices crying in the wilderness, the disarmament advocates have sounded their warnings. Often they were ignored or treated as kooks. But they did not go away. And eventually the force of their message could not be dismissed.

I am thinking particularly of those within the Catholic Church — of Dorothy Day, of Daniel Berrigan, of the thousands of lesser-known but no-less-committed crusaders for peace — who long were branded extremists by the church hierarchy. Today that hierarchy not only echoes their ideas, but in some cases it has even sanctioned their civil disobedience tactics.

It took many years of diligent effort, and it took people who were able to be visionary and willing to be “extreme,” but the result is a movement that has a depth and a scope that could not have been built out of direct mail campaigns and public relations gimmicks.

2. Morality does matter. For the past decade it has been increasingly fashionable to act as though nothing

matters to people but their own immediate economic self-interest. That is the stuff of politics, of organizing. If you want to move people, you have to be pragmatic — you have to be able to win.

There is, of course, much that is valid in this analysis. But if we are truly seeking to develop a politics that is about people in all their dimensions and their complexity, then it is not sufficient to see them only in those narrow terms.

In some sense, the nuclear disarmament movement is very much about self-interest. After all, each individual's survival is at stake. However, I am skeptical that people are actually drawn to the movement on that basis. Few of us like to dwell long on the possibility of our own incineration.

It seems to me, rather, that this movement has placed moral questions at its very center, and that it has touched in its supporters a deep concern about the future of our children and our planet.

3. Politics is one part analysis, two parts organizing, and one part mystery. Sometimes it's easy to start thinking that because we've read Marx or taken an economics course or guessed that Reagan would beat Carter, we can be completely “scientific” about politics. And, of course, there are some things that are awfully safe bets — like the failure of Reagan's economic program.

But there is also in politics an element

of mystery. Very few people on the left predicted — even a year or two ago — that this disarmament movement would gain such momentum or attention in such a short span of time. In fact, in the wake of the Iran crisis and Reagan's victory, it seemed to many that the militarists and national chauvinists had near-total hegemony.

Moreover, in all the debates that have raged over “key sectors” on the left, I think it is safe to say that virtually no one mentioned doctors or Catholic bishops as the likely catalysts for a progressive mass movement.

Such surprises are a welcome reminder of the mystery that is at the core of each human being — that can never be fully analyzed or controlled or beaten down — and that imparts to each collective movement of the people a unique character and a sense of immense possibility.

For the disarmament movement — whatever its long-term impact — offers us a sign of hope in a pretty dismal time. For that, as much as anything else, we should be grateful.

**Roberta Lynch** is a regular columnist for *In These Times* and a political activist. The above article is reprinted from *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60622.



# War Is Fun! Like Pac-Man

(From the CBS News radio broadcast, *Newsbreak*, with Charles Osgood, Jan. 19, 1982.)

**CHARLES OSGOOD:** Hey, kids! War is fun, just like Asteroids, you know, just like Space Invaders. Screen full of blips, fast hand on the controls, incoming Crusties, outgoing Aardvarks. Lights flash, buzzers buzz. In a world of Foxbats and Floggers, Firebars and Forgers, in a game of Fishpots, Mowags, Scuds and Tweets, in a contest of Kangaroos and Kitchens, Frogs and Galoshes, the good guys and the bad guys go at it. And doggone, there goes another civilization. There goes everything. Stand by.

**(Announcement)**

**OSGOOD:** A little item on the newswires this morning about a woman who is the top recruiter for the U.S. Navy, Chief Petty Officer Julie Reed of Williamsport, Pa. And what is the secret of her success? How did she manage to sign up 83 enlistees last year in Rancho Cordova, Cal.? Simple, she says. She would just head on down to the old video game arcade and chat with the kids hanging out, tell them how Navy radar and sonar and computer weapons are a whole lot like the video

games, like Missile Command and Pac Man. I mean, if you like Asteroids and Space Invaders, you'll just love Mowags and Pave Paws and Buffs and Slufs. And just possibly, Chief Petty Officer Reed has stumbled onto something, not only effective as all get-out, recruitment-wise, but full of scary, sobering insight for the rest of us.

I mean, maybe she's onto something. Just the other day in the *LA Times*, David Wood had a piece about the weapons and defense systems these days, the nicknames. You know what a Galosh is? A Galosh is the Pentagon's name for a supersonic nuclear-tipped Soviet missile. The Soviets don't name their weapons, not for our convenience anyway. So, the Pentagon has to pin names on them to know what's being talked about. Our names sound sort of nice. Take our cargo planes. Hercules, Starlifter, Galaxy. We call the Soviet counterparts the Clod, the Clank, the Coot and the Crate. Our C-47 is called the Gooney-Bird. Isn't that sweet? The A-10 is a Wart Hog. The B-52 is a Buff, B-U-F-F, for Big Ugly Fat Fellow. And the Vaught A-7 Corsair II is nicknamed Sluf, for Short Little Ugly Fellow. I told you this would be fun.

Among the names given to other weapons in the arsenals of the superpowers are Mowags and Scuds and Frogs and Aphids and Tweets. There are weapons called Fishbed and Flogger

and Foxbat and Fitter, Flagen, and Fender and Fiddler and Firebar. What will we call the MX missile? It will not be known as the MX, you know, once it's in place. It will be called something else, like Scorpion, or Liberator II possibly, or Vigilant, some name that is going to inspire respect from our enemies and confidence from our own people, something sincere and earnest and trustworthy, like the Honest John Missile.

David Wood says Hallmark is being seriously considered for the MX. You know, Hallmark, "When you care enough to send the very best!"

The nice thing about these swell euphemisms used for weapons systems is that they enable us to talk about the unthinkable without reference to what these things really are and what they really do. Perhaps then, this will be the epitaph of the human race: "Game over!" Now, this.

**(Announcement)**

**OSGOOD:** *Newsbreak*. I'm Charles Osgood, CBS News.

— Reprinted with permission

*(The atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima on the morning of  
Aug. 6, 1945 — the Christian Feast of the Transfiguration.)*

# Transfiguration

by Alla Bozarth-Campbell

*(This was the first poem by a foreign woman poet to be placed on permanent display,  
in Japanese, in the Peace Memorial Garden. The Rev. Alla Bozarth-Campbell of  
Wisdom House, Minneapolis, was among the Philadelphia 11, the first women to be  
ordained Episcopalian priests.)*

Children of the earth, Where are you?

How important it is to forget  
How important it is to forget  
How important it is to remember.



I

Not so long ago  
and already we have forgotten,  
only a little longer  
than one young lifetime,  
only a little more than  
last year, only a few minutes ago  
and we have forgotten, forgotten.

It is time, children, it is time.

Let me speak, say the mothers  
Let me speak, say the grandmothers  
Let me speak, say the fathers and brothers  
Hear me, cry the sisters and daughters!  
From the past and from the future  
the hands of the dead are beating  
upward on the earth for our attention.

We will live, say the flowers  
We will live, say the trees  
We will live, cry the rivers  
We will live, roar the oceans  
We will live, sing the children.

No more acid in our rains  
No more firewind in our brains  
No more stars shot from the sky  
to kill us a thousand times  
No more blindness to hide the terrible  
brilliance of so many faces  
exploding like stars  
all over the world  
No more lack of thought for the unborn  
No more lack of love for the living.

II

See them, the mollusk mothers,  
crouching from the sea,  
their soft bodies the saviors  
of our pain, those who went before  
come forth from their shells  
to show us their wounds  
no sea sponge can heal.  
Only our vision is their hope.  
Only their eyes can show us the truth.

Come gather the pearls,  
our mothers' eyes set free  
in time, their bones and flesh a fine  
powder crushed and turned into foam,  
turned into light, light,  
the power of light leaping  
forever against the dark pride  
of Hades, giant shark of the West,  
his teeth held at bay by only  
the light of their glistening,

the light of their transforming pain.  
Come gather the pearls in your arms  
and listen and see.

See the mollusk mothers rising  
from the wounds of the past  
to give us our future: Remember, Remember.

III

Children of earth,  
eat no more the food of death  
but return to the land of the living.

Now let lotuses lift their leaves through  
the circle of your arms.

Come, make loving covenant  
the circle of your arms.

Come, make loving covenant  
with us, a promise

To cherish  
To protect  
To rise eternally  
from the broken light  
from the muddled, bloodied waters  
from the unnatural fires of history

To reach hands across this sea  
and make the kiss of peace  
blot out your mothers' tears.

To the People of Hiroshima  
From an American Woman, Alla

# ***Convention Dinner Will Honor Four Award Winners***

**T**he Episcopal Church Publishing Company will present four awards for outstanding contributions to the social mission of the church at a banquet/celebration on Sept. 7 in New Orleans, during the General Convention of the Episcopal Church.

The awards are named in honor of three noted Episcopalians: William Scarlett, Bishop of Missouri, 1930-1950; Vida Scudder, educator and social activist; and William Spofford, Sr., former editor of THE WITNESS. In addition, a special award of merit will be presented.

Recipients are the Rt. Rev. John E. Hines, the Scarlett Award; Marion Kellern, the Scudder Award; and the Rev. Benjamin Chavis, the Spofford Award. A special Award of Merit will go to William Stringfellow. Photos of the recipients and brief biodata appear at right.

Keynote speaker for the event and details concerning securing of tickets will be announced in the next issue of THE WITNESS.

**Special Award of Merit:** William Stringfellow, theologian, social critic, peace activist, and attorney, is a prolific author of books and articles, many of the latter having appeared in THE WITNESS. His three-part series on the State of the Church, in which he addressed "signs of the demonic" in the institutional structure, provided a lead-in for WITNESS readers to the 1979 General Convention.

**William Stringfellow**





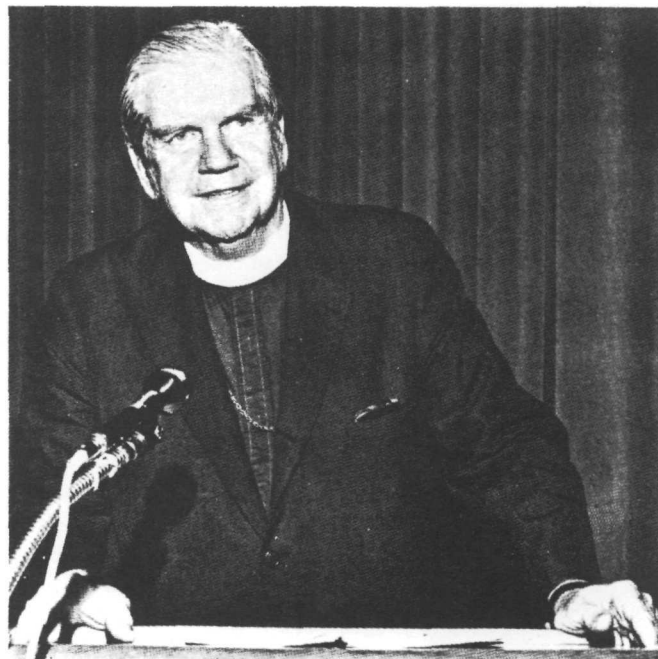


**Ben Chavis**

**William Spofford Award:** The Rev. Benjamin F. Chavis, Jr., is Deputy Director of the Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ. He is perhaps the best known of the Wilmington 10 (eight black youths, a white woman social worker, and Chavis) who were jailed under false charges in 1976 following a racial shootout in North Carolina. Chavis served four years in prison before being exonerated, and an account of one of his faith experiences during that interim appeared in the February WITNESS.

**William Scarlett Award:** John E. Hines, retired Presiding Bishop, Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, headed the Church from 1965-74, and was known inside and outside of the Church for his innovative programs and courageous stands on social issues. He also served as Coadjutor Bishop of Texas from 1945-55, then as Bishop of Texas from 1955-64. Bishop Hines is retired "on a mountain," in Highland, N.C., with his wife, Helen.

**Vida Scudder Award:** Marion Kellerman is noted for her service to the church in this country and abroad. She served for 10 years on the Anglican Consultative Council as lay representative for six years, then as vice chair and chair, and was one of eight Episcopal representatives at the World Council of Churches Assembly in Nairobi. She has served on various committees and boards of Christian education at the diocesan and national levels, and was a faculty member of Virginia Theological Seminary. She was also a member of the Joint Commission of Women Workers and the Coalition for the Ordination of Women to the Priesthood and Episcopacy.



**John Hines**

**Marion Kellerman**



*Nick White*

Letters . . . Continued from page 2

to bring life out of death. Together we hurt — and wait. I suggest that many others must make the same statements we do, or they shall find that the forces of division and rejection in our church can be victorious. I wonder at the silence of liberals, and indeed, at the lack of love that does not care enough to scream in pain for justice.

**Christopher Jones, Prior  
Transfiguration Monastery**

## None Is Blameless

We were away several weeks, have since been earnestly reviewing the issues addressed by THE WITNESS magazine. While we find some issues discussed in harmony with our views, others shockingly reasonable, still others smack of prejudice and strong bias, e.g. the Salvadoran Julio Torres who sounded off like a Cuban-sponsored advocate of the revolution. It is they who sponsor terrorism. In any case, it is immature and prejudicial to blame all the world's troubles on the United States! How have all civilizations declined?

If it is God's plan to let man destroy his kind, perhaps He has a better species in mind, through mutation, to be brought about in this scientific age, or ultimately as a result. You must admit that man as human being, as living spark of the Divine, has progressed little in eons of time: only his inventiveness has, and his dominion. His greed and his cruelty have not changed — and this goes for all people of all faiths and political entities. We but try to overcome: as nations, as organizational entities, as families and individuals. None is perfect and none is blameless, nor altogether to blame.

**Mr. & Mrs. S. A. Chappel  
Martinez, Cal.**

## Monsters, Not Patriots

I believe that it is time to identify the proponents of nuclear arms and warfare for what they really are. They are not dedicated, hard-working patriots. The

sane among us must start treating them with the censure they deserve and the control necessary to ensure the survival of the human race. It is time to identify these purveyors of the nuclear doctrine as:

— Bearers of a loathsome disease, destroyers of all that is good and decent in the human spirit;

— Terrorizers of children;

— Liars who deceive the ignorant by spreading the horrible falsehood that nuclear wars could be fought without destroying humankind;

— Hypocrites who label themselves peace-makers.

When, oh when, will the sane of the world take up the cause against these monsters? We must rally at once to the just cause of the elimination, not reduction, of nuclear arms.

**Howard R. Canada  
Bloomington, Ind.**

## Kudos From Retreatants

I want to thank you for sending us five copies of THE WITNESS magazine monthly for our retreat centers. Please continue to do so. We get many favorable comments from our retreatants.

**Robert A. Raines, Director  
Kirkridge  
Bangor, Pa.**

*(THE WITNESS is pleased to send free bulk copies to retreat centers or similar institutions operating on narrow budgets. Contact Ann Hunter of our promotion staff for information. — Eds.)*

## Peace Liturgy at Trinity

I accompanied a small group of Episcopalians, Roman Catholics and Quakers recently to Trinity, the site where the first atomic bomb was tested in the United States, for a ceremony of peace.

On the day the site was opened to the public, we gathered to pray. Our altar was a folding table; our chapel, the desert. From afar, the detonation site

had appeared to be a stark, white oval of radiation-bleached vegetation.

Trinity was now peaceful. The sun shone brightly, the wind whistled across the large expanse of flat desert. We had a litany of life followed by communion. None of the other visitors questioned our right to be there. Many joined us, some for a few moments; others shared communion. The desert was healing its wounds and we felt more at peace with ourselves. Maybe that is where world peace begins.

**Tara Soughers  
Socorro, New Mex.**

### THE CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY MOVEMENT:

Issues for the Eighties

by David J. Sneider

*A Report on a Conference on Shareholder Responsibility,  
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This 30-page resource booklet about actions to increase corporate responsibility and social justice for individuals, communities and nations will be useful to:

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Order: \$2 each for 1-9 booklets, postage 30¢ per copy. One booklet, \$2.30. Bulk rates available. Send order and check payable to Episcopal Church Publishing Co., 4800 Woodward Ave., Detroit, MI 48201.

## Cult Abuse Ignored

THE WITNESS seems to have taken a stand on the Moral Majority, right-wing evangelists with money and power, but has chosen to ignore the extremist and more destructive groups — the cults. There are over 2,000 of these practicing deception, fraud, and coercive persuasion (which violates religious choice/freedom). These groups separate families, harm the person and are involved in few "good works."

They have infiltrated our government, our schools, our churches, are competing in business, often tax free, and are funneling off many bright, middle-class youngsters as "slaves" to their system of totalitarianism — all in the name of serving God.

As a socially responsible publication, I would assume that THE WITNESS would long ago have taken responsibility in doing research on the cult issue. The cult problem will not subside. The difficulties of adjusting to a complex society and "looking for easy answers" affects all generations. The cults and mass therapies are well aware of the vulnerabilities and as they gather

minds and bodies their power as groups increase.

Please help the millions of Americans and families across the U.S. by bringing this issue to their attention. Prevention through education and awareness are the only answers at present.

**Jean Allen  
Broomall, Pa.**

*(The Diocese of Pennsylvania has established a Committee on Cult Abuse, which interested readers may contact for further information. Write the Rev. Mark Scheneman, St. Peter's Church, W. Chester Pk. & Sterner Ave., Broomall, PA 19009. We will be happy to publish information about other such efforts, — Eds.)*

### CREDITS

Cover, Beth Seka, adapted from Jonah House liturgy graphic; p.4, Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy; map pp. 10-11, courtesy Center for Defense Information, Washington, D.C.; graphics pp. 12-13, Rini Templeton; p. 15, MFSA Social Questions Bulletin; p. 16, Stringfellow photo, Richard O. Singleton.

## Coming Up . . . in THE WITNESS

- **The National Security Agency** — A former NSA official and his wife say the NSA can be harmful to the health of the nation and to families who work for it.
- **The Economy** — An historical and analytical view of how we got into the present dilemma by Frances Fox Piven, noted political scientist who frequently appears in the pages of the *New York Times*.

### Back Issues Available:

- **Black Women's Agenda:** Parts 1 and 2 — Articles include "Racism Breeds Stereotypes," by Deborah Hines; "Bigotry Fashionable Again," by Myrtle Gordon; "Other Struggles Seducing Blacks," by Mattie Hopkins, and "You Don't See Most of Us," by Barbara Harris. February and March issues. Plus Ben Chavis' stirring article of his prison experiences, "Freeing Prisoners With the Bible." Package, \$2.



DON'T YOU HAVE A COMPUTER GAME THAT NEGOTIATES PEACE !!!

## Nestle Boycott Continues

WITNESS readers have no doubt read the recent announcement by the Nestle Company that it will comply with the provisions of the World Health Organization's code of marketing of breast milk substitutes.

The Company's action is a step forward and almost certainly would not have occurred without pressure from the boycott. However, so far the Nestle Company has refused to discuss with the Boycott Committee differing interpretations of the code. Therefore, the Infant Formula Action Coalition (INFAC) has asked that a boycott of Nestle products be continued until a reasonable agreement has been reached. INFAC will continue to monitor the Company's activities in developing countries. Only by its actions can the sincerity of Nestle be judged.

We hope that an end to the boycott is not far down the road. Meanwhile WITNESS readers who wish to contribute to INFAC may write INFAC, 1701 University Ave. S.E., Minneapolis, MN 55414.

— Mary Jane Baker, Chair  
ECPC Shareholders Responsibility Committee

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## SPECIAL OFFER TO WITNESS READERS

Order *Must We Choose Sides*, or *Which Side Are We On*, two of the best-selling Study Action Guides on the market — dealing with Christian Commitment for the

1980s — or *Moral Majority Survival Kit*, *The New Right*, for only \$5.00 and save up to \$1.95.

### Must We Choose Sides?

1979, 127pp. \$5.95

Explores the role of working people in our economic system. Investigates harsh realities of everyday life. Who owns America? Who pays the price? Six comprehensive sessions help readers examine class background and the myths of capitalism. Group exercises probe individual experience and insight, apply tools of social analysis while engaging in theological reflection.

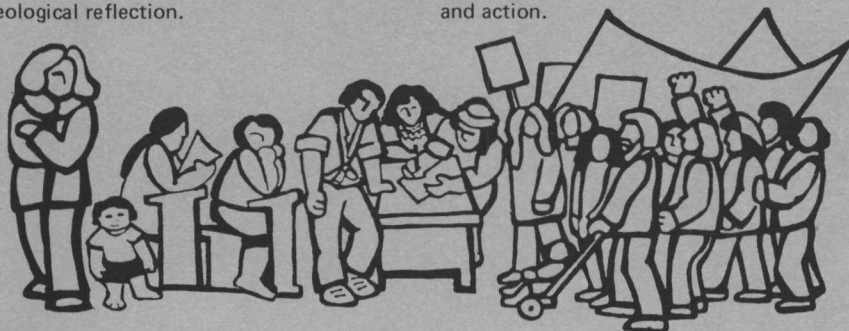
### Which Side Are We On?

1980, 172 pp. \$6.95

Deepens understanding of the present crisis — inflation, unemployment, the danger of war. Moves beyond historical critique of capitalism to explore other alternatives. Raises questions for Christian activists. Can we reclaim our radical heritage? How do we confront political and religious ideology? Seven in-depth sessions for group study and action.

### The New Right

Keep track of Jerry Falwell and the Moral Majority (and how to cope with them) with an authoritative and illuminating report on the New Religious Right. Produced by the Data Center of Oakland, Cal., in association with THE WITNESS, *The New Right: Fundamentalists & Financiers* underscores the role of Right-wing evangelists in the New Right Movement. A compilation of reports and analyses from the nation's leading newspapers and magazines. Up-to-the-minute, authoritative — it's \$6.50, but available to you as a reader of THE WITNESS at the special low price of \$5.00.



Yes, I want to take advantage of your special offer. Please send me the book(s) I have checked at \$5.00 each. Payment is enclosed.

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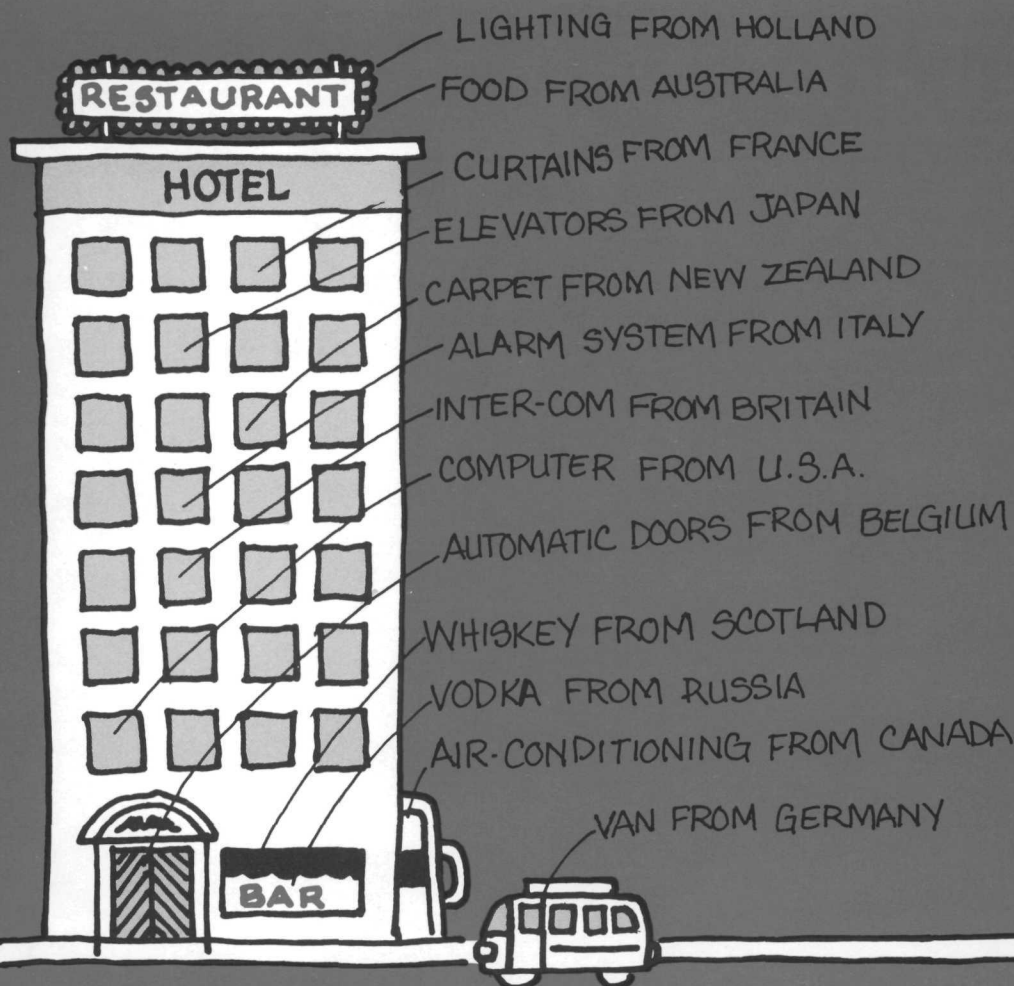
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# DOES TOURISM BRING FOREIGN EXCHANGE?



Third World Tourism: Who Wins, Who Loses? by Ron O'Grady

**THE  
WITNESS**

VOL. 65 NO. 7 JULY, 1982

**John Spong Interviews  
S. African Diplomat  
About Desmond Tutu**

# LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

## To Promote Condren

THE WITNESS is superb! I want to promote it in England. Can you let me know your overseas rates? I will subscribe before leaving the United States. I certainly mean to get people reading Mary Condren's piece on "Ireland — A Primeval Drama With Economic, Political Roots."

**Peter Selby**  
Cambridge, Mass.

## Disorganized Confusion

I must confess that Mary Condren's article on Ireland completely disorganized my confusion.

As an Episcopal priest, I consider myself a member of the One, Holy, Catholic, Apostolic Church. For the life of me, I cannot see that Mary Condren even attempted to make distinctions between "Catholic" (I suppose Roman), "Protestant" (other than Anglicans in Ireland) and Anglicans, themselves. Is there any?

**The Rev. Prescott L. Laundrie**  
Fayetteville, N.Y.

## Ms. Condren Responds:

In my article, "Ireland: A Primeval Drama With Economic, Political Roots," I made no attempt to distinguish between the various Protestant denominations in Ireland. My article was a political rather than a theological analysis, and I saw little point in adding to the tomes which divide, rather than unite, Christians.

As a political entity, "Protestants" in

Ireland are pretty well united, although they vary among themselves as to the means to be used to accomplish political objectives. There are no "Anglicans" in Ireland. Those Protestants in sympathy with the Church of England call themselves (of all things) the "Church of Ireland."

**Mary Condren**  
Newton, Mass.

## Age 65, Bah, Humbug!

I'm ashamed to take the senior subscriber's rate (\$6) to THE WITNESS. I think you have made the age too low. When I was 65 I was prancing about, but now at 92 arthritis has led to a cane. However, I can still laugh!

If my writing is not very straight it is because nine days ago I had an eye implant but I am trying to catch up. Soon I am going to move to the Evangelical Home. I'll send the new address.

I proudly wear my diocesan badge which was pinned on me one Christmas Eve and I send loving thoughts.

**Esther Spaulding**  
Detroit, Mich.

## Is ECPC Episcopalian?

I don't think I have read so much unmitigated garbage written in the name of the Episcopal Church in my entire life!

I would very much like to know whether the so-called Episcopal Church Publishing Company is connected in anyway with the official Episcopal Church of the U.S.A.

I received a complimentary subscription from a notice put in our parish newsletter, so I am more than casually interested in the answer. (I think it's entirely possible that the Archbishop of Canterbury will also be very interested in the answer!)

I think it's about time that "oddballs" claiming to speak for Christians of a particular denomination or group of sects should be made to put their money where their (loud) mouths are. Whether they call themselves "Moral Majority" or THE WITNESS is totally immaterial.

We, who are middle of the road, say "A plague upon both your houses." An answer is requested.

**Vera Schultz**  
Columbus, Miss.

## ECPC Responds

The official title of our organization is, in fact, the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. It is independent of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America but members of our Board include three Episcopal bishops. The retired Presiding Bishop of PECUSA, John E. Hines, served on our Board from 1975 through 1980. Our Board includes priests and lay members of the Episcopal Church. The program staff now includes three ordained priests.

Clearly, then, we are "connected" with the Episcopal Church, but we are also an independent organization.

We regret that we have not been able to convince Ms. Schultz that our position on various issues is appropriate. But we recall, also, that when Franklin D. Roosevelt quoted Shakespeare — as she does ("a plague on both your houses") — during a labor dispute, John L. Lewis intoned in reply that it ill behooved one who had supped at labor's table and been sheltered in labor's house "to damn with equal fervor both labor and its adversary" at a moment when they were locked in deadly embrace.

**Robert N. Eckersley, Controller**  
Episcopal Church Publishing Company

## Opiating in Masses?

I am writing in response to the letter to the editor in May from Dan Dornbrook, Eau Claire, Wisc., which refers to "gay rights" as a "pseudo-liberation movement" which is the "opiate of the masses." It seems ironic that this letter should appear in the same issue of THE WITNESS which carries an article by John Fortunato in which he states: "Thanks to the hate-mongering of the New Religious Right during the past year, the number of violent crimes with gay and lesbian victims has doubled in

*Continued on page 7*

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# THE WITNESS EDITORIAL

## The Power of the Dove

**"H**ow to stop feeling hopeless and helpless about nuclear war." That was the caption to a full page ad in the *New York Times* of May 23. Apparently many did manage to stop feeling that way, for more than a million people turned out to voice concern and to witness across the nation in June for peace. It was another "sign" of the Kingdom of Peace, building upon other growing signs of the dove in recent months.

This success highlighted, by contrast, one of the most enervating, spirit-sapping realities with which we live; namely, that this world and its people are so intractable to needed change. How easy it is to feel hopeless and helpless! Whether our concern is with the pursuit of peace, or politics, or morality, or the renewal of the church, the same problem besets us: the problem is a Goliath to our David, and we can't seem to find the right stone to fell the giant.

What can one person do?

That question, for Christians, relates significantly to what we

believe God expects of us. Loving concern is the charge God has laid upon us. We are to take upon ourselves what we understand the nature of God to be: an all-encompassing love for this world and the affairs of its people.

But love is initiative-taking; it is exposure to risk. For Christians, the suffering God is a familiar figure — the cross, our central symbol. Nevertheless, insists the Christian faith, God did not, does not and will not relinquish those divine initiatives, that divine exposure on behalf of the world. For the world is God's. And so it is with persons made in the image of God. For them to abandon their loving initiatives, their loving, caring exposure on behalf of the world would be for them to deny a very large part of themselves. They would be diminishing their own being. Thus, for Christians, this law of love is not an alien, external burden laid upon them. It is, rather, a law of their very being. To reach out to creation with loving concern is the only way to be true to oneself. Note a double

*Continued on page 9*

# Third World Tourism: Who Wins, Who Loses?

by Ron O'Grady

A major airline began an advertising campaign for one of its new destinations in East Africa some time ago with the headline *Go there while it's still unspoiled!* I was shocked. One of the principal operators in the field of tourism was blatantly saying that its own actions were not good for the country — that once tourists started to arrive in large numbers, the nation would be spoiled!

Mounting evidence reveals that the airline is correct, with two qualifications: The type of tourism which is destructive is *mass commercialized tourism* and the type of country which suffers is the one which is *underdeveloped*. Travel by wealthy people to affluent nations can be done with mutual benefit to both, but the tourism of the rich to poor countries of the world is proving to be at least, unfortunate; at worst, a catastrophe.

When a tourist group visits an affluent country the possibility of friction is much less. A common cultural history, similar social values and sufficient language services provide a comfortable ambience. Furthermore, the host country has all the facilities normally demanded by tourists.

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**Ron O'Grady** has just completed eight years as Associate General Secretary of the Christian Conference of Asia, and is currently a Visiting Research Associate at Union Theological Seminary, New York. His latest book, *Third World Stopover*, was published by the World Council of Churches; a U.S. edition will be published by Orbis Books.

Poorer nations lack this infrastructure. They are asked to make the leap from a predominantly rural-based economy into a service-oriented tourist nation without passing through an intermediate stage of industrialization. Money is diverted from social projects to build roads and bridges to serve the tourists; drainage facilities are inadequate, so raw sewage is pumped into the sea; the electrification of villages is postponed because of the need to place air-conditioning, elevators and many other electrical requirements in hotels; increased demand for certain foods and consumer goods by tourists raises prices in the local market; money which is needed for housing, health care, schools and agricultural development is diverted to meeting the ever-increasing needs of a foreign elite. These symptoms prevail as soon as a developing nation makes tourism one of its priorities.

Over the past five years, Christian leaders in several Third World nations have begun to speak openly of the hazards and havoc of unrestricted tourism. This came into focus in 1980 when the Christian Conference of Asia sponsored an International Workshop on Tourism. Many Americans will be surprised that the Third World has leashed its anger against tourism. They have been conditioned to think of tourism as a healthy activity which provides employment for the host and enjoyment for the visitor. How could such a warm experience be criticized?

Studies have isolated four specific

problem areas found, in varying degrees, in all Third World tourist destinations:

- The economic benefit to poor countries is not nearly as high as promoters would like to suggest. It is claimed that tourism brings a country foreign currency and provides jobs. But many Third World countries actually experience a large negative flow of foreign capital as a result of tourism. Frequently it is so costly to establish and maintain the industry that there is barely enough foreign currency left to pay for the foreign travel of the country's elites! A Danish University study concluded that some countries lose so much on the exchange that they are actually subsidizing the holidays of rich tourists.

It is true that tourism is labor intensive. It enlists the services of waiters and waitresses, room service personnel, gardeners, shopkeepers, prostitutes and bartenders. But key managerial posts are held by foreigners. Workers are drawn from a large pool of unemployed and if they do not conform to the image of smiling servility, they are promptly replaced by others standing in line. And the per capita cost of creating such work is many times higher than in almost any other industrial or commercial field.

Consider the poor in a Third World country — the people who will never be tourists. When they speak of travel they mean going on foot or in a crowded bus to the next village or town. Possibly



they will travel for a wedding, funeral or religious festival. Family income is barely sufficient for survival and there is no extra money for luxury travel. Indeed, luxury to the poor usually does not stretch far beyond a bottle of soft drink or a ride on the back of a bicycle. The concept of a paid holiday or leisure travel or visiting a foreign culture is totally outside their conceptual framework.

Into the land of the poor come the tourists. At first only a few courageous and usually sensitive souls make the visit and are rewarded with all the courtesy and hospitality of traditional societies. Later, the numbers increase. Surveys are made of possible tourist resorts and great profits are projected. The host community is persuaded that tourism will bring the blessings of employment, of foreign funds and the development of natural resources for the good of the whole community. Contracts are signed, money slips under the counter, jumbo jets fly in, and a major qualitative change begins in the life of the whole society.

- Tourism threatens the survival of the traditional culture of poor countries. In Bali, Tahiti, Hawaii, and many of the Caribbean islands, the local culture has been forced to change. Many Third World people say the new culture is born from the rape of their country by the tourist. In the Malaysian island of Penang, the protest poet Cecil Rajendra summed up the effect of tourism:

*When the tourists flew in  
our men put aside  
their fishing nets  
to become waiters  
our women became whores*

*When the tourists flew in  
what culture we had  
flew out of the window  
we traded our customs  
for sunglasses and pop  
we turned sacred ceremonies  
into ten-cent peep shows.*

*When the tourists flew in  
local food became scarce  
prices went up  
but our wages stayed low.*

*When the tourists flew in  
we were asked to be  
"side-walk ambassadors"  
to stay smiling and polite  
to always guide  
the lost visitor . . .  
Hell, if we could only tell them  
where we really want them to go.*

- In tourism, the poor are once again being exploited. This is graphically revealed in the growth of "prostitution-

tourism." This fast-growing industry brings planeloads of free-spending male tourists to one of the "sex centers" of the Third World. These tours are most popular among the Japanese and the Germans and their main destinations in Asia are Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines and Thailand.

Concern about this kind of tourism is not simply around the morality of prostitution. Women caught up in this trade are victims of a form of neoslavery. They are bought and sold, kept incarcerated, treated cruelly and dropped when they have no further value for selling. In Bangkok, a 1980 study revealed that more than 500,000



women are now involved in prostitution and related activities in Thailand.

• Finally, we must note the political use of tourism. Dictators are always searching for ways to improve their international image and tourism is one of the best ways to bolster a corrupt regime. Tourism's smiling faces and friendly people become a lie to cover the real situation. Since it also serves to domesticate the local population it becomes a major force for keeping a restive population docile.

In Haiti, for example, the poorest country in the Caribbean, tourists pay more for a single night's accommodation in opulent hotels than many Haitians get paid in a lifetime. How can such a country be described as a "tourist paradise"?

But tourism is not going to go away. Even though the United States and other Western countries are struggling through a recession, world tourism figures continue to rise. In the past 30 years, despite recession, unemployment, oil crises, inflation, wars and rumors of wars, tourism has increased every year. Almost every middle class family now travels overseas at one time or another, and many are taking annual holidays abroad. Tourism has now outstripped oil as the world's major industry and it has been the world's largest employer for some years. In 1979 Americans spent slightly more on tourism than they did on defense, although the new defense spending has widened the gap.

Indeed, the World Tourism Organization, a fairly cautious body, predicts that by the year 2000 tourism will be "a socio-economic phenomenon capable of exercising a decisive influence on the world." It may soon be the most important economic activity of humanity.

Most of the new growth is taking place in Third World nations. Westerners find they can live there like kings and queens, sheltered from the harsher realities of the poor, and the

experience seems to be addictive. It is the contrast between the tourist lifestyle and life in the host country which worries observers. Dr. Abdel Wahab Bouhdiba writes:

*Tourism injects the behavior of a wasteful society in the midst of a society of want. What the average tourist consumes in Tunisia in a week in the way of meat, dairy products, fruit and pastries, is equivalent to what two or three Tunisians eat in a whole year. The rift between rich and poor societies at this point is no longer an academic issue but an everyday reality.*

Pope Paul once said that the church must take action to try and give tourism "a human face." This sums up the dilemma. Some action has already been taken to humanize tourism by church leaders in various nations who have met with tour operators. Last year, churches in Asia, the Pacific and the Caribbean went a step further and created the Ecumenical Coalition for Third World Tourism. The organization will be staffed and located in Asia, either in Bangkok or Manila, and will act as a coordinator of international research and action.

Apart from protesting the excesses of tourism, what positive steps can Christians take?

First, the destructive elements in mass tourism must be channeled into more constructive directions. At an international symposium in Sweden last year I proposed that mass tourism be confined to small geographic areas within Third World countries, arguing that tourists do not have the automatic right to go where they wish and do whatever they desire in a poor nation. Heated debate followed on placing tourists in "ghettos" or "reservations." I predict, however, that within a few years we may well come to the point where this is inevitable. I suspect also that the tourists themselves will not object too greatly. Most of them just

## A Code of Ethics For Tourists

*The following code was prepared by a group of church leaders from the Christian Conference of Asia.*

1. Travel in a spirit of humility and with a genuine desire to learn more about the people of your host country.
2. Be sensitively aware of the feelings of other people, thus preventing what might be offensive behavior on your part. This applies very much to photography.
3. Cultivate the habit of listening and observing, rather than merely hearing and seeing.
4. Realize that often the people in the country you visit have time concepts and thought patterns other than your own; this does not make them inferior, only different.
5. Instead of looking for that "beach paradise," discover the enrichment of seeing a different way of life, through other eyes.
6. Acquaint yourself with local customs — people will be happy to help you.
7. Instead of the Western practice of 'knowing all the answers', cultivate the habit of listening.
8. Remember that you are only one of the thousands of tourists visiting this country and do not expect special privileges.
9. If you really want your experience to be 'a home away from home', it is foolish to waste money on travelling.
10. When you are shopping, remember that "bargain" you obtained was only possible because of the low wages paid to the maker.
11. Spend time reflecting on your daily experiences in an attempt to deepen your understanding.

want to have a good time in an exotic place and already show a preference for

“authentic” floor shows and Disneyland-type centers which confine the “culture” into a small space. Since most tourists are concerned with sun, sand, sex and shopping they can get it just as easily in a tourist enclave.

Second, another form which creates excessive problems for the Third World countries is loosely described as “hippie” tourism. It consists of young people who drift from one place to another trying to find “meaning” in life — probing drugs, religion, sex and wasteful life-styles to meet their personal needs. Their lazy ways are a luxury which affluent countries can afford but in a poor country such a life-style means hunger, death or crime. Many Third World countries now ban the entry of any young people thought to be on drugs or unable to show means of support.

A third area, which comes a little closer to home, is the need to sharpen the focus of tours for educational or religious purposes. Every college and church in the United States seems to have its annual educational visit to the Third World. These are often badly-planned, take little account of the local situation, are not done at the invitation of the host church or school and are provided mainly to suit the travelers’ needs rather than those of the host country.

In almost every case the idea for the tour originates in the United States and then is imposed on the victims in the host country. In some of the popular destinations, churches have had to appoint people full-time to handle the visiting groups because they are too polite to refuse assistance. Such visits are a distraction from the mission of the church. Some organizers try to justify the travel with high-sounding theological phrases about “world mission.” Well, several hundred U.S. tour groups have visited the Balinese churches, but no Balinese tourists have ever visited U.S. churches. Such one-sided tourism is not a sign of world



**You guys should get your act together and make your government give you food stamps.**

mission but of world economic injustice.

Despite all these criticisms, we must end by affirming that tourism has the potential to become one of the richest human experiences we can know. When it gives us the opportunity to meet persons from a different culture and to know them at some depth, a whole new dimension enters our lives. Racial and ethnic stereotypes can disappear as we find the riches of another culture.

Many of us in the churches have experienced something of this relationship. People of other lands have challenged our thinking and life-style in a way which has been one of the most important growth-points in our faith. Because we covet this experience for others, we are probing to find some way to challenge the style of tourism, to make it less superficial, and more fulfilling both for tourists and the host countries. ■

Letters . . .

*Continued from page 2*

most metropolitan areas. The number of murders has risen alarmingly. In Los Angeles now, when police arrest homeless, confused, and often drug-addicted young men who are prostituting themselves in order to survive, wax impressions of their teeth routinely are taken. It is a logical procedure. The impressions later will aid the coroner in identifying their abused and mutilated bodies when they are found murdered.”

Elsewhere in the article Fortunato refers to a suicide rate among gays and lesbians as being four times the national average, and an alcoholism rate that is seven times higher. Those of us who minister with and to the gay community thought we were about the task of eradicating that pain, and helping to explode the myths about homosexuality.

It is obvious that Mr. Dornbrook is not gay, and apparently has never had any gay friends who have been denied housing or a job, or who were fired from their job, or indeed lost, or took their life because of the inconsequential fact of their homosexuality. Perhaps Integrity should concern itself with saving whales or trees or maybe supermarket coupons.

We thought we were about the Gospel imperative to spread the love of Jesus Christ to every living being, but perhaps that differs from Mr. Dornbrook’s notion of “Biblical Christianity.” And, Mr. Dornbrook, just what is a “radical evangelical” anyway? Most of the folks we encounter think there’s something fairly radical about gay evangelicals. But perhaps we’ve been opiating in the wrong masses.

We will welcome Mr. Dornbrook on board when we get down to some really nitty-gritty stuff, and away from all this twaddle about suicide, alcoholism, and wax impressions of young men’s teeth.

**Juli Beatty**  
Northeastern Representative  
Integrity  
Indiana, Pa.

# Ambassador Noncommittal Re Fate of Bishop Tutu

by John S. Spong

For almost two years, the Hon. Donald B. Sole, Ambassador to the United States from South Africa, and I have carried on a vigorous correspondence about South Africa's treatment of Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu. At his suggestion, a face to face meeting was arranged in late spring in Washington, D.C.

Were I in the diplomatic service, a statement following our meeting would have been issued: "The Ambassador and the Bishop engaged in a full, open and frank discussion of their differences. They decided that the dialogue will continue at a later date."

Ambassador Sole is a career foreign diplomat who has served his country in every major Western European embassy before assuming duties in the United States. He is nearing retirement and will leave his post this year. His family migrated from England to South Africa in 1820, about the time my family left England for the

United States. He is a gracious, learned, patient man who quite willingly, even eagerly, took more than an hour to present the case for his government.

The Ambassador was concerned that so much negativity and ill will are generated throughout the world against South Africa, which he described as a problem of communication. Nobody seems to understand South Africa. Everyone wants to tell South Africa how to solve her problems. He went into the history of his nation, relating in some detail the British war against the Zulu people. He dismissed Bishop Tutu as one who is "eagerly seeking martyrdom" and "guilty of abusing his passport privileges" by urging businesses to engage in "economic aggression" against his own country.

Ambassador Sole stated that no Blacks are conscripted into military service in South Africa because "our people do not think it is desirable for Blacks to be trained in the use of arms." He admitted that he does not believe in democracy. He portrayed himself as a student of ancient Greece, and for him the city-state organized for the comfort of the ruling class is the proper form of government.

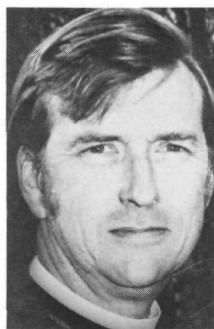
He talked about the progress South Africa is making in race relations. To support his argument, he said that workers now have the right to organize, to engage in collective bargaining, and even to strike. He did not go into all of the restrictions that make that process difficult to

impossible, if barely legal. He mentioned the minimum wage law which, he suggested, protects domestic workers. He skipped quickly over the fact that the minimum wage in South Africa is a "suggested voluntary minimum."

From time to time, the Ambassador dropped his attitude of politeness, referring to Bishop Tutu with derision simply as "Tutu." One of those moments occurred when I asked why he and his nation were so afraid of Desmond. With a barely disguised sneer, he said, feigning shock, "No one is afraid of Tutu." "Why then," I pressed, "do you harass him, seek to discredit him, remove his passport, refuse even to listen to his demands, threaten to ban him, or suggest that he apply for an exit visa which, if used, would mean he could never return to South Africa? Is that the way one treats a person of whom one is not afraid?"

We talked about power. I mentioned to him that all the progressive changes to which he pointed with such pride are basically cosmetic. "They are band-aids placed on cancer. They do not touch the basic issues of justice. If the ruling forces of South Africa do not share the political, economic, and social power of their nation with the Black majority, they will sow the seeds of hatred and bitterness that will finally destroy your nation." Ambassador Sole disagreed.

The government of South Africa trusts today in military power and in "law and order," but the inevitable



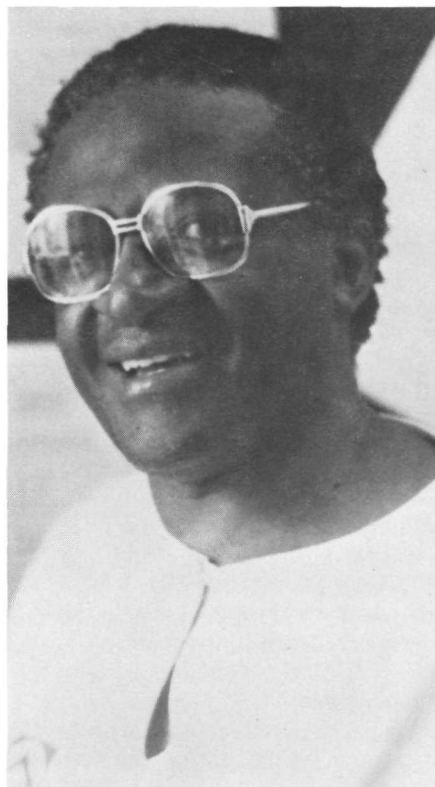
The Rt. Rev. John S. Spong is Bishop of Newark.



revolution that will engulf that nation will not be fought on the traditional battlefield where armaments and firepower can be advantageously deployed in the service of the technologically superior White minority. It will be fought by sabotage and subterfuge and by hit-and-run guerilla raids until the price of prejudice will be so expensive that even a regime committed to apartheid will no longer be willing to pay the price. No one could possibly welcome such a reality, but the continuing actions of that government make it appear inevitable.

History teaches one relentless lesson; namely, that power that is not shared will finally be taken away by force. While that force is gathering, the doomed oppressor nation will react with hysteria, paranoia, and fear. They will look at a Bishop Tutu who is unarmed and commands no army, whose spirit is gentle and loving, whose only weapons are truth and moral indignation; and they will see in him an enemy to be feared, one who is capable of committing "economic aggression" against "his own nation." They will never see that South Africa cannot be "his own nation" when he is unable to vote, or serve in the armed forces, or is not trusted, or is forced to carry a degrading pass, or is not allowed on certain public streets after certain hours, and suffers countless other affronts to his human dignity.

"If you cannot communicate your version of the truth to the world, Mr. Ambassador," I said, "one of two



**Bishop Tutu**

things must be at fault. Either you have a very poor communications system, or else the truth you have to communicate is not true." At that point there was a pause in our dialogue. "If the latter is the case, Mr. Ambassador," I went on, "then surely your country is doomed, for one cannot perpetuate or defend a lie forever."

Before leaving, I asked if I might be assured that Desmond Tutu's life was safe. Will he be arrested some night, languish in a forgotten prison, or even be hanged on some trumped up charge of treason? "I can't say," the Ambassador answered. "That will depend on Bishop Tutu." "No," I objected, "that will depend on you and on your government."

We parted, vowing to talk again. But nothing was changed. Desmond Tutu, the leading African Christian voice today, continues to live in peril and uncertainty, but his witness continues strong. His truth will endure. ■

## Editorial . . . Continued from page 3

meaning in: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as *thyself*."

We are caught up by our very nature in such a divine mission, arduous and risky as it is. Small wonder, then, that the New Testament speaks reassuringly of the "signs of the Kingdom." For the eyes of faith, those movements, events, actions which are consistent with the plan of the Kingdom of God are "signs" which remind us of God's oneness, and of our own. They remind us that all creation is one, in God. And, cast as we are in God's likeness, that all creation is one, *in us*. Since this is an enterprise of the Almighty, the ultimate victory is assured. Of that the signs of the Kingdom, the power of the dove, remind and reassure us.

(R.L.D. and the editors.)

### Credits

Cover, adapted by Beth Seka from a cartoon by Ron O'Grady; cartoons pp. 5, 7, Ron O'Grady; photo p. 8, Hayward Levy; photo p. 9, Diocesan Press Service; p. 10, *Free West Indian*, Grenadian newspaper; p. 11, Mauricio Pascual, *El Mundo*.

## Coming Up . . . in **THE WITNESS**

• **The National Security Agency** — A former NSA official and his wife say the NSA can be harmful to the health of the nation and to families who work for it.

• **The Economy** — An historical and analytical view of how we got into the present dilemma by Frances Fox Piven, noted political scientist who frequently appears in the pages of the *New York Times*.

## U.S. Immigration Flexes Muscle In Puerto Rico



Suzanne Berkeley

**S**uzanne Berkeley, a 20-year-old Roman Catholic layworker at the Pope Paul VI Ecumenical Center in Grenada, set out for the Theology in the Americas Dialogue-Retreat in Puerto Rico May 4 with great expectations. Her center was to host a liberation theology conference in June and the encounter seemed tailored to the center's needs.

While the center had hosted Caribbean regional seminars and leadership training programs for youth and workers in Grenada, it had not explored liberation theology to any great extent. And this Puerto Rico meeting planned by the Inter-Ethnic Indigenous Coalition of TIA would bring together African Americans, Native Americans, Hispanics and others in a Caribbean setting, of which Grenada is part.

But U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service officials in Puerto Rico had other ideas about Ms. Berkeley and the conference. At the airport, INS labeled her *persona non grata* to the United States and detained her for intensive questioning (Are you a Communist? Are you connected to any party in your country? Are you a nun? Is the Grenadian Revolution Communist?)

Learning of her plight, TIA conference participants launched a team to find legal assistance for Suzanne and follow her through a grueling two days of confrontation with INS and the courts. The team consisted of the Rev. Syngman Rhee, vice president of the National Council of Churches; the Rev. Jovelino Ramos, NCC Associate General Secretary; Tyrone Pitts, NCC Director of Race Relations; Marilyn Clement, prominent Methodist laywoman and Executive Director of the Center for Constitutional Rights; the Rev. Alfonso Roman, United Church of Christ, Board of Home Ministries Immigration Task Force, and Mary Lou Suhor, editor of *THE WITNESS*. What follows is a personal account by Ms. Suhor, drawn from experiences with the TIA delegation.

**T**he recent detention of a 20-year-old Grenadian woman from a theological conference in Puerto Rico by U.S. Immigration officials has raised the specter of an INS monitoring religious events under the guise of "protecting national security."

Suzanne Berkeley, a social worker at the Pope Paul Ecumenical Center in Grenada, was invited to the conference by Theology in the Americas, sponsor of the event. Upon disembarking May 4 from BWIA Airlines at Puerto Rico's International Airport, she was subjected to two hours of interrogation

## INS Disrupts

about her religious and political affiliations by five INS officials. Although her credentials were in order, INS revoked her visa, pressured her to sign a paper saying she was a political activist, and ordered her deported. TIA conference participants, including high level officers from the National Council of Churches, intervened and fought the case for two days.

During the long hours of legal efforts to get her released, Ms. Berkeley was shuttled back and forth from Immigration offices to the airport, frequently under armed guard. In the evenings she was remanded to the custody of the airlines and placed under security guard at the airport hotel. Not having been admitted to Puerto Rico nor having been definitely deported, she was in a "twilight zone" politically. Because of the tense situation, conference participants assured the Grenadian UN Mission in New York that a team would be at her side at all times.

Marilyn Clement, prominent Methodist laywoman and Executive Director of the Center for Constitutional Rights and Mary Lou Suhor, editor of *THE WITNESS*, remained with Ms. Berkeley at the

airport hotel, taking meals with the young Grenadian and the security guards, and staying with her overnight.

TIA delegates were impressed by the young woman's courage and quiet dignity as she answered questions, moved from office to office in the Federal Building in Hato Rey.

Ms. Berkeley told THE WITNESS, "I experienced fear only when I was isolated at the airport, questioned and searched and threatened with jail if I did not sign that paper. At that point, I felt I was in physical danger."

"Christians are all too familiar with this process in countries under dictatorships, such as Chile, El Salvador, and the Philippines, but now we have witnessed it in Puerto Rico," said the Rev. Jovelino Ramos, Associate General Secretary of the NCC and a TIA conference designer.

Among questions put to Ms. Berkeley were, "Are you a Christian Socialist?" and "Do you believe that justice should be achieved by violence?" "I told them I was a Christian, full stop," she said. "And no, not generally

can justice be achieved by violence, but some cases warrant it." She said she felt the reason she was being detained was that she was Grenadian, and that this was "another attempt by the United States to intimidate our people."

Theme of the TIA meeting was liberation theology — which brings theology out of lived experiences, with particular emphasis on ethnic concerns. INS official Rafael Escudero called the language of the conference "anti-U.S." and "anti-militarist." INS said the conference had "political configura-

## Theology Meet, Deports Grenadian, 20



Her long ordeal over after being detained three days in custody by U.S. Immigration, Suzanne Berkeley breaks into tears at a press conference before being deported. At her side are NCC officials who opposed the INS action, the Rev. Jovelino Ramos, left, and Dr. Syngman Rhee.

Mauricio Pascual, *El Mundo*

tions,” and objected that participants had scheduled a visit to church representatives and fishermen on the Island of Vieques, which the U.S. Navy routinely shells in target practice.

But the Rev. Syngman Rhee, Program Vice President of the NCC, emphasized that “terms like oppression and repression, justice and liberation are the language of theology today, as they have been since Biblical days. We are within the parameters of our Christian affirmations. Militarism and the arms race are of profound concern to us, and the conference was responding to this.

The harassment of Ms. Berkeley resulted in a formal protest to the INS by the Governing Board of the National Council of Churches; a request for a written report of the incident by the U.S. Catholic Conference (Catholic Bishop Sidney Charles is Chair of the Board of the Pope Paul Ecumenical Center in St. John’s); and Grenadian initiatives to lodge a protest with the U.S. Embassy in Barbados. The case made headlines in the Caribbean for five days.

Lawyers for Ms. Berkeley — Jose Antonio Lugo and Peter Berkowitz — from the Puerto Rican Institute for Civil Rights, succeeded in revoking her statement because it was signed under duress, and also turned back an attempt to photograph and fingerprint her.

On the second day of her detention the INS charged Ms. Berkeley, before Immigration Judge Francis Maiolo’s Court: *The INS has reason to believe that you are seeking to enter the U.S. solely, principally, or incidentally to engage in activities which would be prejudicial to the public interest or endanger the welfare, safety or security of the U.S.*” Judge Maiolo ruled that he had no jurisdiction over the case because it lacked authorization from the regional Commissioner’s office in Burlington, Vt.

Courtroom proceedings prompted one TIA delegate to observe, “We came

here primarily to reflect and dialogue on peace and demilitarization of the Caribbean. But the reaction of INS dramatized the colonial status of Puerto Rico. In the courtroom we saw the U.S. flag, not a Puerto Rican flag. On the walls were the U.S. Declaration of Independence and Constitution. The language of the court was English, not Spanish. And the judge would not rule because he had not heard from Vermont!”

Ms. Berkeley decided to withdraw her application for admission when it became clear that she could be kept in detention long enough to miss the entire conference. She stressed that although the experience had been “terribly painful and frustrating,” she “did not hold Puerto Ricans responsible” for her ordeal. Excerpts from her message to the TIA Conference, written during her detention, appear elsewhere in this article. (See box.)

Caldwell Taylor, Grenada’s Ambassador to the United Nations, commenting on the Puerto Rican incident for THE WITNESS, said: “We are very disturbed. We were told by the lawyers that Suzanne Berkeley was intimidated by U.S. Immigration authorities who held her hostage and established an inquisitorial court. She was asked about her ideological orientation and about the character of our government, in the interest of ‘national security.’

“Suzanne Berkeley is not an agent of the Grenadian government. She is an activist in the Catholic Church. This incident exposes the paranoia of those who are protecting the status quo. How can a world power — a country noted for its advanced technology — which observes the world in detail through its satellites, be afraid of a 20-year-old

#### Grenada Article Available

THE WITNESS ran an article about the socialist character of Suzanne Berkeley’s country: “*Grenada: A Revolution a Republican Tourist Could Love*,” by A. Lin Neumann in April, 1982. It is available free.

## Berkeley Message To Theology Conference

TO: The Organizers and Participants of the second dialogue retreat of Theology in the Americas

It has been a pleasure for us in Grenada to be invited to this very important meeting. Our main reason for wanting to participate in this conference, as we have said, was for a learning experience, since on our part, we have not done very much in theology.

We intend to hold our first seminar on liberation theology in June of this year. We are getting help in this respect from the Rev. Eunice Santana.

Although I have been denied admission, thus prevented from participation in the conference, the whole experience has been a learning process for me, as I know it has been for you.

We have also been able to learn more about the political and social situation of Puerto Rico, which is not in any way limited to Puerto Rico, but happens to be a duplicate of the situation of the countries that are still under colonialism. We as church people must reflect on our role in this situation . . .

I would like to say heartfelt thanks on behalf of my country and also on my own behalf to all the participants of the conference who extended their concern and support throughout this ordeal. I must also thank the lawyers and the reporters for their efforts on my behalf. We, the people of Grenada, see this as another attempt to harass and intimidate our people, but our people are strong and we know we shall win in the end.

Finally, I would like to say that our people hold nothing against the Puerto Rican people. Your struggle is our struggle and your victory will be our victory.

Suzanne Berkeley

woman? Perhaps this makes the point that big ideas can come from small countries, and that ideas are as powerful as armies. Ms. Berkeley is an embodiment of the ideals of our Revolution. With thousands like her, we cannot fail.”



Nicaragua:

## What's Happening To the Miskitos?

*Whatever side one comes down on with regard to the Nicaraguan Revolution, it can be said with objectivity that the Sandinista government faces the task of initiating a new social order in a highly volatile Central American context.*

*Having overthrown the despotic regime of Gen. Anastasio Somoza, Nicaragua's Sandinistas say they are trying to forge a path neither communist nor capitalist, and are cautiously avoiding the escalation of class struggle.*

*In the United States, media attention focused on Nicaragua recently when the Sandinistas relocated the Miskito Indians away from the Honduras border. Gen. Alexander Haig showed photos reported to be Nicaraguan soldiers burning bodies of Miskito Indians, in a brutal human rights violation. The charge was later proved false, but never retracted.*

*THE WITNESS in the following pages presents two analyses of the Miskito phenomenon. The first is an overview and evaluation by the Central American Religious Study Group, a team of 12 scholars from various disciplines (theology, economics, education, etc.) who prepare analyses from a religious perspective for the church media. CARSG is based in Washington, D.C.*

*The second is a systems analysis by the Rev. Robert Renouf, an Episcopal priest from California who is working with his wife, Jeannette, at the Instituto Anglicano de Nicaragua.*

## Religious Study Group Evaluates Resettlement

The drama of the Miskito Indians of Nicaragua might have passed unnoticed had not *Le Figaro*, a Parisian newspaper, printed pictures claiming to depict Nicaraguan soldiers burning the bodies of the Miskito Indians during a vast resettlement effort.

Secretary of State Alexander Haig showed the photos to reporters as evidence of the Sandinista government's brutality toward its native people.

Two days later *Le Figaro* announced

that it had wrongfully identified the pictures, which were actually photos of the National Guard burning bodies before Somoza's overthrow. Secretary Haig did not apologize and the world was left with the impression of gross human rights violations by the Sandinista soldiers.

Who are the Miskitos? Why have many of them been resettled away from the Nicaraguan/Honduran border? What is the basis for the U.S. charges of human rights violations that have captured much attention in the media?

Nicaragua has both an Atlantic and a Pacific coastline separated by a sparsely populated tropical interior. The cultures of the two coasts are so different that they have almost seemed two countries.

On the west coast where most of the people live, the Spanish conquerors virtually eliminated the native population by the 19th century, leaving the population heavily mixed with Spanish blood.

The British who used the ports of the

Atlantic Coast had little desire to settle, but brought slaves from Jamaica who mingled with the native population. The resulting Miskito Indians are the majority in northern Zelaya, the northeastern corner of Nicaragua, and extend into Honduras across the Coco river which forms the border. Of the approximately 180,000 Miskitos, 120,000 live in Nicaragua, the remainder in Honduras. They have freely passed to and fro across the border for decades.

Such is the isolation of the Atlantic Coast region in Nicaragua that Somoza's rule and its terrible repression along the Pacific Coast barely touched the east.

Local leadership rested largely with two religions, Catholic and Moravian. The Instituto Historico Centroamericano, a Nicaraguan religious research center, describes their role:

*The Catholic Church in the north is staffed by U.S. missionaries, many of whom reflect the fear of communism which was so prevalent and which was deeply ingrained in them in the U.S. during their formation. Under Somoza, the priests enjoyed special position and privileges. In many small villages the church functioned as the political apparatus and as the government.*

The Moravian Church came to Nicaragua from Czechoslovakia in 1849. In the northeast, 80% of the Miskitos are Moravians. The church has been active in social and development work. Its ministers have often provided leadership for the native organizations. Five or six years ago the Moravian church became a native church with native clergy and bishops. This community also shares a deep suspicion of communism, the harvest of years of Somoza and U.S. propaganda which painted communism, as exemplified by Cuba, as the greatest of all possible evils.

In July, 1979, after a struggle which claimed almost 50,000 lives in the final two years, Nicaragua's popular coalition headed by the Sandinistas drove Somoza into exile. Many of his supporters in the dread National Guard fled across the border into Honduras.

The youthful victors took over a deeply impoverished, largely illiterate land of 3 million people. They plunged into their tasks with vigor. That very vigor and enthusiasm eventually caused deep problems with the Miskitos of the northeast.

Whereas on the west coast the intense suffering at the hands of the hated Somoza and the National Guard served as a bond of unity for reconstruction, in the isolated northeast, which had been barely touched by either Somoza or by the revolution, the triumphant Sandinistas arrived to find that the "Costenos" (Coast People) considered them just one more conqueror.

The Sandinistas who tried to bring government to the area found enormous problems. The economy of the Atlantic Coast had deteriorated. Foreign companies had pulled out. Transportation between Atlantic and Pacific Coasts was almost non-existent. There were no local newspapers. Radio communications were inadequate. Health facilities were pitiful and local agriculture suffered from the land's low fertility and frequent flooding.

When they tried to institute changes for the better, the Sandinistas failed to perceive the cultural conflicts they were causing. Many plans originated in offices in Managua on the Pacific Coast with people who had no knowledge of the impossibility of implementation on the Atlantic Coast.

As the Instituto Historico describes:

*The Sandinistas tried to bring government to an area that, to a large extent, had only the churches as government . . . All of this activity in trying to bring the revolution to a people who were*

*not prepared for significant change has had the unfortunate result of causing fear and distrust among the people. That, combined with the ultra-conservative position of many of the religious leaders, makes them recall the years of U.S. domination of the area as a good thing.*

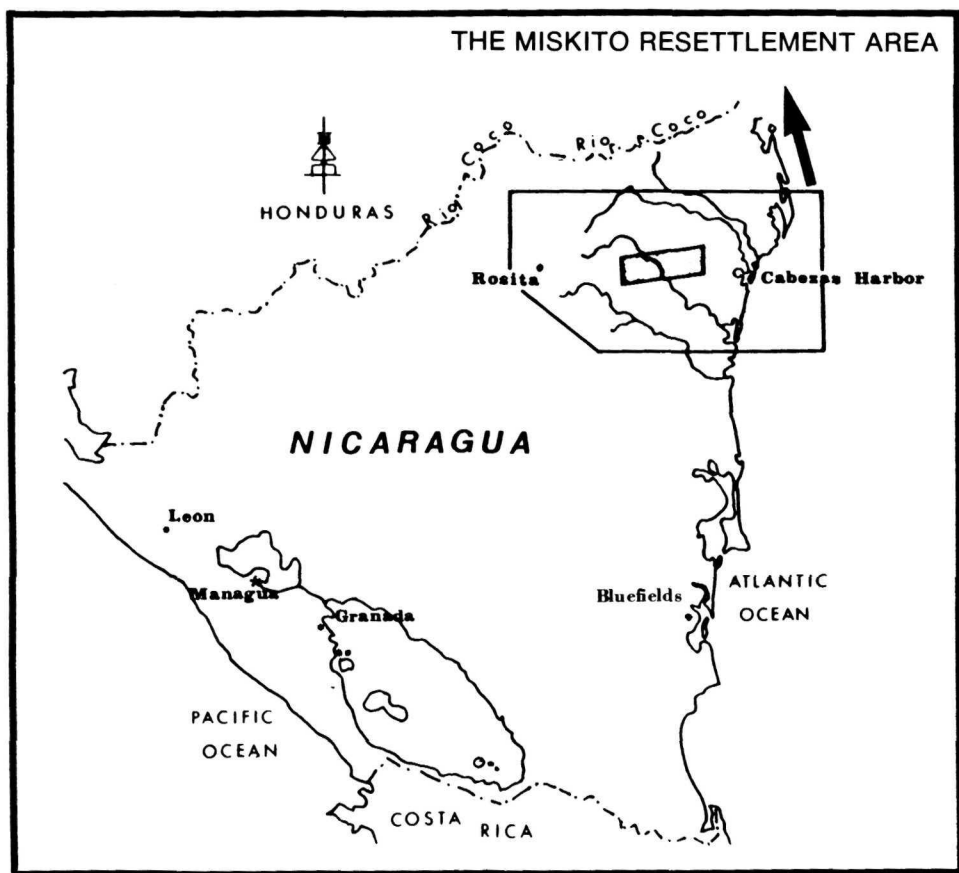
The cultural differences made conflict almost inevitable. Whereas the Sandinistas looked on the United States as imperialist, many Miskitos considered the United States a benefactor. In addition, few of the Sandinistas spoke either Miskitu or English. They were young, inexperienced, and unprepared. Excited by the revolution and desirous of bringing the "benefits" to the people they considered the most exploited, they instead were perceived as threats to an almost autonomous culture.

The Sandinistas soon recognized their inexperience and tried to change course. They appointed Steadman Fagoth, the enterprising and charismatic 28-year-old leader of the regional economic organization called MISURASATA, to be a representative of the Sandinista government.

MISURASATA, under Fagoth's leadership, began to press for political autonomy over extensive areas of land and demanded five seats on the Council of State. This was occurring in 1980 as President Reagan took office and proclaimed an intention to reverse the Sandinista revolution.

Shortly after Reagan's election, supporters of the ousted General Somoza began to operate openly on the Honduran side of the border across the Rio Coco, first with seeming acquiescence, and then with apparent support, from the Honduran and U.S. governments.

In February 1981, as the MISURASATA pressed their demands for regional autonomy and seemed likely to call for international support,



Fagoth and the MISURASATA leadership were arrested. Heavy Miskito protest led to their release. Fagoth fled to Honduras with about 3,000 Miskitos.

Fagoth, charging the Sandinistas with seeking to repress the Miskitos, began to work at destabilizing the Nicaraguan government. His major medium is the radio station operated by former Somoza supporters in Honduras whose broadcasts cover the Atlantic Coast region.

By late 1981, the former Somoza people had begun to launch attacks across the border into northern Nicaragua in their first attempts to destabilize the government. Thirty-five Sandinistas were killed in December, 1981.

These attacks were accompanied by rising pressure from the Reagan

Administration. It claimed that the Sandinista government was leading the country into the Soviet-Cuban orbit and pledged efforts to thwart this movement.

In early 1982, Nicaraguans uncovered the "Red Christmas" plot, a plan by counterrevolutionary groups to gain control of the northern section of Zelaya, the Miskito region, to set up a provisional government and to ask for help from the United States.

A total of 110 people were found guilty of participation in the plot, including many members with ties to the Moravian church. Sandinista suspicion toward the Moravians and the Miskitos was heightened.

When raiding attacks across the Rio Coco boundary continued unabated, Nicaragua's Sandinista government faced two options: 1) to fortify the

border heavily and seek armed confrontation; 2) to remove the Miskito population close to the border and relocate them. The government chose the second, and sent the army to evacuate the people from about 100 villages close to the border, a move affecting 6,000 to 10,000 people.

The resettlement was done quickly. The exact time of departure was not given for security reasons. What was left behind was burned or destroyed to prevent use of the villages and resources as a base of operations or source of food for counterrevolutionary bands which might cross the border.

The Miskitos were resettled about 50 miles south of the border along the road between Puerto Cabezas and Rosita.

This decision and its implementation raised a storm of accusations that the Nicaragua government was guilty of gross violations of native human rights.

The Catholic bishops of Nicaragua, who had supported the Sandinistas before Somoza's overthrow, but some of whom now are in conflict with the present directions of the Sandinista government, issued a statement protesting the resettlement and the treatment given the Miskitos. They said, "We state with sad surprise that in some concrete cases there have been serious violations of the human rights of individuals, families and even entire villages." The bishops refused an official government invitation to visit the resettlement communities of the Miskitos.

The U.S. State Department protested strongly. Secretary of State Haig used the photograph mentioned before to illustrate his charges of gross violations of human rights.

However, the Moravian Church of Nicaragua, whose leaders are mostly natives of the Atlantic Coast, spoke far more moderately without avoiding the problems Nicaragua faces on the Pacific Coast. They called for international dialogue and said: "The Sandinista Revolution has provided the

opportunity for the Coast people and especially the indigenous people to experience the liberation of their spirits after having been oppressed by years of exploitation and isolation."

The Instituto Historico, after investigating the situation, visiting the camps and interviewing many witnesses sums it thus:

*Once the decision was made to effect the transfer, much effort went into the actual move. It was a long, arduous trip on foot lasting four to ten days. Many old people, pregnant women and small children were moved by helicopter or by vehicle. All of the people with whom we spoke praised the young volunteers who helped. These comments came even from those who were otherwise very angry about the move. Their anger is understandable. They had to leave their homes, their land, their belongings, their clothing and animals. This caused great sorrow as well as much resentment.*

Sister Marlene DeNardo, International Liaison for Latin America for the Sisters of Notre Dame, joined an international Human Rights Commission for a visit to Sahsa, the smallest and best organized of the resettlement areas. She reported, "We found Miskitos and Sandinistas living and working together. Important human services had already been established. Development of private houses for families and allotment of lands was already in process. Many Miskitos said they had been offered money to join the movement against the Sandinistas. The Miskitos of Sasha had chosen to join the resettlement and seemed generally satisfied."

### Evaluation

What actually seems to have happened in the forced resettlement? Were there violations of human rights? Were there killings? Was it genocide?

1. It is clear that the armed raids across the Rio Coco by counter-revolutionaries based in Honduras provided grave provocation for action.

2. The Sandinistas, in choosing resettlement, opted to limit armed confrontation with the raiders, but did so at the expense of moving a number of Miskitos away from their traditional lands.

3. The resettlement followed a period in which the Sandinistas' lack of cultural understanding of the Atlantic Coast had already created considerable suspicion, hostility and fear.

4. The former Somoza supporters in Honduras, with at least the acquiescence and apparently the support of both the Honduran armed forces and the Reagan Administration, have sought to exploit the Miskito suspicions of the Sandinistas.

5. Abandoned villages, animals and crops near the border were destroyed in the resettlement. None of the rumored killings have been able to be verified even by people who have sought such evidence explicitly.

6. Good treatment was accorded the Miskitos during the resettlement, even in the face of their justifiable anger and hostility at the enforced move from their native lands.

7. The new settlements are not "concentration camps," but good faith efforts at resettlement.

While facing serious difficulties and extreme lack of resources in the aftermath of Somoza's departure, the Sandinista government has achieved some serious progress in the Atlantic Coast area.

- The Literacy Campaign, begun shortly after victory, was carried out in the Atlantic Coast region in Spanish, English, Sumu and Miskitu.

- Limited, but free, medical service is being brought to most of the people. The national health campaigns against dengue and malaria are being carried out throughout the area. A new hospital is being built in Bluefields.

- A highway which will link the two coasts is almost completed.

- Electricity and safe drinking water are being extended into many communities.

- The government is making a serious effort to supply staples at low cost to remote communities thus undercutting the traditional exploitive practices of some local merchants.

The Central American Religious Study Group concludes that the resettlement of the Miskitos was an action taken by the Sandinista government under serious provocation both from border raids from Honduras, and from fears that the United States and Honduras might exploit the Atlantic Coast people to give a pretext for destabilizing the Nicaraguan government.

*(Prepared by Dolly Pomerlau & William Callahan for the Central American Religious Study Group.)*

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## Creed of the Andean Church in Peru

**Our God, we believe in You.**

**We believe that you created our Mother, the Earth, and therefore,**

**You are the enemy of those who steal it from us, leaving us orphans.**

**We believe that You proposed work not to enslave us.**

**But as a joyful path towards community.**

**We believe that You have spoken to us from the beginning,**

**Through our myths, our beliefs and our rites.**

**We believe that it wasn't a total misfortune that you revealed Yourself to us**

**Through the oppression of the colonial conquest.**

**Rather, we believe that this is a challenge for us to create a liberating faith.**

**Thus calling into question traditional Christianity.**

**Reprinted from Peru Update  
Dec. '81/Jan. '82 in CALC Report**



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# 'Doing Theology Is Real Here'

**F**irst, a personal word about life in Managua since we arrived early this year. There has been much progress in many areas since we were here in August, 1980. Managua has many new paved highways, new low-cost housing, a greatly improved transportation system with modern Brazilian buses and some new office buildings. The cultural life has been enriched with a national choir, ballet folklorico, chamber orchestra and color TV. However, one still sees many two-wheeled carts, being pulled by horse or oxen, on downtown streets. Cows, pigs, cattle and goats graze wherever there is open land and frequently wander across the busy boulevards. At 5 a.m. one would think that every house in Managua has a rooster to welcome the dawn. A modern city of over 600,000 people, Managua still remains rural in many ways.

We are living in Casa Episcopal, about nine miles south of the diocesan center (where our offices are). Our house is very comfortable, with plenty of room for guests and conferences.

*We are here at the invitation of the Episcopal Church of Nicaragua, a small dedicated church working toward self-direction, self-support and self-nurture as an interdependent member of the Ninth Province of the world-wide Anglican Communion. Our official positions are as directors of the Anglican Institute of Nicaragua. We serve as training and development officers for the Episcopal Church of Nicaragua with focus on pastoral, organizational and leadership development, including theological education. The church will be electing its first non-North American bishop this year or in early 1983. By 1984 all pastoral, administrative and other key positions will be staffed by Nicaraguans. Non-Nicaraguans will serve as consultants to this national church. It is exciting to be part of this liberating process.*

*The Episcopal Church is strongest on the east coast, as is the Moravian Church. The Anglican Church first*

*appeared in Nicaragua in the 1850's when a priest from England began work in San Juan del Norte on the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua. Over the years the church slowly spread throughout the east coast and St. Mark's Church, Bluefields, now serves as the "mother" church in Nicaragua. Early membership was English. Blacks from the West Indies were baptized and confirmed and, over the years, developed deep roots in the church. Gradually the indigenous peoples were integrated into the Anglican Church also.*

*Today about 90% of the Episcopal Church of Nicaragua is found on the east coast, where English is still used to a great extent. Presently social and political unrest is being experienced in this area. The government would describe this unrest as being "counterrevolutionary," and the churches are experiencing this tension. Doing theology in a revolutionary situation is real here.*

**— Jeannette and Robert Renouf**

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## Systems Theory Applied to Nicaragua

by Robert Renouf

**R**ecent events in the Northern Zone of the Nicaraguan Atlantic Coast have brought certain socio-anthropological realities into focus. The skirmishes along the Nicaragua-Honduras border and the Miskito resettlement plan manifest some of the issues emerging from the policy of the Revolutionary Government to provide for the Atlantic Coast the benefits of the revolutionary process that have been experienced by Nicaraguans living on the Pacific Coast. A brief review of Nicaraguan social-anthropological history can help to delineate the issues.

The Nicaraguan people have emerged as a result of the mixing of Indigenous, European and African populations. Practically all the Nicaraguan people are Mestizo, the

crossing of these different racial populations. The Nicaraguan people can be divided into three groups, based upon ethnic identifications and/or linguistic criteria. These groups form distinct social systems. The issue in Nicaragua today is whether these distinct systems can become subsystems of a national whole.

Three basic principles of systems theory apply to the Nicaraguan scene: The first is that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. Secondly, the parts of the whole must work together and mutually reinforce one another. Thirdly, the systemic purpose is shared by all of the subsystems. Because the systemic purpose of reconstruction is not shared by all the various ethnic groups, the process of working

together and supporting each other is being frustrated. It is national policy to recover and defend pride in the Mestizo origins of the Nicaraguan people but two of the ethnic groups, on the Atlantic Coast, to varying degrees have expressed resistance to becoming an integral part of the whole.

The people of Nicaragua are geographically situated as follows:

**1. The Indigenous population**, the majority of whom are Miskitos, is concentrated on the Atlantic Coast in the northeast area of the country, speaking Miskito, Sumo, Rama and a Jarifone dialect of the Caribbean. The Indigenous population makes up about 3% of the national population. (Some Indigenous population is to be found in Managua also.)

**2. The Creole population**, of African origin and speaking English as a first language, is found largely in the southern part of the Atlantic Coast and on Corn Island. Significant Creole population is found also in Managua and Puerto Sandino on the Pacific Coast. The Creoles make up about 1% of the total national population.

**3. The Mestizo population** occupies the majority of the Pacific Coast and central part of the country. They speak Spanish and constitute about 96% of the total population.

It should be noted that the Miskito and Creole peoples make up only 4% of the national population but geographically they occupy half of the nation's land.

Historically the Miskitos were supported by the British, who established a Miskito Kingdom. The Creoles are of African ancestry, having been part of the great number of Black slaves imported by the English. The Mestizos have lived mostly in the areas of Nicaragua controlled by the Spanish. Each group is distinct culturally, linguistically and socially. The aim of the Revolutionary Government is to "help them give expression and creativity to their potentialities" and to overcome the centuries of oppression and exploitation that created a class structure of racial and cultural discrimination which exalted the supposed virtues of one ethnic group to the detriment of the others.

The policy of the Nicaraguan government is that Nicaragua should be a living whole and that each part of the country should have its special function, each reciprocally supporting the other. The War of Liberation, which led to victory over the Somoza dictatorship in 1979, served as a major means of consciousness raising as well as giving the self-confidence necessary for the people of Nicaragua to conduct their own destiny.

Unfortunately for the unity of the nation, the peoples of

the Atlantic Coast did not share in this process to the degree of those Nicaraguans on the Pacific Coast. The degree of political consciousness within the two populations varied greatly. Combined with these social realities were inequalities of social and economic conditions, racial prejudices and the ethnocentric attitudes found in each subsystem. From a systems viewpoint the need existed for the Latin identity of the Pacific Coast and the Anglo-Caribbean culture of the Atlantic Coast to become part of the whole free nation of Nicaragua.

Sociologically, the task before the Revolutionary Government is to provide leadership on all levels of society providing ideas, means of action and coordination. The unified system will have to define common identity, values and goals without destroying the identity and values of the three sub-systems. New attitudes and behaviors, as part of the new free Nicaragua, will be required. This will have to come through specific actions in the areas of health care, employment, education and integral development especially on the Atlantic Coast.

The Atlantic Coast has had its own social organization for many generations. This is especially true of the Miskitos. An effective system must be developed that incorporates both the new and the old. Of course, common goals and tasks must be established to afford opportunity for the peoples of the two coasts to "do things together." Human relationships are built on working and playing together. Lastly, some limits must be set, for there is no freedom without limits. Within this new system of a free Nicaragua, semipermeable relationships with the outside world must be provided and connections established.

In sum, the task facing the Revolutionary Government and the people of Nicaragua is to work together, mutually reinforcing one another and developing a systemic purpose that is shared by the various ethnic groups in order to effect a social system that transcends and is greater than its individual parts. The churches of Nicaragua share in this task, for the churches, as systems within themselves, are regarded by many authorities to be among the strongest institutions in the country. Christians played an active and vital role in the insurrection. The relationship of churches and government continues to be defined.

The future of Nicaragua depends as much on the ability for internal integration as it does on ideological agreement. At least, that is how one U.S. resident in Nicaragua is perceiving the Nicaraguan experience. ■

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**The Rev. Robert W. Renouf** holds the degrees of Doctor of Ministry (Religion and Society) and Doctor of Philosophy (Psychology).

# Noted Liberian Will Address Dinner

A prominent Episcopal priest who has addressed the UN Security Council three times and has been thrice decorated for moderating conflicts in Africa will be the guest speaker at the Episcopal Church Publishing Company Awards Dinner in New Orleans Sept. 7.

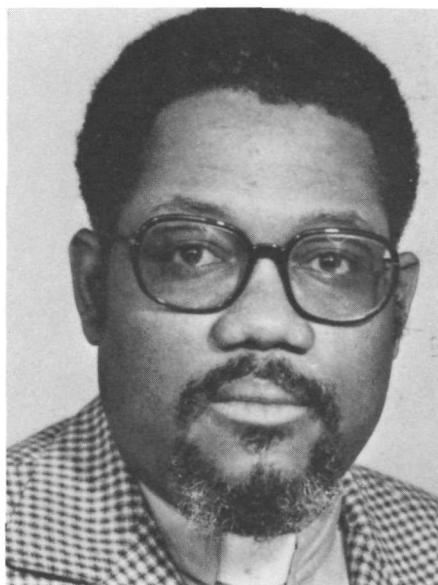
He is the Rev. Canon Burgess Carr of Liberia, who is currently Associate Professor of Pastoral Theology at Yale University's Divinity School, and Vicar of St. Andrew's, New Haven.

Canon Carr in 1972 conducted negotiations which led to the Addis Ababa Agreement, ending 17 years of civil war in the Sudan. The respect generated by this event caused him to be called upon to mediate conflicts in several African nations, including Angola, Burundi, Ethiopia/Eritrea, Nigeria, Uganda and Zimbabwe (prior to independence).

For his role in the Sudan peace efforts, Canon Carr was awarded the Grand Cordon in the Order of the Two Niles by Sudanese President Gaafar El Nimieri; the Chevalier D'Honneur, L'ordre de L'Etoile by President Mohammed Siad Barre of Somalia; and the Knight Great Band in the Humane Order of African Redemption by President William Tolbert, Jr. of his native Liberia.

For more than a decade the Episcopal priest has been engaged with issues around socio-economic development such as involving African churches in programs of relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction, both during and subsequent to times of political upheaval.

"Intensive participation at the socio-political, cultural and value-forming levels has profoundly deepened my convictions concerning the significance that religion holds for any analysis of



**Burgess Carr**

contemporary structural problems, whether within Africa or between Africa and other regions of the world," Canon Carr said.

Canon Carr currently serves as a Board Member of OXFAM, America; a member of the International Advisory Council of the African American

Institute, and of the Continuation and Working Committees of the Christian Peace Conference. From 1971 to 1979, he served as Secretary General of the All-African Conference of Churches, Nairobi, Kenya. Canon Carr is married to the former Frances Verdier. They have five children: Audrey, Kedrick, Oyesiku, Yao, and Mleh.

Four persons will be honored at the ECPC dinner, with the Vida Scudder, William Spofford, and William Scarlett awards, plus a special award of merit.

They are, respectively, Marion Kelleran, noted Episcopal laywoman who served for 10 years on the Anglican Consultative Council; the Rev. Ben Chavis, Deputy Director of the Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ; The Rt. Rev. John E. Hines, retired Presiding Bishop, Protestant Episcopal Church, USA; and William Stringfellow, author, attorney, and theologian.

WITNESS readers are invited to make reservations for the ECPC dinner by filling out and returning the coupon below. Acknowledgements will be mailed upon receipt of your reservation.

## ECPC Awards Dinner Reservation

Please reserve \_\_\_\_\_ places at \$12 per person (tables of 10 for \$120) for me/us at the ECPC Awards Banquet during General Convention in New Orleans. Enclosed is a check in the amount of \_\_\_\_\_.

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**Paula Ross, left, coordinator of the *Feminist Study Action Guide Project*, and Joan Howarth, liaison with the ECPC Board, confer with a prospective publisher.**

## Women's Publication Seeks Contributors

WITNESS readers are invited to submit material for a new publication currently being prepared under the auspices of the *Feminist Study Action Guide Project*, a group convened by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company.

Audience for the new publication is designated as "potential or borderline feminists," according to Paula Ross, coordinator of the project.

"We are trying to reach those women who for some reason have been unable or unwilling to take the final step of claiming the name 'feminist' for themselves — the ones who say, 'I'm Not a Women's

Libber, but . . .'", Ms. Ross explained.

The new guide will explore issues that are important to women in eight areas: economics, the family, community, health, sexuality, violence, education and spirituality. The project is looking for fiction, poetry, short plays, essays, personal stories, interviews, oral histories, and art work. "Using these forms, we want to provide a useful tool for women to explore issues important to all of us. We see the book informed by an awareness of how racism, classism, sexism, and homophobia are used to divide us and prevent us from claiming the

strength we own together," Ms. Ross added.

A journalist, Ms. Ross coordinates the project from Berkeley, Cal. She was hired by the Project Board, a group of 15 women from throughout the country, of various races, classes, and ages.

"I'm Not a Women's Libber, but . . . *who says I can't be a feminist?*" is the other half of the sentence serving as the theme for this new guide.

Contributions and suggestions should be mailed by Aug. 31 to Paula Ross, 1312 Addison St., Berkeley, Cal. 94702. Target date for publication is April, 1983.





**In Praise  
of Marriage**  
James Campbell

**Probing Future  
Energy Alternatives**  
Larry Medsker

**Are Prison Systems  
Cheating the Taxpayer?**  
Margaret Traxler

# THE WITNESS

VOL. 65 NO. 8 AUGUST, 1982

# Responses to WITNESS

try and the realities of youth budgets. This should be interpreted as a new and exciting program and not a reaction to the cost of General Convention.

**Bobbie Bevill**

**Youth Ministries Coordinator  
Episcopal Church Center  
New York, N.Y.**

Instead of blaming the institution, as Pelham seems to do, we would do better to work out a united front.

**The Rev. Nathaniel W. Pierce**  
**Nampa, Idaho**

## Kudos From Minnesota

Thank you for your special May issue on our General Convention. We plan to send the issue to our mailing list which includes our diocesan clergy, parish wardens, and delegates. With thanksgiving for your vital publication, I am, sincerely yours in Christ.

**The Rt. Rev. Robert M. Anderson**  
**Bishop of Minnesota**

## Youth Not 'Forced'

In his article, "Show Biz or Stewardship", the Rev. Edward Rodman refers to the young people of the Episcopal Church being forced to hold a meeting separate from the General Convention in New Orleans. The term "forced" is misleading.

The Episcopal Youth Event will be held at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, Aug. 2-6, 1982. This event will enable us to provide an opportunity for a large number (1100 to 1200) of young people and adults to come together for a period of time in a setting conducive to skills training, spiritual growth, celebration of ministry and experiences of young people from different races, cultures, life-styles and theologies. A university campus has facilities for learning, living, playing and worshipping, as well as a relaxed atmosphere.

The cost of General Convention was indeed a factor in the decision to go to the University of Illinois, but more importantly the decision had to do with our broader philosophy of youth minis-

## To Benefit Young People

We are taking 30 of our top young people to General Convention. I would very much like 30 copies of the May issue of THE WITNESS. This would not only benefit the young people for General Convention but could also stir interest in your magazine with them and their parish.

**The Rev. John Palarine**  
**Youth Ministry Coordinator  
Diocese of Central Florida**

## Seeks United Front

Joseph Pelham seems to argue in the May issue of THE WITNESS that we will not stop the arms race until we have eradicated classism and racism.

The reverse may in fact be true: we will never make a significant dent in the rampant classism and racism in American society until we stop the arms race.

This may appear to be a chicken and egg argument, but for me this is the crucial question I have about the whole approach of the Urban Caucus to our present situation. There is a basic disagreement here among those Episcopalians who feel the church should address itself to social issues. Some see the starting point as racism, while others feel it should be militarism.

Given this disagreement, it should not be surprising that the institutional church is itself divided on tactics.

## Dragons Smiling

Marge Christie's observation in the May WITNESS — that the General Convention is meeting in an unratified state — is tremendously important. It is *not* too late to make other arrangements, as the American Academy of Religion-Society of Biblical Literature has in the past, in order to give full support to the status of women as equal persons. The church either demonstrates its support seriously and at every opportunity, or the dragons of hypocrisy smile and scratch their bellies and lean way back.

**Nancy Hopkins**  
**New York, N.Y.**

## Writes Fan Letter

All too often, church publications are mired in the "we've always done it this way" mentality, and THE WITNESS challenges that perspective. I enjoy seeing other Episcopalians with the same attitudes on so many issues, and with common concerns about the direction of the church. I especially enjoyed the May General Convention issue. The statements about women, gays, blacks and all the other "left outs" were great! I don't usually write fan letters to publications, but this one definitely needs a fan letter. Thanks for all the great, thought-provoking pieces you've done. I am a student at the University of Idaho, where we don't have many Episcopalians and the ones we do have are somewhat to the right of Barry Goldwater.

**Lewis B. Day**  
**Moscow, Idaho**

# General Convention Issue

## Reports Impressive

I have enjoyed and continue to enjoy THE WITNESS. I think your report on the Episcopal Church General Convention was fair and informative. I was particularly glad to see the impact of women, blacks and gays in the various caucuses. This is much needed and all churches ought to be so wise. Yes, a convention does cost money that could be used for other charitable causes, but you must be concerned about your own house before helping build another's. Good for you and your church!

**S. Diane Bogus**  
**WIM Publications**  
**College Corner, Ohio**

## Spreading the Word

Thank you for THE WITNESS Special General Convention Issue. Not only am I the editor of the diocesan newspaper in Oregon, but I'm also chairman of the Oregon Deputation to General Convention. If you would send me nine copies. I can distribute them among our deputies and to Bishop Matthew Bigilardi.

**The Rev. Canon Laurence E. Davidson**  
**Portland, Ore.**

## To Prepare Seminarians

I want to order 30 copies of your special May issue on issues confronting the church at its 1982 General Convention in September. The copies will be used by the rising senior seminarians and the senior teaching team at the School of Theology, University of the South, to help prepare for their trip to the 1982 General Convention.

**Patricia O'Connell Killen**  
**Instructor in Contemporary Society**  
**Sewanee, Tenn.**

## Copies to Deep South

I have just read your May, 1982 General Convention issue. I would like to order 12 copies to distribute to my General Convention deputies and Episcopal Church Women delegates to the Triennial.

**The Rt. Rev. William H. Folwell**  
**Winter Park, Fla.**

*(THE WITNESS does not ordinarily publish anonymous Letters to the Editor. But we thought the following, received after our General Convention issue was published, worth the space. — Eds.)*

## Martini on Head?

I have no interest in being further exposed to the egalitarian drivel of THE WITNESS.

It is my sincere wish that your left-leaning, pro-feminist, pro-gay, anti-American, traitorous journalistic farce be again driven into oblivion — this time permanently.

I find your views on virtually every issue you choose to address to be shallow, ill-conceived, totally predictable and predictably errant. Had this country been largely populated by those of your ilk during its developing years, we would now be a lesser member of the Third World nations.

It being time now for me to prepare for a vestry meeting, I must conclude. Be assured that if I encounter you or a member of your staff at General Convention, I will pour a martini on your head.

In closing, I am *delighted* by the demise of ERA!

**Yours in Christ,**  
**A devoted Episcopalian**

## Lauds Malcolm Boyd

I think there will be many more Christians, when secular, unchurched persons can know what it really means to be Episcopalian. May we continue to demythologize our church, as the Rev. Malcolm Boyd suggests (May General Convention issue). Then the Word can be loved even more. Thank you, Malcolm Boyd, for sharing your gift for words with us.

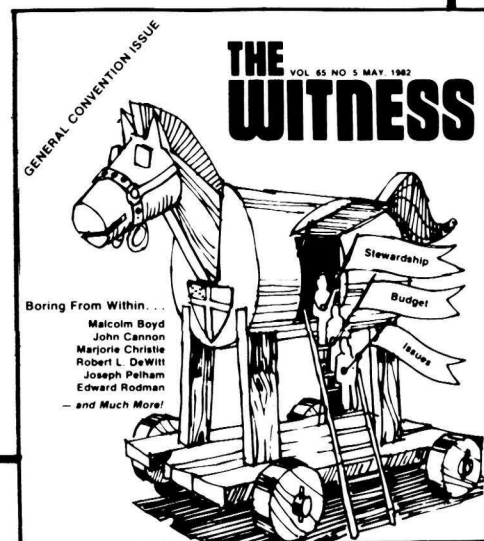
**Sharon May Nyenhuis**  
**Wichita, Ks.**

## Handicapped Left Out

This comes as a direct appeal to WITNESS readers, on the heels of the May issue, for assistance in insuring that the perspective of disabled people is heard at and by our General Convention. It is my understanding that the last convention resolved surrogates to be adequate voice and representation for disabled people. That attitude is demeaning.

In 1982 we have seen several attempts by the U.S. Department of Justice to rewrite the civil rights of disabled persons to make compliance voluntary rather than mandatory. It is also a year in which the Episcopal Church gathers to face other concerns presented to it by various special interest groups who also face further erosion of human rights in

*Continued on page 17*



# Probing Future Energy Alternatives

by Larry Medsker



All too often these days, we hear the Reagan administration refer to a new plan to chip away at social programs as "the only alternative." Its leaders say, "Let the opposition come up with a better way." We would like to believe that there are better ways, and now, at least in the area of energy, credible alternatives are beginning to emerge.

The liberal religious community is aware of the importance of energy policy as it relates to ecological and social justice issues. Socio-technical aspects of the production and use of energy have been discussed in some detail. What has been lacking is a well-researched, policy alternative. We have become accustomed to plentiful and

cheap energy, and to using much more than we need.

Germane to this, a number of groups have recently developed plans for a U.S. energy strategy which, in contrast to government, show that lower energy consumption is possible without detriment to economic progress. (See box.) In fact, some of the plans are being described as the lowest cost alternatives for the nation. These plans would allow the nation to enjoy a more healthy environment, improve the quality of life, and reduce our dependence on imported oil, which tempts some of our leaders to consider perilous military scenarios and reckless development schemes.

The Audubon Energy Plan, for example, recently released in detail, is one of the particularly attractive proposals for assuring that the nation has an ample supply of energy by the year 2000 — and in a way that does not sacrifice the environment. The plan

## Low-Energy-Use Strategies

1) *The Audubon Energy Plan*, Russell Peterson, Jan Beyea, Rupert Cutler and Glenn Paulson, Technical Report of the National Audubon Society, April, 1981.

2) *A New Prosperity — Building a Sustainable Energy Future*, Report of the Solar Energy Research Institute Solar/Conservation Study, Brick House Publishing, 1981.

3) *Our Energy—Regaining Control*, Robert Williams and Marc Ross, McGraw-Hill, 1981.

4) *Least-Cost Energy Strategy Revisited*, Roger Sant, Carnegie-Mellon Productivity Center Report, to be published.

## Other Forecasts

1) *Solar Energy Systems and Resources*, Report of the MITRE Corporation, 1980.

2) *Energy Outlook 1980-2000*, Report of the Exxon Corporation, December, 1980.

3) *Study of Nuclear and Alternative Energy Systems*, CONAES Report, National Academy of Sciences, 1979.

**Larry Medsker**, a physicist and computer scientist, is an Associate Professor in the Division of Science and Mathematics at Fordham University. He is also an officer of the Methodist Federation for Social Action.



shows that it is possible to produce more goods and more services and provide a better way of life without consuming more energy than we do today.

Audubon Society scientists have estimated future supply and demand, analyzed energy use in each sector of the economy, and have assessed alternative energy technologies.

The Audubon Plan calls for a total energy budget for the United States in the year 2000 of 80 quads — the same amount we use today. The quad (quadrillion) is a standard measure of energy equal to a million billion British thermal units (Btu). In terms of oil, one quad is equivalent to about 500,000 barrels of oil per day for one year. One quad corresponds to the yearly energy used by about 3 million people.

A report by the Solar Energy Research Institute (SERI) calls for 60 quads in the year 2000, and the Sant projection is 88 quads. The Audubon forecast is a reasonable figure, significantly below Department of Energy and industry projections. And with increased efficiency, those 80 quads would have the effect of 120 quads with today's wasteful practices. The Audubon Plan therefore allows for 2-3% annual growth in the Gross National Product, even though the total energy budget does not change.

The projections show about half of the nation's total energy going to industry. Energy-saving technological improvements would enable 50-80% more goods and services per quad than is presently possible. The Audubon Plan allocates 25% to transportation based on a doubling of the average efficiency of automobiles to 30 miles per gallon and on substituting alcohol for 10% of our gasoline. These measures will decrease the demand for liquid fuels despite the increased use of autos. The remaining segment of the energy demand, commercial and residential buildings, would see sharp increases in

ENERGY SUPPLY				
	Yearly Supply In Quads		Portion of Energy Budget	
	1980	2000	1980	2000
<b>Solar Renewables</b>				
Biomass	2.1	8.9	3	11
Direct Collectors	-	4.3	-	5
Hydropower	3.1	4.0	4	5
Windpower	-	2.4	-	3
Photovoltaics	-	0.7	-	1
	5.2	20.3	7%	25%
<b>Nonrenewables</b>				
Coal	15.6	22.4	20	28
Oil				
Domestic	20.5	12.5	26	16
Imported	13.8	3.0	18	4
Natural Gas	20.4	15.0	25	19
Nuclear	2.7	6.6	4	8
	74.8	59.7	93%	75%
<b>Total</b>	<b>80 Quads</b>		<b>100%</b>	

conservation, including insulation and energy-efficient appliances. In this way, levels of consumption would decrease without a reduction in personal comfort or slow-down in the housing industry.

Of those 80 quads, 20% will be supplied by oil — a sharp reduction from today's levels — with only a small amount from imports. Solar energy will contribute 25% of the energy from a variety of sources. (See chart.) The Audubon Plan uses much less coal and nuclear power than the government and energy industry have proposed. Those sources are considered temporary holdovers of past practices and must be stringently regulated to control pollution and insure land reclamation. The assumption is that no new nuclear plants are to be built, that only two-thirds of those now under construction will be completed, and that several existing plants will be phased out.

Beyond the year 2000, the nuclear contribution will decrease as more plants are retired.

The plan will dramatically curtail environmental damage from strip-mining, air pollution, acid rain, and nuclear wastes. Sulfur oxide air pollution and rain acidity will actually drop well below current levels. The Audubon Plan will also ensure that environmental safety is built into the new energy-conservation and renewable energy technologies at early stages rather than added to them half-heartedly decades later.

The plan calls for little energy from synthetic fuels and no oil from shale or tar sands. The costs are too high and the inevitable environmental damage too great.

In order to bring about the Audubon Plan, a national commitment and large capital investment must be made. No

matter which path we take, huge amounts of money will be expended. Last year the United States spent \$350 billion on energy. The Audubon Plan calls for \$700 billion over the next 20 years, for investments in efficient machines, homes, cars, and industrial processes. Also in that period, \$600 billion would be required for investments in solar technologies which will subsequently *save* hundreds of billions of dollars. Even at that level, solar investments will be cheaper than relying on traditional sources of synthetic fuels.

If we take the path of energy efficiency, less investment would be required than for developing new oil and gas supplies, for producing synthetic fuels, or for building new coal and nuclear plants. Beyond economics, energy efficiency and solar energy could mean less damage to the environment, more jobs and less reliance on imported oil.

Considerable effort will be required to change attitudes and policies so that the needed investments will be made. However, some California utilities are already pioneering programs in which repayment of loans for solar and conservation improvements are added to the customers' monthly bills. Schemes such as that will be needed to make sure energy and economic efficiency are available to all income groups.

Now that we have technically credible alternatives for a new energy future, we need the will as a nation to make those plans a reality. We need to decide that gaining the benefits of low-energy, at lower costs, is a national priority. The following four areas provide ample opportunities in which the church community can become involved:

- **Conservation:** First, we can reduce the energy waste in our homes, cars, churches, and businesses. Members of local congregations can learn to be "house doctors," going out into the

community to help people to save energy. Energy-saving investments in church buildings will also alleviate budget problems caused by rising heating costs.

- **Education:** We can inform ourselves, our congregations, and neighbors about energy alternatives. Energy fairs, speakers, and newsletters are useful. Make sure denominational boards and leaders are aware of energy problems and solutions.

- **Equity Issues:** We must continue to push for legislation and programs to eliminate the extra hardship, brought about by rising energy costs, on low income people.

- **Policy Issues:** We should urge denominational leaders to take stands on energy policy and to open dialogue with state government and public utility leaders. We can make sure that their long-range plans include significant energy-efficient programs. We should urge public utility commissions and local utilities to introduce financing programs that will make energy-saving investments possible for everybody. Some fraction of church denominational investments could be diverted to energy-improvement loan programs for local churches and their neighborhoods — an impressive witness about the importance of the nation's energy policy.

We in the religious community have a serious stake in energy policy — both for the economic survival of local churches and implications for social justice issues. Now we have credible technical plans as a vehicle for implementing the ethical imperatives we have already identified. Do we believe that all things are possible? Let the church seriously join with environmentalists and other concerned citizens to protest business-as-usual energy policies. Let's affirm a new energy future for this nation and spread the word that there is indeed an alternative. □

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*Today, there are alternatives to prison  
which offer better results, so that in sentencing,  
conditions are directed to the one  
who broke the law, not designed to put new burdens  
on the taxpayer.*  
~~~~~

# Are Prison Systems Cheating the Taxpayer?

by Margaret Ellen Traxler

**B**uilding more prisons as a means of fighting crime is like enlarging cemeteries to forestall death, syndicated columnist Sidney Harris has observed. It can also be said that imprisonment of the offender can well be a continuation of punishment for the victim of the crime. Today, there are alternatives to prison which offer better results, so that in sentencing, conditions are directed to the one who broke the law, not designed to put new burdens on the taxpayer.

For example, Mary is the mother of

three young children. She was a CETA employee of a hospital, where her work record was good. Mary cheated on welfare. She bilked Aid to Dependent Children of \$5,000 over a six-year period. She's now serving a two-year sentence in a state prison.

Over the time of her incarceration, taxpayers will provide \$14,000 each year to house Mary, \$5,000 a year for foster care for each of her children, and extra for courts and public defenders. Taxpayers will forfeit a total of about \$68,000 to show Mary how wrong she was.

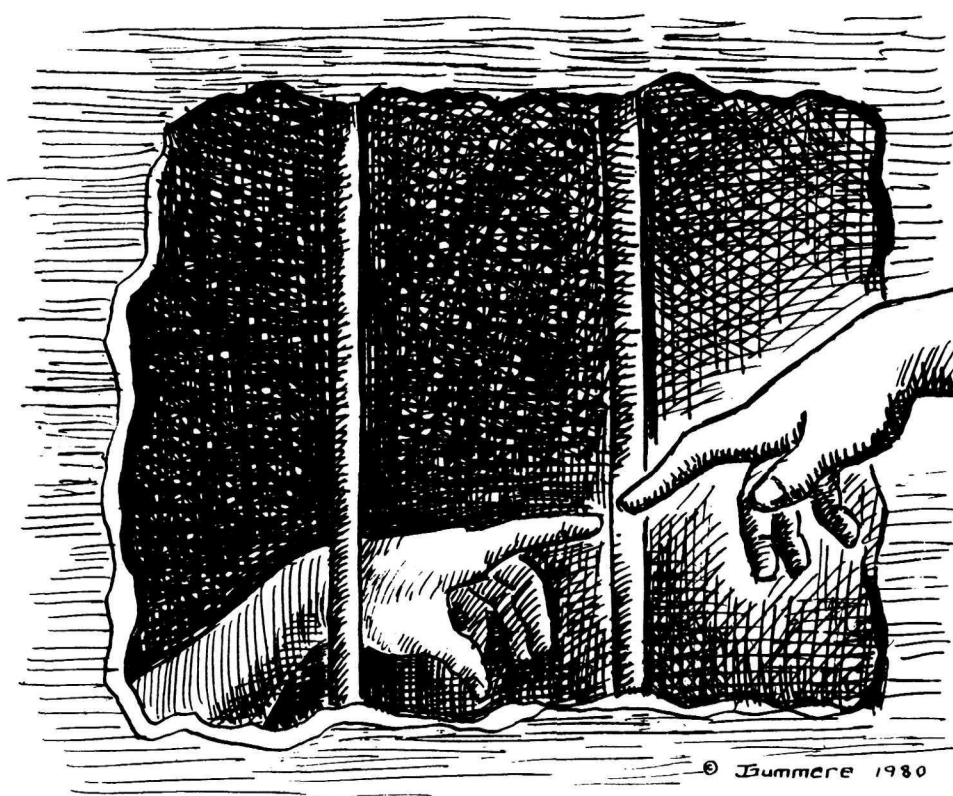
And she was wrong, but the ones cheated are the citizens, for Mary should have been given careful supervised probation and should have been told to pay back with interest all that she stole. Mary should have been

told to keep her job, her children, her apartment and over a period of 10 years, pro-rated restitution could have been made. All this, of course, is apart from the psychological violence done to the mother and her children and the post-release time in which Mary will have to look for another job, gather her children together and then hunt for another apartment.

Alternatives to prison have not been promulgated and tried. As attorney Ralla Klepak, president of the Institute of Women Today has said, "We have to educate judges and give them the support of the judicial system to courageously try some of the alternatives to imprisonment." Klepak tells about a former policeman who was convicted of a theft and who was sentenced to spend time in the local jail. The prisoners there resented him

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**Margaret Ellen Traxler**, a Notre Dame nun, is director of the Institute of Women Today. Based in Chicago, the Institute is sponsored by Protestant, Catholic and Jewish women's organizations and is designed to search for the religious and historical roots of women's liberation. One of the Institute's projects is to bring service programs to women in prison.



because he was a former policeman and attacked him. Ralla arranged with a center for community services to house the defendant and to allow him to donate his services to that center where he painted the walls and repaired the plumbing and windows.

Naturally, there are those who say rightly that no one wants violent people on the streets, but of the 550,000 men and women in our United States prisons, research tells us that only 12 to 14% are violent. Those who are violent or violence-prone must be kept from themselves as well as from society. They need medical and psychological therapy for healing. But what of the 80%, giving an outside margin? These 80% are costing the taxpayers as much as \$26,000 a year per person at Rahway Prison to an average of \$12,500 in other prisons. This 80% is not violent and we place them in prisons where they emerge

with a projection of 50% recidivism. Citizens want safe streets, safe homes, but are they getting an honest deal if prisoners are not healed, are imprisoned where they learn more brutality and then soon after release, return to prison once more?

In 1980, Michigan faced the formidable task of building 10 new prisons. A referendum killed this proposal two-to-one, whereupon the State Legislature passed a law allowing the governor to release inmates up to three months early in order to make room for "newcomers." The plan is working well and as *The New York Times* reported about the idea, "the sky hasn't fallen over the State of Michigan."

Edward Levy, when serving as U.S. Attorney General, pointed out the correlation between unemployment and the rise of crime. Levy said, "Give jobs

and use the monies for new prisons to develop job training and there will be a future for young men and women. Prison is no future."

What are the alternatives? One that appeals to common sense is the decriminalization of some laws. Why is it a crime to gamble in Chicago and not in Atlantic City? Why is it a criminal act to engage in prostitution in New York City and not in some counties in the Southwest? Legalize, or a better word, de-criminalize, some actions between consenting adults. This could bring a needed state control of these activities as well as fair taxation. Decriminalization of some laws does not pre-suppose or imply approval of the actions, merely recognition of the need for regulation, protection of possible victims and state control.

Another alternative is prompted by our need to understand how the poor are ground in the gears of bureaucracy. An accused person who is poor cannot pay bail and thus waits in jail for a court to decide guilt or innocence. After arrest, the release on one's own recognizance could be done in about 90% of the cases, according to studies done by Joe Bova at the Benedict Center for Criminal Justice in Milwaukee. A research and practicum program done by the Vera Foundation of New York City places the percentage even higher. Release on one's own recognizance becomes more reasonable if the accused has a family. There seems little excuse, for example, to hold a mother of children if the crime was non-violent or if the person has an acceptable work record.

Negotiation of warrants and pre-trial diversion are also compelling alternatives. When two parties are in conflict, one swears out a warrant for the other's arrest. Wise negotiation can be conducted between the two who are in conflict and the whole spectrum of court, jail and custody are obviated. For example, Max is angry at Bernie over a



land dispute or perhaps garbage disposal in the alley. Instead of arrest, the sheriff's staff negotiates between Max and Bernie and a resolution is arranged. No one goes to jail, to court, to find bail; the costly price of the system is avoided.

Likewise, the pre-trial diversion can be effective as a successful variation of release on one's own recognizance. When arrested, the accused agrees to waive rights to a speedy trial (which is rarely speedy) and the offender voluntarily accepts therapy suitable to need. A case in point might be a drug charge in which the person accepts therapy at a drug center; or a charge of habitual alcoholism, wherein the person does mandatory time at a detoxification center. At times, pre-trial diversion expects residential change for the offender. The group residence with careful in-house counseling, perhaps even mandatory job or vocational rehabilitation can do much to provide a new and better environment for stable life patterns. And these options are much cheaper than imprisonment!

There are few really useful industries or learning opportunities in most prison systems. The few that do exist receive wide publicity and mislead citizens into thinking that prison really can be a new and better beginning for the residents. There are only 66 vocational programs in prisons for both men and women and six of these are for the latter. With the present crowded prisons, what programs there are reach very few.

These facts lead to a series of alternatives of release which keep the offender under supervision but in upbeat learning situations. Some examples are study release, pre-release guidance and work release. The offender can study at the level of school last achieved, going out every day to regular learning institutions. In some instances, the college campus dorm has become the housing for the student in study release or the local "Y" for the one

on work release. Taxpayers who take hard looks at the options have come to see that a college graduate will return to society the investment made in a person's education through direct and indirect taxes in an 11-year period. A good investment considering that after the 11 years, the taxes will continue for a lifetime. With education, there is a decreasing schedule of recidivism which again takes a bill out of the taxpayers' responsibility.

A last area of alternatives relates to the use of probation, of which there must be increased use. Probation houses are just one option, but important also are supervised probation with carefully trained officers. Sentences in our country are getting longer. Sweden has found the opposite useful. Its philosophy is that if the prison system cannot convert or rehabilitate a prisoner in three years, it cannot do it in 30 years. Interestingly, in the Swedish system, there was perceived a great need to prepare for release

because during incarceration he/she came to see self with dignity and worth and there is reluctance to leave such an affirming environment.

In these alternatives mention must at least be made of juveniles. All of our institutions — church, synagogue, government — must work at restructuring the entire juvenile system, for it is unfair, obtuse and criminalizing. Young people are being destroyed for life, their civil rights denied. And practically no healing therapy is being given. Young girls especially are in jeopardy for documentation abounds showing that juveniles, both boys and girls, are raped in the paddy-wagon enroute to the police station. This however is a topic for another article.

In sum, the sentence must fit the crime. Cause must be related to need and need to consequence. Alternatives must be explored, and judges helped to bring suitable sentences to offenders, sentences that will not further defraud the taxpayer. □

## **Pews Are Not for the Living**

**There is something about a pew that God dislikes:**

**Its hardness — Its insularity,  
Its rigidity — Its rectangularity.**

**It allows us only a view of backs of heads.**

**It regiments us into lines of puppets performing in unison.**

**It fences us off from everyone except the one beside us.**

**It discourages us from moving — from speaking —  
From kneeling — from standing.**

**Dictators love to get people into pews.**

**Actors love to get people into pews**

**Judges love to get people into pews.**

**Preachers love to get people into pews.**

**Jesus never put people into pews.**

**A person's life begins in the mother's womb;**

**(Totally unlike a pew)**

**But when life ends the body is put into a structure**

**Much like a pew (hard, insular, rectangular).**

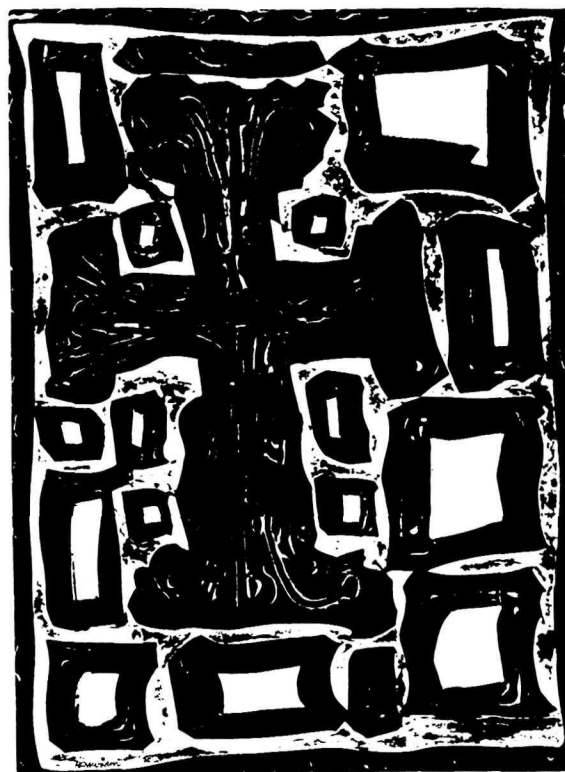
**Pews are for the dead — Not for the living.**

**— Eldred Johnston**

# In Praise of Marriage

by Jim Campbell

*I, James/ Mary take thee Mary/ James; to be my wedded wife/ husband; And I do promise and covenant; Before God and these witnesses; To be thy loving and faithful husband/ wife; In plenty and in want; In joy and in sorrow; In sickness and in health; As long as we both shall live.*



I believe these are among the most beautiful and substantive words ever written and spoken. They are beautiful in their simplicity and phrasing; they are substantive in the scope of eventualities, covered in a few phrases, that a couple can face in the months and years of marriage.

For some years now marriage as an institution has been for many young people a matter of indifference, skepticism, or outright rejection. Today the pendulum seems to be starting its swing back toward more acceptance. I don't want to argue about it. I want to praise marriage and to do so out of my own experience.

## The Wedding Promise

My wife, Mary, and I in effect said, way back in 1955, that we would stick together with each other faithfully and lovingly under all kinds of conditions. Faithfully is hard. Lovingly is even harder. There are times you wonder

why you ever got into the mess. The other person seems almost a stranger. There's regret and anger. There are hateful thoughts, days of not talking. Hard to be loving! And the conditions can be horrendous. We'll look at some in a moment. But my wife and I stood in front of a group of witnesses and in front of God and said those fantastic words to each other, made that incredible covenant. And that promise has sustained us for over a quarter century.

## In Plenty and in Want . . .

Materially speaking, there were only a few early years when we were near want. Even then the necessities were there and an occasional amenity. The rest of the time has been lived in comparative plenty: all the middle-class possessions and vacations every summer. Certainly we would have liked to have done or had some things we couldn't. Nothing strange about that.

If we think of "want" more broadly —

and I don't think the Book of Common Worship intends that — then we have a different situation. We can speak of want of understanding, of sensitivity to the other's needs, of communication, of tenderness, of forgiveness. These times of want were many and recurring. We made it through them. We forgave and began again, and again.

## In Joy and in Sorrow . . .

So much of marriage seems to be neither. There are long, flat periods marked neither by great joy nor great sorrow. On the other hand there are the little moments, the intimacies, the arrival of the children, their heart-touching little words and deeds, their struggles growing up, and their graduations. There are the deaths of parents and the resulting emptiness that must be lived through and finally filled. There are the injustices experienced in the work scene which produce hurt and anger if not sorrow, and during which the mate must understand and support

the other. There is the joy of being able to make new beginnings after valleys of pain of whatever kind.

There is the sorrow of children leaving home, now adults, on their own. There's an emptiness. But it's a mixed event because joy is present too. Joy at seeing them launch out, joy in thinking you've done your best — despite lots of mistakes. Joy that now you and your companion are freer than ever to do some things you've wanted to for a long time. For some of these things, maybe you shouldn't have waited. Because ahead of you is that incessant uncertainty, that unpredictability. You can make plans and promises but events can override any and all of them — to your sorrow.

### In Sickness and in Health . . .

Most of our 26-plus years have been in health, with a couple dramatic exceptions. Eighteen years ago, when our daughters were one, five and seven years of age, Mary went into the hospital for simple gall bladder surgery. Five days after surgery she hemorrhaged, necessitating an immediate second surgery. Then followed in rapid succession, blood poisoning, bowel obstruction, a third surgery, pneumonia, dehydration, and a wound that wouldn't heal. Forty-five days later I brought her home with an open wound. There were weeks of home care and visiting nurse ministrations. She finally fully recovered.

During those 45 days, my job went to pot; the children, though continuously cared for, increasingly looked like urchins. I went to bed with butterflies in my stomach and drove up to the hospital every day with those same butterflies, not knowing what I would find when I entered Mary's room. It was a time of hanging in, of doing everything and of not knowing what to do, a time for calling on friends who responded beautifully, of keeping family informed, and keeping your

sanity. It was also a time when the furnace broke down — in February!

Now we face a new situation. Our three daughters have left the nest. We've already done some things we have wanted to for a long time: we have taken ballroom dancing; for our 25th anniversary we took a long-anticipated trainride across Canada to the northwest; we've learned to sail and earned our "skippers' cards." Many more plans and dreams remain to be realized. But the sea of uncertainty is very much out there. It is rough and threatening. Dark clouds hang overhead. On Dec. 23, 1980, I was diagnosed as having acute leukemia. Two courses of chemotherapy put me in remission for six marvelous months. It was then we learned to sail and then we had — just the two of us — a two-week vacation in Canada. But on Sept. 3, 1981, our anniversary, a bone marrow biopsy revealed the disease had returned. Experimental chemotherapy put me in a brief remission again — long enough to enjoy Christmas, 1981, with all the family, including our daughters' boyfriends. But since January there have been several infections. The disease has returned. It's been four months of alternate stays in the hospital and at home. I write now from the hospital, waiting yet more chemotherapy.

The pressure is on Mary. If someone counted up her "stress points" they'd be off the scale. She is the breadwinner now, in a new position with many challenges. She comes to see me every evening, not knowing what she'll find. She sustains me. I listen for her step at the door. She swings with my every mood.

"In sickness" the promise said, and my wife is more than fulfilling it, faithfully and lovingly. And friends sustain me, amazingly so. A community of love and concern surrounds me and brings joy and even laughter. And my daughters are part of that sustaining commun-

ity, though all three are away from home. Illness means many things — brings forth various emotions, many of them good. But struggling with leukemia is another whole essay — even a book. Suffice it to say, we live each day one at a time, hoping for the miracle of regained health, conscious of the possibility of death.

### As Long As We Both Shall Live . . .

These 26, going on 27, rich years have been mostly years of joy, of health, of reasonable plenty, of growing love and understanding and ever-deepening respect. There have been valleys. The wedding promise, that public covenant, and the marvelous God-given capacity to forgive have undergirded the years. They have helped bridge the valleys of want and of sorrow, anger, and regret. Now that same promise and covenant are helping us bridge even the valley of the shadow of death. □

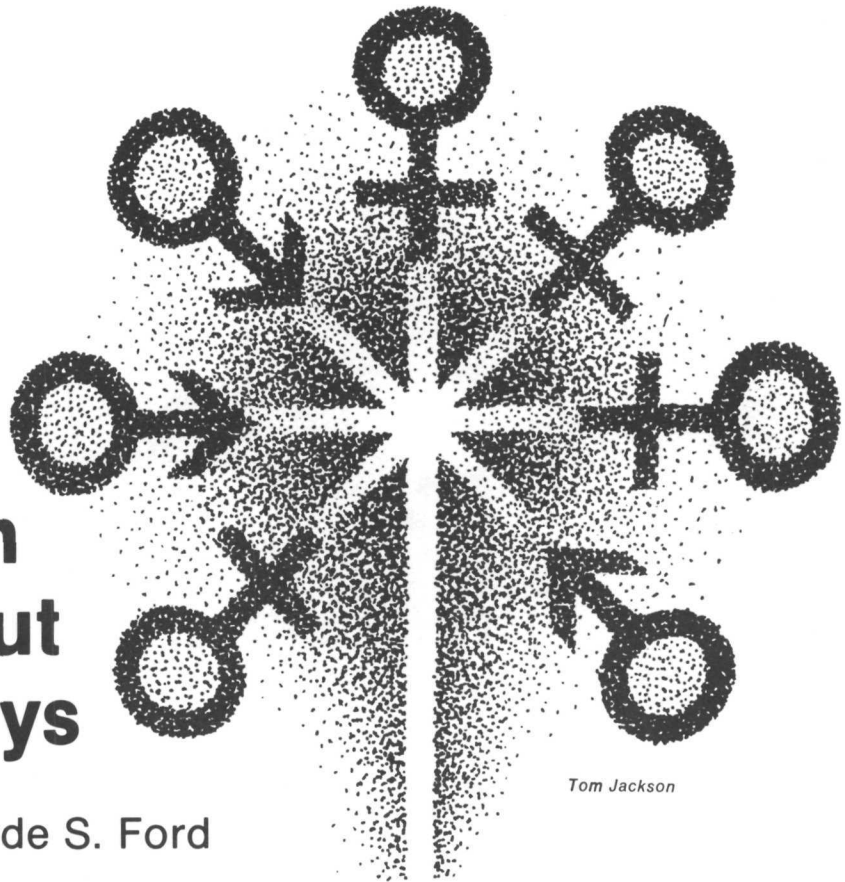
### Requiescat

*James Campbell, former executive director of Detroit Industrial Mission and a pioneer in efforts to improve the working conditions of blue and white collar employees, died of leukemia on Saturday, June 19, 1982. He had mailed the above tribute to marriage to THE WITNESS on May 25. A prolific writer until the end, he had also authored the article, "Affirming a New Public Philosophy" in our April issue, and had kept a journal of his own illness.*

*THE WITNESS staff could pay no greater tribute to one of its favorite authors than to run Jim's last piece, dedicated to his wife, Mary. And we send our loving thoughts and prayers to Mary and his daughters — Kimery, Susan, and Mary Katherine — as we celebrate the life of Jim Campbell.*

# Ecumenism Reaches Out To Gays

by Clyde S. Ford



Tom Jackson

Pope John XXIII gave ecumenism a push that attracted world-wide attention. In 1962 he caught the interest of my wife and me along with a number of others who recognized that fear, greed and egocentrism held sway in many of the principal denominations.

In January of 1964, in an attempt to raise a window and let in a breath of fresh air, my wife and I decided to begin inter-religious dialogue in our home. It was a success. Within six months we had several groups meeting in homes. For the first year or so we were sort of underground and wanted no publicity, because we were involving clergy as well as laity from the Jewish, Catholic and Protestant congregations. Then came people from the Islamic, Hindu, Zen, Baha'i, Mormon, and some of the

recent developing religious groups. We patterned our rules of conduct as suggested in *An American Dialogue* by Robert McAfee Brown and Gustave Weigel. After about three years we emerged from the underground and our groups were presenting panels for church, civic and parochial school programs.

Some people found that communication in group discussions, with strict rules, was painful. However, the more liberal clergy and laity found the listening experience educational and provocative.

Most of our trained moderators of the several groups invited participants of all religious persuasions. The requirements for membership were too demanding for many. A member had to be humble enough to abide by the rules, to face issues that caused the separations, and to recognize that dialogue does not remove genuine

differences. We had to find people who would accept a person espousing very different religious views and not try to convert him or her. Acceptance was the key word.

We had these meetings for 13 years before we learned of a fast growing religious group that had organized a congregation in Dallas, Tex., a few miles from our town.

I learned about it as I was reading the Dallas *Times Herald's* religion section and could hardly believe a story in which a clergyman performed a marriage ceremony between two 35-year old men. The heading read: *Marriage Vows Said in Gay Community.*

"Well, now," I said to myself, "This should be interesting — like a 'Dear Abby' story." Two males, before God, making matrimonial vows to each other! Loyalty, integrity, faithfulness, and love; familiar words in the usual

---

Clyde S. Ford is a retired Manufacturing Engineer, Bell Helicopter.



wedding ceremony were being used to bind two males in the Sacrament of Matrimony.

"Have you finished yet?" My wife, Louise, asked. "I've read it."

"What?"

"The funny article about two men getting married."

"Yeah, I read it."

"Well?"

"Well, what?"

"How do they, well you know what I mean. Do they have a sexual relationship?" Louise inquired cautiously.

"I don't know," I answered just as cautiously. "I guess they have a way."

"Well, it's a mystery to me. I simply don't believe it," she said. "What church did it say? Read the name of it."

"Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches. They use the initials UFMCC."

"I don't know the answers," Louise said, "I thought we had heard every denomination in the area speak. Did it say if they were Protestant or what?"

"Doesn't say, but it appears to be very ecumenical, and it apparently is not harnessed with a bunch of laws and creeds that excludes anyone. Says that heterosexuals go there too."

"Funny."

After reading the rest of the paper I folded it, put it on the table, and went to the backyard to work. I began to think about this new church, at least new to me. We had invited to dialogue representatives of all the known religious groups in the Metroplex. I thought: "We've had these dialogue meetings in our home for 13 years involving all the religious faiths that we've heard about, and now here is a new one. No, not really, we can't invite them. They wouldn't be interested. They're not, well, they're no . . . are they Christian?"

For several days I thought about it. I imagined how our Jewish doctor would react to questions regarding faith and

morals; how the Catholic engineer, with six children, would respond to the subjects of reproduction and celibacy. What would the well known Presbyterian lawyer say about that kind of organization being able to secure a state charter? Would the Baha'i social worker from the psychiatric ward of the hospital want to practice her profession on these depraved people?

My mind would not let the matter go. After about three weeks I decided to call the UFMCC and talk to the pastor. When he answered the phone, he believed that the explanation I gave him was an attempt at harassment. I asked him to investigate our activities and gave him names to call. He suggested that I call him in 10 days.

"Well, I tried," I told myself. "Now, I can forget it. I really tried." I was sure the pastor would forget about it. However, I had promised to call him back.

After five or six days the pastor called me. To my surprise, he wanted me to set a date for a visit from the associate pastor and three lay people, who were officers of the church. We arranged for a meeting in about six weeks.

From the beginning, Louise and I were apprehensive about this coming event. I began to wish that my conscience would not bother me in such matters. We had worried about other dialoguers, but none had concerned us this much.

At the next regular meeting I would have to announce that a group of homosexuals from a new church would be our guests. They would tell us all about their growing organization. I managed to convince the group that we could handle the situation and we would react no differently than we had with other little known organizations.

No one in the group of about 25 had heard of the Metropolitan Fellowship. I asked if anyone remembered the *Times Herald* story.

"Doc, what do you know about

them?" I asked.

"Nothing."

"Then we have it all to learn. We haven't skipped a denomination yet; that is, purposely. Remember how long it took that Black minister to consent to our being involved with his congregation?"

"I think it's great," the social worker said. "Those people are clamoring for equal rights, ordination in the church, political self-determination and job security. I'll be looking forward to it."

My wife said, "You may as well get used to the idea; they are going to be here. We used all of the other churches to discuss differences and likenesses. These people claim to be Christian. We have to listen to them. I'm like you, Doc; at first, I didn't like the idea at all, but since I've thought about it carefully, why not?"

"I'll be here, yes, I'll be here, but don't hold me accountable for what I say," the doctor sneered.

"We will exercise the same rules for communication as we always do. Remember, we agree to accept people where they are in their religious persuasion. We make absolutely no attempt to change them."

About a week before the meeting, I sent out 33 letters (with a whispered prayer) reminding each member that we did have rules of conduct (I enclosed a copy), and that we would continue to use them. I mentioned that these four people from the Gay church were braver than we were.

And then it was Monday, time for the meeting. I asked the Gay people to arrive 30 minutes early for a short period of orientation regarding procedures and methods of communication.

I was getting uptight by 7:20 p.m. "Those people will be here any time, and I don't know what to say. How will I greet them?"

"You'll manage. You always have. Don't worry about it. I bet they are uptight too," Louise said.

I was standing at the window of a darkened bedroom when a Volkswagen turned into the driveway. I rushed to the back, flipped on the outside light, and as I was approaching the car they were getting out.

"Mr. Ford?" A rather small person spoke.

"Yes, are you the pastor?" I asked, extending my right hand. I was aware of how small the hand was and the deep resonant voice that came with it. The man couldn't have weighed more than 110 pounds.

"Yes, sir, I'm Carol Jenkins, and this is Joe Beaumont. Getting out of the back seat are Ruby Kilpatrick and Jack Meyers."

We walked around to the front door. After the introductions (I had to ask all their names again) we sat down. The pastor was dressed in a black three piece suit, a white shirt and black tie. He had a sharp crease in his trousers. The black shoes were shined. Very ecclesiastic. Ruby had on slacks of heavy material and thick soled shoes to support at least 200 pounds. Jack and Joe were about 150 pounds, average height, and were casually dressed. They were all under 30.

Louise gave them a warm welcome and suggested they have coffee or tea.

I observed each one quickly and thought: "These people are Gay? One looks a little Gay, but the others, not at all. What does a Gay person look like anyway?"

"Mr. Ford, tell us about dialogue and how it works. Why did you start it?" Carol asked in that deep voice.

I was surprised with the question and it relaxed me. After a short history of dialogue and that all we expected to accomplish was a true sense of understanding, everyone was relaxed and communication was normal.

The door bell rang. The first of 33 dialoguers arrived. (The first time all members had ever been present.) There were the usual before-the-meeting

conversations, but unusual glances toward our guests. I introduced the four, and informed the group that Carol was the associate pastor, Ruby was a truck driver for a vending machine company, Joe was a student in nursing school, and Jack was part owner of a flying service.

I began the meeting with several selected passages from the Bible, emphasizing the prayers of Jesus for all people to be one in Christ as Christ is one with God. I opened the discussion by asking for the first question.

"Yes," it was the doctor who asked, "When was the church founded and where?"

Carol began to talk. He was articulate and detailed the church history beautifully, recounting that the first two congregations lost their buildings to arson. Joe explained the workings of the church; how the stewardship program functioned, procedures for the elections of deacons, and the responsibilities of the laity.

The social worker asked about the background of each guest. She wanted to know which faith each one grew up with, and if they were communicating with their families and former churches.

Carol grew up as a Catholic in a small West Texas town. The family disowned him when they learned about his sexual preference. The church gossip drove him out of town and to California. After a two-year study program designed by a Presbyterian minister, Carol was ordained in the Metropolitan Fellowship.

Joe Beaumont was a native of Lufkin, Tex. and a member of the Church of Christ. He was removed from the fellowship of the church while he was in college at Huntsville, Tex. His parents refuse to see him. His sister and two brothers communicate.

Jack Meyers left his home and the Episcopal Church when he came out of the closet at the age of 20. His family allows him to come home, but he does

not attend church in his hometown, Amarillo.

Ruby, besides enduring the abuses about being fat all of her life, had to combat the remarks about being Gay. She left home and the Baptist Church in Shreveport, La. She has never returned.

The evening progressed with no problems. The exchange of information was a serious learning experience. An air of sincere camaraderie emerged. Respect and trust were noticeable. The problems of homosexuality in the old established churches were discussed. There were no language difficulties which had worried me earlier. The fellowship was genuine.

Promptly at 10 p.m. the meeting closed. There was laughter, relaxed but firm handshakes as the members left. The four guests did not linger because Ruby had to load her truck at 5:30 a.m.

While Louise and I were putting our large living area in order she asked, "So, what did you think of the meeting?"

"The best," I replied, as I folded the extra chairs.

"You say that after a lot of meetings when they are pretty good."

"Maybe it's because I'm glad this one is over, ended and done with."

"Are you going to invite them back as regular members? You usually ask our guests to join."

"I can't think of one reason why they should not be members of the group."

In less than a week each of the four Gays had called reminding us how good it felt to be accepted, from where they were, into a group like the dialoguers. Some of the members called and asked if the Gays were coming to future meetings. The Jewish doctor called and talked about his new concept of the Gay people and that he would have to rearrange his prejudices.

The same four never returned. However, Joe or Jack brought new people several times. The Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Churches had representatives at each meeting for

the next six months. The dialoguers always knew which church each participant was from. During that six month's period we had no problems. Our discussions were never strained.

The communication was always clear and accepted. The Gay people contributed well, enabling the entire group to learn how people worshipped in a Gay community.

I think that I can speak for the majority of our group when I say that they appreciated the opportunity to learn about an alternate life-style from the Gay people themselves. □

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# No to School Prayer

by Robert Cromeey

I will do all I can to defeat the school prayer amendment that is being considered by our government. I don't want public school teachers to teach children to pray. I don't want anyone who hasn't studied the delicious intricacies of the prayer life to lead kids in prayer. I don't want people not skilled in theology to tamper with children's prayer life.

A murmured collect before a class is always petitionary or intercessory at best. The class petitions God to help the group study better, behave well, care for the parents and the sick and the country and the school. Where is the prayer of confession, thanksgiving, adoration? What about meditation and contemplative prayer? The children get a most limited, truncated view of prayer.

Prayer isn't just asking for things. In school prayer children continue with the concept of God as the great grandfather in the sky. Their theological perception is not deepened to include God as immanent and transcendent. The concept of God as the ground of being or the still, small voice or the inutterable other is not

developed. Public school teachers are not trained to teach the fullness of God. They are required to teach the most minimal concept of God.

For Christians, the understanding of God includes the nature, person and divinity of Christ. Prayer without reference to Christ is partial and incomplete for them. Reference to Christ in the Godhead is offensive and outside the theology of Jews, Muslims, Buddhists and Unitarians. It would be grossly unfair to nonChristians to pray in Christ's name.

The 8-year-old does not have real freedom of choice not to pray and walk out of a classroom when prayer is to be uttered. What an outrage to a child's sensibilities to ask him or her to stand against teacher and fellow pupils when they are about to pray. At 21, yes; at 8, no.

Prayer is not a rabbit's foot trotted out to bless a day, a frog jumping contest, an outboard motor or a classroom. Prayer is a sophisticated, intellectual and terribly simple way of life that takes nourishment, knowledge, practice, discussion and a community of faith. It needs home, church and personal support. It needs reading, writing and an open heart. It does not need the public school classroom.

Prayer becomes trivial when it remains an opener for a class or good luck charm. Prayer becomes an offense when forced upon others who have no choice but to obey. Prayer becomes a violation of constitutional rights when the state directs me or others to participate.

Suppose a pious public school teacher leads a school prayer in bumper sticker style, "Dear Lord . . . kill a commie for Christ." There are people who pray that prayer. I don't want children's ethics taught by public officials within school prayers.

Prayer can be emotionally damaging to children whose teacher might ask them to:

- convert the Jews and the heathen
- keep the dagos out
- assure victory for the British and defeat for the Argentines.

We have no guarantee that untrained teachers can restrain themselves from putting their own social, political and prejudicial views forth in the form of prayer. We cannot even assure purity in prayer from the trained clergy and laity. To ask officers of the state — teachers — to do more is an offense to them and a danger to children and one more blow to the dignity and majesty of prayer itself. □

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**The Rev. Robert Warren Cromeey** is an Episcopal priest counselor who resides in San Francisco.

# The Challenge of Being Episcopalian

by Baley Mason

The Episcopal Church, although hospitable to less affluent Anglicans, nonetheless is the nation's wealthiest and most powerful religious sect. Over twice as many Episcopalians as other denominations are in the top 20% income bracket, though only 3% of the population. Over 20% of the heads of the *Fortune* 500 companies described themselves as Episcopalians. More presidents of the nation claim Episcopal ties than any other. It is by far the best educated and professionally placed of the organized sects.

Yet amidst the comfortable station in the power elite, we find a church of contradictions:

- It provides a handsome Catholic liturgy, yet it is the most worldly of all churches.
- It has Anglican traditions stemming from Henry VIII, yet it fusses with Picasso-like modernism with the prayer book and services.
- It supports traditional family values, yet it embraces — for better or worse — the new morality.
- It is a male dominated church, yet it has led in ordination of women.
- It preaches poverty to the nation's wealthiest denomination and in Weston to the Commonwealth's wealthiest

community.

- It is an English church for English people, yet it was spawned in a revolution that overthrew English rule.

The suburban ethos, of course, makes it difficult for any established church to find itself.

Philip Slater, the sociologist and author of *The Essential Loneliness*, asks why is it that Americans seek to minimize, circumvent or even deny the interdependence upon which all human societies are based? We have our private homes, some even private summer homes, private cars, gardens, tennis courts, swimming pools, — and in the families we espouse yet more privacy with private rooms, phones, TV sets and a car for every driver.

In this country we have a fetish for raising our children to be independent. It is significant that in Japan — a nation many businesses are finding to be competitive — the emphasis in child-rearing is on teaching interdependence. Obviously this does not make the Japanese any less competitive or successful in a worldly sense. Maybe independence is not the great breeder of the entrepreneurial spirit we have been led to believe.

Our suburbs not only cultivate independence, they breed segregation. The small-town America of our grandparents, parents or even our own younger days were certainly far more economically, if not racially, integrated and far more interdependent.

Sociologists tell us that many Americans profess to feel disconnected, lonely and unprotected. Small wonder. Almost half of U.S. heads of families live more than 100 miles from where they were born; one out of five, more than 1000 miles.

Our institutions suffer a loss of continuity, identity and self, much as the people in them. As a footnote, church shopping — which dumbfounds me — may not mean too much to people who have become accustomed to moving three or four times and from three or four states.

Moving doesn't do much for family life. It does nothing to help the church either. Since I have lived here there has been a procession outwards of lay leadership: wardens, vestry, active members and loyal parishioners. It takes time to grow replacements.

One of my friends who sells real estate told me that one woman house hunting was noted as a good gardener. The agent asked whether she might want to see a house with especially fine plantings. The response was: "Don't worry, we plant annuals not bulbs."

*The Christian Century* a few years ago suggested only half facetiously that churches might want to build tents, not temples.

Weston is a vulnerable community and we are vulnerable within it to the pangs of isolation. The small interdependent village of Brent Dickson's *Once Upon a Pung* is sadly gone. The men all commute. The women are moving off to post-child rearing careers. More and more friendships are not built upon shared experiences but upon cocktail party conviviality. This is perfectly harmless of itself but makes for highly casual relationships.

I believe that just as a child cannot do without the affection and love of its parents, so adults cannot forgo the acceptance, respect and support of other adults. The loss of the extended

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**Bayley F. Mason**, Associate Dean of the J. F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard, is former Senior Warden of St. Peter's Church, Weston, Mass., and a delegate to General Convention.



family in our society makes adult friendships all the more imperative.

Solitude has its place, but one must always come back to one's fellow human beings to continue growing as a whole person.

Our ancestors — mostly from England and Northern Europe — did not emerge from the cave period in solitary splendor. They became civilized by collective ventures in hunting, farming and trading.

They did not walk alone.

Nor should we.

The Baptismal Covenant says: "Will you seek and serve Christ in all persons, loving your neighbor as yourself?" "I will, with God's help."

This commandment and Jesus' teachings to do unto others as you would have them do unto you is not merely a negative caveat to avoid harming a fellow being. It is a positive calling to love thy neighbor.

In Ecclesiastes it is written:

"Here again, I saw emptiness under the sun: a lonely one without a friend, toiling needlessly yet never satisfied with wealth."

In Ecclesiasticus:

"A faithful friend is a secure shelter where one finds a treasure.

"A faithful friend is beyond price . . .

"A faithful friend is an elixer of life, found only by those who fear the Lord.

How are we to gain these friendships?"

One could argue that we are subject to chance — date of birth, choice of towns, colleges or jobs.

C. S. Lewis, however, reminds us that for a Christian there is no chance.

Christ who said to the disciples, "Ye have not chosen me, I have chosen you," can say to every Christian group of friends, "You have not chosen one another, I have chosen you for one another."

Friendship is not a reward for good taste in people, it is the instrument, says Lewis, by which God reveals to each other the beauties of all others. □



## Letters . . . Continued from page 3

our nation, and will be heard.

All the scripture I have read, both in and out of the seminary, in Christian as well as other spiritual works, speak directly to loving the poor and healing the sick and disabled. As an advocate for human rights for most of my life, who happens to be both learning disabled as well as mobility impaired, I find the life and teachings of the church to be contradictory. The message I wish to share at General Convention is that 39 million Americans are handicapped, yet most churches are filled with barriers. These include the attitudes of administrators who have not yet spoken out against Reagan's new assault on civil rights. The Black Caucus of the U.S. Congress is presently drafting a resolution in support of protecting the existing 1978 guidelines to implement Sec. 504 of the 1973 Rehabilitation Act. All churches should be doing likewise.

I am writing on day 51 of my fast in protest of the Reagan changes and vow to continue until others come forward to protest in an educational manner. The issue belongs to us all. No one of us can insure against disability.

Any help WITNESS readers can render in assisting my participation at General Convention as well as in saving the civil rights of 39 million Americans will be joyfully received.

**Jane Jackson**  
Washington, D.C.

*(Jane Jackson, who prompted THE WITNESS to do the special issue on the disabled last July and who appears in that issue, can be reached care of THE WITNESS. — Eds.)*

## CREDITS

Cover, Beth Seka from a design by Robert F. McGovern; graphic p. 4 adapted from John Huehnergath, Audubon Society brochure; graphic p. 8, John Gummere; graphic p. 10, Robert F. McGovern; graphic p. 12, Tom Jackson.

## No August Editorial

THE WITNESS editorial is not in its usual position this month to give our readers ample space to respond to the special General Convention issue. We will print our editorial on page 3 next month.

## Opens Windows

For me, THE WITNESS is like throwing open the intellectual windows after being cooped-up for a winter in a stuffy theological house. I don't always agree with what's written, and sometimes I'm not even ready to face the issues. But the most treasured gift I've received from THE WITNESS is room to think my own thoughts without feeling the pressure of conformity or the pressure of nonconformity.

One of the most loving things we can say to each other is simply this: "Tell me what *you* think." I hear that spoken in every issue. Thanks.

**Madeline Ligammare**  
Kennesaw, Ga.

## Supports Lonely Voices

Even though the magazine has a way of annoying me with some of its buckshot-type articles, I still subscribe. During these trying days of Reaganism in our land the lonely voices still crying out for justice and mercy deserve support.

**The Rev. Harry L. Casey**  
Penns Grove, N.J.

## Avid Reader Writes

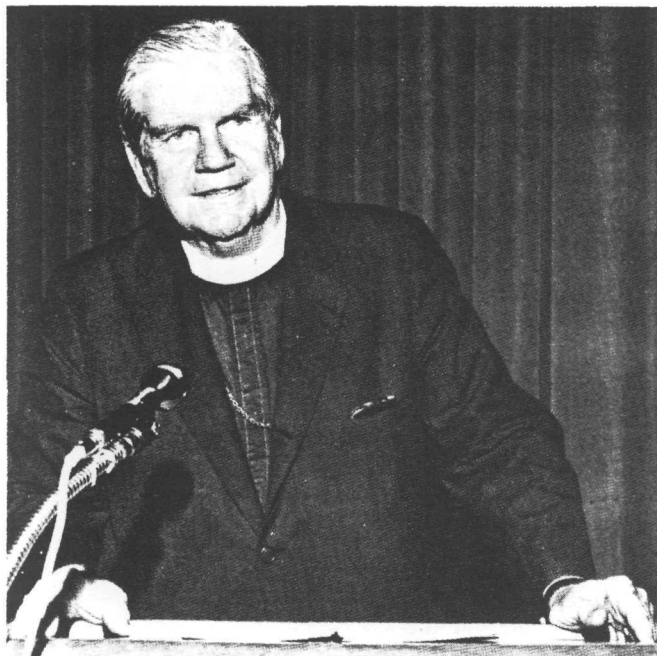
I have your renewal notice for the subscription to THE WITNESS which had gone to *Women in Transition*. Our group went into "transition" a year ago and we put it temporarily on the shelf. I could not be without THE WITNESS however, so took out my own personal subscription. I have also subscribed to the magazine for friends.

So, take *Women in Transition* off your list for now, and know that the founder and director is still reading THE WITNESS, avidly, and loving it.

**Rosemary Matson**  
Carmel Valley, Cal.

# Award Winners,

Marion Kelleran



John Hines

**William Scarlett Award:** John E. Hines, retired Presiding Bishop, Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, headed the Church from 1965-74, and was known inside and outside of the Church for his innovative programs and courageous stands on social issues. He also served as Coadjutor Bishop of Texas from 1945-55, then as Bishop of Texas from 1955-64. Bishop Hines is retired "on a mountain," in Highland, N.C., with his wife, Helen.



**Vida Scudder Award:** Marion Kelleran in 1980 completed nine years as a member of the Anglican Consultative Council, a body representing the 26 autonomous churches making up the worldwide Anglican Communion. Since 1974 she served as chair of the council, of which the Archbishop of Canterbury is the permanent president. In this capacity she was a participant in the 1978 Lambeth Conference, a role unique to women.

She is Professor Emeritus of Pastoral Theology and Christian Education at the Virginia Theological Seminary, from which she retired in 1973. From 1946-62, she served the Diocese of Washington as its Director of Christian Education. Although her primary church work has been in education, she has been involved in ecumenical affairs, the role of women and the role of minority groups as well. From 1967-73, Dr. Kelleran served on the church's Executive Council, with assignments chiefly in the Overseas and World Mission Areas.

## Dear Witness Readers,

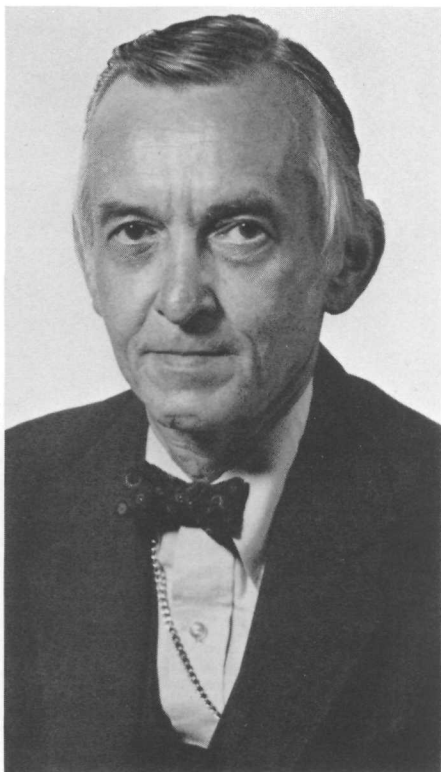
If you are at General Convention in New Orleans, we will be pleased to greet you at the exhibit area where Church and Society members and WITNESS staffers will be in Booth 406.

You are also invited to join us at the Episcopal Church Publishing Company Awards Dinner Sept. 7 at the Marriott Hotel, when the William Scarlett Award will be presented to the Rt. Rev. John E. Hines; the Vida Scudder Award to Marion Kelleran; the William Spofford Award to the Rev. Ben Chavis, and a special citation of merit to William Stringfellow.

Guest speaker will be the Rev. Canon Burgess Carr, former Secretary General of the All-African Council of Churches, Nairobi. Tickets for the event may be obtained at \$12 each from ECPC Booth 406 on a first come, first served basis. Limited supply available.

# Convention Dinner

William Stringfellow



**Special Award of Merit:** William Stringfellow — theologian, social critic, attorney — is currently completing a trilogy with his new book, *Grieve Not the Holy Spirit*. The prolific author was a pioneer lawyer in East Harlem and an advocate for the dispossessed more than a decade before the so-called war on poverty. Because of his virtually unique experience as an ecclesiastical lawyer, Dr. Stringfellow is a prime mover in the organization of the Canon Law Society of the Episcopal Church. He has served as the only layperson on the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches, and is a director of the Council on Religion and Law. A Guggenheim Fellow, Dr. Stringfellow is a graduate of the Harvard Law School, the London School of Economics and Bates College and holds several honorary degrees.



Ben Chavis

**William Spofford Award:** The Rev. Benjamin Franklin Chavis, Jr., is Deputy Director of the United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice and a veteran of 21 years in the civil rights movement. He is a direct descendant of the Rev. John Chavis, one of the first ordained Black ministers in the United States. He has worked with Dr. Martin King, Jr., the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the NAACP.

As a member of the Wilmington 10 who unjustly spent 4½ years in prison, Dr. Chavis was listed as one of America's political prisoners by Amnesty International. In 1980, the Fourth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals overturned the convictions of the Wilmington 10, clearing their records and names. While he was in jail, Dr. Chavis received numerous national and international awards, including the National Community Service Award from the Congressional Black Caucus, the SCLC Courage Award, the National Justice Award from the National Conference of Black Lawyers, the Paul Robeson National Freedom Medal from the German Democratic Republic. The cities of Detroit and Los Angeles have honored him with Distinguished Public Service Awards.

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## SPECIAL OFFER TO WITNESS READERS

Order *Must We Choose Sides*, or *Which Side Are We On*, two of the best-selling Study Action Guides on the market — dealing with Christian Commitment for the

1980s — or *Moral Majority Survival Kit*, *The New Right*, for only \$5.00 and save up to \$1.95.

### Must We Choose Sides?

1979, 127pp. \$5.95

Explores the role of working people in our economic system. Investigates harsh realities of everyday life. Who owns America? Who pays the price? Six comprehensive sessions help readers examine class background and the myths of capitalism. Group exercises probe individual experience and insight, apply tools of social analysis while engaging in theological reflection.

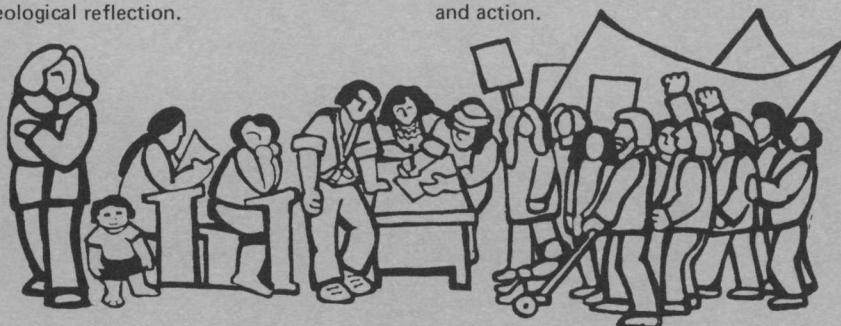
### Which Side Are We On?

1980, 172 pp. \$6.95

Deepens understanding of the present crisis — inflation, unemployment, the danger of war. Moves beyond historical critique of capitalism to explore other alternatives. Raises questions for Christian activists. Can we reclaim our radical heritage? How do we confront political and religious ideology? Seven in-depth sessions for group study and action.

### The New Right

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# THE WITNESS

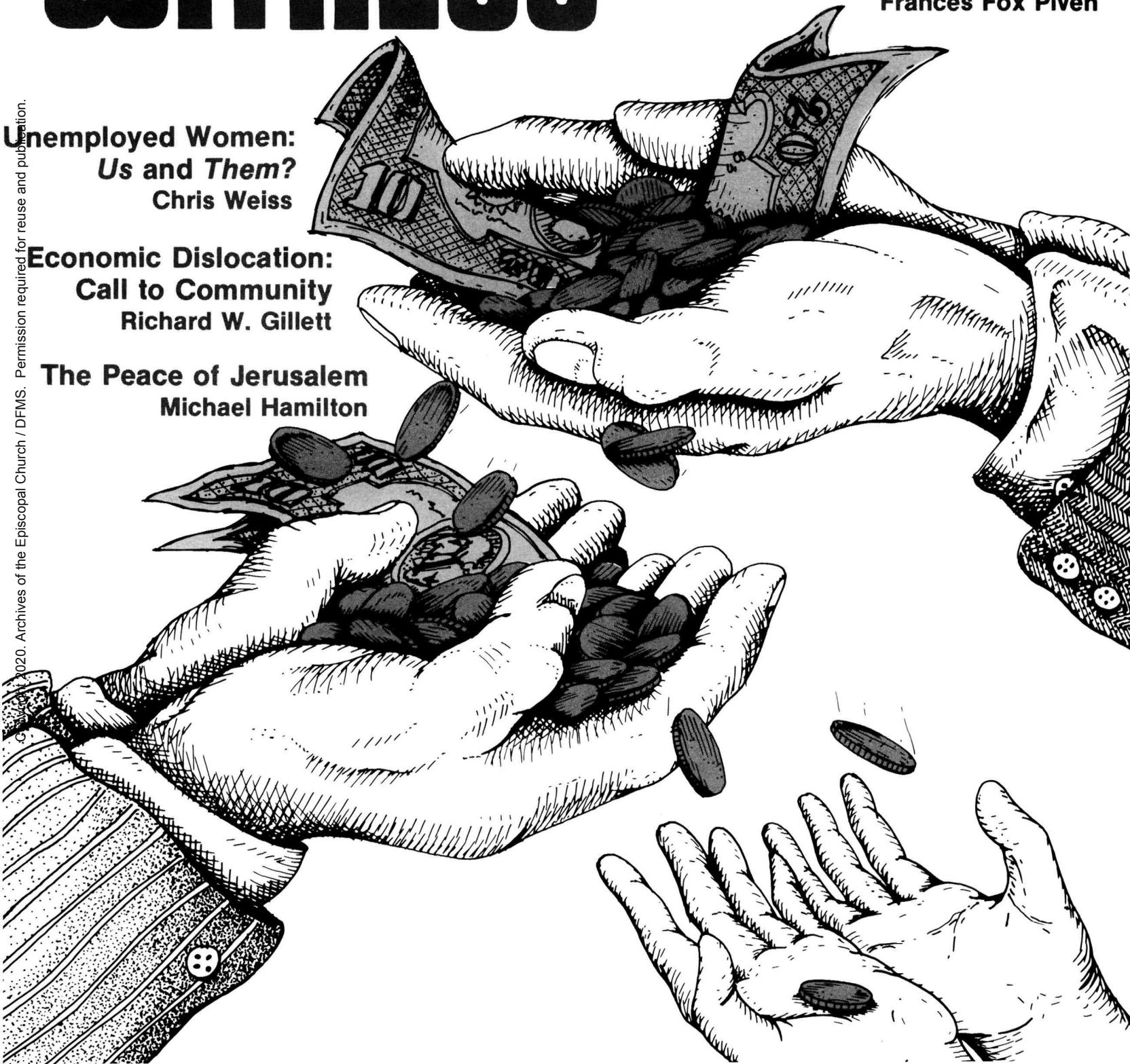
VOL. 65 NO. 9 SEPTEMBER, 1982

**The Transformation  
Of City Politics**  
Frances Fox Piven

**Unemployed Women:  
*Us and Them?***  
Chris Weiss

**Economic Dislocation:  
*Call to Community***  
Richard W. Gillett

**The Peace of Jerusalem**  
Michael Hamilton



# LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

## Peace Issue Impressive

I was very impressed with the June issue of THE WITNESS with its map of nuclear weapons locations in the United States and the accompanying articles. Bishop George Hunt has asked me to co-chair a committee in the Diocese of Rhode Island to assist congregations in their own attempts to educate their people with regard to the dangers of nuclear armaments, and to help them in programs and activities which will promote peace on a world wide basis. I have convened a meeting and would appreciate your sending me 25 copies of the June issue so that I may distribute it.

I am also delighted to see the list of those designated to receive awards from the Episcopal Church Publishing Company at the dinner on Sept. 7. You have indeed chosen a group worthy of such honor and I commend you for that.

**The Rev. David A. Ames**  
Providence, R.I.

## Will Influence Planning

Thank you for the June issue of THE WITNESS which is given over to nuclear arms concerns. This issue makes a substantial contribution to the discussion of nuclear disarmament within the church. As always, THE WITNESS is on the forefront of the discussion of important issues to the church and to society. I know that this issue will influence our Planning

Committee for the Philadelphia Theological Institute's conference on The Theological Implications of Nuclear War. I am also sure that we will want copies of THE WITNESS available at the conference.

**The Rev. James C. Ransom**  
Philadelphia, Pa.

## Women's Issues Central

In response to the Letter to the Editor by Charles Riemitis (June issue), let me say THE WITNESS is *not* copping out by speaking to women's issues. They are the "bread and butter" issues when two-thirds of the poor in this country are women and children. Until the male hierarchy, which predominates in every church, starts to address the reason why women and children are the poor, there will be no new "vision for the church's life that holds promise of new social possibilities."

Preaching the gospel of good news to the poor" (women and children) will not ameliorate the conditions of poverty brought on by centuries of imbalance in the power structures, including those deeply entrenched in every church, and most particularly the Episcopalian church.

Nor will "the children of God live in the world as peacemakers" when one-half the population of every country lives as second-class citizens, and ironically it is that half that society has delegated as its nurturers and peacemakers. As long as the so-called nurturers and peacemakers are thought of as second-class, so also will nurturing and peacemaking be viewed as less important than power broking and military might.

Your "heavy emphasis on women's position in the church" is therefore central to the "real issues that face us today as human beings and as Christians." Keep it up and thank you for being a voice crying in the wilderness of all too many men like Charles Riemitis.

**Margo V. House**  
Gordon, Mich.

## Bach Let Woman Sing

When I feel, at times, like Prior Christopher Jones in his June letter on the ordination of women, I like to chuckle as I recall that Bach's having let a woman sing in his choir was the factor that precipitated his losing his first job.

But then, the ladies prevailed. They sang so prettily and proved they could be technically competent. They won out. No wonder the castrati were worried.

**Douglas H. Schewe**  
Madison, Wisc.

## Discovers WITNESS

You don't know how glad I was to learn about your magazine, because other Episcopalian publications just didn't satisfy me. I might add I also subscribe to the *National Catholic Reporter* because I also find food for thought in it. In fact — I pass on to the vicar my copies of THE WITNESS and NCR after I read them. I am forwarding the names of six members of St. Chad's Episcopal Church. Perhaps if you send them a complimentary copy they might subscribe.

**Ruth Lackey**  
Albuquerque, N.M.

## 'Control' Is Key

Thank you for the provocative series, Black Women's Agenda, (February and March issues). It is demonstrably true that racism is the oldest item on the church's moral agenda, and that there has been no satisfactory resolution of this dilemma.

There is a danger, though, in placing too much polemical distance between Black and feminist concerns. The essayist, Ellen Willis, has persuasively argued that at the bottom of the demand that one set of concerns be decisively addressed before dealing with the other, lies a moralistic bias. Because we consider "our" group, whichever it is,

*Continued on page 19*

## THE WITNESS

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# THE WITNESS EDITORIAL

## For Shame, Mr. Begin

With the invasion of Lebanon, Menachem Begin has sullied the name of Israel and lost credibility in the world community.

So soon after the Holocaust, Mr. Begin has transformed Israel into an imperialist power, and every Palestinian man, woman, and child has become an Israeli military target.

Only two weeks after the Israeli invasion, the figures were horrific: 14,000 Lebanese and Palestinians killed, 30,000 wounded and one half million homeless. On just one Sunday in June, doctors at the American University Hospital in Beirut removed 1,100 limbs from victims of bombing and shelling — many, no doubt, victims of cluster bombs which the United States sold to Israel.

An ecumenical team of observers from the World Council of Churches, recently returned from Beirut, described the scene as "a mini-Hiroshima," and a study in "absurdity, scandal and horror."

Moreover, Israel has impeded access and assistance from international humanitarian agencies such as the Red Cross, contrary to the Geneva Convention, and cut off water and electricity to those who are suffering. And with a strong lobby,

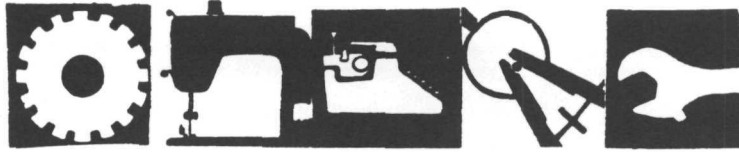
Israel has somehow carried the United States on its side. Even liberal legislators who were so strong on human rights are turning their backs on this issue.

There are glimmers of hope — in the peace marches in Israel, for example, and in the defection of Col. Eli Geva, a combat officer who resigned in protest of the slaughter. But hope hangs slim. Reports are that the Israeli Army is prepared to stay the winter in Beirut, although Mr. Begin originally announced he would penetrate only 25 miles into Lebanon.

Please God, an end to the hostilities may have occurred by the time this is being read, but the lesson cannot be lost; that another attempt was made by brute force to achieve goals against a helpless civilian population.

THE WITNESS, therefore, stands in total agreement with the recent World Council of Churches document which demands "the immediate lifting of the Israeli siege on West Beirut," and which condemns "the Israeli invasion of Lebanese territory." WCC recommendations call the recovery of Lebanese integrity "a key to peace and justice in the region,"

*Continued on page 19*



How We Got This Way

# The Transformation of City Politics

by Frances Fox Piven

*"Having recognized the large role that government has played in determining our fate, the question will be, in whose interests will government act in the future? And that will depend on how forcefully people of the cities push their interests and demand their due, on the platforms, in the polls, and in the streets."*

In American politics, there is a prevailing doctrine. The doctrine asserts that people in communities can and do mobilize to improve their condition, to demand the housing, public facilities and services that will better the life of the community. Similarly, the doctrine asserts that people in workplaces mobilize to improve workplace conditions, to demand the higher wages and shorter hours, the safety measures and enlarged benefits, that will better the life of workers.

But today, in cities across the industrial belt of the United States, the context for the mobilization of people in communities and workplaces seems discouraging, the prospect for making gains, dim. Instead of improvements, people are incurring losses. So gloomy does the prospect seem, that people are quietly settling for less.

Why this gloomy prospect? The reason, we are told, is that our cities are in "crisis." Our municipalities spend too

much, and take in too little. To reconcile this fiscal gap, city governments will have to slash budgets, and city dwellers will have to become accustomed to the prospect of fewer services and fewer public sector jobs. Similarly, workers in the industrial belt are told they must curb their demands, for excessive concessions to workers will further weaken an eroding economic base.

This diagnosis of "fiscal crisis" has an official etiology. The presumed causes are twofold. First, the economic base of the cities of the older industrial sector has weakened as the result of what are called "market forces," forces which are so profound and inexorable as to be virtually natural laws. Second, political leaders in the older industrial cities have defied these laws; they have been profligate and inefficient where they ought to have been cost-conscious and efficient. They have given in to greedy urban interest groups by spending too much.

Both explanations are misleading, and I will try to explain why. My analysis will proceed in three parts.

---

**Frances Fox Piven** teaches political science at Boston University. She is co-author, with Richard A. Cloward, of the forthcoming book, *The New Class War*.



First I will argue that while the economic base of the older cities has in fact eroded, this was not an inevitable process governed by market "laws," but rather was a process actively supported if not created by federal policies. Second, I will argue that municipal politicians are not so much profligate as they are politicians. They did what they did and spent what they spent because of the extraordinary political forces set in motion by changing economic conditions. Finally, I will argue that the specter of cities "dying" is a weapon that is being used against the cities, and especially against working-class and lower-class groups, in order to more easily slash the concessions won by these groups in the 1960's.

### Urban Economic Changes

Agriculture was one area where economic changes ultimately contributed to the current "urban fiscal crisis." Rapid mechanization and other technological advances, stimulated by federal subsidies and loans, quickly diminished the need for agricultural workers in the period after World War II. At the same time, federal supports for idle land further reduced the need for agricultural labor, while federal welfare policies allowed the agricultural states to refuse welfare to this displaced workforce and thus, force the migration of surplus agricultural population to urban centers in the north and mid-west. Neither the creation of this huge labor surplus, nor the deliberate use of restrictive welfare policies to force migration of the people-made-surplus to the cities, were the result of market laws. They were the result rather of federal policies operating in tandem with the interest of large-scale planters. Federal policies, in other words, had a great deal to do with the economic processes which forced the migration of people—many of them Black or Latin—to the cities.

Meanwhile other large scale regional

and sectoral changes were weakening the economic base of the older cities and reducing their capacity to provide employment. Labor intensive industries were leaving the older industrial cities of the "snowbelt" for the south. This began long ago, with the shift of the New England textile industry to low-wage southern states in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. But the persistence of that trend owes much to federal policies. Until the 1960's, the federal government refused to interfere with the laws and practices of the southern states which enforced caste arrangements and thus kept wages low. Moreover, the federal Taft-Hartley law, passed in 1947, permitted the "right-to-work" laws favored by Southern states which effectively prevented unionization. The results can be illustrated by looking at North Carolina, a state that attracted a good deal of labor intensive industry. In

1976, the manufacturing earnings in North Carolina averaged \$3.63 an hour, compared to the national average of nearly \$5.00 an hour. Not surprisingly, North Carolina had the lowest percentage of unionized industrial workers in the United States. Also not surprising, manufacturing jobs have doubled in the state in the past 25 years.

Sectoral shifts have also been important in accounting for the weakening of the economic base in the industrial belt, and federal policies have been important in accounting for those sectoral shifts. The relative growth of such capital intensive industries as defense, oil and aerospace owes much to the stimulus of federal grants and contracts. And the relative growth of these industries in the sunbelt owes much to the "tilt" in the pattern of such contracts toward the south and southwest. The overall result is that sunbelt manufacturing jobs increased by 30% in the 1960's, while the northeast increased by only 6%. Meanwhile, federal subsidies for public infrastructure also poured into the south, with the result that during the same period public-service jobs in the sunbelt increased by 70%.

At the same time, economic changes within the metropolitan areas of the industrial belt further contributed to the weakening of the central cities. Suburbanization was draining the central city of its more affluent residents, of its commerce and industry. As market economists tell this tale, its explanation was quite simply that everyone in America wanted a little suburban house, and with the relative affluence of the post-World War II period, many people could act on what they had always wanted. But American society is not so simple. We do not really know that this vast out-migration of people would have occurred had income tax policies not made home-ownership advantageous, had Federal Home Administration and Veteran



Administration mortgages not provided the cheap long-term financing which made it possible, and had federal highway grants, and water and sewer grants, not subsidized the whole huge event of the suburbanization of America. If suburban homeowners, if industrial plants, if commercial establishments each had to pay the true cost of suburban relocation, it is by no means clear that this development would have taken place.

Finally, the economic base of the cities was being transformed by urban renewal. Presumably, federal urban renewal programs were designed to improve the urban tax base, even if that required the demolition of the homes and neighborhoods of low-income people. But the evidence is now overwhelming that urban renewal did nothing of the kind. Rather, clearance helped to destroy small businesses that employed people on the one hand, while on the other hand increasing long-term costs to the municipal treasury as a result of new services committed to the renewed areas. And urban renewal, of course, could not have happened had the federal government not subsidized it.

In brief, declining revenues in the older cities are the result of a declining economic base. But economic processes in our contemporary United States do not operate according to the "laws" of a free market. Rather these economic processes reflect the very large role of the national government. As investor interests and federal policies combine in the search for greater profit, city governments are left helpless. All they can do in the effort to maintain their economic base and their tax base is to beg and bribe businesses and industries that have the license to pick and choose among localities in their choice of investment sites. In that process, the doctrine of local self-government turns into a mockery, for it is investors who are governing, and local government that is governed.

## The Transformation of City Politics

Cities are not only centers of economic activity, but they are also centers of population and centers for the political struggles in which groups of the population engage. Economic change, of necessity, means a certain upheaval for these populations. It means the emergence of new political groupings reflecting changed economic roles, and it means new political demands. This happened in the industrial cities in the post-World War II period.

Population shifts were obvious. People displaced from agriculture came to the cities, while those who could take advantage of federal subsidies for suburbanization left the cities. A massive shift of this kind is always taxing for the political organization of a community or a society, for it means new linkages have to be forged between the populace and its leaders. Historically American cities have adapted to this problem through practices made famous by the big city machines, which delivered enough friendship and favors to streams of immigrant newcomers to ensure their political allegiance.

But by the post-World War II period, the old machines had themselves been transformed. They had become bureaucratized, and bureaucratization meant that stakes in city politics were much more firmly fixed than ever before. What older groups had received as favors was now encoded in bureaucratic regulations, and not easily redistributed to help gain the allegiance of incoming migrants. Therefore, the Blacks and Latins who came to the cities during this period were not integrated into the urban political organizations, at the very same time that changes in the economic base made their economic absorption more difficult. The result was perhaps predictable; the new groups became politically volatile.

Thus, in the late 1950s, the Black

vote became insecure, and by the 1960s Blacks were engaging in marches and demonstrations and later in riots. To deal with this problem in the very heart of its urban base, the national Democratic Party inaugurated a series of programs for the "inner city." The programs were called mental health programs or model cities programs, but their main significance was that people who were causing trouble got something. They got some jobs, some services, some benefits.

These demands by newer groups in the city helped trigger demands by older groups with a large stake in the city's programs. As a consequence, the 1960s also witnessed unprecedented organization and mobilization by municipal workers who also demanded more, and demanded more with tactics far more militant than before. In the face of trouble on all sides, mayors already weakened by population shifts gave in on all sides, and city budgets rose.

As a consequence, large popular gains were made in the 1960s through municipal politics. The people of the ghettos gained jobs, often para-professional jobs, and they got new services, and they got welfare. The municipal workforce enlarged as Blacks and Latins were admitted, and as older civil service workers won demands for reduced work load. And civil service salaries and benefits soared. Older forms of patronage also expanded as beleaguered mayors tried to shore up their faltering political fortunes by using the city payroll to support their political organizations. And real estate interests—always prominent in municipal politics—also gained. In exchange for their usual campaign contributions to shaky mayors, they received the subsidies and tax concessions which made possible their huge profits on office and luxury residential construction. All of this meant skyrocketing municipal budgets, of course, but the cities stayed afloat. They stayed afloat because so long as

the cities were seething with trouble, the federal and state grants-in-aid kept flowing.

Thus, the rising costs which are clearly a feature of the fiscal crisis are rooted in national economic developments, for these economic developments produced the political disturbances that made the 1960's so turbulent. But through turbulence, people won. City governments gave in, and their bills were paid by the state and federal governments. In a sense, what people won was a contemporary form of patronage, and it surely was not enough to compensate for the economic disturbances which prodded their mobilization. Still in the 1960's, people did win something.

### The 'Death' of the Cities

The cities of the industrial belt are changing. But they are not dying. There are still large economic stakes in the cities, stakes in real estate, in banking, in corporate headquarters establishments, and in all of the professional enterprises that service these corporate headquarters. The much-touted "death" of the cities, and the fiscal crisis itself, can be viewed as a strategy by elites which reflect their interests and their determination to preserve them, and their determination to contribute as little as possible to the population of the cities.

By the 1970's, the turbulence of the previous decade had subsided. The manufacturing economy in the cities continued to erode, and to erode more rapidly as a result of rising interest rates and the recession produced by the Nixon-Ford economic policies. As a result, the discrepancy in the cities between expenditures and revenues rapidly widened. And this discrepancy in turn created the opportunity for the mobilization of business groups at the state and local level to deal with the so-called fiscal crisis. With "efficiency" and "economy" as their rallying cry, business and banking interests launched

a drive to reorient the city's budget toward the headquarters office functions which now dominated many of the older industrial cities. The arguments they made were not arguments about politics, although this was very much a political drive. Rather the arguments were about economic imperatives, about "market laws" to which municipalities would have to conform to avoid the specter of municipal "death."

Shielded by these arguments, business and banking interests pushed through business-oriented tax-reforms, emasculated regulatory controls and pollution controls, and forced increased public subsidies for business. To do all of this, popularly oriented services had to be cut: welfare programs were slashed, senior citizen centers and drug abuse programs were closed down, services to working-class and lower class neighborhoods were cut back, and public jobs were eliminated by the tens of thousands.

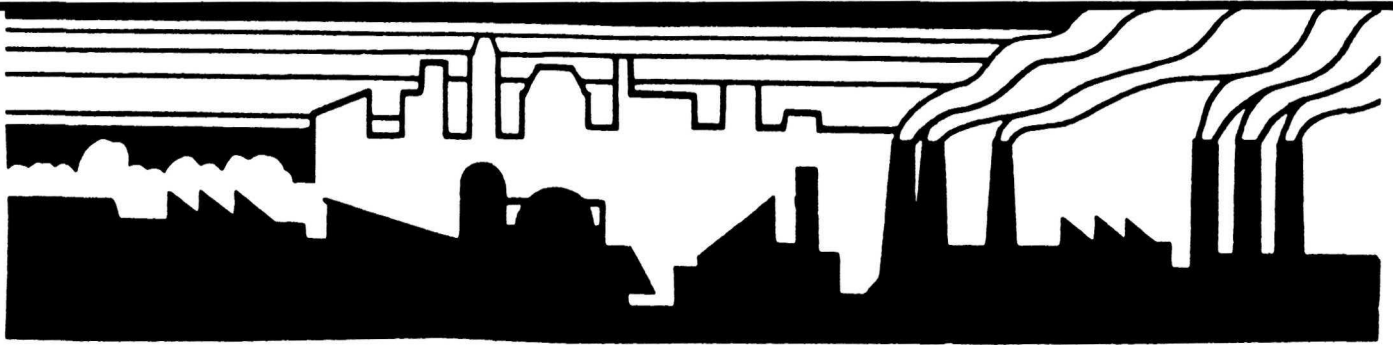
With the election of 1980, business interests have seized full control of federal policy as well. Their goal is clear. They have already succeeded in using the federal budget to accomplish a massive redistribution of income. Taxes on business and the rich, especially big business and the very rich, have been slashed. And to offset the enormous loss of revenues, the federal programs that support the cities, and support the poor and unemployed in the older industrial cities, have been slashed as well. To justify this extraordinarily bold development, the rhetoric of "market law" has been raised to a new pitch. Mobil Oil, for example, in one of regular advertisements-editorials, attacks "negative growth—growth in taxes, government spending and burdensome regulation" resulting from "the era when government grew so fat and flabby that its weight pulled the private sector right in the ground." Mobil means to single out those government programs that business

does not want. It invokes the doctrine of a free market, and happily ignores the range of government interventions on which corporate America depends.

So far, this drive has been succeeding. The people of the cities appear to have been rendered helpless. To a considerable extent, they have been rendered helpless by the prevalent definitions of their situation, by definitions that ascribe the fiscal crisis to inevitable market imperatives and to the profligacy of politicians; by definitions which raise the fear that the older cities are dying, and surely will die if people do not settle for less. Accordingly, whatever small-scale struggles have emerged have been bound by these definitions and popular groups turn only on each other in their struggle to preserve shares of a shrinking pie.

But the fate of our cities until now has not been inevitable, and the future of our cities is not inevitable either. It is not a future that will be forged by autonomous economic processes, but a future that has been and will be forged by government policy, and by the dominant economic groups who have so far used government policy to their advantage. And it is not the "natural law" of the market place that underlies the action of government, but another kind of law, the law of power.

The future of cities in the industrial belt thus depends to some degree on our ability to pierce the definitions of the fiscal crisis that have paralyzed us, to resist the cuts in our services and facilities and jobs, and to exert the not inconsiderable force of an aroused people. Having recognized the large role that government action has played in determining our fate, the question will be, *in whose interests will government act in the future?* And that in turn will depend on how forcefully the people of the cities push their interests and demand their due, on the platforms, at the polls, and in the streets. □



## Case Study: California General Electric

The workers at the GE clothing iron factory in Ontario, Cal., first began noticing the peculiar occurrences in their plant over three years ago. Factory equipment was not being modernized; some broken machinery was not replaced; spare parts inventories started to drop. Still, at Christmas 1979 the company congratulated its 1000-member work force for producing 5 million irons for only the third time in GE's 46 years as plant owner, and gave out complimentary soft drinks and cookies. So it was easy to ignore the subtle symptoms of impending shutdown and assume a long and secure future with a company where "we bring good things to living," and where "progress is our most important product."

But that same year, Mary McDaniel, president of the plant's union (United Electrical Workers) noticed

a more ominous sign. In the trade journals, GE ads for the metal iron (made only in California in the U.S.), disappeared. Then, early in 1981, a fatal tipoff: GE announced that it had built new metal iron factories in Mexico and Brazil and that it was already producing a new plastic version of the appliance in Singapore and Asheboro, N.C. In March of 1981 — despite GE's assurances to the mayor of Ontario that the company was not closing — a community-labor committee was formed to evaluate the closure possibility and to plan action.

In July, the bombshell came. Due to increased consumer preference for the plastic iron and in response to GE's need to stay competitive in the market, the company said, the plant would be closed the following February.

### Analysis:

## International Profit Vs. Community

Why did the GE shutdown in California attract so much attention? Three aspects of the closure merit particular concern.

- First, the plant closed *while making a profit*. Ordinarily, according to the traditional rules of free enterprise, if a firm settles and makes a profit, management and labor benefit both themselves and the surrounding community, and interdependent relationships grow, to everyone's enhancement. But here GE, looking at its operations in the global aggregate, made decisions about profit in the

global aggregate also. The Ontario plant's profit margin was simply not enough.

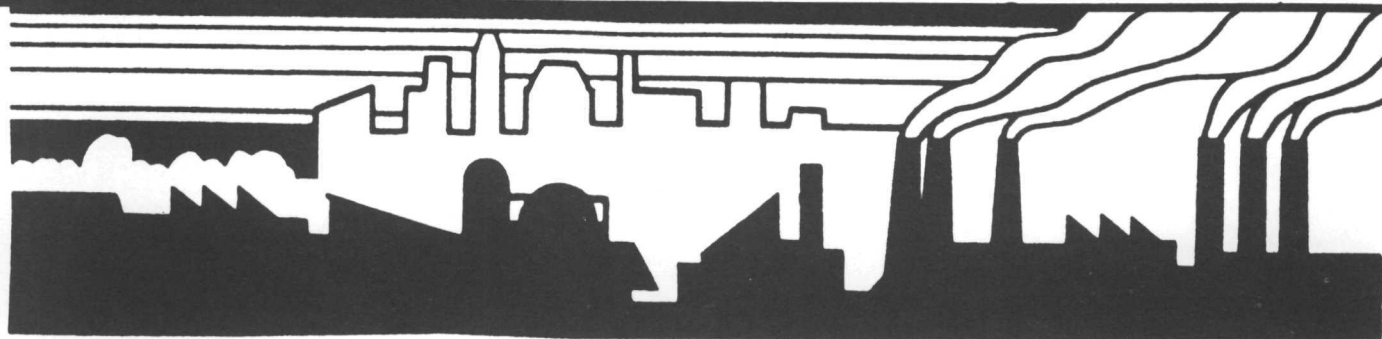
- Second, GE was clearly running overseas in search of a cheaper labor force. Ontario workers made an average of \$8.50 to \$9 an hour. In Brazil a worker at this job makes \$1.73; in Singapore the rate is \$1.09, in addition to which Singapore has just changed its labor laws to make almost all forms of industrial action by workers illegal.

- Third, diverse sectors of the community came together to oppose

management's decision to close the plant. Union people and church people were working side-by-side, breaking old negative stereotypes. And business representatives, city and utilities officials were working with them in a unified effort. It certainly was not the first time a community has come together to fight a plant closure (witness Youngstown) but the occurrence has to be underlined. A closure of a major factory in a community affects all: small businesses, schools, welfare services, the city — even church offering plates.

Therein the seeds of a basic value





## Iron Factory Sacrificed to Singapore

The community and workers were shocked and angry. The newly formed community-labor group, headed by Episcopal priest Charles Bennison and including municipal, electric and gas company officials; the United Way; and nine local church pastors, placed a half-page ad in the local paper in the form of an open letter to GE president John F. Welch, Jr. The letter accused Welch of running overseas for greater profits and urged him to keep open the profitable and highly productive Ontario plant. In August, almost 2000 workers and community supporters — church pastors among them — marched in protest. Throughout the fall, public interest in the closure grew. Here was a profitable plant with an experienced and stable work force (about 80% female with strong minority representation), closing — the

product moving overseas for far cheaper, non-union labor and even higher profits. It became clear to the workers that the closure had been years in planning, well before the production record of 1979, and that GE had lied in denying plans to close.

GE was not exactly going broke, either; in 1981 its earnings overall were \$1.6 *billion* dollars, a near record.

But closure plans went forward relentlessly despite attracting nation-wide attention (TV's "60 Minutes" documented the closure) and on Feb. 25, 1982 the last metal iron produced in the U.S. moved off the assembly line. Ironically, a union consumer preference study published the day of the closure revealed that 72% of those polled in a national sample indicated they had bought metal irons within the past year. (R.W.G.)

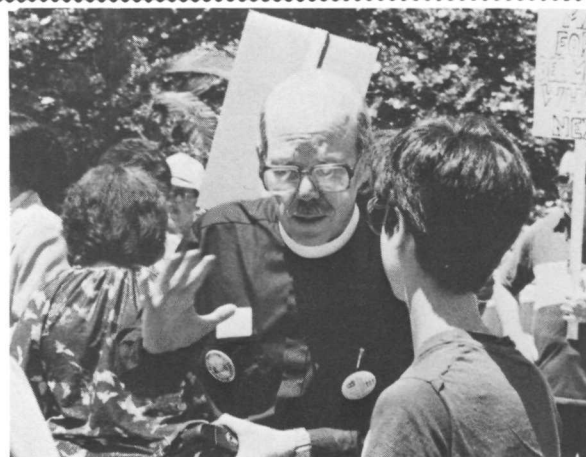
## Well-Being

by Richard W. Gillett

conflict begin to appear: the demands of international capital versus a community's right to have some say-so in major decisions affecting its well-being.

By now almost everyone has heard of the widespread plant closures occurring in America. However, there is a lamentable slowness, even on the part of the socially and politically aware, to recognize both the extent and depth of plant closures, and then to place them in a wider context: that of the profound and long-lasting changes now underway in the basic structures of the U.S. work force. Indeed, such changes are

Author Richard W. Gillett, director of the Los Angeles office of the Church and Society Network, is shown on a picket line in Ontario, Cal. He has been active in organizing community study and resistance around plant closings.



worldwide in dimension. It thus becomes vital to recognize that "plant closures" is not strictly an issue itself, but rather a symptom of a basic economic and labor dislocation that Pope John Paul II hints at in his recent Encyclical "Laborem Exercens": *"We are on the eve of new developments in technological, economic and political conditions . . . which will influence the world of work and production no less than the industrial revolution of the last century."*

The scope of such economic dislocation is vast. According to economists Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison, 30 to 50 million workers have lost their jobs in the past decade due to private disinvestment by U.S. businesses. The loss cuts across the Northeast, the industrial heartland of the Midwest, and is devastating the Far West, from California (210,000 jobs lost in just the last two years) to the Pacific Northwest, and into the Deep South. Of course most of those workers find new jobs; but they are usually much lower in pay and tend to be non-union. And up to 25% of laid-off workers may not find another job at all.

What are some aspects of this massive dislocation? First, there has been a decided shift towards service industries (computer and business machine operators, office personnel, fast food and restaurant workers, accountants, store clerks, health care workers, warehouse and security personnel, etc.) and away from traditional "blue collar" industries. Electronics industries are also booming. Second, the power and scope of large international corporations has greatly increased in the past 10 to 15 years. Through improved transportation capabilities and through the global use of computerized information systems, their production and marketing techniques are unified conceptually into a single global market. These huge and powerful institutions — from Europe and Japan as well as the U.S. — are in

deadly competition. Like planetary monoliths, they grapple with each other, straddling the globe, while at the mere local level, entire communities are wiped out in sacrifice to "the global market."

Adding to this power of multinational corporations is what Professor Harley Shaiken of M.I.T. calls a "massive infusion of new technology into industry, a technology based on computers and micro-electronics." The result is the coming automation of many jobs right out of the human labor force and the introduction of robots in their stead.

We can be somewhat encouraged that the religious community is beginning to respond here and there — albeit not yet fully aware either of the dimensions of the issue or of the striking opportunities it presents for engagement. Ecumenical

coalitions or conferences on plant closures or the plight of labor have been formed or held in many areas, such as Boston; Philadelphia; New York; Chicago; Milwaukee; Anaconda, Montana; Greensboro, N.C.; and California. A theological task force of the Commission on Religion in Appalachia recently produced a commendable document titled "Affirming Labor Justice." In Ohio, with church participation, discussions are taking place on the possibilities of a study of the regional economy, and public hearings in impacted areas.

At the national level, the Interfaith Center for Corporate Responsibility, under the initiative of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company, has filed plant closure stockholder resolutions with GE, General Motors and U.S. Steel. More significantly, the Church



and Society Division of the National Council of Churches has just commissioned a study of plant closure and "economic crisis" groups across the country, to help interpret the role of the churches in this issue and to encourage greater involvement.

In California, the outcome of a highly successful Western International Conference on Economic Dislocation held last fall has been the formation of an effective statewide California Coalition Against Plant Shutdowns. The conference brought together rank-and-file workers and religious, community and academic representatives. Having the backing (if not always the wholehearted support) of official labor also, the coalition heavily concentrated on California plant closure legislation. Taking the long view, it decided that state legislative work, while probably not destined to be successful, nonetheless offered a way of concrete involvement as well as an opportunity to educate the wider public. The early information-sharing about the issue and the bill became with practice a highly sophisticated lobbying effort by summer. Religious institutions at regional levels as well as pastors began to support the bill, as did labor. In June over 500 workers, religious and community groups from across the state went to Sacramento for a Ways and Means Committee hearing. The bill has now moved much further than even its supporters had hoped. Whether the bill passes or not, work on it has achieved, in spades, the coalition's aim: to involve and to educate.

Obviously these church involvements, significant as they may be, are virtually nil compared to the dimensions of the problem. But they appear to be growing, and as such pose some critical questions: Do the churches have the competence to tackle this issue? Do we have the potential to be effective? Is organized labor really worth working with? Is not such an issue, addressing as it does the behavior

of the free market system, so potentially divisive as to put at risk the institutions of the churches themselves?

Regarding the churches' competence, we must once and for all rid ourselves of the mystique surrounding many economists and corporate executives. Their supposed competence — certainly being deeply questioned now! — is a competence invariably technical and narrow both in its origins and focus. Our competence as churchpeople is based rather on a biblical vision of the community of the people of God — a community where economic systems are evaluated by God's justice rather than the reverse.

Is organized labor worth working with? Much labor leadership is as locked into outdated concerns as is management. Further, many unions have still not rid themselves of racist and sexist behavior. But some labor leaders are anxious for change, especially at lower levels. My own experience in California is that many directly affected rank-and-file working people are becoming actively involved and badly need our support. With it, they are already pushing their own leadership to respond to the real issues.

But the greatest strength of the churches lies in our theological heritage, and in the fact that we are already in the community. As was demonstrated again in Ontario, Cal., the churches' presence can make a difference. In Youngstown, even though the steel plant was not reopened, a tremendous statement was made nationally, in the churches' involvement.

Will the churches find themselves under attack for this involvement? Of course. But from perhaps a narrower sector than might at first be imagined. For all sectors except those highly privileged stand to be negatively affected by what is going on in this phenomenon of economic and labor dislocation. Therefore, there are new opportunities for alliance with small business, labor, municipalities and

ordinary middle class folk — all of whom, along with ourselves, stand to learn a great deal about how things really work. And, in the process, perhaps we might catch the thrilling feeling again of what the divine vision of a people of God standing for justice, community, and bearing one another's burdens, is all about. □

### **Plant Closures: Resources**

*A Pastoral Letter and Call to Action*, drafted by and addressed to clergy and laity on the mandate of participants at the Western International Conference on Economic Dislocation. Contains a brief analysis of plant closures and economic dislocation, particularly as it affects the West, followed by 11 recommendations for action. Available with it are a Bill of Rights for Working Women, the stockholder resolution filed with General Electric on plant closures, and a summary of the plant closure bill (AB 2839) debated in the California legislature this year. 30¢.

*Shut Down: Fifteen Early Warning Signs*, a pamphlet for workers and communities detailing the signs of possible plant closure. Produced by the United Electrical Workers Union Local 1012 in cooperation with the Coalition to Stop Plant Closings. \$1.50.

*Corporate Flight: the Causes and Consequences of Economic Dislocation*, by Barry Bluestone, Bennett Harrison & Lawrence Baker. 92 pages in booklet form. An excellent basic primer. \$3 plus postage.

*Community and Capital in Conflict: Plant Closings and Job Loss*, edited by Raines, Berson and David Gracie (Protestant Chaplain at Temple University, Philadelphia), with chapters on grassroots action, Black economic rights, and many other aspects. Order from Temple University Press, Broad and Oxford Sts., Philadelphia PA 19122. \$19.50 plus \$1 postage.

Order above (except for the last item) from the Rev. Richard W. Gillett, Director, Church and Society, 2808 Altura St., Los Angeles, CA 90031.

## Unemployed Women:

# The Thin Line Between *Us* and *Them*

by Chris Weiss

Let me begin by introducing myself. I work for an organization called Women and Employment, an organization that I helped form in 1979 in Charleston, W.Va. I live on a 260-acre farm outside of Charleston. In West Virginia that is mostly up and down hills. I am the mother of four and the grandmother of one, and have called West Virginia home for 10 years.

Women and Employment is a small organization. We have a board of 16, equally comprised of Black and White women. We get free office space in a basement of a public housing development and rely on a lot of volunteer help to keep going, as all community organizations do these days. The thing that sets us apart from other organizations is that all the board, staff and volunteers of Women and Employment have personal experience with race and sex discrimination in employment and have decided to band together to do something about it.

Women and Employment in 1981 was a recipient of a United Thank Offering grant, the first women's employment project ever to receive such a grant. We had the support of our Bishop, Robert Atkinson, and our local church, St. John's Episcopal with its fine priests, Jim Lewis and Lynn Honeycutt. Through United Thank Offering's financial assistance, we have been able to attack some of the root causes of poverty and discrimination against women, and in the process, enabled women to help themselves.

Much of the work that we do involves opening up job choices to women in what are called "nontraditional" jobs.

Here are some of the things that we have done:

- Through service, the organization
  - placed the first woman carpenter to ever come out of the carpenters union on a building trades job, and three women in a pre-apprenticeship program for the ironworkers;
  - formed a Women in Construction Support Group, thereby facilitating women working together on three redecorating/painting jobs;
  - held a workshop on opportunities in construction jobs for women, attended by 60 women;
  - helped a welfare mother to re-establish a slip-cover business by raising

dollars for an industrial sewing machine and advising her on good business practices.

Through education, the organization

- appeared on radio and TV shows to talk about nontraditional jobs for women;

- published an article in May 1981 *Mountain Life and Work* on employment problems of rural and urban West Virginia women;

- sent five female construction workers to a meeting in Kentucky sponsored by a coalition of women in construction from five states;

- held a Health and Safety workshop with West Virginia's Labor Institute, and a conference for women in the 80% — traditional women's jobs.





*"In a discussion on economic equity for women, there is no us and them. The line is there in our minds. It is put there by those who find it convenient to divide us."*

Through advocacy, the organization — formed alliances with minority men to enforce federally-mandated goals and timetables for women and minorities;

— testified before the West Virginia Human Rights Commission on race and sex discrimination in the construction industry and in nontraditional vocational education around the state.

In the fall of 1981, the board and staff of Women and Employment moved beyond nontraditional jobs to look at the needs of women in traditional jobs and to the potential for women in economic development as a way of achieving economic equity.

If it sounds like we make a lot of trouble, that's what change is all about — trouble — for those who do not want to change. For others, change can allow them to provide an adequate income for themselves and their families. So that is what we are — agents for change in West Virginia. Why are women willing to take risks for change in West Virginia? To answer that in context, I would like to discuss the situation of working women in this country and in West Virginia specifically.

Let me share some figures. Nationally, as working women, we represent almost 50% of the work force. In West Virginia, we entered the work force in record numbers in the last 10 years. In 1970 we were only 30% of the

work force, but in 1980, we were up to 42% of the work force. In Kanawha County where I work, we are 51.3% of the work force. Statewide, that 12% jump in the number of women in the work force is quite a change. It means that in the last decade we just about caught up with women in the rest of the country who were already working. However, we have yet to catch up in another respect. In the rest of the country, women make on the average 59¢ to every man's \$1. In West Virginia, we only make about 38¢ to the average man's \$1.

One of the reasons for this is the kinds of jobs that we hold. Some 80% of all women work in traditional jobs in four job categories: sales, service, clerical and light factory work. These jobs tend to be low-paid and dead-end. In West Virginia, government is the largest employer of women as clerical workers. In industry, we hold only 4.4% of all jobs in the five highest paid fields which are contract construction, mining, primary metals, transportation equipment, and chemicals.

Another alarming statistic from the U.S. Department of Labor shows that a man with an eighth grade education makes on the average more than a woman with four years of college.

Severe job stereotyping occurs as men and women enter the job market. My brother makes three times as much as I do as a civil engineer. I have a service job. When I was growing up and wanted to be a chemist, my father advised me to go into the nutrition field, saying that cooking was after all, a form of chemistry.

In the early 60s, women made 64¢ to every man's \$1. Despite a concerted attempt to remove Rosie the Riveter from the factories after World War II, some of her kind stayed, and rose to responsible positions. I am told that in Charleston after the war, all the new men to enter the GE plant were trained by women. These women are now

retired, hopefully to pensions, but I wouldn't bet on it.

In rural West Virginia towns where all the men work in coal mines and all the women are secretaries or waitresses, equal pay for equal work is a moot question. The real question being raised now is called comparable worth.

Comparable worth tries to assess in terms of dollars and cents what a job is worth to the economy that one is a part of. It asks some hard questions of employers. In a recent study, women in South Dakota found that men who washed road equipment were paid more than secretaries for highway engineers. They asked, "Is making sure that the seats are clean on the bulldozers really more important than typing the specifications accurately and getting them out to highway contractors and all the other thousand details involved in getting ready for a bid opening? Which job is more important to the smooth running of the state highway department?"

Further, since nine out of ten women who work do so because of economic need, we have to assume that women work for the same reasons men do, to support their families. However, if full-time women workers only make 38¢ on the dollar, compared to men, it follows that families headed by women are going to have a hard time financially, as compared with men.

In fact, the National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity in 1980 came out with some startling and grim predictions for women.

According to the council's report, "All other things being equal, if the proportion of the poor who are in female-headed families were to increase at the same rate as it did from 1967 to 1977, they would comprise 100% of the poverty population by about the year 2,000." While it reported that the total percentage of those living in poverty has declined "to the extent there have been winners in the war on poverty during

the 1970s, they have been male — and mainly white. The feminization of poverty has become one of the most compelling social facts of the decade.”

In another study entitled “Women and Children Alone and in Poverty” which was published in 1981, the authors talk extensively about the causes and cures for poverty. According to them, women are poor for different reasons than men are poor. Distinct reasons for the poverty among women can be traced back to two sources. First, in American culture women continue to carry the major burden of childbearing. In a divorce, the woman in the overwhelming number of cases wins custody of the children. The same divorce that frees a man from the financial burdens of a family may result in poverty for his ex-wife and children.

The second major source of poverty among women is the kind of opportunities, or more accurately, the limited opportunities available to women in the labor market. Occupational segregation, sex discrimination and sexual harassment combine to limit both income and mobility for women workers.

Furthermore, according to the study, if day care expenses were subtracted from the earnings of women who work outside the home, there would be substantially more households headed by women in poverty.

Poverty among men is often seen as a consequence of joblessness. Find the man a job and his family is no longer poor. This does not work for women for two reasons. One, occupational segregation confines women to job “ghettoes” where the pay is low and the mobility is little or nonexistent. Second, these women who manage to avoid female job ghettoes encounter sex discrimination in salaries, promotions, benefits and/or sexual harassment. Ask any woman who has taken a job in the coal mines or on a construction crew, the price she pays for her high

hourly wages.

The feminization of poverty and the current depressing statistics about the economy make us uneasy, and lead us to ask “How does that affect me?” Maybe you identify yourself as one of those women who are struggling to maintain yourself and your family on low wages and inadequate resources. If not, I would like you to reflect a moment on a concept that I call “the thin line” theory.

Too often we tend to divide ourselves into “us” and “them.” We are the ones who are educated, have a job or will get one soon because we have some sort of a degree, or are happily married to a man who makes enough money. We might define this into a class distinction. We are middle-class — regardless of our color — and are not the ones who have to worry about economic equity.

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*“When I was growing up and wanted to be a chemist, my father advised me to go into the nutrition field, saying that cooking was, after all, a form of chemistry.”*

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“They” are on welfare, or some other program designed by government to “help” them. They haven’t a degree or as many years of schooling as us. We see “them” in restaurants where we eat, stores where we shop, and hospitals when we are sick.

The point that must be understood and fully internalized by all those participating in a discussion on economic equity for women is that there is no *us and them*. This line exists in our minds. It is put there by those who find it convenient to divide us.

Something happens to some women — a transformation of consciousness perhaps, a realization that they have been thrown on the other side of the line. Some might call it a shift of loyalties. Divorce does it for a lot of women. They realize as the sole support of themselves and their children, they

are vulnerable to the whims of employers, agencies who “help” them and make them dependent. And in some cases they become vulnerable to real poverty in a way they have not had to face before. Or it could happen the other way around. Women marry or get a good job as a result of education or training and realize that they have crossed over to the more secure, affluent side of the line.

That change, in the best of circumstances, can prepare women to work together, to come together to affect the conditions that put them on one side of the line or the other. That leads to organizing for change. If there is one thing that is constant in the struggle for economic equity, it is that women as individuals always have a story to tell. The question asked is, “How did you get involved? What happened to you that made you want to work on these problems? What is in your experience that makes employment your issue?”

That change in women in the Kanawha Valley led to the formation of Women and Employment. It also led to Working Women, a nation-wide organization for clerical workers in Cleveland. It led to the Coal Employment Project and the first woman in the coal mines.

How do we, individually, begin to deal with the reality of the feminization of poverty? We can educate ourselves for one thing, and ask questions.

Where really is the problem? Is it in us as individuals? Should we dress for success? Should we take the right classes, study hard, wait for our chance to get a good job, marry the right man?

Is the problem in the economy really a balance of payments or the lid on the interest rates placed by the Federal Reserve?

Or is it misplaced priorities?

We can work collectively for change. In the last analysis, elimination of the feminization of poverty is up to us as

women. No one is going to do it for us.

We must ask, what do the facts concerning women and poverty say about priorities in this country? We are supposed to be the backbone of the family — the raisers and upbringers of future generations. How are we supposed to do this with a lack of resources to provide adequate food, clothing, and shelter for our children?

*We can't* — so we have to do something to make changes in our work places and in our communities.

That word *change* brings me back to the beginning. I have been called a “trouble-maker” in Charleston. I am making change that some people don't like. I don't exactly know how I got this way, and why I'm not home, minding my own business, like some people

think I ought to. I think it is because I was always very literal-minded. When I was collecting nickels and dimes for my own United Thank Offering box when I was growing up, I loved that hymn “all things bright and beautiful, all creatures, great and small, the Lord God made us all.” Then as I got a little older, I began to reflect on that phrase in the Pledge of Allegiance — “with liberty and justice for all.” And in the 60s, it began to sink in to me, that this country didn't have justice for all. In 1978, I worked for the Women's Bureau, Department of Labor, and I held meetings for rural women in West Virginia to talk about their employment problems. Women shared with me and each other their desire for good jobs and their pain at being on welfare. Those

meetings inevitably led to the formation of Women and Employment.

I have a sense of mission about the work that I do in West Virginia, and I am not alone. Many women have joined with me to effect change and all together, we will. We haven't waited for the government to make it easy for us, or our church leaders to lead the way. It is within all of us to make change.

We must educate ourselves. We must register to vote, run for office and become active in the legislative process. We must face the racism that divides us from working collectively with Black women and deal with it. We must learn about ways large corporations affect the economy of our local area. We can join together and work for change. We must! Our children depend on it! □

## God Is Not a Pet Rock

by Jack Woodard

For some of us, prayer is something like talking to a pet rock:

*“O Rock, listen to what I need and those I care about need and what I believe is good for the world. Get me out of this money bind; don't let me get cancer; make my friend feel better; don't let my plane crash; prevent a nuclear holocaust; help me sell my house; give us a nice weekend — no rain, please and perhaps just a little cooler. Amen.”*

There are some advantages to praying to a pet rock. One is that rocks don't talk back. But then they just sit there and do nothing. If we don't expect our prayers to make any difference, rocks are OK. But if we are spiritually needy, then we'd better get beyond the pet rock stage of praying. God is not a

pet rock.

Likewise, prayer is far more than talking to God; it is listening also. As a matter of fact, God has given each one of us two ears and one mouth. That would seem to indicate we are to listen twice as much as we talk with God and anyone else for that matter.

To begin to discover a meaningful relationship with God, we must begin to practice silence, to listen.

Prayer is first of all being quiet. Thus it begins in our own heart and not easily. Our hearts contain a great deal of clutter and noise. We must make room within ourselves to receive God. We must practice achieving inner quiet.

When we're quiet, it's time to begin letting silence take us over. Not resigned silence. Or the silence of despair. Or empty silence. But the silence of pregnant expectancy. Pregnant silence.

Just being silent within is healing, gives serenity, helps us to center ourselves. But silent prayer is so much more.

Prayer is unity with God. We can look at Jesus and see the whole of prayer. He said that he would tell us *everything*. He did. Everything about prayer is to be seen in the life of Jesus, from temptation to the Gethsemane scene, from baptism through the healings and the specific prayers to the Resurrection. Jesus' whole life was prayer. And there was a rhythm of silence and encounter, of giving and receiving grace.

As Jesus was at one with God at the inmost level of the heart, so we can be. We can be the love of God experienced by another, if we are at one with God. We can live in the grace of God and find the burdens of others given to us light to carry, if we are at one in our hearts with God. That is the realistic goal of spiritual development for every Christian.

It is what we can begin to develop when we are willing to venture beyond our pet rock. □

**The Rev. Jack Woodard** is rector of St. Stephen and the Incarnation Church, Washington, D.C.

# The Peace of Jerusalem

by Michael P. Hamilton

*Pray for the peace of Jerusalem! May  
they prosper who love you!*

*Peace be within your walls, and  
security within your towers!*

— Psalm 122:6-7

All Christians are in some sense religious citizens of Israel. Like the Psalmist, all of us pray for the peace of Jerusalem. But Israel is a land of many unresolved problems — many issues of justice and peace. How are we, for instance, to resolve the ancient religious claims of Muslims, as well as Jews and Christians, to the city of Jerusalem? How are we to exercise our compassion for the inhabitants of Israel, Jews who live in fear of national oblivion, Palestinian Arabs who have lost their land and political freedom? These issues embody deep ethical and moral dimensions.

I was fortunate to live in Israel for a year sometime ago. Since then I have followed the development of that State with interest, and I recently made a return visit. In general, I believe Americans are poorly informed about life in Israel. Such ignorance breeds unwise international policies which in turn can only too easily lead to war. I offer my perspective on Israel as a concerned individual Christian, and I make no claim to provide *the* Christian understanding. I believe we must be free to examine such important matters of justice, to try and sense God's will in relation to them, and to remember that



the bonds of our Christian community are forged by God's love and cannot be broken by our differences of opinion.

Let me share first the concerns of the Jews as I have experienced them. They are engrossed in the development of the beautiful land where they live. As they

welcome Jewish immigrants from all parts of the world — the Diaspora — and provide them with food, housing, education and employment, they are fulfilling their ancestors' hopes. As they work hard and imaginatively to make the desert bloom and raise up exciting

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new cities, they believe they are in a mysterious way following their national and religious destiny. Life with them is invigorating, the people are talented and vivacious and one senses a heightened experience of what it is to be human when one moves amongst them.

But this glorious life is overshadowed by economic problems and by constant fear. They have been persecuted down the centuries and it is not easy for them to trust others. At last they have a foothold on their Biblical homeland and they believe it can only be defended by military might. They see around them nations who are technically still at war with them and who are reluctant to acquiesce in the loss of lands taken from them by force of arms. The Arab nations who waged war against them have always been defeated and their hostility elicits Jewish defensiveness. The Jews also have a fast-growing, dissident, Arab minority within their military controlled borders and it is difficult to devise long-term policies to live together with them. The Jews wish for peace so that they can preserve what they have gained but their borders are narrow and difficult to defend and they are constantly obliged to prepare for war. Listening to them I found them to be so obsessed with these demanding, national goals of security and development that most, but certainly not all, are blind to the needs and pain they have inflicted on their neighbors.

The Palestinian Arabs are like the Jews in many ways. Both are Semites and one cannot tell many of them apart when they are in similar dress. Arabs also live vividly. They are hospitable people, excitable, have a respect for education and a great sense of humor. Whatever justification there may have been for Jewish control of the land of Judah and Israel in Biblical times, whatever the compromises attempted by the British in the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and their proposals of 1937 to divide the country between

the Jews and the Arabs, the Palestinian Arabs know that in their living memory the land of Israel was largely theirs.

Before the Second World War there were half-a-million Jews and 1 million Arabs. Now within the larger controlled borders of Israel there are approximately 4 million Jews and 1.7 million Arabs. The Arabs remember being forced off their land, first in the 1948 war which the Jews call a "liberation" war and the Arabs mourn as "imperialist." In attempts to regain that land, they lost two more wars in 1967 and 1973 and their shame, their hurt and their sense of justice denied has led them to bitterness. When they appealed to the United Nations for return of part of their lands, that which was appropriated by the Jews after they won the 1967 war, the United Nations supported their claim in Resolution 242. However, Israel paid no attention. When most recently the Israeli government annexed the Golan Heights in the name of "national security," the Arabs asked, "Security for whom?" Americans insist, the Arabs say, that they negotiate peace with the Jews, but on the other hand Americans permit the Israeli government, without negotiation, to annex Jerusalem and the Golan Heights.

It should not come as a surprise then that some Arabs, unsuccessful both in war and in negotiation to regain their lands, have resorted to violence. Other Arabs are not in sympathy with terrorism as they accurately see it as exacerbating differences and making eventual negotiation more difficult. The Palestine Liberation Organization is an umbrella organization embracing within it a large variety of Arab views. Undoubtedly in a time of peace the factions within it would break up into political parties, but in the meantime, it contains both terrorist and non-violent factions. The PLO is the only national expression of Palestinian Arabs which is politically viable and is seen by all of

them as their symbol of hope. It is the only Palestinian Arab organization through which peace may be negotiated.

While terrorism on anyone's part is to be condemned, so is retaliation resulting from it. In response to raids and a build-up of PLO military groups on the Lebanon-Israeli border in 1981, the Israeli government struck back by serial bombing attempting to hit the PLO offices in the city of Beirut. The casualties which the Israeli Air Force inflicted were ethically quite out of proportion.

I would like to say more about the problems of the Palestinian Arabs because they are not well known in this country, and that itself is a moral issue. Education of Jews and Arabs is separate and unequal. There are fewer teachers per pupil in Arab classrooms, and financial support is significantly lower. The Israeli Army, or in some cases their civilian authorities, must pass on the hiring and firing of faculty at the main Arab university at Birzeit. This university, incidentally, founded by an Episcopalian family in 1920 as a high school, is an intellectual center for Arab culture and nationalism. But admission and expulsion of students, the structure of academic curriculum including the books to be read, are all subject to Jewish control.

Land on the West Bank continues to be expropriated from Arabs under the pretext that they cannot find documents of title, even though no one had disputed their ownership and their families had lived there for generations. In the West Bank the new Israeli settlers have dug many deep wells which result in the drying up of adjacent Arab ones. Arabs however are not permitted to dig new wells and the water for Arab irrigation is metered and limited only to that amount which was available to them in 1967. As a result many Arab farms have been destroyed while Jewish settlers build swimming pools. If Arab

civilians protest some new abuse of their land ownership or political or civil liberties, the Israeli Army is active in communal punishment. Arab protest demonstrations and support for an independent Palestinian state sometimes result in rock throwing at the Israeli tanks and armored cars sent in to break them up. Following such incidents, speakers are deported, curfews imposed, Arabs' shop doors welded shut, schools closed and there is general harassment of the local population. Occasionally, particularly brutal retaliations occur, as depicted in the recent ABC documentary of young girls, unarmed Arab students, hopping down the street after they had been shot in their legs by Israeli soldiers. This particular incident occurred as a result of a student protest around the closing of their university. Frankly, the continuing abuse of the Arab population is a scandal and, thank goodness, many Jews themselves deplore it.

It is sad that Jews, so terribly persecuted in the European Holocaust, have now themselves become oppressors. If one wonders how sensitive and talented people can do such things, I suggest we look into our own recent American past. As I walked through the streets of Beer Sheva and Jerusalem and drove along the country roads, I was struck how Arabs were mainly in a second-class citizenship status. It was they who walked along the side of the dusty roads as others sped by in cars. It was Arabs who worked as waiters and cooks in the cities and cleaned the streets. While there are many Arab professionals, by and large most Arabs in Israel farm or do menial work. It is not difficult for Israeli Jews, or for American tourists, to ignore the Arab plight, to look over their heads so to speak, and not even notice their suffering. Any citizen of the United States over 40 years of age will recognize parallels to this in the way we

treated Blacks in our own land.

Ironically, there is less opportunity for discussion of these touchy matters in the United States than in Israel. For nothing that I have said here has not been debated publicly in Israel, has not been argued in their press, their parliament and in their private homes.

Let me close by sharing some suggestions from various sources so that the influence we exert, both as Christians and Americans, may be as constructive. I believe we must continue to provide strong support for Israeli security as a nation. However we should not be manipulated by reference to the Holocaust to justify Israeli policies. We must continue to condemn and frustrate Arab terrorism and insist on the recognition of the state of Israel by all Arab nations. We must try to understand more fully the plight of the Arabs who have been displaced and their legitimate needs, both economic and political.

Peace will come from making friends, not enemies, and if the Israelis continue to rely on military force and the Palestinians indulge themselves in terrorism, neither party will achieve its goals. There are both ethical and practical reasons for negotiating civil rights for the Arabs and national security for the Jews in a single package. There is not much time left, for demographers tell us that the current minority of Arabs within the state of Israel and its presently occupied lands will become the majority in approximately 20 years. If Jews and Arabs, both within Israel and on the West Bank, do not reach a *modus vivendi* by then, civil order and the future of Israel itself will be in question. If the plight of the displaced Arabs is not justly met, undoubtedly the surrounding Arab nations will continue to wage war against Israel, and eventually Israel will lose. As the Jewish leaders often say, but are slow to think through the implications, Israel cannot

afford to lose even one war.

Hence, many statesmen and Middle East scholars argue for an independent Palestinian state, with special arrangements for the government of the city of Jerusalem, as an essential part of the solution to these problems. It is argued that this proposal is the best means of both reducing the likelihood of more wars — and therefore in the national interest of Israel — and as bringing a measure of justice to the displaced Arabs. Incidentally, the initial thrust of the American Camp David negotiations for full autonomy for the occupied Arab lands is not in conflict with an eventual independent Palestinian state. Such a state, economically complementary to Israel, could serve as a buffer between Israel and the surrounding Arab nations. The boundaries of such a state should be drawn with an eye to the military security of Israel and would include most of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Of course in our age of increasingly sophisticated weapon technology, whatever the boundaries, there can be no real military security for any state. The stationing of United Nations troops on some of these borders could be a further factor for stability. If such a Palestinian state were to be negotiated and established, then the rationale for Arab terrorism would be greatly weakened, and Jewish military security would be correspondingly enhanced.

In this article I have necessarily had to speak of problems and catalog injustices. But we must not forget there are many Jews and Arabs who, on a deep, personal level, wish to be reconciled with each other. Part of our task is to provide ways for them to meet together, to recognize how their present attitudes and acts dehumanize each other, to encourage them to try to meet each other's needs, in fact to love one another. So shall we pray for the peace of Jerusalem. □



**Editorial . . . Continued from page 3**

with the withdrawal of "all foreign forces" necessary to accomplish this.

The document, further, calls for the "resolution of the Palestinian question on the basis of the Palestinians' right for self determination, including the right of establishing a sovereign Palestinian state." It also asks for "initiatives for a just, comprehensive settlement in the Middle East, by which the rights of Lebanon, Israel and other states of the region to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries are guaranteed."

The World Council, finally, asked churches "to help mobilize international public opinion on the Lebanon situation." This editorial and the article by the Rev. Michael Hamilton in this issue are a small part of that effort.

(M.L.S. and the editors)

**Letters . . . Continued from page 2**

to be better than "yours," our discrimination deserves to be taken more seriously than yours.

The problem with this divisive approach to racism and sexism, particularly as it effects the question of the propriety of white clergywomen accepting assignments in predominantly Black churches, is that it detracts attention from the most significant aspect of both racial and sexual oppression. Simply put, neither Blacks nor women exercise substantive control over clergy deployment policy or practice at any level of the church's institutional life. And, finally, it doesn't take much imagination to figure out who does.

**The Rev. Reginald Blaxton**  
Washington, D.C.

## Prays None Left Behind

I was very touched by the *Black Women and the Women's Movement* statement.

I have always been sad that only White women were ordained in the Philadelphia 11 at Church of the Advocate in 1974, and I have been grateful that primarily Black people gave us a home that day. I was not surprised that no primarily White congregation opened its "sanctuary" to us. Did we trespass that day?

In my gut I've felt uncomfortable about lumping racism and sexism together. They are both important evils to overcome, but there are lots of differences. Since reading about Elizabeth Cady Stanton's life, I've had some strong questions about what happened when women worked so hard for abolition and the vote for Negroes and then were left with no vote for themselves.

As a woman, as a White, I want to work together with Black people and men rather than below or over any of them. As our battles are won, I pray God no one will be left behind.

**The Rev. Katrina Swanson**  
Union City, N.J.

## Avid Reader Writes

I have been an avid reader of THE WITNESS for several years now, after having received a sample issue from sources unknown. Congratulations on your social, political and religious stands. I shall stay with you as long as I live. My roots and affiliation are Quaker, Universalist, Unitarian (Arlington St. Church in Boston, Mass. Our minister reads you too. If he didn't I'd see to it that he did!) Long may you flourish.

**Frances P. Nesbett**  
Brookline, Mass.

### CREDITS

Cover, Beth Seka; p. 5, Lynd Ward; p. 8, 9 Workers' Rights Law Project Newsletter; p. 10, Coalition for a New Foreign & Military Policy; p. 12, CPF; p. 16, Johanna Vogelsgang, Art for People, courtesy MERIP Reports.

## To Diana

See that girl sittin' over there?  
She's my sister.

That's right!  
She's my sister.

I know . . . I know . . .  
I am wide and tall,  
She is short and small.

But,  
She is my sister.

What, you say!  
She cannot be.  
It ain't right!

Because I am Black  
and she is White.

I said, she is my sister . . . over there!

And she won't abandon me and  
hide in her cocoon of whiteness.

Because, she is my sister over there.  
Aren't you, Diana?

— Deborah L. Watkins

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## Ecumenical Hearings on Puerto Rico

A broad spectrum of religious, legal, labor, social action and populist groups in Puerto Rico have responded to an ecumenical initiative spearheaded by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company to hold hearings in Puerto Rico in September.

Subjects to be considered during the hearings include civil rights, repression, the economy, migration, militarism, natural resources, and social and cultural issues. Participants will also probe the theology underlying each of these subjects.

The idea to hold hearings grew out of the widespread frustration and anger with the policies of the Reagan administration, which have begun to unite normally divided Puerto Ricans to demand redress, according to the Rev. Hugh C. White, ECPC staff coordinator of the project.

Reagan administration programs which have roused indignation include:

- The Caribbean Basin Initiative which threatens Puerto Rico's rum and tuna industries;
- Restrictions on the Food Stamp program;
- Vast cuts in the CETA program, which have eliminated 25,000 jobs and raised unemployment to 24%;
- Restrictions on travel to Cuba for the Caribbean and Central American Games, infuriating thousands of Puerto Ricans who have already paid for tickets and transportation;
- A new tax bill for Puerto Rico which would have the effect of diminishing corporate investment in the island and thus increasing unemployment.

The underlying problem to be examined is the old nemesis,

colonial control by and dependency upon the United States, White said.

As presently envisioned, the concept of the hearings projects events to be held in four cities in the United States as well. Timetable for the project is as follows:

Hearings in Puerto Rico, Sept. 27 to Oct. 1 in San Juan; hearings in the United States to be staged in New York, Chicago and Los Angeles — two days each on consecutive weekends in November, 1982; and finally, a one-day forum in Washington, D.C. in early December, date to be announced.

Further information can be obtained from Hugh C. White, Ecumenical Committee on the Future of Puerto Rico, 4800 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201.



**Haitian Women,  
Episcopalian Hosts**

• Margaret Traxler

**Christian Dilemma:  
Violence vs. Nonviolence**

• World Council of Churches  
• Dan Berrigan

**Putting a Human Face  
On Urban Ministry**

• Edward Berckman

**THE WITNESS**

VOL. 65 NO. 10 OCTOBER, 1982

# LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

## Wrote INS Re Deportation

The article on INS's treatment of Suzanne Berkeley in the July WITNESS moved me to write the Regional Commissioner in Burlington, Vt. to express my anger over the treatment Ms. Berkeley received, and to suggest that she was due an apology. One week later William Bittner, Assistant Officer in charge of the Pittsburgh office, called to ask for two copies of THE WITNESS — that Regional Commissioner Stanley McKinley had asked him to obtain copies.

Mr. McKinley wrote me on Aug. 9. He began, "I . . . am appalled but not surprised at the distortion of facts in the article." In his closing paragraph he added, "I am sorry to see that you . . . interpreted the article in THE WITNESS as authentic. . . ." And, "I assure you the allegations by THE WITNESS and your interpretation of these allegations are unfounded."

McKinley undertook to instruct me in the validity of immigration law, and described the "Catch 22" used to enmesh Suzanne Berkeley in the system and prevent her from attending the conference. McKinley then lectured me for "attacking" the United States government: "I further find that your verbal attack upon the officer under my direction, myself, and the Immigration Service and, therefore, the United States of America whom we represent is uncalled for, especially by a man of the cloth like yourself." (I had suggested that they were the Grand Inquisitor's successors.)

I wrote McKinley again. I asked him on what basis he expected THE WITNESS to "willfully misrepresent the facts in this and other articles it presents to its readers." I asked him to state the exact

exclusionary grounds invoked against Suzanne Berkeley, and if the INS had alerted its Puerto Rican officers to watch for Ms. Berkeley's arrival. I reminded him that the plea, "We were just doing our job," has a hollow ring to it.

I would encourage other readers to write Commissioner McKinley and challenge his action, and his expectations of WITNESS journalism.

He can be reached at the Eastern Regional office, INS, Burlington, VT, 05401.

**The Rev. Nathan E. Williams**  
First Baptist Church  
of Pittsburgh, Pa.

## Met Ms. Berkeley

I read with interest the article in the July WITNESS on Suzanne Berkeley (the young Grenadian woman deported by INS from a theology conference in Puerto Rico).

As secretary of the Extra Diocesan Committee for our Companionship relations with Grenada I am asking you to send me the article "Grenada: A Revolution a Republican Tourist Could Love" by Lin Neumann in the April issue.

We have a lot of contacts with Grenada and most of us on the committee have made at least one trip to Grenada in the past three years. I myself went down last July for a month and met briefly with Ms. Berkeley while on a tour of the island.

Rhode Island still has another two years to go in our relations with the Windward Island Diocese (St. Vincent and St. Lucia and Grenada) and we are interested in any views and information we can receive on the situation there.

**The Rev. Harry Kraft**  
Warwick, R.I.

*(THE WITNESS is pleased to present the above response from readers concerning our article about the deportation of a young Grenadian, Suzanne Berkeley, by U.S. Immigration officials from a theology conference in Puerto Rico. In addition, the story was picked up from THE WITNESS and circulated*

*by Religious News Service (RNS) and by Edward P. Morgan for his nationally syndicated radio program, "In the Public Interest," which goes to 350 stations. The National Council of Churches also put out a strong resolution on the incident, which appears elsewhere in this issue. — Eds.)*

## Fan of Grenada

I have just discovered THE WITNESS and wish to subscribe. I was drawn to it by an article on Grenada in the April issue and think it a splendid summation.

My husband and I spent 17 happy winters there. Grenadians are a wonderful people and I wish our State Department had understood how wise it would have been to help them when the British abandoned them. Perhaps it is not too late. The April WITNESS had a good article on Ireland, too.

**Barbara Avirett**  
Baltimore, Md.

## Lauds Miskito Treatment

It gave us great joy to see the July WITNESS articles on Nicaragua, after being so often faced with stories that are less than objective. Your treatment of the Miskito Indian situation was very thorough and sensitive to the difficult situation faced by Nicaragua as it tries to rebuild and reform its nation.

Our Ecumenical Council publishes a newsletter called *Nicaragua Update*, and we would be pleased to hear from any WITNESS readers interested in receiving it. Write NICA, 942 Market, Room 709, San Francisco, Ca. 94102.

**Janine Chagoya**  
Northern California  
Ecumenical Council

## Nicaragua Revisited

It was a pleasant surprise to return from a three week trip to Nicaragua and find on top of the mountain of accumulated

*Continued on page 17*

## THE WITNESS

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# THE WITNESS EDITORIAL

## Puerto Rico's Nightmare

Since 1898, when U.S. soldiers invaded the island of Puerto Rico, unilaterally claiming it from Spain, the political and social ills of Puerto Ricans have risen and receded, like a recurrent nightmare haunting a feverish patient. Currently the Reagan administration's regressive social and military policies toward Puerto Rico have become, with a vengeance, the latest episode.

In recognition of these historic facts, and sensitive to Puerto Rico's present plight, the Episcopal Church Publishing Company convened this summer an *Ecumenical Committee on the Future of Puerto Rico*. The committee arises out of a long involvement in Puerto Rican issues, both on the island and here in the United States. Eleven years ago, people now on our board and staff were involved in the public hearings in Puerto Rico which exposed the collusion of two American companies, Kennecott and American Metal Climax, in the exploitation of Puerto Rican copper. In recent

years we have defended a number of Puerto Ricans who were brought before Grand Juries in New York and Brooklyn for interrogation on alleged charges that were never substantiated.

There is widespread frustration and growing anger with the policies of the Reagan administration toward Puerto Rico. Deep cuts in the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) have eliminated 25,000 jobs. A recent reform in the administration of the Food Stamp program has resulted in cutting 34,000 families from the rolls. The Reagan administration has recommended that the Food Stamp program, which affects at least 57% of all islanders, be replaced by a cash grant program, using Puerto Rico as a guinea pig for a plan that might be applied throughout the United States. A new tax bill for Puerto Rico now before the House-Senate Conference Committee would have the effect of diminishing corporate investment in Puerto Rico and increasing

*Continued on page 19*

# Why Haitians Risk Treacherous

When the first Haitian refugees arrived in a sailboat on the shore of southern Florida in December of 1972, they signaled a whole new wave of Haitian migration. Those first Haitians to negotiate the Gulf to U.S. shores proved that it was possible to cross the treacherous Florida current in a primitive vessel.

To be sure, the venture was risky; a home-made sailboat could take 30 days to make the uncertain voyage. Nonetheless, poor Haitians who could not afford airfare or exit documents then began to join the professional and upper class Haitians who had fled the repressive political turmoil of the 1950s.

And they are still coming. Why do they come, when it is known that hundreds of lives have been lost at sea using this route? Many seek refuge from the dictatorial regimes of Francois and Jean-Claude Duvalier, but political repression is not the sole reason. The economic picture in Haiti is devastating. For example, Haiti is the *only* country in the Western Hemisphere to be designated by the United Nations as "Fourth World." This encompasses the 31 poorest nations — those with an average per capita annual income of less than \$100, illiteracy affecting over 80% of the population, and industrial production accounting for less than 10% of the Gross National Product.

Haiti has a combined unemployment and under-employment of 80%, an average life expectancy of 50 years, and an illiteracy rate of 85%. Three of four Haitians live in rural areas where daily wages may be no more than 40 to 60¢. In some areas, children begin work at 7 years of age. In Port-au-Prince, where many have migrated to seek jobs, working conditions and labor management relations are no better in the sugar mills and bauxite, tobacco, textile and cement factories. These poor conditions are also suffered by some 40,000 workers employed by 200 U.S.-owned companies, drawn to Haiti by Duvalier's promise of low wages and a "stable" political climate. Domestic workers are legally allowed to put in 14 hour days, without a day off.

Given these conditions, it is not surprising that some 600,000 Haitians were living outside of Haiti as of Jan. 1, 1980. The largest numbers migrated to the United States (400,000); the Dominican Republic (115,000); Canada (40,000); Cuba (15,000); and the Bahamas (10,000).

Those in the United States are estimated to be in the following population centers: New York Metropolitan Area, 300,000; Miami (South Florida), 45,000; Chicago, 25-30,000; Philadelphia, 20-25,000; and Boston 25,000. Many of these are without documents to become resident aliens, and often work for less than minimum wage as janitors,



## Episcopalians to

by Margaret Traxler

The Episcopal Church is about to write and live-out one of the most magnanimous chapters in its history. The church is the sponsor of 57 Haitian women who have been incarcerated at Alderson, W.Va. Federal Prison for the past year.

We visited these gentle, soft-spoken women, detained for no offense except

**Margaret Ellen Traxler** is a Notre Dame nun who is director of the Institute of Women Today with headquarters in Chicago. One of the services of the Institute is to bring service programs to women who are in jail and prison.



# Seas to Reach U.S. Shores

maids, dishwashers or garment workers.

Since that first primitive vessel made it to Florida in December of 1972, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) knows of total Haitian arrivals numbering 40,009.

As of June, 1982, 1,981 Haitians had been detained as illegal aliens in 14 prisons across the United States and in Puerto Rico. The largest number — 751 — were in Ft. Allen, Puerto Rico. (See Box.)

The Haitians had two other big strikes against them besides treacherous seas and weather. During the same period they were fleeing Duvalier's Haiti, Cubans were also arriving here and being processed by INS with fewer problems because they were escaping a Communist regime. Further, commented *The Miami News*, "To refuse the pending request of the dark-skinned Haitians would be racism and surely our government isn't racist, or is it?"

Then in July of this year, Federal Judge Eugene P. Spellman ordered that Haitians who had been imprisoned indefinitely across the country be freed on the technicality that the Justice Department had fashioned and implemented the detention policy illegally. But, he said, these Haitians would not be set free jobless, penniless, and able to speak only Creole. They must each have an agency or

sponsor approved by the INS and an individual sponsor as well before being released. As *THE WITNESS* goes to press, 750 have been freed, 367 from Krome and 383 from other prisons.

Perhaps unique among those to be released are the 57 Haitian women detained at Alderson, whom the Episcopal Church recently volunteered to assist through the Presiding Bishop's Fund for World Relief. As the Rev. Samir J. Habiby, director of the Fund, noted recently, "The detention for over one year of peaceful though undocumented Haitians who have come to our shores without visas is exceptionally unfortunate and violates the very integrity and compassionate humane framework of the American way of life." The Fund now has field staff at four detention sites — Krome, Ft. Allen, Alderson, and La Tuna. (See Box.)

Against this background Margaret Ellen Traxler of the Institute of Women Today presents an account of her visit to the women at Alderson, who told some of their stories and anxieties. If it is true that Episcopalians about to host the Haitians are unsure about who *they* are, it is also clear that the Haitians have some anxieties about what an Episcopalian is.

## Host 57 Women From Alderson

that they are undocumented aliens. Four of us from the Institute of Women Today went to Alderson. In the group were Dr. Susan Buchanan, director of the National Emergency Coalition for Haitian Refugees; Attorney Ralla Klepak, head of the board of the Institute of Women Today; Dr. Ivette Morgan, a public school administrator from Miami; and myself.

We asked them to tell us about their hopes and their passage to this country. A typical story was told by Helene Etienne. The nods and assent of the others confirmed that this was in effect, also their story. Helene began, "About 40 of us pooled all we had to buy an

open boat. We sold our goat, our pig or all our chickens. My grandfather sold his 150 feet of land that he had inherited so that my brother and I could also come. He gave us all he had. On the night of our departure we met one-by-one in a secluded cove near Port-au-Prince and we quietly started out just after the patrols made their rounds. At first the sails didn't pick up the wind and we all prayed. Suddenly the sails filled out and we were on our way."

Helene spoke in her Creole tongue with gentle cadences. Susan Buchanan understood the nuances of the language and translated. Helene continued, "After a week at sea we saw the coast of

Cuba. Our keel began to crack and we literally held it together as we approached the Cuban shore. The people along the shore helped us repair the boat, gave us food and water and we set sail once more. Two weeks later we sighted Florida and sang a song of thanksgiving:

*Jesus is our star  
Jesus is our harbor  
Jesus is our Saviour  
and now we are home."*

Helene finished her story and the women immediately began to sing the song again. They did not complain that the "welcome" they received in Miami was incarceration in one of the

detention centers: for example, Krome, Brooklyn or in their case, Alderson Federal Prison.

In assuming a vital role in the interim-placement of the Haitians (the word resettlement is not used), the Episcopalians will be translating into action *Proverbs 31:8*: "Speak up for those who cannot speak for themselves, for the rights of all who are destitute." The alchemy of translation is not easy and asks difficult questions. For example, What is our role in interim-placement? How can we reunite families? How do we teach English as a second language? What job skills can be taught for reasonable employment? What adequate legal services shall be administered? What religious ministry can be found to serve them?

In a sense, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has not made solutions to these questions any easier. Among the INS requirements is that refugees report weekly to the immigration office. The INS, however, has a back-log of unfiled records as far back as 1954. The local offices change locations and often the clerks do not mark the weekly registration cards. The Miami Metropole Hotel for example, was used as a registration center, but two years after it closed, INS was still giving this address to refugees. Hopefully, INS will grant full responsibility to the sponsoring religious body for the supervision of the Haitians.

The original intent of the INS was to return the refugees to Haiti where their very emigration is considered a crime punishable by death at the command of *President-for-Life*, Jean-Claude Duvalier. But as U.S. District Judge James L. King said, "If they are returned to Haiti, it is beyond dispute that some will be subjected to brutal treatment and bloody prisons." The Rev. Antoine Adrien, a Haitian priest, confirms Judge King's assessment. He said, "Many Haitian refugees who have

## Haitian Refugees In Detention (June, 1982)

Krome North (Fla.)	522
Miami Federal	31
Miami Hospital	30
Golden Door (Miami)	31
Red Shield (Miami)	6
Ft. Allen (Puerto Rico)	751
Brooklyn	62
Otisville (N.Y.)	97
Raybrook (N.Y.)	157
Alderson (W.Va.)	57
La Tuna (Texas)	31
Lexington	198
New Orleans	7
Springfield (Mo.)	1
Grand Total	1,981

Total number of Haitian arrivals known to INS from 12/12/72 to 3/31/82	40,009*
— Haitians included in 10/10/80 entrant status	25,217
— Those who arrived after subject to deportation	13,792

\*From Office of Refugee Resettlement,  
Monthly Data Reports, March, '82.

been forcibly returned have been jailed and killed. We have many testimonies about this."

With unprecedented action, akin only to the internment of the Japanese in World War II, the already suffering Haitians, upon arrival on our shores were detained in camps. That is, until Judge Eugene P. Spellman of the Miami Federal Court issued what Ralla Klepak called, "the crown-jewel court decision in the history of jurisprudence." Ralla explained that Judge Spellman invoked a technicality in his ruling because INS had failed to post public notice of its intention to confine the Haitians. Klepak explained, "This clearly violated government-ordered procedures."

Judge Spellman stipulated that the Haitians should have a sponsoring agency and it is at this point where churches and synagogues can be catalysts in their placement. Consequently the Episcopal Church now finds itself with sensitive, loving hostages. Officer Ruth Creech, an Alderson prison official, told us that in the first days after the arrival of the Haitian women, there was no one to translate and so when the women wept in the dining room, the guards could not understand the tears.

"We thought it might be that our food was so unlike theirs," Ms. Creech said. "Then later, a translator inquired for us, 'Why do you cry in the dining room?' They said, 'We weep to think how much food there is, while our families starve back in Haiti.'"

The first concern of the Haitian women is, of course, their spouses and families. A lack of communication between centers of detention caused anxiety because second-hand news and rumors can be worrisome. The reports of 37 suicide attempts, for instance, was a source of deep anxiety.

Another concern was their sponsoring religious group. The women at Alderson asked us about Episcopalians when they found out who their sponsors would be. "Will they like us?," they inquired. The Haitians called me "Mama Marguerite" and they looked to me for an answer.

"Episcopalians are prayerful, worshipping people," I said.

"I have seen them translate the Gospel into the spiritual and corporal works of mercy." The Haitians smiled and seemed reassured.

Job preparation will also tax the ingenuity of the sponsoring churches for the skills of Haitian life are not always marketable in this country. Haitian women are experienced in the rural arts such as cultivating food,

*Continued on page 18*



# The Christian Dilemma: Violence or Nonviolence?

Violence is not an abstract issue for Christians. As persons and communities, Christians live daily in the midst of violence. They often find themselves, willingly or unwillingly, participating in social organizations that embody and practice violence. They may deliberately act in violent or nonviolent ways to preserve law and order, or to bring about change. They may use the power of government or the law to promote justice, or they may fight government and break the law in the name of justice. We cannot speak in general about their dilemmas until we take account of real situations in which Christians are trying to live their faith.

In the Republic of South Africa many Christians support a government representing a white minority that imposes its will upon a black majority by coercion, threats and frequently overt violence, to protect their privileged status, because they are afraid of total loss and anarchy should the present power structure crumble. Other Christians seek to oppose and

change the government policies in some respects, but face well-nigh complete frustration in their nonviolent and legal efforts. In the same country many black Christians and even some whites find themselves pinning their hopes on or taking part in liberation movements which aim at the overthrow of present oppressive authority, as the way to justice and freedom. These movements, which in other countries in southern Africa have liberated territory and set up de facto governments of their own, use many tactics ranging from education to military action.

In Latin America many Christians feel themselves to be in the midst of violence which has a long history. It shows itself in very different forms — through oppressive acts such as unjust imprisonment of opponents by the government, torture, censorship of the communications media and through economic exploitation backed by political power. Malnutrition, high infant mortality, illiteracy, cultural discrimination, exploitation of workers

and increasing inequality between rich and poor are all seen as aspects of a violent *situation* in which millions of Latin Americans are involved. The question they face is how to overthrow the forces perpetuating this situation. The consciousness of violence and injustice is rising in the masses. Ruling groups in their turn, feeling menaced in their privileges, build even more oppressive and violent systems of power. Movements for constructive change, even when legal and peaceful, may bring further repression. The church has been challenged to denounce this situation and to define a clear option for the liberation of the people and the construction of a more just and human society. What forms should this option take? How can Christians in solidarity with the people work effectively to counter the forces of a violent status quo?

In Northern Ireland, Christians oppose Christians in sustained, communal violence, in which all limiting controls have broken down.

Economic and political issues are being fought out and atrocities committed by groups wearing labels inherited from the church's past. The appalling irony of the situation is that those who seek justice and reconciliation find themselves accused by Christian voices at both extremes of betraying their faith.

In the Middle East, Arab Christians share with Muslims a burning sense of injustice in response to the occupation by Israel of some Arab homelands. Violence is the mood and spirit of the day. Successful violence has determined the status quo. Peaceful settlement seems a hopeless dream in the present circumstances. What is a Christian's duty and hope for witnessing to justice and peace in this situation?

In the United States, most spokespersons for the church have opposed the massive, obvious violence their country has inflicted in South East Asia, but many Christians tacitly or openly supported it. Christians have participated in and objected to economic domination and political interventions, sometimes openly violent, in Latin America. A civil rights movement and other protest movements, often committed to nonviolent change, have sometimes adopted violence, whether by tactical choice or by uncalculated outbursts of feeling, against a systematic oppression armed with weapons both brutal and subtle. These examples illustrate the dilemma of American Christians. Some support violence by the armed forces abroad or the police at home in the name of national or local security. Some have worked to curb this violence and to achieve justice by nonviolent and legal means, but with only limited success. A few have turned to counter-violence with no more success. What is the way of hope?

It is in the context of reality that the methods of resistance to unjust and oppressive political or economic power

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*"Certainly the fact that some Christians are acting violently for justice and peace whilst others are acting nonviolently is a problem. But the greatest problem is that most of those who name Christ as Lord are not consciously acting on the matter at all."*

---

must be considered. There are among us three distinct points of view about methods:

- Some believe that nonviolent action is the only possibility consistent with obedience to Jesus Christ. They recognize that this discipline is hard and will often be unsuccessful. They object to justifying nonviolence only by its success as a strategy for solving social problems. Nonviolent action is for them a witness to the transcendent power of God in Jesus Christ, a way of faith which will be justified by God and God's power alone.

- Some are prepared to accept the necessity of violent resistance as a Christian duty in extreme circumstances, but they would apply to it criteria similar to those governing a just war. Not only must the cause be just and all other possibilities exhausted, but also there must be reasonable expectation that violent resistance will attain the ends desired, the methods must be just and there must be a positive understanding of the order which will be established after the violence succeeds. Violence will then be understood as the *ultima ratio*. It is the act of freedom which can only be undertaken, with the guilt it brings, confident in the final judgement of God.

- Some find themselves already in situations of violence in which they cannot help but participate. Non-violence does not present itself as an option unless they would withdraw totally from the struggle for justice. In

this situation the problem becomes to reduce the sum total of violence in the situation and to liberate human beings for just and peaceful relations with each other. Some form of relatively just order must first be created before violence can cease. The problem of Christian responsibility, then, is to humanize the means of conflict and to build structures of peace wherever possible within it.

Violence should not be equated with radicalism and revolution, nor nonviolence with gradualism and reform, nor vice versa. Either or both forms of struggle may be used with a wide range of intention, from the revolutionary overthrow of a whole system to relatively minor alterations within a social system.

Those who are prepared to use violence against the established order need to ask themselves such questions as:

- Have you really explored the potentialities of nonviolence for your situation, or are you simply assuming in advance that it won't work?

- Is your choice of strategies alienating public opinion more than it is enlisting support?

- How are the means you use being kept from themselves becoming an instrument of dehumanization and thus engulfing the ends you seek? Are you contemplating too lightly the taking of life of another human being?

- Have you considered how to integrate former oppressors (and their families and friends, who may themselves have been victims of violence) into the liberated society you are fighting for?

Advocates of nonviolence as a matter of principle need to ask themselves such questions as:

- Are you taking with sufficient seriousness the tenacity and depth of violence in the structures of society, and the social disruption its diminution is likely to require?



— May nonviolent action emasculate effective resistance at crucial points in a struggle?

— In adhering to this as an absolute principle are you not in danger of giving the means (nonviolence, i.e. reduced revolutionary violence) priority over the end sought (justice, i.e. reduced structural violence)?

— Are you more concerned with your own 'good' conscience than with the good of the oppressed?

Those who, by whatever means, work for the destruction of an existing power structure in order to build a better one need to face such questions as:

— Toward what expected results is your struggle directed, and how does the cost to be paid balance against the benefit expected?

— How is your power kept accountable in terms of this avowed purpose so that your victory will not mean the emergence of yet another oppressive system?

— How will those against whom the struggle is directed be integrated into the new society?

Those who basically are concerned with preserving the institutions of an existing society when its power structures are challenged, and commit themselves to its defence, need to face such questions as:

— Are you acting in the light of the Biblical concern for the poor and oppressed, or for the preservation of your own self — or group interest?

— How far does your own violence differ from that of revolutionary groups?

Those Christians who live in countries where established institutions are open to pressure to effect change in the structures of government, industry and society in the interests of social justice, need to face such questions as:

— Do you take the tenacity and depth of structural violence seriously enough?

— Are there groups in your society permanently excluded from voice and

## A Prose - Poem

# The Wife of Tomas Borge

by Jennifer Doane

After the Nicaraguan revolution, Tomas Borge went to a prison and met the man who had tortured him for 500 hours under Somoza's regime. He extended his hand to the man and said "This is my revenge. I forgive you."

Later when another man was on trial who had helped kill Borge's wife — she had been raped and tortured before being killed — Borge asked that that man not be judged for this particular crime.

It's hard to look upon explicit descriptions of torture. Often when I see these I turn away, not knowing where simple knowledge of people being tortured ends and where participation in their desecration begins. I do not want my vision of who these people truly are to be corrupted.

By pardoning the man who tortured him, Borge tells us there is no longer anything left in him of those 500

horrible hours. He is still alive.

But his wife is dead, and yet he says that it is the same with her as it is with him. She died before the revolution, while the crimes were still being committed. She died before she had his power to forgive them.

In the trial, Borge was asked to look upon the crimes against his wife, but he turned away. He would not have us remember or even imagine his own wife's flesh being destroyed.

All the Christians who can believe in the Resurrection know how the human body has not been touched. All the work of the torturers is belittled in the face of it.

Borge has asked us to take our eyes away from the trial, which at most can show us a corrupt world that is already slipping away, and to look upon a wedding.

A just society is also a wedding.

influence? How far are the rich and powerful in fact favoured?

— How far is a fundamental dislocation of the 'powers that be' needed if justice is to be achieved?

The most important question, however, is not raised by any one of these groups to any other, but by all of them together to the whole church. Certainly the fact that some Christians are acting violently for justice and peace whilst others are acting nonviolently is a problem. But the greatest problem is that most of those who name Christ as Lord are not consciously acting on the matter at all. It is vital, therefore, that the widespread concern about violence and nonviolence should not obscure but rather highlight the larger challenge to which the ecumenical movement in

recent years has given increasingly clear expression. This is the challenge to all Christians to become wiser and more courageous in translating their commitment to Jesus Christ into specific social and political engagement for social justice; and in this sphere to find their place as servants of the servant Lord with people of other beliefs concerned with human freedom and fulfillment. □

*(The above article is excerpted from the World Council of Churches' publication, Violence, Nonviolence and the Struggle for Social Justice, published in Geneva. The booklet is available for \$1.50 from the Publications Office, WCC, 150, Route de Ferney, 1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland.)*



# Ideologies Irrelevant In Nuclear Arms Race

by Dan Berrigan

I take grievous exception when Christians speak about an “ideological position” with regard to the nuclear arms race. There is no ideological position compatible with Christianity on any subject worth noting, let alone nukes. By this I mean something quite simple:

- Christianity is distrustful of any theory of social change that does not exact risk and sacrifice.

- Christianity is perennially skeptical of national and political interests, especially imperial ones.

- The Christian norm of conduct confesses no debt to religion, observances, secular law, courts, jails.

- Christian times of heightened self-understanding are the times of the martyrs. (Likewise, our times of decadence are times of secular complicity and debate.)

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**The Rev. Daniel Berrigan** is a noted Jesuit author, poet, and peace activist.

- Christianity has its own language and images and symbols, boundlessly fecund. These, in sum and relative to our subject, forbid arguments concerning body counts, allowable violence, comparative weaponries. Indeed, the symbols imply that to become ensnared in anti-human wrangling about methodologies of death is to lose one’s moorings, one’s modesty, sanity.

Every human ideology is reducible to the vindication of murder as a social method. The Christian response to this is, in a sense, a non-response. We refuse to argue on secular grounds, which are no grounds at all, but a quicksand. Our non-response is the crucifixion of Christ — which is to say, God in trouble for being godlike; God under capital sentence for being godlike. In trouble for being human. The non-response of the disarmed God is vindicated in the Resurrection. Of this, the world can never be a witness. (The military, one

notes, was struck to earth in this event; and entered in collusion with Pilate to lie about the occurrence.)

In contrast, “witness of the resurrection” was the self-conferred title of honor of the early Twelve. It meant they stood by life, to the point of undergoing death, as well as death’s analogous punishments: floggings, scorn, jail. Their understanding was: where there could be no debate, there could only be combat. This is our glory, from Peter and Paul to Martin Luther King and Archbishop Romero; we know how to live and how to die.

I have suggested that we have our own language and symbols. These properly understood, are charged with life, lifegiving, vehicles of life. When we pour our blood at the Pentagon, we exorcise ourselves of ideological bickering (who shall live and who die). We declare, in fear and trembling, our willingness to die rather than take life. This slight edge we wish to grant

Christianity. When we spread ashes at the Pentagon, we mime the death-ridden pollution of the place.

When we dig a grave on the White House lawn, we pay tribute to the empty grave of Easter, even as we show forth the universal grave into which humanity is toppling.

These are, I submit, acts in favor of life; stark, primitive, in no one's special interest — least of all ours.

Let me illustrate two things: ideologized religion, and a breakthrough. The Catholic bishops, preparing a letter to the church on nuclear weapons, requested a meeting with Alexander Haig. Haig, a worldly principality of awesome self-understanding, at first agreed to the meeting. Then he suddenly left town. It was a contemptuous gesture; it was also in the circumstances, entirely fitting and proper. Whether the bishops acted properly in requesting the meeting remains moot. I suggest that consulting Haig on Christianity and nukes, is roughly equivalent to Jesus' consulting Pilate on the conduct of holy week.

Here, on the other hand, is a kind of breakthrough. Bishop Walter Sullivan of Richmond, spoke briefly at St. Paul's in New York on the same subject. The gist of his thought was simply, "No nukes, anywhere in the world, in the hands of any worldly power." This one must characterize as a justly Christian position, a translation in a bad time of the counsel to love one's enemies, to walk another mile . . .

My teachers among others, have been Martin Luther King, Dorothy Day, Gandhi, Thomas Merton; a continuity of non-violence and non-ideology, stemming from the early church, Jesus, and the prophets. My teachers are non-ideologues, addicted to no self or special interest — including their own lives. Simply, they knew how to live and how to die. They were skilled at drawing on the great earth-time symbols that give us *mimesis* and *praxis*; the image and

the movement. Gandhi walked to the sea and took up the forbidden salt of the poor. King said, "The church is the place to go from." He started in the church, and went from there.

Incomparably the greatest among these, Jesus, took bread, broke, and said: "This is my body, given for you." Then he took a cup and said, "This is my blood, given for you."

We have not improved on this. More, being equally fearful of living and dying, we have yet to experience resurrection; which I translate, the hope that hopes on. A blasphemy against this hope is named deterrence. It is in direct violation of the statement of Jesus, "Your ancestors said, an eye for an eye. I say, love your enemies."

Another blasphemy against the resurrection is named MAD — mutually assured destruction. This was

of Nixon's spawning; he put death to death. Since then, our country has had only contempt for deterrence. Since that time, all ideology and weaponry are aimed at first strike: Trident, MX, neutron bomb, cruise and Pershing missiles.

Eight of us decided in 1980, to break this demonic clutch on our souls. We damaged two Mark 12 A nuclear warheads, beyond doubt weapons of first strike provocation. For us, the deepest meaning of this act surpasses all ideologies and tactics. The meaning also surpasses the plenary punishment meted out to us. Simply, we wanted to taste the resurrection. We wanted to test the resurrection in our bones; to see if we might live in hope, instead of in the *silva oscura* of nuclear despair.

May I say we have not been disappointed. □

## Last Rebellion

We shape the final holocaust with nimble fingers.  
I dream its descent in flocks of flower-shaped clouds —  
obscuring sight,  
obscuring time.

The seeds of our disharmony will vanish then  
as brown skins, red skins,  
white or yellow  
all alike are seared in that great photo flash.  
Our final pose of pain is etched upon the universal eye  
and we are gone.

How can I weep for our demise?  
Having fled so long a God whose judgment hovered  
(yet delayed in hope)  
we fashion now that Armageddon with our bloody hands.  
It is our last rebellion.

Terrified, and tired with fearful waiting,  
we choose instead  
fulfillment of our own prophecies.  
How can I weep, when we are agents of our own destruction?  
Yet I will weep, and do —  
for the lily-of-the-valley, charred to blackened bells;  
the hot breeze sucking thirstily on bones;  
the linnet's wings curled dry and brown like leaves;  
for lizards' pebbly skins  
and the changing eyes of cats;  
for all the small things we take with us  
when we go.

— Joyce Ulrich Tompkins

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# Putting a Human Face On Urban Ministry

by Ed Berckman

It's just an old, large house on the edge of the downtown area of Lafayette, Ind. Inside, a few people sit in a waiting room, the receptionist types and answers the phone, and conversations go on in other rooms. There is no hint of affluence: to play a tape, one has to hunt up a borrowed cassette player.

But here, in the heart of conservative Hoosierland, the Lafayette Urban Ministry, with the support and involvement of 31 local churches from 13 denominations, operates a dozen different programs. LUM serves 40% of the low-income families of this county of over 100,000 people — all on an annual budget of \$125,000.

Four paid staff and volunteers who gave over 14,000 hours in 1981 make this ministry possible — and spinoff

programs are carried on by supporting congregations. Like the Jubilee Christmas, which lets parents choose and wrap presents for their children (from donated toys and clothes) rather than watch outsiders bring in presents. Since LUM began the first one three years ago, five churches now put on three additional Jubilee Christmas sessions each year.

"An urban ministry," says the Rev. Judson Dolphin, Director of LUM since 1978, "must develop roots in congregations and low-income neighborhoods. LUM has not only developed such roots but has found ways to maintain and nurture them."

"When churches think *social ministry*," Dolphin said, "they tend to think of direct services. 'We fed X number of people.' It's what we did for *them*. Our approach emphasizes two other areas. One is self-help, working with low-income people as equals, which is really a form of community organizing. The other area is social

justice and public policy. People don't usually see this as part of Christian responsibility."

LUM's workers do perform direct services, many of them left over from its earlier years since the ecumenical ministry evolved from a Presbyterian congregation in 1972. Summer Camp gives 125 low-income children the chance for overnight and day-camp experiences. Family Camp brings low-income families together for a weekend. Last year a Centralized Emergency Fund of over \$24,000 helped 600 families. A Volunteer Transportation Program that served up to 1300 elderly persons annually was turned over to the Senior Center two years ago.

A more typical LUM program is the Food-Buying Clubs, started last fall after food stamps were cut. In two months, participation jumped from 15 families to 80, as wholesale buying cut dealer costs and yielded an average 30% savings (apples at 31¢ a pound, eggs for 67¢ a dozen). Those served did the work

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**The Rev. Edward M. Berckman**, an Episcopal priest, is editor of *The Church Militant*, publication of the Diocese of Indianapolis, and vicar of St. Stephen's Church, Elwood, Ind.





The Rev. Jud Dolphin, Director, and Ms. Carolyn Lytle, Program Supervisor of the Lafayette Urban Ministry.

of distribution, and the lower prices encouraged more consumption of fresh fruits and vegetables.

Repairs on Wheels sends volunteers to the home of elderly or low-income people to do requested repairs, painting or other jobs. Residents pay for materials, not labor. Peter Swinford was staff coordinator of the program (now replaced by Joe Micon, its originator), and a retired farmer-banker is a full-time volunteer. "We screen requests and help only those who can't afford to pay professionals," Swinford said. "We don't want to take away anyone's work."

Programs like these, and the Jubilee Christmas, are designed to enable the poor to preserve or regain their dignity.

WITNESS readers may be interested to know that LUM received a grant in 1981 from the Episcopal Church School Missionary Offering, and in 1982, from United Episcopal Charities.

The heart of LUM's ministry is its Advocates for the Poor program, according to Dolphin and Carolyn

Lytle, program supervisor.

"It gave us credibility," Dolphin said. "It's the primary way we have daily contact with low-income people. And it was the stepping-stone to all the other things, as Advocates learned the recurring needs of low-income people."

Serving 35 people a month in 1980, Advocates now average 225 per month. Fifteen volunteers do this work. Each morning they accompany people to welfare or utility offices, assist in filling out forms, speak on behalf of their clients, and offer moral support and practical guidance.

"What we do is give people hope . . . that we'll find a way," said Carolyn Lytle. "Other agencies may not care about that individual."

Each Advocate gets 18 hours of training over two weeks. Besides orientation to the social service agencies and the township Trustee system, they learn to do interviews and become sensitive to the needs of the poor.

Advocates' increasing awareness of the problems faced by persons who seek

assistance from the township's Trustee was a principal factor in the recent decision by LUM's 33-member Board to take on the Trustee issue as its major social justice and public policy focus during the next two years.

Indiana's totally autonomous township Trustees, elected every four years, are charged with relief efforts, care of cemeteries, fire protection and licensing stray dogs. Their funds come from real estate taxes and federal revenue-sharing.

"Besides the attitudes of Trustees, which often imply 'you are guilty of being poor,' the major difficulties," said Dolphin, "are the incredible discrepancies in standards of eligibility for assistance from township to township and from case to case within the township. Access is also a huge problem. Some Trustees have no office and no regular office hours. Even making application is difficult."

LUM volunteers are taping people's reports of their experiences with the Trustee system. The tapes will be available for use by study groups. "It gets the human face onto an issue," Dolphin said.

One recent episode: An elderly Black man with chronic heart trouble faced a five-month wait before Social Security disability assistance would begin. So he went by himself to the township Trustee to request money for heart medicine. The Trustee not only denied the request but threatened to put him in the county home if he appeared again.

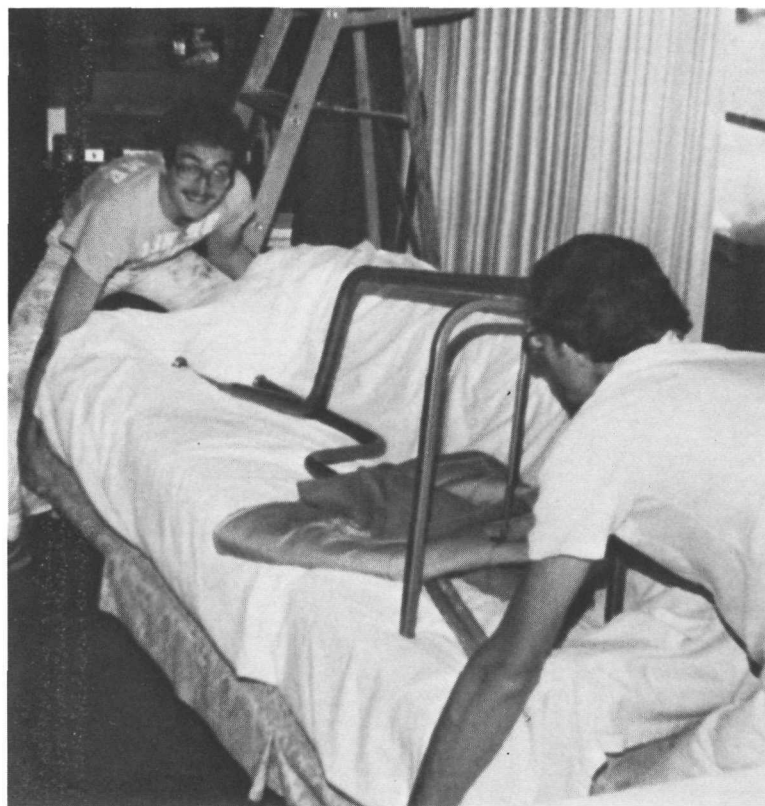
The man was so frightened it was two months before he came to LUM for help. An Advocate accompanied him to the Trustee where he made his

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### Resource

For a historical and theoretical elaboration of LUM's approach, see James D. Davidson, et. al., "Increasing Church Involvement in Social Concerns: A Model for Urban Ministries," in *Review of Religious Research*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (Summer, 1979).

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Jay Gilmore, left, and Miles Davis, volunteers from the University church at Purdue, paint an elderly woman's trailer as members of the Repairs on Wheels crew.

application — and got assistance for rent as well as medicine.

As for partisan politics, "that piece of it must be picked up by someone else," Dolphin said, "To become partisan you alienate many in the congregations and you blur your focus on the poor. Both Democrats and Republicans need to be challenged with the Gospel's good news to the poor."

A United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. minister who earlier worked in an urban ministry in Pittsburgh, Jud Dolphin said ecumenical programs generally "tend to be supported by churches at a distance. But here we hook in the churches, the people in the pew. Instead of direct solicitation of volunteers from churches, we ask a parish to put together a group, with a leader, and offer them their own

mission, their own program." Four such teams, one of Purdue University students, now devote Saturday mornings to the Repairs on Wheels program.

How does LUM elicit and maintain the churches' involvement? "If there's any secret," Dolphin said, "it's getting your story out. But you have to have a story to tell."

*The Seed*, a "well-thought-out" monthly newsletter, goes to 1700 people. Then there's the annual spring conference, Seeds of Vision, which deals with social ministry and its biblical roots. "Things really took off after the first one in 1980." Dolphin said. "Before the conference we said: Who would come to this? But we really put a lot of effort into publicity, and 150 came." Last year, 350 attended, and this

year 400. The 1982 Seeds of Vision offered 17 workshops and, as keynote speaker, Dr. James A. Forbes, Jr. of Union Theological Seminary.

Building an informed constituency is essential, Dolphin believes. And "Once you have a constituency, you use it. You don't apologize for asking for help. Your attitude is important. You, your staff, your board have to be convinced that what you're doing has theological integrity. And make sure each volunteer is used in a meaningful way."

Another important factor, for Dolphin, is LUM's strong board, dominated by lay people. "When lay people are turned on, they're really turned on. A pastor working alone can't get social concerns integrated into a congregation, although it has happened that one pastor can *prevent* these issues from becoming part of the congregation's agenda."

It seems clear that LUM's staff and volunteers act out of a definite Christian commitment and biblical mandate. "I don't hear the charge that we're not Christian," Dolphin said. "We talk theologically, biblically, here, and we try to act upon our faith."

Carolyn Lytle who became Advocate Supervisor after two years as a volunteer Advocate, said, "It's the Lord who called us here. We were really needed, but only the Lord knew it." □

### What's That Again?

The NRC has scheduled a series of technology exchanges to explore and address the implications, environmental and otherwise, of an energetic disassembly at a nuclear generating station.

If you're a little confused, what that means is that the Nuclear Regulatory Commission is going to have some meetings to try and figure out what will happen if a nuclear power plant blows up. (We bureaucrats understand that kind of talk.)

— Bo Kramptitz  
The Sealy News 7/1/82

# Resolutions Rap Racism, INS

Two strongly worded resolutions — one on racism in the church, from the Episcopal Women's Caucus, and the other on Government interference with a Christian conference, adopted by the National Council of Churches — were forwarded to THE WITNESS recently by the Rev. Patricia Park, EWC president, and the Rev. Jovelino Ramos, NCC Associate General Secretary.

They noted, respectively, that the resolutions might be of interest to WITNESS readers following the publication of the Black Women's Agenda (February and March) and the article about U.S. Immigration's ouster of Suzanne Berkeley, a young Grenadian, from a theology conference in Puerto Rico (July). THE WITNESS agrees, and presents the full text of the resolutions as follows:

## **Resolution on Racism**

**Adopted unanimously by the Episcopal Women's Caucus**

*WHEREAS*, the Episcopal Women's Caucus is committed to the elimination of racism in itself, in the Episcopal Church, and in society; and

*WHEREAS*, as a predominately white organization we continue to be the beneficiaries of a racist Episcopal Church structure; and

*WHEREAS*, the ordained ministry of the Episcopal Church has been theoretically open to minority men for over a century and a half, and to women only recently; and

*WHEREAS*, at the present time the number of white women clergy is already double that of minority persons of both sexes:

### **THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED**

- 1) that all members of the Episcopal Women's Caucus are urged to follow up on diocesan plans coming out of the Committee on Human Needs Conference on Racism in Atlanta;
- 2) that the Episcopal Women's Caucus supports national Church and diocesan efforts to recruit minority persons, both

male and female, to the ordained ministry of the Episcopal Church;

- 3) that the Episcopal Women's Caucus strongly supports and will work for the representative participation of minority Episcopal Church decision-making bodies, especially the Executive Council; and
- 4) that this Resolution be published in RUACH and transmitted to the Coalition for Human Needs, the Union of Black Episcopalians, the Episcopal Urban Caucus, and that copies of this Resolution be made widely available at General Convention in New Orleans.

## **Resolution:**

**Government Interference  
With a Christian Conference  
Adopted by the NCC Governing Board**

*WHEREAS*, a conference was recently held in Puerto Rico for U.S. and Latin American theologians and denominational executives under the sponsorship of Theology in the Americas, a U.S.-based ecumenical organization supported by a number of communions that are members of the NCC; and

*WHEREAS*, an official of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service characterized the conference in the presence of press and other witnesses as "anti-U.S.," "anti-militaristic," and "of a political nature that may affect the interests of the U.S.;" and

*WHEREAS*, one of the participants, Suzanne Berkeley, a Roman Catholic social worker employed at the Pope Paul VI Ecumenical Center in St. John's, Grenada, who had a valid visa to enter Puerto Rico, was detained by the INS on the allegation that she was "seeking to enter the U.S. . . . to engage in activities

which would be prejudicial to the public interest or endanger the welfare, safety, or security of the U.S.;" and

**WHEREAS,** the detention of Suzanne Berkeley and her deportation to Grenada by the INS disrupted the theological conference; and

**WHEREAS,** the public characterization of her motives and of the conference itself by the INS was an act inappropriate for a governmental agency and defamed the purposes and activities of Christian persons and groups in the U.S. and in other nations of the Western Hemisphere;

**THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED,** that the Governing Board of the National Council of Churches:

- (1) Protests to the Immigration and Naturalization Service its refusal to allow admission of Suzanne Berkeley to Puerto Rico to participate in an open theological dialogue;
- (2) Expresses appreciation and admiration to Suzanne Berkeley for her courage during this ordeal;
- (3) Expresses appreciation to Grenada's Ambassador to the U.S. and the Prime Minister of Grenada for their support of Suzanne Berkeley during this crisis; and
- (4) Directs the General Secretary to communicate these expressions to the appropriate persons (with copy to the Pope Paul Ecumenical Center).



## Of Martha's Pots and Mary's Place

by Abbie Jane Wells

**M**artha didn't really know when she was well off! Mary wouldn't have been worth two denarii in the kitchen — not with Jesus in the other room, and her mind on him and not on cooking, trying to overhear what he was saying.

Mary would probably have salted everything at least twice, and dropped pots — pots full of food, too. The best thing that happened to busy, busy Martha was that Mary stayed out of the kitchen. Did you ever have someone whose head was in the clouds and whose mind was on other things try to help *you* put together a meal? A meal for unexpected guests?

And I'll bet the men listening to Jesus agreed with Martha, and wished Mary would get the hell out. Women's place *was* in the kitchen; Martha knew that — not sitting in with the men listening to a man talk about things that are supposed to be of interest to men only. Even today, women don't get by with sitting with the male hierarchy — listening to what *they* discuss.

Well, Jesus thought that Mary's sitting at his feet along with the men was the right thing for her to do — that she was in the right place for a woman to be. But I'll bet the men thought that *they* could tell Mary and Martha anything that *they* thought these women should know about what Jesus said. Later, after he was gone, *they* could interpret his looks and inflections as well as his words to the women.

And so it still goes, in many places. But isn't it amazing, really, when God sent an angel to Mary to tell her what she was to do? God didn't send the angel to Joseph to tell Joseph to tell Mary what she was to do.

And Jesus didn't have to tell the men to tell the women in the kitchen what he said, for Mary, a woman, could tell the women what she had heard Jesus say. And they could hear it from a woman — not filtered through men's thinking process.

No, Martha really didn't know when she was well off. Mary would have been useless in the kitchen, and a hindrance to the cook. And if Martha had had any foresight, she might well have said to Jesus, "Thank God, you got her out of my way," instead of what she did say.

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**Abbie Jane Wells** is a WITNESS subscriber who from time to time provides us with insights and reflections written in her kitchen in Juneau, Alaska.



## Letters . . . Continued from page 2

mail the July WITNESS with its excellent articles on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast situation.

Although we spent only four days on the Atlantic Coast and had no direct contact with Miskitos, everything we did see and hear confirmed the conclusions reached by the Central American Religious Study Group and by Robert Renouf.

Several government officials we met with told us "Don't just listen to us, ask the people you meet in the market and on the streets what they think about the Revolution." When we did this, we discovered that a large majority supported the Sandinistas; those who were critical were not in any way intimidated, but spoke freely and openly.

As the CARSG article indicates, the Sandinista leadership admits its serious mistakes in dealing with the Miskitos. We found leaders equally open and eager to make whatever changes are needed.

The CARSG article refers to the fears of the Nicaraguan Government "that the U.S. and Honduras might exploit the Atlantic Coast people to give a pretext for destabilizing the Nicaraguan Government." Unfortunately, since that article appeared, the U.S. policy of destabilization has been stepped up, more raids have taken place, and CIA dirty tricks have multiplied, showing these fears were based on reality.

**The Rev. F. Sanford Cutler**  
Morristown, N.J.

## Writers Have Attitudes

Magazines like yours are doing a disservice to our Lord, to the world and to our country.

We have traveled many places and our interaction with others has been wonderful. Many countries need the dollars. In every way your publication down-grades this country. We have gotten into this present situation because of the attitudes of people like

your writers and the liberal individuals who would like to bring everyone down to the same level.

Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ went about doing good. He didn't try to bring down any government. He didn't ask people to rebel or condone perverse living. He only asked that we serve Him and believe that He is our Lord. That is what the church should be about.

**Marion Powell**  
Cave Creek, Ariz.

## Brought Back Memories

THE WITNESS is wonderful. I shall especially treasure and keep the May General Convention issue, with the historical article by Bob DeWitt and the analysis of the costs by John Cannon. Both were well-written and factual.

As I was present at every General Convention from Seattle (1967) to New Orleans (1982) it brought back many good memories. We were sitting in a bedroom trying to decide on a name for our new committee — "empowerment" . . . "E" . . . "Coalition E." It stuck and it worked. Oh, how it (and we) worked.

I was on the floor when Martha Willson from Georgia proposed a substitute resolution to the one that the House of Deputies rubber-stamp the election of the new Presiding Bishop. It was, and is, exciting to be a part of a church which is not satisfied with the status quo and is tolerant of a diversity of opinions and a diversity of gifts. Thank you, WITNESS, for reminding us of this.

**Ann McElroy**  
Cupertino, Cal.

## To St. Patrick's Horror

In response to Mary Condren's reply to Prescott Laundrie's critique of her article on the Irish situation (July Letters), let me quote two impeccable sources.

First, from the *Encyclopedia of Ireland*, p. 133:

*"The Church of Ireland is a member of the Anglican Communion . . . Although of the*

*same Communion, it has no legal ties with the Church of England, having been disestablished in 1870."*

And, from the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. 12, p. 565:

*"The Church of Ireland (embracing both the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland), in communion with the (rest of the) Anglican Church, traces its episcopal succession from the pre-Reformation Church in Ireland . . ."*

I oppose these two statements to the comment by Ms. Condren, "There are no Anglicans in Ireland. Those Protestants in sympathy with the Church of England call themselves (of all things) the "Church of Ireland."

If the good St. Patrick were to return to Ireland today, he would find a far greater similarity between the Church of Ireland and the church he knew, than between the Roman Catholic Church and the church he founded. Patrick would have recoiled in horror at the inane parody of the historic Catholic religion that is found at such centers of superstition as the shrine at Knock — or the bloody and bruised knees of the faithful climbing the hill mistakenly named "Patrick's Purgatory." The best scholarship would never link his name with such carryings on.

Don't write off the Church of Ireland so easily, Ms. Condren. It has provided a witness far greater than its numbers, and it has given men to the Celtic literary revival, to the movement for national Irish Republican consciousness, and to the life of the nation in general. One need not be a bead-slinging Roman Catholic to be a Catholic Christian, and this goes for Ireland as well as for the rest of the world.

**The Rev. George Porthan**  
Peru, Ind.

## Ms. Condren Responds

I stand corrected on the technical issue as to the relationship between the Church of Ireland and the Anglican Church. However, I find little to choose

between the imperialist ambitions of Anglophiles and Romans. Both have had devastating consequences in the Irish context. Furthermore I am sure my good friends in the Church of Ireland would have appreciated the tongue in cheek reference to their formal title. Those who call themselves *the* Church of Ireland in such a sensitive ecumenical atmosphere, are bound to run into trouble.

Behind George Porthan's letter are more substantial issues. I share his great respect for the early Celtic church. However, the Rev. Porthan would find himself in difficulty on scholarly grounds in exalting the role of Patrick. Many scholars are now agreed that the importance of Patrick to the early Irish church has been grossly exaggerated. As for "Patrick's Purgatory," this was one of the pre-Christian religious institutions which was "baptized" by the early church in an effort to convert the native Irish. The original "Purgatory" was possibly an early center for initiation rites which involved simulated death and re-birth. If anything, it appears that the Christian monks have removed the worst excesses which used to take place there.

Behind the Rev. Porthan's argument is the supposition commonly put forward by 19th century Protestant scholars, that the Church of Ireland was the logical successor to the early Celtic church. Unfortunately, this debate took place in the context of a broader political decision which was being made concerning the very disestablishment of the Church of Ireland. Practically, disestablishment meant that the Church of Ireland could no longer collect taxes from the majority population, the Roman Catholics. Needless to say Roman Catholic scholars were equally partisan in their efforts to prove spiritual paternity of Irish Christians. Much of this scholarship is now suspect for that very reason.

Finally, I would be the last in the world to write off the Church of Ireland. Some of my best women friends are...! God be with the days when the only problem between Protestants and Catholics was

"bead-slinging." One thing the political turmoil has taught in Ireland, is that it is well nigh impossible to sling beads and shoot straight at the same time.

**Mary Condren**  
Cambridge, Mass.

## WITNESS 'With It'

Retired, and on very low income, I must accept your offer of \$6 per year for a WITNESS subscription.

You're "with it" and it's so good to see representatives of the church speaking out as you do. It's helping the Episcopal Church revive itself. And I wish it could spread into my Lutheran church too. I'd like to see the current state of Episcopalian/Lutheran relations lead to intercommunion and union of the two, particularly since there is some pressure among Lutherans to restore the historic Episcopate given attention in THE WITNESS.

**The Rev. Don R. Frey**  
Dayton, Ohio

## Not About This Parish

Enclosed you will find a refusal to renew your magazine. Although some of the articles have been mildly interesting, their secular humanistic thrust has nothing whatever to do with what we are about in this parish.

**The Rev. Peter Jacobsen**  
Flint, Mich.

## In Praise of August

I gave my copies of THE WITNESS to our pastor, so I would like to order the books, *Which Side Are We On* and *The New Right*, advertised on your back cover, through this communication.

Your August issue contained three excellent articles: "In Praise of Marriage," "Probing Future Energy Alternatives," and "Are Prisons Cheating the Taxpayer?" Also, "Pews Are Not for the Living" was great! Keep up the good "stuff."

**John E. Lenox, M.D.**  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

*Continued from page 6*

making milk products, and raising livestock. They are adept in the use of sewing machines, folk arts of embroidery, needle craft and the forgotten art of intricate laces. Creole cooking is a much desired skill.

Reuniting families poses a challenge which the Episcopalians with their strong family-faith dimension will surely solve. Cannot spouses be assigned housing together at once? Parents with children could be given apartment accommodations even with the cooperating churches assuming combined sponsorship. The safest condition of a person is with those of family. The most basic unit of family being reunited must surely become the focal point in this period of trauma now ending for Haitians. □

### Resources

**National Emergency Coalition for Haitian Refugees**, 191 Joralemon St., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201 (212) 596-5500.  
**Haitian Refugee Project**, 110 Maryland Ave. NE, Washington, D.C. (202) 544-7475.

**Presiding Bishops Fund for World Relief**, Episcopal Church Center, 815 Second Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017.

### Pentagon Demonstration Set

Peace activists will stage a demonstration at the Pentagon on election day, Nov. 2, with the theme, "Whatever your vote, make it 'no' to nuclear annihilation." Designers of the action said that they felt if voting could stop the arms race, voting would be illegal. For information contact Jonah House, 1933 Park Ave., Baltimore, Md. 21217 (301-669-6265).

### CREDITS

Cover, Beth Seka; p. 4, drawing by Buu Chi, Clergy and Laity Concerned; p. 7, Network; p. 10, graphic by John Gummere; photos pp. 13-14, Ed. Berckman.

Editorial . . . Continued from page 3

unemployment, which is officially at 25%, higher than that of any state in the federal union.

The Caribbean Basin Initiative, designed to prop up the staggering economies in El Salvador, Honduras, Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic, would decrease tariff restrictions for Caribbean islands, heightening competition with Puerto Rico's rum and tuna industries, seriously threatening the island's present advantage.

Segments of the Puerto Rican community, normally divided over its status options — commonwealth, independence or statehood — are joining forces in their criticism of what they see as a concerted effort to reinforce the existing colonial relationship. The unifying factor is the reality of Puerto Rico's colonial control by and dependency upon the United States, whatever status option the people may favor.

This anti-Puerto Rican prejudice is not focused just on islanders. For years now U.S. police, FBI agents and Grand Juries have singled out Puerto Ricans in this country as suspect, especially if they espouse the legitimate option of independence. Puerto Ricans and their advocates in the United States are looked upon as a special class and as a dangerous breed.

The Ecumenical Committee on the Future of Puerto Rico believes that it is imperative for the religious communities in the United States to denounce the colonial status of Puerto Rico, and for the churches in Puerto Rico to cease their role as defenders of the status quo.

*(H.C.W. and the editors)*



# Peace

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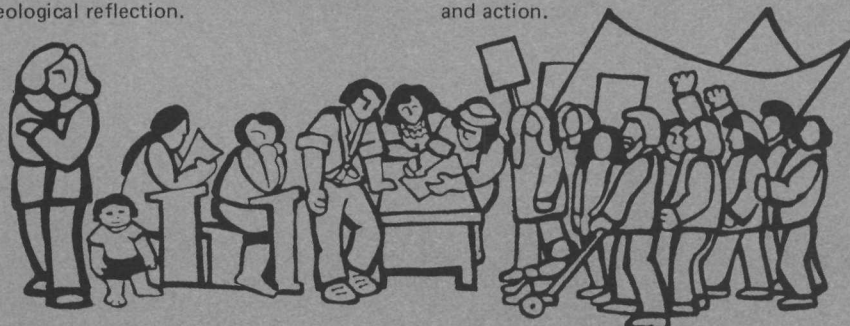
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# THE WITNESS

VOL. 65 NO. 11  
NOVEMBER, 1982

## The Next Steps...

According to:

Burgess Carr  
Edward Rodman  
Marjorie Christie  
John Cannon

At General Convention, Bishop Ed Welles wore this T-shirt in the House of Bishops, leaving no doubt as to what he sees as one of the next steps for the Episcopal Church.



# LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

## Provides Motivation

I commend you for printing Margaret Ellen Traxler's article, "Are Prison Systems Cheating the Taxpayer?" (August WITNESS). I am in complete agreement with her premise. Alternatives to incarceration are so much more cost effective it causes us to wonder why we do not stop building new jails/prisons and renovating old ones, and develop alternative responses to criminal behavior.

There are several obstacles to successful converting of our penal systems; i.e., public and professional attitude about the need to punish, fear of crime, the deterring and rehabilitative effects of incarceration, etc. But, there is one that is more realistic that came to my mind each time Ms. Traxler quoted dollar statistics; the one I call the "prison industry."

The astronomical cost of incarceration serves to pay a lot of salaries. If we were to de-carcerate and ex-carcerate, according to Ms. Traxler's suggestions, millions of people would be out of work — corrections officers, wardens, food service personnel, prison architects and construction workers, to say nothing of federal, state, county, municipal administrators.

I strongly urge you to continue to print analyses and exposes on all aspects of the criminal justice system. Alternatives to incarceration require the active participation and involvement of the citizenry, both professional and lay. Articles such as this one will enable

citizens to become involved, to become motivated to demand the changes needed to provide alternative responses to criminal activity and behavior.

**The Rev. R. Elinor Hare,  
Woman's Advocate  
Rikers Island and Brooklyn Courts  
New York, N.Y.**

## Right on Target

Margaret Ellen Traxler is right on target in her article, "Are Prisons Cheating the Taxpayer?" The prisons in this country are our greatest blight! Although they pretend to protect us they create people who become criminals in order to survive in the prisons and when they get out. But prisons are only symptoms of what our society is doing to minorities and the poor who make up the majority of our prison population.

I am the president of Community Action for Vocation and Industrial Development, a non-profit corporation, which is trying to establish profit-making industries in the prisons of the State of New Jersey. The profits will be used to establish industries owned and operated by minority business people in the urban centers where unemployment is so high and the rate of crime is rising steadily. Our program is attacking the cancer of crime and imprisonment at its source — to bring industrial development and jobs to the minority communities who are struggling for survival. We soon hope to do a feasibility study at the Mercer County Correctional Center with the blessing of Bill Mathesius, the County Executive.

**Bernard E. Quick  
Trenton, N.J.**

## Alternatives the Solution

This is a note of compliment for Margaret Ellen Traxler on her article in the August issue.

I too, do work for the prisoners here in New Mexico, and agree whole-heartedly that solutions to the problems of the corrections systems demands *alternatives*. As you may know, two years ago our penal system here had quite a blow-up; the riot was ghastly! Since that time

the department has decided to continue down the same path by building more prisons and, again, charging the taxpayers \$28,000 per inmate per year. Seventy-three percent of our inmates are in jail for property crimes which should be paid to the victims. But of course, this would not employ the same amount of people now employed.

**Johnna Lopez  
Albuquerque, New Mex.**

## Traxler Adds Footnotes

Attorney Ralla Klepak whom I quoted in the article on alternatives to prison informed me that the policeman who was harrassed in prison and allowed to serve in a community house, was in fact helped by the Episcopal Diocese of Chicago. The policeman was allowed to serve in the Cathedral Shelter and Bishop James Montgomery himself went to court with the defendant. The diocese sponsored the defendant's complete rehabilitation.

Another important footnote to helping prisoners concerns the Episcopal Women's Thank Offering, which in 1980 helped sponsor the 200-hour course in the non-traditional skills education for women at Dwight State Prison. The course includes electrical wiring, plumbing, carpentry, welding etc. and is now full-time, funded by Federal rehab funds. This course is now also full-time at the Indianapolis State Prison.

**Margaret Ellen Traxler, SSND  
Chicago, Ill.**

## From Rabbinical Student

I'm probably not a typical subscriber. I am a graduate student in the Department of Religion at Temple University, and will begin fulltime studies toward rabbinical ordination at the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College in the fall.

If I am not a typical subscriber, I am, at least, a grateful one. I have occasionally disagreed with your authors, but I have never been bored by them, and I have

*Continued on page 22*

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# THE WITNESS EDITORIAL

## Changing the Angle of Vision

**B**y the time most readers receive this copy of THE WITNESS, the results of the November general elections will be evident. We sincerely hope and pray that candidates and ballot measures will have won which signal a brake upon the policies of the current administration.

Whatever their outcome, the sobering reality is that the underlying direction of movement towards deepening domestic and world injustice, violence and war continues. Witness:

— An economic crisis that, far from seeing "prosperity just around the corner," may be edging into a 1930s depression as the unemployment rate jumps into double digits.

— A deepening racism in public education, immigration laws and federal enforcement of civil rights, and the rollback of gains for women.

— An arms race that, despite

rising public pressure against it, only this September has been refueled by a massive congressional appropriations vote.

And — as the Grand Jury story in this issue again relates — the outrageous arrests of Maria Cueto, Steven Guerra and three other advocates of Puerto Rican independence by the FBI: a chilling, explicit testimony to the power of a U.S. Government that would resist legitimate protest and thwart the historic rise of Third World peoples to claim their humanity.

At the church's September General Convention in New Orleans, was there a whisper audible that would indicate the building faithfulness of a church to the divine movements of a God who champions and speaks through the poor and oppressed peoples of America and the world?

Yes, perhaps a whisper. But to

*Continued on page 23*

~~~~~  
 The church must generate awareness  
 of the dynamic triangular interrelation  
 between disarmament, development and security.  
 This is the other side of the  
 hunger, poverty and injustice triad.  
 ~~~~~

# Next Steps Toward the Year 2000

by Burgess Carr

Ours is a moment in history of *great bewilderment*. People today are baffled by the seemingly never ending spiral of perplexities thrust upon them. As an expatriate with a global outlook, I am made aware everyday that in general most Americans have neither the mental categories nor the emotional maturity with which to interpret the global, national, and local political and socio-economic issues that indicate "the signs of the times." So there is widespread bafflement — bafflement that tempts one to cynicism and apathy. These in turn produce the sort of malaise that is readily manipulated by certain types of media. *Sixty Minutes* and *Reader's Digest* are prime examples of how immensely critical issues are trivialized and critical consciousness

subtly subverted. Thus there is no coming to terms with objective reality, and this cynicism and apathy are turned inward towards a vertical religion centered on *me* and *my* God.

It is in times of bewilderment and bafflement that authentic prophecy emerges, even flourishes. Therefore I want to recall three prophecies concerning the '80s, which came out of the '60s, as a way of focusing on "The Next Steps Toward The Year 2000."

Many will remember that the '60s was a decade of protest. One of the most poignant and prophetic insights offered in that decade, which is still hauntingly relevant today, is the thesis put forth by the English historian, Arnold Toynbee, in a series of lectures at the University of Pennsylvania in 1961. According to Toynbee,

*"Since 1917 America has reversed her role in the world. She has become the arch-conservative power instead of the arch-revolutionary one. Stranger still, she has made a present of her glorious discarded role to the country which was the arch-conservative power in the 19th*

*century, the country which, since 1946, has been regarded by America as being America's Enemy Number One. America has presented her historic role to Russia."*

He continued,

*"The shot fired beside the bridge at Concord was not only heard around the world; it was taken as a signal given to the world by the embattled American farmers that World Revolution had begun. What then is America's relation to the World Revolution? It is her Revolution; it is she who launched it by firing the shot heard round the world."*

Toynbee went on to suggest that America's acquired affluence "is a handicap, and a formidable one," standing in the way of America joining her own Revolution. And he posed this question to his listeners: "Can America rejoin her own Revolution?"

I put the same question to you now. The response you make will indicate the first of the next steps toward the year 2000.

Once upon a time, many of you

---

**The Rev. Canon Burgess Carr** of Liberia is associate professor of pastoral theology at the Yale Divinity School and vicar of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, New Haven. He was thrice decorated for moderating conflicts in Africa and has addressed the UN Security Council many times. The above is excerpted from his address at the Episcopal Church Publishing Company Awards Dinner in New Orleans.



embraced the revolution of rising expectations that swept away colonial empires in Africa, energized popular resistance against American imperialism in Indochina and catalyzed Martin Luther King's struggle for civil rights in America. As a matter of fact, many of you had your liberal sensibilities shaped by participating in that revolution. However, as the expectations of the newly emergent nations and peoples focused upon power-sharing both at the political and socio-economic levels; as the demand that the churches actively combat White racism through divestitures of pension funds and other portfolios, and as Third World peoples pressed their case for reordering the global economic order so that they might have control over their own economic and other primary resources, a malignant mood has so tranquilized the revolutionary zeal that the gains of the '60s appear to be nothing more than cosmetic changes. Twenty years later the expectations remain unfulfilled, and our global village is nowhere near being transformed into a just, participatory and sustainable society. Alas, even the alliances between Blacks and White liberals in America are crumbling under the weight of economic recession.

I can remember that, back in the '60s, when the tumult of confrontation at home and the thunder of conflict abroad aroused the churches, the National Council of Churches issued a report entitled *The Triple Revolution*. This too was a prophetic statement written "in recognition that (human-kind) is at a historic juncture which demands a fundamental re-examination of existing values and institutions."

The report identified three separate and mutually reinforcing revolutions that were occurring. They were

### **1. The Cybernation Revolution**

*("A new era of production has begun. Its principles of organi-*

*zation are as different from those of the industrial era, as those of the industrial era were different from the agricultural.")*

### **2. The Weaponry Revolution**

*("New forms of weaponry have been developed which cannot win wars, but which can obliterate civilization.")*

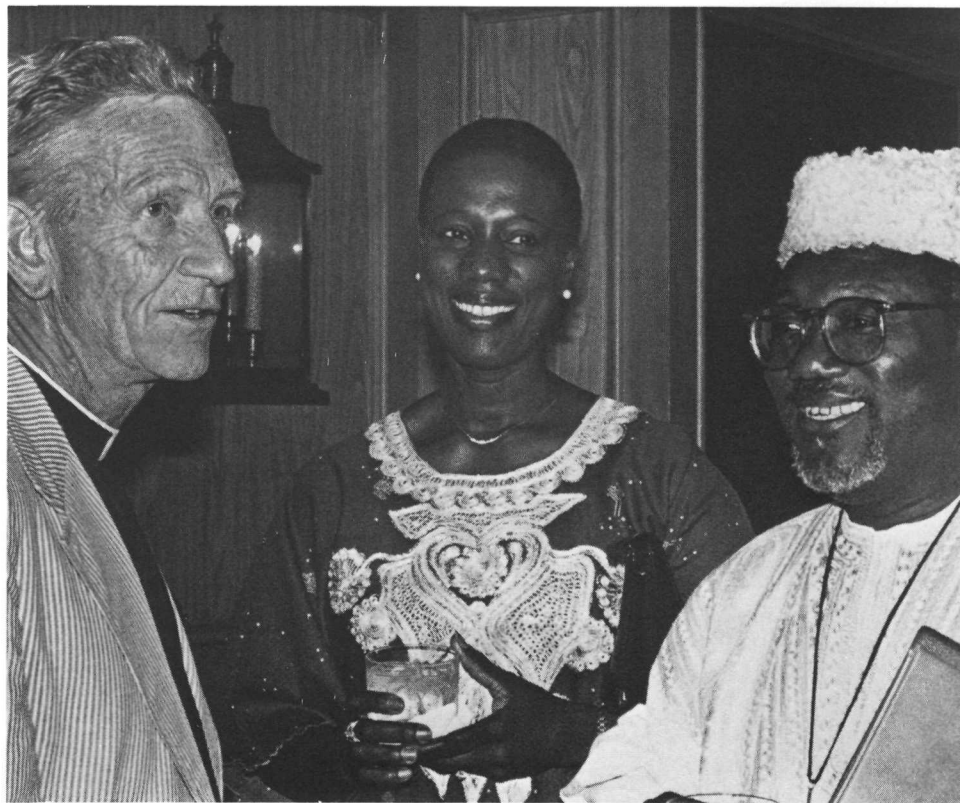
### **3. The Human Rights Revolution**

*("A universal demand for full human rights is now clearly visible, as demonstrated in the civil rights movement in the United States.")*

The NCC, as the total voice of its member churches, was attempting to answer Toynbee's challenge from the perspective of biblical prophecy. For, in a world of highly ambiguous orders and disorders, Christian obedience cannot have as its first objective the religious

transfiguration of the world. The first priority must always be given to the transformation of society into a more just and humane order — not abstractly, but concretely, in light of the humanity and justice of God revealed in Jesus Christ.

The church derives its life from the incarnate Word of God, and consequently lives under constant pressure from the world, argues with it and does its theology in dialectic — the dialectic of that eschatological movement which we call the Kingdom of God. Within this context, a "theology of revolution" such as the NCC was endeavoring to articulate, represents bringing the dynamic biblical perspective to bear upon the critical developments that generate radical changes "between the times" on the technological as well as the socio-



Robert L. DeWitt, left, senior contributing editor of *THE WITNESS*, chats with Frances and Burgess Carr before the ECPC Awards Dinner at which Canon Carr was guest speaker.

economic and political levels.

The National Council of Churches report on *The Triple Revolution* was also a response to two other secular prophecies that were popular in the '60s. How many of you remember that impressive artistry by the English writer, George Orwell? Orwell's famous novel, *1984*, provided a way of telling the truth about the inherent logic which is active in the structures of technocratic societies. If one adds to it a word of grace and of hope, the work would be reminiscent of the supra-realism of the Old Testament prophets.

The other secular prophecy was a series of 100 articles written by several eminent scientists and technicians drawn from five continents and published in the *New Scientist* in 1964. Their general thrust was an effort to outline developments in the next two decades. Their conclusions were amazingly different from Orwell's. Over against his unremitting pessimism, the scientists and technicians, with few exceptions, showed an unrestrained optimism about the future. Only marginally does one find a hidden remark that the image of continuous accelerated progress holds true, *provided we escape atomic suicide*.

Secular prophecies like Orwell's and the Scientific Symposium are delusory to the degree that they overlook the revolutionary consequences of technological development. These consequences give urgency to prophetic protest, especially when there is so much evidence that the dominant ethos in the churches and among many Christians has turned conservative. Rather than interpreting revolution as the bursting forth of God's *kairos* which ushers in the Kingdom of justice and humanness, revolution is today perceived as decline, dissolution and deterioration of basic values and culture. This results in a contempt for history and a flight into fantasy. "*E.T.*" is but one recent example of this trend.

But far more dangerous are those socio-political commentators and so-called Christian ethicists who see it as their special calling to demonize the revolution, rather than illuminate the questions (like Toynbee) that it raises for the conscience of church and society.

So the struggle continues because the promise of the '60s that "We shall overcome . . . hand-in-hand . . . together" eludes us. In America today there is polarization between the wealthy and the destitute. The growth in numbers of the urban poor and the unemployed, of families victimized by the socio-economic policies of the Reagan-Bush Administration, the wiring of the world for nuclear incineration — all these crises indicate clearly *the next steps* that our church ought to be taking in order to *witness* with integrity and faithfulness as we advance toward the year 2000.

It is imperative that we protest against those perversions of power and privilege that result in polarization and pauperization of the majority of the human family. Protest involves more than registering disagreement or withholding assent. Protest is, basically and initially, to affirm, to empathize, to participate in, *to bear witness in public*. Christians are called to be those who protest; that is, those who bear witness in public that "God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself;" and that Christ died for all, so that those who live might live no longer for themselves, but for their fellow human beings. Thus protest is a form of proclamation, a kind of preaching that points to God's judgment on human self-centeredness and selfishness, and exalts the human dignity that every man and woman is capable of attaining in Jesus Christ.

None of this would be difficult for the church to accept — not even our friends in the *1928 Prayer Book Society* and their fellow travelers in the Moral

Majority — were it not for the fact that the last quarter century has witnessed a worldwide democratization of protest. Ordinary people, including children, from Soweto to Seoul no longer accept abuse, injustice and the many other cruelties that threaten their human survival. And neither should the church.

I cannot here elaborate in any profound way the many urgent and worrisome issues that our church ought to be speaking to with clarity and conviction. There is the inseparable triad of hunger, poverty and injustice which afflicts a quarter of the human race. And while it is true that hunger and poverty are not the results of scarcity, it is even more true that the economically powerful in the world have created a tangled web of injustices that deny equitable income distribution and access to the means of technological production and accords only marginal participation to the poor in the decisions that determine who goes to bed satiated and who keeps the vigil of starvation night after night. It is a cruel trivialization of this most urgent of human problems to interpret world hunger in the context of anti-communist rhetoric. Two decades of "development aid" to the poor countries and of "urban renewal" in America should have enabled even the ideologically blind to see that those identical processes which create wealth and power for the few also create poverty and powerlessness for the many. Affluence and privation don't just happen. The "trickle down" theory undergirding Reaganomics is erroneous; since creating more wealth for the rich only widens the gap between the haves and the have-nots, within and also between nations.

Considering that there is such a psychological and physical distance between those who make decisions and those affected by them, it is easy to hide behind platitudinous labeling. Evidence

of this is seen most readily in the way any analysis of the problems confronting Black people in America and of the Third World focuses on the pathological aspects of Black social life. The emphasis is always on how much higher everything is — from birth rates, through welfare dependency, illiteracy, crime and corruption to death rates.

An appropriate *next step* for our church to take would be an integrated and holistic approach to the Black church as a social world and cultural phenomenon — that is, as a complex crucible of social organization in which cultural symbols and solidarity are shared and an ethical basis for the social construction of coping strategies and counter-ideologies is articulated. For indeed, the marginalized, whether they be in America or in the Third World, are

turning to the church as a place of true asylum, where the collective catharsis produces alternative images of self-esteem and role models that counteract the pathological alienation and self-denigration prevailing in society. Our whole church will be enriched if one of our *next steps* is the empowerment of our Black parishes to become channels of transformation from unfreedom to liberation, from despair to hope, from dependency to creativity, from imitators to initiators, from anger and rage to reconciliation and love.

By way of summary, I will conclude with two points. It is clear to me that one of the crucial *next steps* the church must take concerns generating greater awareness of the dynamic triangular inter-relation between disarmament, development and security. This is the

other side to the hunger, poverty and injustice triad. More and more it has become evident that the real threats to security are aggravated by desperation and degradation among the poor and powerless, which translate readily into violence and revolt. The response of the church, if it is to be effective, must be comprehensive, courageous and committed to the complete elimination of all those systemic barriers “which corrupt and destroy the creatures of God.” Do-goodism will not be enough. Only an unequivocal commitment to combat hunger, poverty, injustice and war will preserve the credibility of the church.

My final point has to do with the equipment with which we wage this combat. Since 1979 we have become a more inclusive, eucharistic church. The eucharist is the most radical political statement there is about the *next steps* towards God’s Kingdom of justice, humanness and peace. Far from being a sabbath day escape from the world, it is the day of our Lord’s re-entry into the world, filling all things with his resurrected presence. The mystery of the eucharist reflects the riddles to be resolved, the problems to be solved and the challenges to be faced in the struggle to transform the whole creation that is groaning and in travail, and waiting to be renewed and restored. The eucharist provides us the encouragement we so desperately need in order to participate in waging this struggle; it makes clear where the mandate for our *next steps* comes from, and where our responsibility and accountability lie.

The Second Vatican Council reminded us that as Christians we are meant to be “the sacrament of the unity of the human race.” As an eucharistic fellowship that is sustained by the energy with which we are fed by God, our *next steps* should be *witnessing* to that reality, not only in South Africa, but right here in the Episcopal Church in the United States of America. □

## Deplores Site of Convention

*The following statement was read by the Rt. Rev. H. Coleman McGehee, on behalf of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company Board of Trustees, at the ECPC Awards Dinner during General Convention:*

A number of our friends — Episcopal Church Publishing Company Board members and others — are not with us tonight because of the location of this convention. The State of Louisiana and the Diocese of Louisiana have failed to grant women dignity and equality under the law — the state specifically in its refusal seriously to debate the Equal Rights Amendment — the diocese in its refusal to test the vocations of women called to the priesthood. These actions grow out of an attitude toward women which permeates much of life in our society. It is an attitude that assumes that some people are more equal than others.

In addition, New Orleans is a city in which some of the lowest paid employees in the United States work. Many of them are making

our beds and serving our food and drink. Also, the Episcopal Churches in this city have refused to recognize the earnest request of Integrity for a celebration of the Holy Eucharist.

But still we come here. We come because the Episcopal Church chose to hold its convention here despite the objections of many of us. While we deplore that decision and understand our friends who have stayed away, we come tonight to honor four people\* who have devoted their lives to fighting injustice, sexism, racism and all the “isms” that say some people are more equal than others. We extend to them our admiration, love and support.

\*The Rev. John Hines, Mrs. Marion Kelleran, William Stringfellow, the Rev. Ben Chavis.

## General Convention Redux

Three noted Episcopalians — Ed Rodman, Marge Christie and John Cannon — ruminated and prognosticated about the 67th General Convention in our special May issue of THE WITNESS. Their articles, respectively, were entitled, "Show Biz or Stewardship?", "Blessed Are the Frustrated," and "Steps for Economizing." Here are their reports at Convention's end.

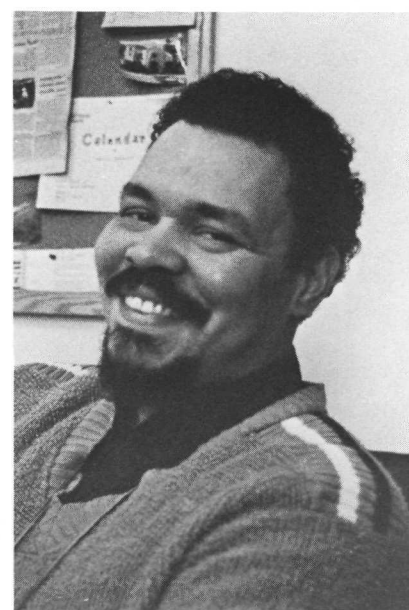
# Crescent City Blues

by Ed Rodman

The 67th Triennial Convention of the Episcopal Church met in the home of the blues — New Orleans — and quickly sank into a blue funk born of humidity and lethargy. A friend of mine in the Diocese of Massachusetts has described the recent era of church life as *exemplifying the spiritual exhaustion of the faith*. Nowhere was this more apparent than in and around Rivergate Center from Sept. 4-15.

The omen was present as one got off the airplane, when local Episcopalians told of the snafu with the Prayer Book Society billboard displayed on the highway enroute to the city. The billboard, put up in early August, read for more than two weeks: *Save the 1982 Prayer Book*. Even the ever alert preservation group could not move quickly enough to avoid embarrassment. Given this introduction, the roller coaster ride began.

This General Convention can be characterized essentially as almost reaching great heights and certainly sinking to new depths. The great heights in order of their occurrence were: The presentation by Bishop Desmond Tutu . . . the Episcopal Church Publishing Company dinner and Burgess Carr's



sober address . . . the freeze amendment . . . the passage of the Jubilee Ministry . . . the affirmation of other peace objectives . . . the support for efforts to avoid economic dislocation . . . the heroic attempts of the supporters of the Episcopal Urban Caucus in both Houses to rearrange the budget to provide more monies for peace and Jubilee. . .

And last but not least, the scintillating plane ride out of New Orleans.

Conversely, the low points were: The opening service (over-staged, over-managed, and over-long) with the

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ambiguous articulation of "The Next Step" by the Presiding Bishop . . . the presence and embarrassing presentation of Vice President George Bush following the stirring presentation of Bishop Tutu . . . the repeated failure of the Convention substantively to support either the emerging new emphasis on peace or Jubilee with dollars and commitment . . . the failure of the church to respond to an accountability measure with regard to the implementation of the 1% vote to seminaries . . . the declining into irrelevancy and insensitivity of the publication *Issues* . . . the failure to elect any Blacks to the Executive Council . . .

And last but not least, the underlying inability of progressive forces to pull together consistently either behind their candidates or their issues in terms of a sophisticated floor strategy (exemplified particularly in the inability to elect a Black or Hispanic lay person to the Joint Nominating Committee for the Election of the Presiding Bishop), or even to mount a floor fight in either House on a range of budget issues besides new monies for Jubilee.

For a Convention that was billed as potentially dull, this one should not have disappointed those who believed the advance publicity. However, for those of us who hoped that new energy and direction could be found from groups like the Urban Caucus, Episcopal Peace Fellowship, and allied interests, the disappointment, though not surprising, was no less bitter.

A superficial analysis would suggest that this is merely another manifestation of the times, while a different analysis might suggest — what else could you expect from a lame duck Presiding Bishop who is determined to maintain control in his final term in office? On the other hand, some of the questions raised by Joe Pelham in the May issue of *THE WITNESS* found their answers in the abortive attempts of progressive forces to make a significant

impact on the Convention. Particularly embarrassing was the infighting that surfaced at the hearing on Jubilee Ministry in the first week, when it appeared that Blacks and others (including some members of the Coalition for Human Need staff) were at odds with the leadership of the Jubilee Ministry regarding its supervision and direction. Instead of concentrating their energies toward the obvious focus of who would be sitting on Executive Council to administer these funds and upgrade the program, the infighting continued. This led to the failure to elect a significant number of

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progressive persons, thus insuring a more conservative council for the next triennium. Further, at no point in the Convention was the Council held accountable for its stewardship of either the peace or the Jubilee initiatives.

The Convention's end found much energy being invested in trying to understand and second-guess the processes and dynamics of the committee to elect the new Presiding Bishop. Indeed one got the impression that at least non-verbally, people were conceding the next three years and hoping to elect a Presiding Bishop who would be more sympathetic to our concerns in 1985.

Let me hasten to suggest that this is at

best a forlorn hope, since I was present during the debate and vote on the Urban Bishops Coalition motion to amend the budget to provide more monies for Jubilee Ministry. What was significant was not that that initiative lost by an 80-38 count, but that the back row of bishops stood almost as one in their opposition to it. For those not familiar with General Convention, the back row is comprised of newly elected and consecrated bishops. The vote suggests that almost to a man, they were not prepared to step out on any limbs, especially when it was obvious that this was a trial run by some of the potential candidates for Presiding Bishop to make an impression. Thus, that vote was not only "no" to taking a risk in trying to move the church forward, but it was also a "no" vote in terms of progressive leadership soon being in the Chair.

Before I close this reflection, however, like any good preacher, I must find some sign of hope. After struggling for that sign for the last 10 days, I have concluded that the bitter lessons learned by the Urban Caucus, the Union of Black Episcopalians, the Women's Caucus, Coalition E, etc., at this Convention could be translated into a concerted effort to do the homework necessary over the next three years to have the kind of impact that a pivotal Convention such as the one in 1985 deserves. If people have now learned that we can no longer play with mirrors, but must face the real thing, then this Convention and its series of less than satisfactory results will have been a blessing in the long run. Dare I suggest this as a possibility, especially given the bad omen that haunts me upon leaving; i.e., the only hymn to be restored was the ever popular and prophetic "Now the Day Is Over"? Or, in the words of the heroic Bishop Tutu, "Are we in fact to truly believe that we must become co-workers with God in building the kingdom?" □

# Frustration-Generated Action Anticipated for 1985 Event

by Marge Christie

Satisfaction or frustration — which word describes my reaction to our 67th General Convention? A little bit of each, I suspect. One newspaper in summarizing the convention said “Episcopalians move forward quietly.” I might like to substitute the word cautiously for quietly, but there was forward movement the same time there was some backsliding. Satisfaction *and* frustration.

Even though there were fewer women in the House of Deputies compared to three years ago, the appointment by President Charles Lawrence of a significant percentage to the various legislative committees enabled women to participate in the debate at the genesis of Convention decision making. With women chairing only four of the 29 committees, however, that particular sphere of influence was minimal. Since only two of those committees reported legislation, the House of Deputies maintained its profile of male leadership.

The response to my invitation to women deputies to gather as a coalition was marvelous. More than 125 women — most of them deputies — gathered during the hour immediately preceding the opening of Convention. Vocal in their concern for issues of peace, hunger, minority participation and elections, the women agreed to meet each day in order to organize their



strategy for the days ahead. Specific resolutions were targeted for attention, and women without committee assignments volunteered to monitor those resolutions, participating in the debate whenever possible. The coalition was off to a good start — but my frustration lingers over the inability to maintain that momentum. It was not a Convention for coalitions, I suspect; the schedule was too tight, the facilities limited.

One result was that elections were a disaster, for Blacks as well as for women, particularly on the two major bodies with some influence during the triennium. No Blacks and only one woman were elected to fill the 12 vacancies on Executive Council; of the 27-member Nominating Committee for the Presiding Bishop only two women

and two Blacks were elected. Frustration continues to surround the passage of resolutions endorsing affirmative action and deploring racism at the very moment we were electing mostly White men to our committees, boards, and commissions.

An inclusive language resolution died in the House of Bishops as they pointed to the Standing Liturgical Commission report in the Blue Book. The report only stated an intention to provide guidelines for inclusive language and an audit of the language of the prayer book, neither of which was in evidence at the Convention. However, members of the Church of St. Stephen and the Incarnation in Washington, D.C. have prepared an inclusive language lectionary for Year C and are offering it for sale. As one of their delighted customers I recommend it to all who share my discomfit with current lectionaries.

An incredible 400 resolutions were dealt with during the 12 days of Convention. Taking their place on the satisfaction side of my ledger are resolutions expressing:

- Concern for peace, calling for a nuclear freeze, no first strike and the translation of funds from the military budget to the needs of the poor;
- Strong endorsement of the Jubilee Ministry with its concern for the poor and the oppressed, especially the commitment symbolized by Jubilee's inclusion in the program development budget;
- Support for Congress to enact a new Equal Rights Amendment — a point of view which received lively endorsement by Joanne Benitez on the Urban Caucus TV morning news;
- Reaffirmation of the 1976 convention resolution concerning abortion, which includes opposition to any legislation which would infringe on a woman's right to choose;
- Approval of The Next Step, with its opportunity for second mile giving

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— which, when combined with Jubilee, can join “the love in our hearts and the money in our pockets” as John Coleman suggested during one of the open hearings;

- Approval of the medical technique known as “in vitro” fertilization;

- Recognition of the need for clergy to encourage lay professionals as resource people for their counseling ministry;

- Concern for the needs of handicapped people, calling for a special task force to address those needs — due in large part to Jane Jackson who propelled herself all over New Orleans in persistent witness to her disabled brothers and sisters;

- Endorsement of the Nestle boycott by the Triennial Meeting of the Episcopal Churchwomen.

The frustration side of my ledger included the refusal in the clergy order of the House of Deputies to accept lay people as administrators of the bread and wine to shut-in members of their congregations, and the barely lukewarm endorsement of a new ERA by the Triennial Meeting. Also, The House of Bishops missed an opportunity, I believe, to provide leadership to the church as the fields of genetics and bio-medicine explode around us. The bishops did not concur with the deputies in resolutions concerning surrogate parenthood and lost an opportunity to proclaim the support of the church to people facing such decisions.

Satisfaction and frustration are there as I think about the wide array of speakers presented. Frustrated by the loss of legislative time and the resultant non-stop days, nevertheless I found those long hours worth it just for the privilege of experiencing Desmond Tutu. He was stunning; his shining faith, his dynamic witness to the security he finds in that faith, deeply affected the entire Convention.

In my article in the May WITNESS I

said that frustration can provide “incentive for action.” Satisfaction with some of General Convention’s actions can be attributed perhaps to the pre-convention frustrations of many. So can the Urban Caucus campaign to encourage the personal tipping of underpaid hotel maids.

Frustration-generated action directed toward the 68th General Convention should include concentration on elections in the dioceses for Anaheim’s

deputies, the provincial elections of Executive Council representatives, and the appointment of members of the interim bodies, those convention commissions where legislation begins. If we are to take affirmative action seriously, those who have strong feelings about minorities and women participating in General Convention must be concerned about activity at these levels.

My conclusion? More satisfaction than frustration, thanks be to God! □

## Costs Heeded . . . Somewhat

by John Cannon

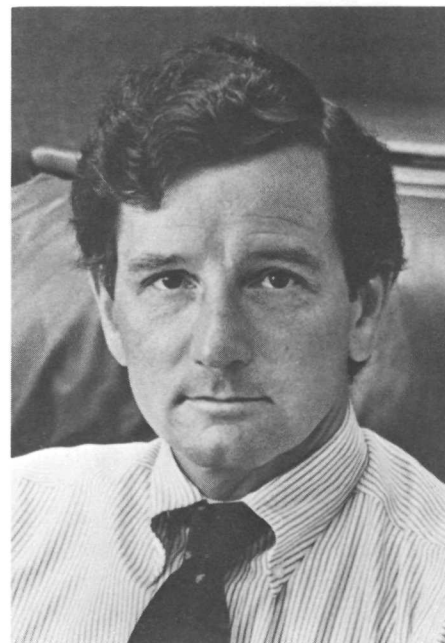
**I**t was clear from the beginning that General Convention in general, and the House of Deputies in particular, were sensitive to the increasing criticism voiced by many of the rising cost to the Episcopal Church of this triennial gathering of the faithful. It was heard — and heeded — somewhat.

Several resolutions dealing with the process for selecting a site and determining the time and length of Convention were initiated in the House of Deputies and referred to its Committee on Future Sites of Convention. Another group of resolutions, dealing with the size of the House of Deputies, was also initiated in the House, but referred to its Committee on Structure.

The Future Sites Committee ultimately reported out three resolutions which were adopted by the House of Deputies and concurred in by the House of Bishops, each having the potential to reduce the cost of General Convention.

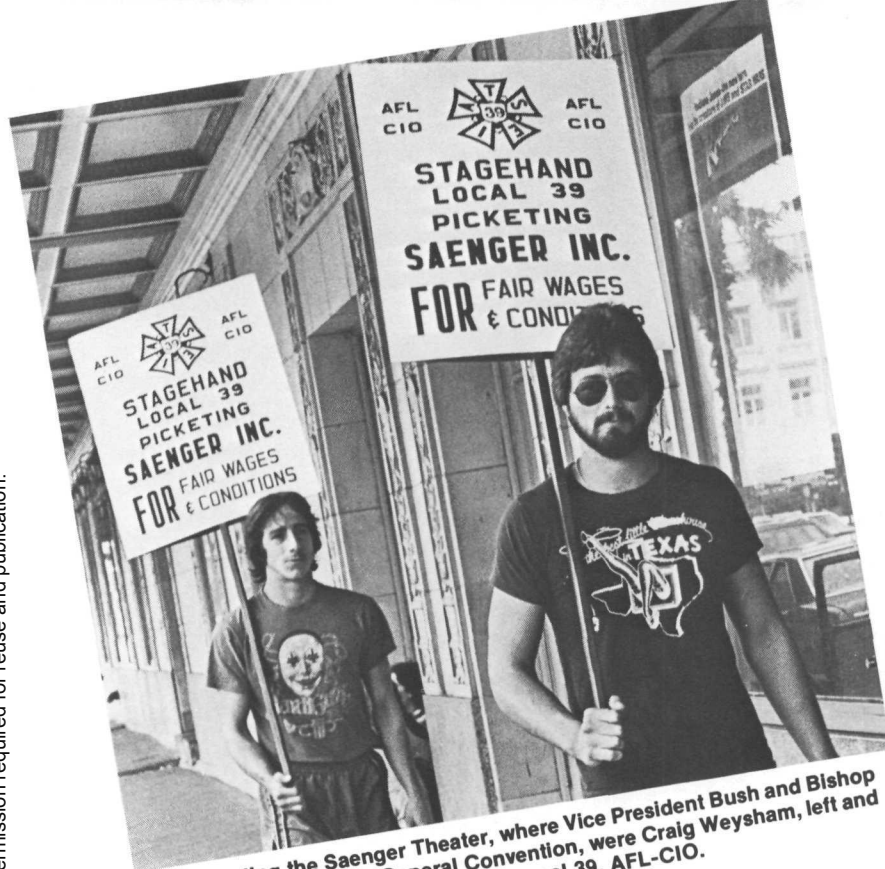
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The first related to the manner by which a General Convention site is selected. The process historically called for the designation of a single city as a future Convention site, leaving it to the General Convention Manager to negotiate for exhibition halls, meeting space and hotel rooms in *that* city. The

*Continued on page 14*



Picketing the Saenger Theater, where Vice President Bush and Bishop Tutu spoke during General Convention, were Craig Weysham, left and Ronnie Matherne of Stagehand Local 39, AFL-CIO.



The Rev. Carol Amadio and the Rev. Grant Gallup of Chicago act out "what if" the message on Bishop Welles T-shirt (see cover) came to pass.

## Color to Break the Beige? by Mary Lou Suhor

Having assigned the hard work of interpreting General Convention for this issue to Ed Rodman, Marge Christie and John Cannon, I settled back to do the easier "color feature." Or so I thought. Folks, it just wasn't a very colorful event. But let me highlight three moments.

Going to New Orleans for General Convention put me in touch with two phenomena which greatly shape our lives — heredity and environment. "Born and raised," as Southerners say, in New Orleans, I was able to stay at my parents' home. Although the travel back and forth was formidable, I felt that saving hotel costs and meals put me in some kind of solidarity with those who had boycotted the site for all the reasons in the ECPC statement on p. 7.

It also helped me to experience first hand what the deteriorating economy

has done to my family. My sister, mother of five, has just returned to school to study nursing; a second income is looking most attractive right now. My musician-brother is out of work — one of the 10% unemployed — and was house-husbanding his two young sons while his wife brought in the only steady paycheck at the moment. Another brother, who is a teacher, told depressing stories about former students who had come to visit, who were making twice his salary in industry. My mom and dad, both octogenarians, proudly took me on tour of the house and yard, pointing out recent renovations and repairs they had done themselves.

"Eric Hoffer once said that 'maintenance is the great virtue of the American middle class,' " mused my youngest brother Charlie, who just put up a new roof. "In our case, we are

virtuous by necessity."

From this context, and fortified by hugs and kisses from nieces and nephews (not to mention mother's French cooking) I headed out to cover the talks by Bishop Tutu and Vice President Bush at the Saenger Theater.

Enter *cinema realite*! I suddenly faced an ethical dilemma. Hundreds upon hundreds of people were entering the theater, *which was being picketed by Local 309 of the AFL-CIO*. I have never crossed a picket line in my life.

My thoughts flashed back to how difficult it was in the days when we were trying to organize a chapter of the American Newspaper Guild in New Orleans in our shop. (The manager had warned that he was going to put a machine gun on the roof and mow down everybody who said they were interested in the union.) When I became

*Continued on page 21*



# Awards Dinner



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Helen Seager of the ECPC Board holds the Vida Scudder award presented to Marion Kelleran, left, who, Seager observed, achieved her uniqueness without the encumbrance of being either ordained or male." Kelleran noted to THE WITNESS that in reading up on Episcopalian church history she noticed that the only two women mentioned in the index by Raymond Albright were the Blessed Virgin Mary and Vida Scudder, "so I'm certainly in good company."



Business was brisk at the ECPC Booth after the Awards Dinner. Volunteering at the counter are, from left, Bonnie Pierce-Spady, of the Ambler office; the Rev. Barbara Harris, Vice Chair of the ECPC Board; and Ann Hunter, promotion manager of THE WITNESS.

The Rev. Rick Kerr of Integrity, left, who delivered the invocation, chats with Bill Stringfellow, who suffered a retinal hemorrhage about the time it was announced he had received the ECPC special award of merit. Said Bill, "I thought, well, this will be presented posthumously."



The Rt. Rev. John Hines, left, winner of the Bishop William Scarlett Award, visits with the Rt. Rev. H. Coleman McGehee, Chair of the ECPC Board.



Hugh C. White, left, of Church and Society, Detroit, with the Rev. Ben Chavis, winner of the Spofford Award.

**Costs . . . Continued from page 11**

new process calls for General Convention, six years before a specific Convention, to designate *three or more cities* as possible sites leaving it to the Committee on Planning and Arrangements, working with the Convention Manager, to negotiate with each of the three cities for the best possible economic package. Then, at the Convention next preceding, the final selection will be made from amongst the three or more cities earlier designated.

As originally introduced, the final selection was to be made by the Committee on Planning and Arrangements but the sense of General Convention was that there are criteria, in addition to net costs, to be considered, such as the witnessing of the church to urban problems, to which General Convention as a whole might be more sensitive than the Committee on Planning and Arrangements.

General Convention then dealt with the issue of how long Convention should be, utilizing an eight-day, seven-night model proposed and analyzed by the Committee on Planning and Arrangements. That model could, by a more intense use of time, produce almost the same number of legislative hours as the current 10-day model. Convention gave its support for, but did not mandate, a shorter term. Those who were wary of the shortened model spoke of it as not permitting adequate time for prayer and reflection and as encroaching on the intangible aspect of Convention that produces a sense of community and sharing among those present. Those who favored the shorter Convention noted that God created the world in six days and certainly the church should be able to accomplish its business in eight and, more pointedly, that while the House of Deputies might have been behind on its legislative calendar, the entertainment schedule of the Deputies was certainly current.

The call for the shorter Convention was ultimately adopted by the deputies on a standing vote which showed 509 in the affirmative, that number being so clearly a majority of the approximately 800 deputies present that the negative vote was not counted.

With respect to the time of Convention, its deputies quickly recognized that the most favorable hotel and convention facility rates were obtainable, in most locations, over the 4th of July period. An obvious exception to that rule will be the 1985 Los Angeles Convention in Anaheim, which enjoys its peak rates during the summer. Recognizing that exception to the rule, and again not wanting to mandate the time of Convention, the deputies ultimately supported a Convention falling anytime during June 15 through Oct. 15.

In considering the question of its own size, the House of Deputies faced the issue in the form of a resolution calling for the reduction in the size of deputations from four to two in each order. During the course of debate a motion was made to amend that resolution so that the reduction would be from four to three, and thus the House first considered the smaller reduction.

Those favoring it spoke of the cost savings to dioceses that would be realized and the ability of all deputies, or nearly so, in a smaller Convention to have the opportunity to be maximally involved in the committee and legislative process. Those opposing a reduction spoke of their concerns about reduced minority and women representation and the reduced ability to introduce new persons into the General Convention picture. They spoke also of the burden now experienced by deputies who feel themselves spread thin at Convention and more so when they return to their dioceses and are expected to report on Convention activities.

In quick succession, a vote by orders was held on both propositions. The move to reduce the size of deputies from four to three was, all things considered, rather narrowly defeated. The move to reduce the deputations from four to two in each order was more soundly defeated. The support for the reduction to three was particularly surprising in view of the fact that it would also destroy the "divided vote" coveted by so many.

In sum, General Convention seems willing to subject itself to a shorter, more intense and rigorous model, and thus one more exhausting (if that can be imagined) than the present, and to do so at that time of year most economically advantageous to the church, but the House of Deputies wants the privilege of exhaustion to be extended to the present full complement of 800 plus deputies. It must be noted, however, that the recent studies made and contained in the Blue Book demonstrate that the greater savings in Convention costs are to be realized through a shortened Convention held during a competitive time period, not through reducing the size of the House.

#### ANTIDOTE FOR POISON

He said, "Gentlemen, I have here a glass of poison. If you will drink this poison and remain alive, I will join your church, not only myself but my entire congregation." And he said, "If you won't drink this poison, well, then I'll conclude that you are false ministers of the Gospel, because surely your Lord won't let you perish." And so this put the missionaries in kind of a bind, so they went off in a corner and got their heads together, and they thought, "What on earth are we going to do?" So finally, after they decided, they went back over and approached the minister and said, "Tell you what — we've got a plan." They said, "You drink the poison, and we'll raise you from the dead." (Reprinted with permission from "The Folklore of Mormon Missionaries" by William A. Wilson, Copyright Utah State University Press, 1981.)

# Bishop Tutu and the Cycle of Violence

by Samuel H. Day, Jr.

When I visited South Africa as a journalist in July, seeking an answer to the question of whether that country has developed an atomic bomb, it was inevitable that my search would take me to Johannesburg's Khotso House, headquarters of the South African Council of Churches.

Not that I expected to solve the puzzle there — my trips to the country's nuclear and industrial installations and my interviews with scientists and politicians already had yielded telling evidence that South Africa had joined the atomic weapons club. I hardly expected anyone in the SACC to be privy to the secrets of Valindaba, the closely guarded factory near Pretoria that produces enriched uranium capable of fueling nuclear warheads, or Somerset West, the explosives proving grounds near Cape Town where atomic bombs appear to have been assembled.

What drew me to Khotso House was its reputation as a place likely to enlighten me — a curious foreigner — on the politics of a government which, in addition to all else it had imposed on its subjects, had now introduced the prospect of atomic terror. From his modest office in Khotso House, Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu,

general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, presides over what has become a central sustaining force for resistance to White minority rule in South Africa.

The resistance takes many forms.

There is the outlawed African National Congress, whose leader, Nelson Mandela, was imprisoned more than 20 years ago. The ANC, dedicated to the overthrow of White minority rule by any means, including violence, has a broad following among South Africa's 20 million Blacks (72% of the population) despite the danger of government reprisal for the slightest support of its activities.

There is also the Inkatha movement, with a strong following among South Africa's 5 million Zulus, which offers tribal nationalism as the antidote to centuries of economic and cultural domination of Blacks by Whites. Inkatha's leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, advocates working within the system to secure a better dispensation for Blacks. He enjoys substantial support among Whites, especially in the liberal corporate sector.

Between the banished ANC and the semi-respectable Inkatha, there are a host of organizations — Black, White and mixed — offering varying degrees of resistance to apartheid, the system of laws and customs which makes South Africa the world's only official racially-segregated society and Africa's last remaining bulwark of White minority rule. The resistance organizations most

apt to run afoul of the police and the law are those which, like the Black trade union movement, try to organize and empower the country's non-White population.

Of all the forms which the resistance takes in South Africa, the South African Council of Churches — with Desmond Tutu as its symbol — is the one most credible to its various parts and most accessible to the outside world. That is why I looked up Bishop Tutu.

"We are not a political organization at all," he explained patiently to me after I had prevailed upon him to squeeze me into his busy appointment schedule. "What we do is to support, on the basis of the Gospel, all groups working for the concept that each human life has the same value."

The impairment of Black South Africa's principal political organizations — the ANC by official repression (newspapers may not print the words or even photographs of its leaders) and Inkatha by its suspiciously close connections with the White power structure — has made Bishop Tutu, despite his protestations, the voice of political resistance best heard within South Africa and best known outside its borders.

It is a voice in which prophecy and politics are deeply intermixed. From his office and his pulpit, from lecture halls and in newspaper interviews throughout South Africa, he preaches a theology of liberation that goes beyond

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political exhortation.

Thus, in a recent Johannesburg newspaper column commenting on the emergence of an anti-apartheid movement within the Dutch Reformed Church, whose doctrines have traditionally sanctioned racial discrimination:

"If the Dutch Reformed Church should become true to the nature of the Church of God as His agent to declare His will in a situation of injustice and oppression, if that church can become as once it was the voice of the voiceless, the champion of the oppressed, then South Africa is going to be revolutionized and I am glad I am alive at this time. God be praised."

And in a recent speech at the University of Stellenbosch, commenting on White South Africa's rising guerrilla insurgency in Namibia and elsewhere on her northern borders:

"Black and White look at what appears to be the same reality, but their perception is almost certain to be diametrically opposed. There is no way the Blacks as a whole will regard the White boy on the border as a hero defending them from the total onslaught. There is no way that the bulk of the Blacks will be persuaded to regard their sons, husbands, and relatives on the other side of the border as terrorists, whatever the law may say and no matter how much Whites may fulminate.

"What the future holds for our country will, ultimately, be determined by how Afrikaners and Blacks relate to one another. This is because the Afrikaners are dominant in White society, which currently enjoys overwhelming political, economic, and social power. On the other hand, the Blacks have an unassailable ascendancy in population numbers which gives them a tremendous potential for playing a decisive role in the unfolding history of our land."

Bishop Tutu's response to my

questions about South Africa's nuclear weapons policies did not differ materially from those of other Black Africans with whom I raised the subject: He had no doubt that some in the White establishment would use the bomb like Samson to pull down the temple. He said South Africa's military incursions into Angola, which had left a heavy toll, were evidence the government would stop at nothing.

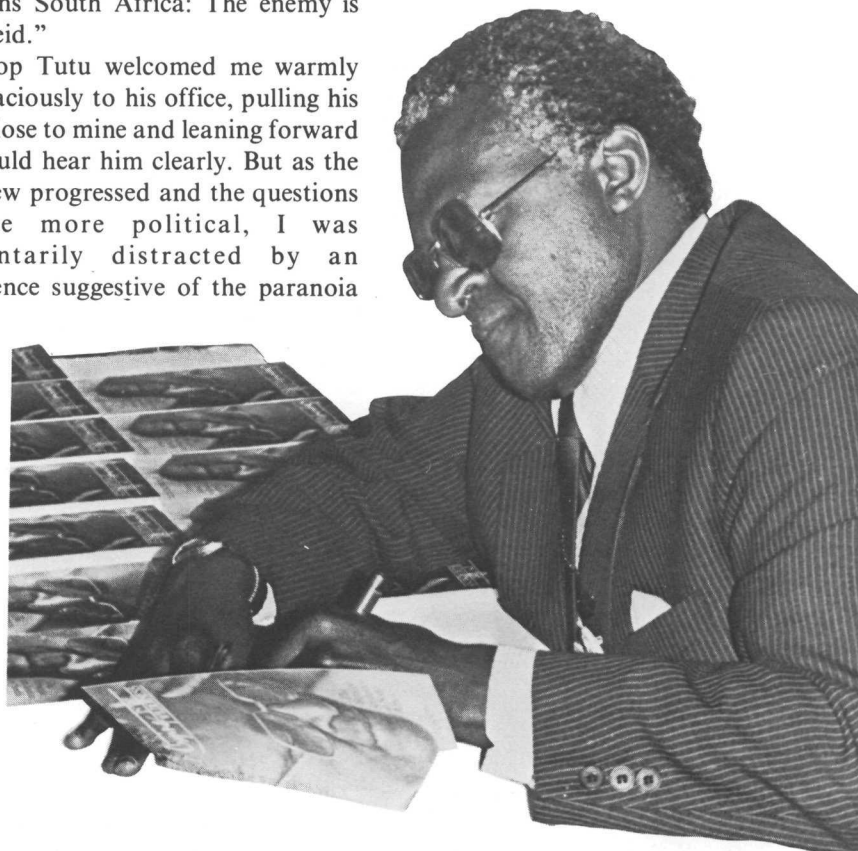
But what about the view, often expressed in official circles in America as well as South Africa, that Cuban forces in Angola pose a threat?

"I am one of those who say they are no threat. If the Russians or Cubans were to invade us, South African Blacks would not raise a finger in resistance. We do indeed have an enemy that threatens South Africa: The enemy is apartheid."

Bishop Tutu welcomed me warmly and graciously to his office, pulling his chair close to mine and leaning forward so I could hear him clearly. But as the interview progressed and the questions became more political, I was momentarily distracted by an occurrence suggestive of the paranoia

which seems to afflict so much of political life in South Africa. My host got up from his seat to adjust the venetian blind behind me, then moved to a couch further away and continued the discussion. He was probably just trying to get the sun out of his eyes. But I had the feeling he may also have been taking a simple precaution against being secretly tape-recorded by a stranger.

If that were indeed his motive, it would not have been without some cause. Despite the protection afforded by his solid footing in the South African religious establishment and in the world-wide Anglican community, Desmond Tutu has increasingly become a target for political repression by a government which has seldom shrunk



**Set apart momentarily from the violence of apartheid, Bishop Desmond Tutu graciously inscribed personal messages to those who bought his book, *Crying in the Wilderness*, at General Convention. His message to THE WITNESS staff: "Thank you for your ministry. God bless you richly."**



from silencing politically offensive members of the clergy, from whatever race or church.

Currently the South African Council of Churches and some of its highest officials are under investigation because of government allegations of misuse of church funds. Bishop Tutu and others look upon the charges as an effort to undermine the SACC's financial base and discredit its leaders.

Bishop Tutu himself has been denied a passport on grounds that he had harmed the South African economy by encouraging foreign boycotts and sanctions against the country — an offense under South African law. The ban was not lifted until late this summer, and then only temporarily, when U.S. Vice President George Bush, an Episcopalian, was prevailed upon to pressure the South African government into letting the bishop attend the General Convention of the Episcopal Church in New Orleans. (The travel document identified him as “a person of indeterminate nationality.”)

There is an irony in the issuance of this strangely worded travel document to Bishop Tutu. While it freed him to go abroad once again, spreading his gospel of liberation for South Africa, the action also served the contrary purposes of the South African government — and its cohorts in the Reagan Administration.

South Africa has been one of the principal beneficiaries of America's de-emphasis of its international human rights program since the defeat of President Jimmy Carter. Under President Reagan's “constructive engagement” policy, the United States has eased the diplomatic and political pressure and trade restrictions that the Carter Administration had employed as leverage against apartheid.

In recent months the Reagan Administration has been pressing South African Prime Minister P. W. Botha for a reciprocal gesture — some

sign that “constructive engagement” was paying off. This summer's loosening of the leash on Desmond Tutu proved to be the first dividend. It behooves Episcopalians and other celebrants of Bishop Tutu's new freedom to make sure it serves a purpose other than the vindication of Ronald Reagan's accommodation with apartheid. This can best be done by paying attention to — and acting upon — what the bishop has to say.

Point number one is that the body of laws and customs by which South Africa is governed — call it by the old dirty word of “apartheid” or its new name of “separate development” — is systematically designed to benefit 18% of the population, the Whites, at the expense of the remaining Blacks, Indians, and mixed-race “coloureds.” Blacks don't want the system reformed; they want it scrapped.

Point two is that neither the United States nor any other major nation can be neutral. Any investment in South Africa is an investment in apartheid. Any trade dealing by an American company or institution in South Africa, even under the rubric of the “Sullivan principles” — unenforceable rules which provide the semblance but not necessarily the substance of equal opportunities for workers — lends strength and respectability to White minority rule.

Point three is that time is growing short for peaceful change in South Africa. “There is still good will among Blacks, although they are growing increasingly impatient, hate-filled and angry so that those of us who still speak about the possibility of peaceful change are a rapidly diminishing minority,” says Bishop Tutu.

An apostle of nonviolence in the tradition of Mohandas Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr., Bishop Tutu calls attention to the day-to-day, all-pervasive violence of institutionalized racism for the benefit of those who can

see only the reactive violence of its victims. It is not the African National Congress that has introduced violence, he says; the violence was there to begin with.

Bishop Tutu was not one of them, but in South Africa I met and talked with Blacks who had all but given up on peaceful change. One of them took me on a tour of Soweto, the teeming Black ghetto in Johannesburg's backyard, pointing to the many improvements — a community center, new school buildings, a technical college — built with guilt money that flowed in following riots that left scores of school children dead in 1976.

Blacks also know that the 1976 Soweto riots dealt an economic blow to South Africa by frightening foreign investors. The resulting White panic was something they welcomed, just as they exult nowadays over White discomfiture that comes from the increasingly frequent ANC dynamitings of power plants, police stations, electricity transmission towers, and other symbols of White domination — and White vulnerability.

The White reaction is more political repression and more physical fortification. A White guide took me on a tour of a Department of Agriculture & Fisheries computer center in Pretoria where windows were screened with heavy wire mesh to repel hand grenades and the building was encased in double walls to prevent penetration by rocket shells. Following an attack several years ago on the mammoth Sasol factory which converts coal to petroleum, the government spent more on security improvements than it had cost to *build* the factory. Parliament has passed legislation permitting the government to designate any area or building a “national key point,” meaning that it must be protected against sabotage or attack. (The list of national key points is secret.)

*Continued on page 22*

# Committee Invokes 'Conscience,' Bars Women to Priesthood

by John Chane

*"The Standing Committee of the Diocese of Northwestern Pennsylvania, as now constituted, believing (in the majority), that women are not appropriate subjects for ordination to the presbyterate of this church, wishes to state that it will not recommend female postulants for candidacy to the priesthood, or recommend them for ordination to the priesthood. This statement is to be communicated to our bishop, the Commission on Ministry, the Board of Examining Chaplains, and clergy of the diocese."*

The above demeaning statement was issued early this year in my diocese (formerly Erie). The Standing Committee went on to say:

"It is evident that this question remains unsettled within the Anglican family. There are persons of obvious good faith who are on different sides of this issue. To be fair to those women who, in good faith, feel called to the order of priests, they should know that as it is now constituted, the Standing Committee will not give encouragement or consent for women seeking ordination to the priesthood of this church."

I find the decision of the Standing

Committee denying women of the church due process and equal access to the selection and calling process of the presbyterate of this church to be a stain on the Diocese of Northwestern Pennsylvania and the Episcopal Church as a whole. I believe that a primary reason why decisions like the one offered to the church by Northwestern Pennsylvania are able to be born, nurtured and survive is because a large majority of us who should know better are either afraid or too tired to stand their ground and say NO MORE!

No more victims . . . no more quiet acceptance of the "underground railroad system" — a system that provides women who are labeled inappropriate subjects for priesthood because of their sex in one diocese, a safe passage to a more appropriate diocese. There can no longer be second class servanthood in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ. As a church we can, I guess, be judged guilty for a variety of behaviors, sins and offenses. Let us not, however, be accused of the crime of silence.

Two issues that must be addressed, as they relate to the Standing Committee's statement are:

1) Who has the ultimate authority in the American Episcopal Church to interpret Canon Law?

2) What authority and direction does the House of Bishops offer the larger church by its Statement of Conscience, adopted in 1977 at Port St. Lucie, Fla.?

The "General Provisions Respecting Ordination" as adopted by the General Convention at Minneapolis in 1976

states: "The provisions of these canons for the admission of candidates, and ordination to the three orders — bishops, priests and deacons — shall be equally applicable to men and women." As I review this canon, I ask myself, "How can the National Episcopal Church legislate one thing, and a Diocesan Standing Committee deny its content and process and legislate another?" How can the representative Convention in Minneapolis declare that by canon, "women are appropriate subjects for ordination" and the Standing Committee of my diocese say "not so"? At face value it seems without much question that here is a violation of National Church Canon Law.

But The Standing Committee's position places heavy emphasis on the word "shall" as it appears within the body of the canon: "shall be equally applicable to men and women." The Standing Committee says *shall* is a permissive word and not directive. Since when is the word "shall" permissive by definition? If there has been a recent re-definition of the word as it relates to Canon Law, I would like



**The Rev. Canon John B. Chane** is pastor of the Cathedral of St. Paul, Erie, and a graduate of Yale Divinity School. Chane intends to pursue the conscience issue described above at the provincial level, if his diocese continues its silence.

definition of conscience.

When the Standing Committee published its statement, I responded with concern, anguish and embarrassment. I wrote to the individual members requesting that they reconsider their position and publicly rescind their statement. At the time it seemed to me that what we had here was a local matter, a diocesan problem, possibly a simple canonical misunderstanding. I am convinced now, however, after eight months of pursuing the behavior of this Standing Committee, and with little diocesan support behind me, that the issue can only be resolved outside Northwestern Pennsylvania. Who really does have the final authority to interpret and uphold the National Church Canons? What are the defined limits of claiming conscience as the rationale for choosing

not to obey Canon Law?

It is important for our church in 1982 to claim the beginning of "Jubilee Ministry" as an important part of the 67th General Convention deliberations. It is important to mount a new and powerful offensive against hunger, unemployment and renewal outreach to the elderly. It is equally important, however, not to shun the poverty and anguish we create within the Body of Christ by allowing church bodies like the Standing Committee of Northwestern Pennsylvania to legislate against a person to serve Christ as a priest because that person is a woman. We cannot address the poverty within our own fellowship until we can honestly live out the reality that women are the appropriate subjects for ordination to the presbyterate of this church. □

to know it.

The Standing Committee, when pressed, also claims that its right to author and pursue its position denying priesthood to women, is a matter of conscience. It is their feeling that their position is affirmed by the Statement of Conscience adopted at Port St. Lucie. Although I believe that the right of conscience is a primary right of every human creature, I cannot accept that it permits the Standing Committee to do what it has done. Conscience, as it emanates from Port St. Lucie, does not and should not give any person or legislative body in the church the right to violate the defined right of women to be considered on an equal basis as men in the whole candidacy/ordination process. Those who plead conscience must be prepared to count the cost of their action.

But in the Diocese of Northwestern Pennsylvania and other dioceses where women are "not the appropriate subjects for the priesthood" it is clear that the only people who end up having to count the cost are the women who are victimized by a cowardly and distorted

While Bishop Ed Welles was politicking for women's rights at a high level during General Convention, women in Pennsylvania were still having problems getting ordained, as the accompanying story indicates.



# Hispanics Face Possible Jail Sentence . . . Again

Five Hispanic advocates of Puerto Rican independence — two of whom have close connections with the Episcopal Church — are again facing possible jail sentences for refusing to testify before a Grand Jury.

As THE WITNESS goes to press, Judge Charles Sifton was to decide whether to dismiss the indictment of the five for criminal contempt, or to proceed with their trial Dec. 13. The Hispanics, with whom WITNESS readers are familiar by this time, are Maria Cueto, former executive director of the Hispanic desk at the Episcopal Church Center; Steven Guerra of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company Board of Trustees; Ricardo Romero, a Chicano from Alamosa, Col., and Julio and Andres Rosado, Puerto Ricans, from New York.

Lawyers for the five moved Oct. 7 to dismiss the case, charging Government misconduct. Especially prejudicial, they said, was an FBI statement to the press which characterized the five as constituting "the remaining unincarcerated leadership of the FALN," the alleged terrorist group seeking Puerto Rican independence.

However, Raymond J. Dearie, U.S. Attorney for the Eastern District of New York, said when asked about the FBI statement: "This is not an FALN case. This is a case of criminal contempt. I have not seen what the FBI said." (*New York Times* 9/29)

A new development in the case is the changing of the charge from civil contempt for refusal to testify before a Grand Jury to *criminal* contempt, which can carry a longer sentence. The life of the Grand Jury before which the



Steve Guerra

Maria Cueto

five refused to testify has expired. Their last appearance in court was early this year.

At that time they repeated their commitment to non-collaboration based on their belief that the Grand Jury is being used to disrupt and neutralize their political/community work. All except Guerra have been jailed previously for the same stand.

In spite of the fact that the five had attorneys representing their availability for future proceedings, FBI agents on the weekend of Sept. 25 picked up four of them in a flurry of arrests across the country. Unable to locate Romero, they announced he was a "fugitive," although he voluntarily turned himself in later to the authorities.

Commented the Rev. Eugene Boutilier, executive director of the Southern California Ecumenical Council, "This arrest and publicity have followed a pattern of harassment by the FBI of these and other advocates of

political independence for Puerto Rico, a cause they have a right to advocate."

The Rev. Richard W. Gillett, director of the Church and Society Los Angeles office, elaborated: "Because it was an eye-opener for me, I want to lay out in some detail how Maria Cueto was treated. Maria was arrested on a Friday at a department store lunch counter. She was suddenly surrounded by seven FBI agents, searched, and handcuffed and taken to the women's prison. Bail was set at \$50,000 and she was put in a maximum security cell with a hole for a toilet. The lawyer I obtained for Maria was unable to get a judge to consider bail over the weekend, and she was not released until after her court hearing on Monday, some 72 hours later. I attempted a pastoral visit over that period but was denied entrance.

"The Federal Court arraignment of Maria in Los Angeles was strictly a procedural affair in which the Grand Jury contempt charge was made and



after 15 minutes the judge ordered her released on a personal recognizance bond. It was an hour before she was free. After the judge's decision, they even put the handcuffs back on to take her to the marshall's office before releasing her.

"I think we can be clear that the FBI statement, its uncorroborated charges, and the treatment of all five are typical of the harassment frequently brought down upon minorities, women and persons advocating unpopular causes."

The Episcopal Church Publishing Company and other concerned church groups were assessing various strategies pending the several court dates set up as the case moves along.

## Resources

**Film:** *Until She Talks*, a dramatic film about a young woman caught up in the Grand Jury process. Directed and produced by Mary Lampson, featuring Pamela Reed. Color, 16 mm, 45 minutes.

Mary Lampson's *Until She Talks* is based upon Lampson's personal encounter with the Grand Jury system plus interviews with others whom it has touched. It focuses upon Judith Ashe and opens with Judith in jail. She is 23, has not been accused of any crime, has not been sentenced. She has refused to testify before a federal Grand Jury and she is in jail until she talks. The film reveals the legal process that put her there and the increasing test of her convictions not only in the Grand Jury room, but also in her relationships with her friends, her family, and her lawyer. Rental, \$65, First Run Features, 144 Bleecker St., New York City (212) 673-6881.

**Articles:** Those recent subscribers to THE WITNESS who would like background articles from past publications about the case can write THE WITNESS, P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002. □

*Continued from page 12*

a card-carrying member, I know that many members of the Guild were harassed because they were Communists, and a sure way to darken the names of the organizers in the field was either to point to their jail records or to Red-bait.

I also recalled the times we brought food out to striking sugar cane workers who were trying to organize in the '50s. Our Christian Family Movement caravans received bomb threats from the Ku Klux Klan, and I remember driving out, terrified, with my brother and cousins and their young children . . . and the lovely, warm reception from the Black workers in the fields. Those same sugar cane workers are still trying to organize. So are workers in much of the South. I wonder if the movie "Norma Rae" has played at the Saenger.

The moment was traumatic, and I'm not proud that I decided to go in. It's too easy to say, "I did it to hear Bishop Tutu." I told the pickets I met that I would do all I could to get their story out.

With what great joy, then, did I read Henry Morrison's commentary entitled "Scabbing Our Way to George Bush," the next day in *Issues*:

*"There was considerable poetic justice in the fact that Episcopalians (and other interested folk) had to cross a picket line to hear the Vice President in one of the most fiercely anti-labor Administrations this country has seen in a long time. The 200 members, apprentices and extras of Stagehands Local 39 have been on strike against the Saenger Theater since Aug. 16 in a thus far futile effort to get management to the bargaining table.*

*"It was sad to see the crowd of Episcopalians pass through the picket line with no visible concern or interest for the plight of those*

*picketing. It was sad, too, that Bishop Tutu, a courageous foe of apartheid, had to appear in such circumstances — quite apart from the grim irony of his speaking on the same bill with a Vice President who has been helping to build a closer alliance between our Government and the South African regime . . ."*

God bless you, Hank Morrison!

The second highlight was getting to meet Bishop Tutu in person, at the WITNESS booth, after his talk at the theater. How different it is to hear *Revelation* interpreted by a living prophet who carries the scars of oppression in his very person, as compared to listening to the same passage read on Sunday, say, in a church in Suburbia, U.S.A.

The third highlight came when Mary Jane Baker of Philadelphia, who volunteered much time in our booth, told me that Bishop Ed Welles was wearing the T-shirt sold by the Episcopal Women's Caucus — "A Woman's Place is in the House . . . of Bishops." And Pat Park, EWC president, dropped by to say, "Not only that, but he's wearing it right in the House of Bishops!"

I grabbed my camera and hurried to the Hilton, where Bishop Welles graciously posed between votes. Later I was privileged to spend a half hour getting acquainted with this extraordinary human being who was one of the three bishops who ordained the Philadelphia 11. I had already met the other two extraordinaires — Bob DeWitt and Dan Corrigan. Bishop Welles told me, among other things, that he prayed daily, by name, for the nurses who are caring for his wife. I asked him to add me to his prayer list.

Thus went the more colorful moments, for me, at a General Convention which was otherwise . . . beige. □

## Letters . . . Continued from page 2

always welcomed the breath of fresh air that blows across my desk when a new issue arrives. The perspective which you have to offer is not one which I can encounter in a Jewish institution, and so I have made you my adjunct professors of social ethics . . . at an astonishingly low tuition rate!

During the last year I taught a class as a graduate assistant at Temple, and it was my great pleasure to have had the Rev. Barbara Harris visit as a guest lecturer. Your article last July by Albert Blackwell, "Plutonium is a Religious Issue," was still percolating in my brain when I had to write a sermon for the Sabbath on which we read the portion about the tower of Babel. And, in the June issue I found "War is Fun! Like Pac-Man," which I shared with a rabbi-friend who shares my concern about the way in which electronic games are teaching our kids to objectify human beings. So, thank you for these gifts.

**Sue E. Levy**  
Abington, Pa.

## Permission to Reprint

I write to ask permission to reprint the very fine article "In Praise of Marriage" by Jim Campbell, which appeared in your August 1982 issue. I would like to put it in our parish newsletter which is mailed to approximately 325 households.

I enjoy reading THE WITNESS, and especially such first-rate articles as Jim Campbell's.

**The Rev. John D. Lane**  
New Orleans, La.

## WITNESS at Book Fair

We are having as part of our Adult Christian Education Forum, a Book and Publication Fair. The clergy of St. Peter's will be discussing selected journals to recommend for subscription by the adults of our parish. We plan to recommend THE WITNESS.

The average attendance at our Adult Forum is 75 persons. It is our sincere desire that we will obtain subscribers to

THE WITNESS. We are committed to providing an opportunity for the people of St. Peter's to learn of first rate resources such as your publication for issues confronting the faith today. .

**The Rev. Kent Belmore, Jr.**  
Long Island, N.Y.

## Doing Something Right

I have just read the anonymous letter in your August issue — "Martini on Head?" — and from the tone of it you must be doing something right. Please continue as you were!

**The Rev. Fredrick H. Dennis**  
Asheville, N.C.

## Issues Peripheral

After having received and read THE WITNESS, I do not wish to subscribe. I find that most of the issues dealt with, e.g. women's movement and gay liberation, are peripheral to the church's central task of preaching the Gospel and having the ministry of reconciliation through Christ in the world. I also feel that the views held by THE WITNESS on most such questions are biblically and theologically wrong.

In addition, I think that the attitude frequently conveyed by the editorial staff is, with all due respect, arrogant and pompous. Beware of believing that only "liberal" Christians or only your staff possess and act on a social conscience.

**The Rev. C. Michael Pumphrey**  
Salisbury, Md.

## Supporter at 95

I'm a few days less than 95 years old and cannot read THE WITNESS anymore. I can only read large type books or magazines, but I want to support THE WITNESS for one more year as I have from the start of it. You are doing a fine job that needs to be done.

I was a personal friend of Bishop Johnson and Bill Spofford and always have taken THE WITNESS. More power to you.

**The Rev. Paul Roberts**  
Phoenix, Ariz.

## Violence . . . Continued from page 17

"It is not that we welcome violence, but violence is the only language they seem to understand," said the young Black man who took me on the tour of Soweto. Black violence has been directed solely against property, he told me, even though the country's racially segregated facilities — its buses, movie houses, and clubs — would make White people easy targets for attack.

In this vicious cycle of violence, Bishop Tutu may feel himself to be part of a rapidly diminishing minority seeking peaceful change in South Africa. But he fits comfortably into a growing movement of those for whom the Gospel offers the best guidance on how to break the cycle.

More and more it is the churches of South Africa — Roman Catholics and dissident Afrikaner clerics as well as Bishop Tutu's own South African Council of Churches — that are providing the ethical and spiritual foundation for general political resistance to the violence of apartheid. In pointing to injustice as the nutrient of violence and demanding its eradication in the name of the Gospel, these religious leaders also are renewing their credentials as children of God.

Desmond Tutu and other South African clerics who have put themselves on the line in opposition to the violence of apartheid have their counterparts in the growing legions of men and women of the cloth in America and elsewhere who inveigh against the larger violence that threatens all humanity.

Like Bishop Tutu, the prophets of resistance to planetary nuclear violence need all the attention they can get. Listening to *him* may also help us hear *them*. □

## Resource

***Crying in the Wilderness: The Struggle for Justice in South Africa*, by Bishop Desmond Tutu, Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 225 Jefferson S.E., Grand Rapids, MI, 49503. Paper, \$5.95.**

Editorial . . . Continued from page 3

ask the question is to experience an immediate palpable feeling of inner embarrassment. Aside from a few small successes (such as the arms race resolutions; and the courageous Labor Day letter of 40 urban bishops) — and aside from being momentarily opened to wider vision and example by such presences as Bishop Desmond Tutu, Canon Burgess Carr, and Coretta Scott King — there was no basic change of movement towards that “metanoia,” that turning-around which this God of Amos, Isaiah and Jesus Christ demands of us. It did not happen at New Orleans.

Somehow, somewhere within this vast dormant church of ours, there must emerge that elusive change of heart, that change of the angle of vision that theologian Gustavo Gutierrez speaks of: a vision that comes from “the exploited sectors, the despised races, the marginalized cultures, those whom we do not know in their energy and vitality unless we look at them from the underside of history . . .”

Such a vision must, in the years until next Convention, germinate largely at parish and community levels, issuing now in concrete actions at these levels, and slowly building an effective and collaborative process of mission and ministry which will not be then denied.

— R. W. G. and the editors

#### CREDITS

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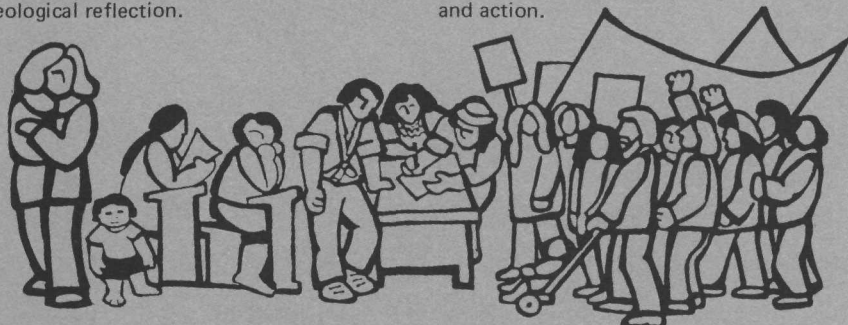
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# THE VOL. 65 NO. 12 DECEMBER, 1982 WITNESS

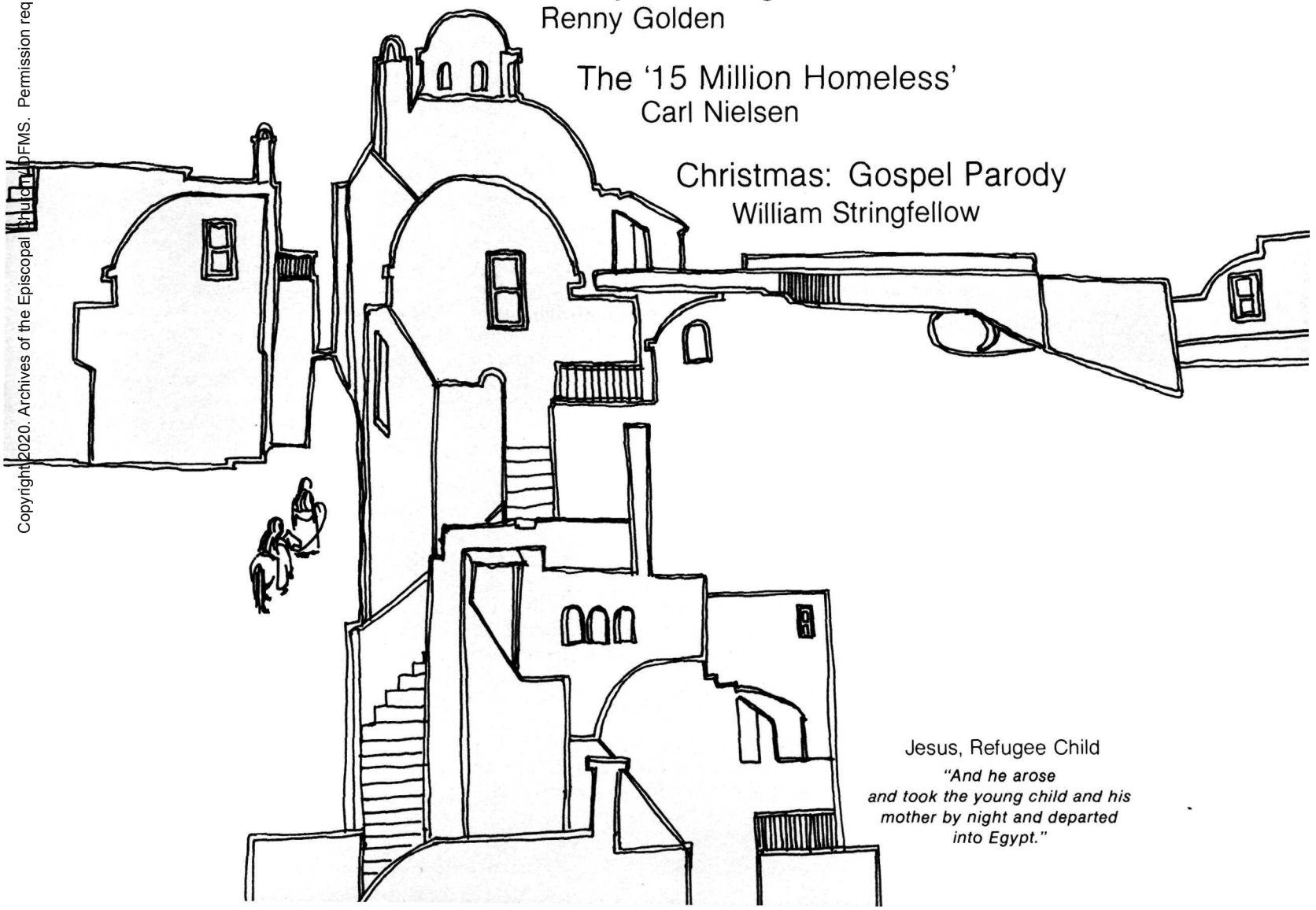
Sanctuary for Refugees  
Renny Golden

The '15 Million Homeless'  
Carl Nielsen

Christmas: Gospel Parody  
William Stringfellow

Jesus, Refugee Child

*"And he arose  
and took the young child and his  
mother by night and departed  
into Egypt."*



# LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

## Twisted Journalism

I have long admired THE WITNESS as an organ of reasoned criticism, and a vehicle by which the manipulations of a powerful Establishment are called into question. But your September editorial contributes nothing to a clarification of the troubled situation in the Middle East, beyond merely parroting the standard PLO line.

Having just returned from my 11th trip to Jerusalem, and my first trip to Southern Lebanon and Beirut, during which I spent nearly a month talking to Israelis, Palestinians and Lebanese, I am convinced that the U.S. public has been gravely deluded concerning the Israeli incursion into Lebanon. Your statements to the contrary, "every Palestinian man, woman and child" has *not* become "an Israeli military target"; indeed, such a statement borders so closely on anti-Semitism that I am embarrassed by the Episcopal connection of your magazine.

Beirut is not a "mini-Hiroshima," nor a study "in absurdity, scandal and horror." In August I was in Tyre, Sidon, Damour and Beirut. Without exception, every Lebanese man and woman to whom I talked referred to the Israeli army, *not* the Palestinian, as "the army of liberation," happy that at last Southern Lebanon had been freed from an eight-year nightmare of rape, torture, brutality and senseless murder, under the direction of that same Arafat who is so liberally pictured in the American press kissing babies. Of course Lebanon

wishes to be free of all foreign armies, but it is only and specifically the Israelis that the people on the street hope are the *last* to leave, for it is only the Israelis that they trust to restore law and order. Thousands more people were killed in Lebanon by the PLO than have been killed in El Salvador, yet we paid them no mind, because they were Arab Christians. THE WITNESS maintained its damning silence, erupting in hypocritical indignation only when "the Jews" got involved.

In the same issue, Michael Hamilton's article exhibits much greater compassion, though again not without distortion. There is no time within the living memory of the Palestinians when "the land of Israel was largely theirs"; statistics simply cannot support that statement. Nor were Arabs "forced off their land in 1948"; it was the Arab countries who declared war on Israel that year, and then fled when they discovered they could not drive the Jews into the sea. The PLO is *not* seen by a majority of Palestinians living within Israel as "their symbol of hope." Education of Jews and Arabs is, yes, unequal in Israel, but that is by the insistence of the Arab authorities, which refuse all cooperation with the Israeli Ministry of Education. The student population of Israel's university system is about 10% Palestinian, and government scholarships are available for Palestinian students to pursue graduate studies abroad. St. George's School, the official Anglican boys school in Jerusalem, provides a better education for Palestinian young men than do most of the Israeli public high schools for Jewish young men and women.

Never, in all my visits to the West Bank, have I seen Jewish settlers building swimming pools which drain Arab water supplies and thus ruin Arab farms; on the contrary, Palestinian agriculture has reached astonishing new heights, due to the Israeli willingness to share out their own miraculous agricultural technology. Nor is the Israeli Army active in "communal punishment" of the Palestinians.

Finally, Fr. Hamilton suggests that a UN mandate in a Palestinian state would enhance Jewish military security. Has he forgotten the heinous UN resolution equating Zionism with racism? Is he unaware of the negotiated cooperation between UNWRA and the PLO in Lebanon, by which elementary schools were used as storage for live ammunition, curricula limited to studies supportive of the Palestinian line, and classes shortened so that the students 10 years old and up could be trained to murder Zionists?

Twisted and irresponsible Christian journalism is a grave disservice to the faithful. Sadly, I have now learned that I can no longer trust THE WITNESS to tell the truth.

**The Rev. Dr. Philip Culbertson**  
Oberlin, Ohio

## Credits Courage

Your editorial in the September issue was the finest thing I have read on Menachem Begin's latest venture. Michael Hamilton's article brought information that we had not heard out here in the Midwest. You deserve much credit for your courage.

I suspect you will have your share of vituperation in response. A local Rabbi, noted for his ecumenic spirit, called on his erstwhile fellow admirers of Begin to reassess, to look at the action without blinders, the only Jewish voice in St. Louis disassociating himself from Israeli outrages in Beirut.

To the amazement of much of the Gentile community, the attack on the Rabbi from members of his own group was vicious. No one analyzed his statement and appraised it. In letter after letter to the newspaper that carried his original, they attacked him personally as "proud," "egocentric," and "in need of a psychiatrist."

As an admirer of the Rabbi, and as one who personally received two citations from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in Denver for work as vice-

**Letters . . . Continued on page 18**

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# THE WITNESS EDITORIAL

## Indelible Image of Christmas

“**A**nd so it goes,” shrugged the world-weary and numbed character in Vonnegut’s *Slaughterhouse Five* as tragedies large and small passed before him. So with us. “Study shows 5-6% increase in suicide rate for every 1% increase in unemployment” . . . “Reagan Administration presses for limited nuclear capability in Western Europe” . . . “Mideast peace faces another setback” . . .

And so it goes.

This mood is a reaction to the slaughter of hope, with “cool” indifference cloaking a deep despair. But any attempt to put on a feigned attitude, such as indifference, inevitably reveals the concealed emotion. It is evident that ours is indeed not a cool nation, but one whose anxiety betrays its loss of hope.

Feeding this anxiety is the central paradigm of our time — the threat of nuclear annihilation. Other threats abound, but atomic holocaust gathers them all up. For generations people have argued over whether anyone wins a war. Debates have centered on the accounting of the debits and credits of various conflicts,

seeking to determine which party was able finally to survey the carnage with some sense of gain. No longer. In this nuclear age the statement, “No one wins a war,” is a simple statement of fact. There will be no one to survey the carnage.

True humility is knowing one’s place in the universe. This world and its affairs are, finally, not ours but God’s. We have overreached ourselves. We have forgotten who and what we are. As God said to the hapless Job: “Can you fasten the harness of the Pleiades, or untie Orion’s bands? Can you guide the morning star season by season and show the Bear and its cubs which way to go? . . . Will lightning flashes come at your command and answer, ‘Here we are’?”

Only God is God. And God’s ways are not our ways. Our little plans, our little schemes, collide mindlessly and tragically in the darkness of our hearts.

God chose, in taking on human flesh, to live with vulnerability. To live with faith means to take on that

**Editorial . . . Continued on page 19**



*"When the church has to break the law to provide refuge for homeless people, the struggle for justice has reached a new stage."*

# Churches Confront INS, Offer Refugees Sanctuary

by Renny Golden

In December, the Midwest religious task force network of Central America committees will declare a public sanctuary for Guatemalan and Salvadoran refugees in a number of cities in the Midwest in open challenge to U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) deportation policy.

Church sanctuary has already been established in Chicago and Tucson and other churches are expected to announce similar commitments soon in Evanston, Ill., Milwaukee and Minneapolis.

Last summer, Wellington Avenue United Church of Christ in Chicago became the first stop on an underground railroad extending from Guatemala through the Mexico/Arizona border to the Midwest. The

UCC community wrote an open letter to INS declaring their intention to break the law in order to harbor a young refugee named "Juan" (a pseudonym). If convicted of harboring a fugitive, the Rev. David Chevrier and two other UCC members of the Wellington Church community could receive a five year prison term and \$2,000 fine.

It was the decision to *act* that was the hard part for Juan and the congregation. The risk for Juan was deportation and possible death because he had been imprisoned in El Salvador. For the Wellington community the risk was felony. At the service where Juan was presented to the congregation, their thunderous applause was all the community was able to "say." For his part, Juan was only able to whisper to a translator his gratitude for their act of sanctuary. Then Juan also "spoke" without words, he lifted his fist in the traditional Latin American symbol of solidarity and resistance. It was hard to remember the community's previous

hesitancies, watching them answer Juan's salute with hundreds of raised fists.

The Sunday service was not typical for the Wellington community. There in their midst, blinking back tears, a young refugee faced TV cameras wearing a sombrero and bandana to conceal his identity, and still bearing scars and burns from six months of torture. For Wellington, the war in Central America had come home.

David Chevrier, sensing the community's deep recognition of the holiness of their action, all but shouted an invocation of the ancient tradition of sanctuary. "We live," Chevrier proclaimed, "in a time of *encroachment* . . . a violation of the holiness of even the most basic of human rights. A demonic domination has been unleashed that is profaning the human through torture and terror. It is time to provide a safe place and cry out *basta!* Enough! The blood stops here at our doors."

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**Renny Golden** is a free-lance journalist and poet. She is a member of the Chicago Religious Task Force on Central America and co-author with Sheila Collins of *Struggle is a Name for Hope* (West End Press).



According to Barbara Lagoni, chairperson of the church council and a potential felon, the congregation's decision to offer sanctuary had immersed them in a political and theological reflection on the plight of Guatemalan and Salvadoran refugees. "We learned about immigration policy and law rapidly," said Lagoni. Even though Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees meet U.S. code requirements of the Refugee Act of 1980 and are recognized as refugees by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the U.S. State Department refuses to grant them status. Of the over 15,000 asylum applications by Salvadoran refugees in the past two years, only seven have been granted. INS continues to deport Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees to their homelands to face possible torture and death.

Recently, the Manzo Council (Ariz.) litigatory team filed a \$30 million lawsuit against INS and Harry Malone, Administrator of El Centro INS Detention Center, for unlawfully deporting two Salvadorans whose cases were under appeal. The Manzo complaint states that the men were "physically removed from the facility screaming and crying in fear." Manzo Council lawyers' attempts to contact the men's families have confirmed their fears. One of the men is presumed dead, the other has disappeared. Peter Schey, Director of the National Center for Immigrant Rights, claims, "hundreds of deportees are being murdered. They are put on planes here, but they never show up at home. They just disappear."

Currently, INS deports 1,000 Salvadorans and hundreds of Guatemalans *per month*.

In Chicago alone there are over 7,000 refugees, according to the Midwest Salvadoran Human Rights Commission. (An official number cannot be corroborated because refugees remain hidden, fearful of deportation.) INS law states that Guatemalan/Salvadoran

refugees are not eligible for political refugee status but are only considered economic refugees, in spite of a Civil War which has cost the lives of 34,000 Salvadorans in two years and 20,000 Guatemalans in the same period.

In response, the theology of sanctuary offers the church a concrete and direct way to challenge the policy of the U.S. Government in Central America and of the INS, as well as providing protection to refugees created by that policy. The presence of refugees in the church gives refugees themselves, the voiceless ones, the opportunity to offer living testimony about the war's effects. The Vargas family has become the community's teachers.

For two months now, volunteers have climbed the three flights of wooden stairs that snake their way to a small apartment off the church gym that houses the Vargas family. When entering the family's two-room apartment, a visitor is distracted by an open transom that looks over neighborhood rooftops. Ann Frank's hideaway comes to mind. In a far corner, Daniel Vargas hunches over a sewing machine repairing a church member's raincoat. He's a tailor by trade, but won't accept money for this work. Senora Vargas smiles now, offers a chair. When they first arrived she sat in the back, terrified of a machine gun attack. Because she and three of the children had come almost directly to

Wellington in one swing from Mexico through the underground railroad, she had not understood the new country's climate.

Daniel explains the family's sojourn as a decision to save their teenage sons from the National Guard. Daniel insists he isn't political. When asked about his work, however, he talks of taking part in a workers' strike which took over a power plant. When the government moved toward the plant, the workers were prepared to blow up the plant and themselves rather than surrender. He doesn't explain more, but drifts into talk of the incident which sent him forth on his preparatory journey to bring his family out of their village.

One night, after the usual round of gun shots had ceased, he found his grandson weeping. He held the boy thinking the noise had frightened him. But the 6-year-old was afraid for Daniel. "Soon," choked the child, "the soldiers will shoot you." Daniel's daughter and grandson still live in the village.

Reflecting on the 12 weeks of sanctuary among his congregation, the Rev. Chevrier considers the experience one of "overwhelming blessings." Testing Dave's propensity for enthusiasm, I asked for examples.

"There's been a rallying of the community. It was there before but it's there in different terms now. I don't know how to convey it. People would

**We will harvest  
a nation from a graveyard  
With every murder,  
they grow another revolutionary  
sweet and defiant as corn.**

—From a poem  
by Renny Golden



have had to be at the service when we welcomed Juan, the first refugee, or when we said farewell to him, or when we received the Vargas family, to sense the depth of spirit. This has touched us very deeply. I think it is due to Christians feeling it really tested their faith. Sanctuary has brought people in saying, 'I've been looking for a church that has some integrity. I'm glad I found yours.' One of the most important things that happened to us is the connection being made between the faith and the political situation in Central America. The church is being tested there. It may be one of the most powerful pieces of church history."

The Rev. Sid Mohn, who officiated at the Vargas family's welcoming service, had his own interpretation of the congregation's newly discovered definition of such presumed concepts as pastoral work. "When the church has to break the law in order to provide refuge for homeless people, the struggle for justice has reached a new stage. Now the pastoral has merged with the political, service is prophetic and love a subversive activity." Such a conviction, according to Mohn, is no longer the theological expression of the Church of Central America or the prerogative of liberation theologians but the discovery of an Anglo Church through the lived experience of giving sanctuary.

For food co-ordinator Connie Peterson, offering sanctuary has created a new confidence in the congregation. "In terms of fear, being able to say, 'This is where the violence stops,' to be able to say that following God's law and not that of the superpowers — these things all come together. They just sort of dissolve fear away. I feel much stronger now in terms of how far I would go. I've tested my willingness, as lots of people in this church have done, to help somebody else out."

The unfolding of a national sanctuary campaign was the conception of the

Rev. John Fife of the Southside Presbyterian Church in Tucson, Ariz. and Jim Corbett — the Quaker "coyote" (a coyote is exorbitantly paid for his expertise as a border sneak). Fife and Corbett became "coyotes" for the people, not profit. They began the underground railroad out of necessity because their sanctuary project was so successful that the deluge of refugees was swamping the community's capacity to provide social services, housing, "cover," etc. The Southside Presbyterian Church has brought over and harbored 1,600 Salvadorans.

What they needed was a larger network to absorb the rescued refugees and a national religious witness standing against INS practice which would have the objective of publicly

*"To be a Salvadoran is to be half-dead; the thing that moves is the half lives they left us."*

educating North Americans about the root cause of this exodus — the State Department support of the Salvadoran and Guatemalan military. Fife stressed the importance of this political objective lest religious groups perceive the sanctuary project as church-sponsored resettlement programs such as were offered to Chilean and Vietnamese refugees. According to Fife, such a humanitarian effort accomplishes little since the number rescued are miniscule compared to the almost 25,000 refugees the INS has returned to El Salvador and Guatemala in the last two years.

Jim Corbett underscores Fife's insistence on the political and moral objectives of the sanctuary project — it must involve people at the base church level and the moral witness must pressure the State Department. Corbett, who had worked with the

Tucson Ecumenical Council's impressive legal advocacy efforts, which bailed out many refugees from El Centro detention camp, despaired of affecting masses of base church persons in this country through the legal route.

Corbett was convinced that the religious community must act directly, not simply advocate, when the stakes were the lives of poor peasants. In a plea before the National Council of Churches, he said, "the refugees are right here at our door pleading for help to avoid capture. Actively asserting the right to aid fugitives from terror means doing it — not just preaching at a government that's capturing and deporting them, not just urging legislation that might help future refugees. With people in our midst being hunted down and shipped back, denouncing terror while ignoring the victims simply teaches the public how to live with atrocity."

Hard words, hard demands. But Jim Corbett isn't what you'd expect — that intense sort of macho prophet who demands righteousness. He's the opposite — shy, soft-spoken, a slight, bespectacled man who came out of retirement to do this work. He appeals, all but begs, for refugee aid.

Corbett is not modest when he claims his own "coyote" activity pales before the courage of the refugees and Mexican church communities who harbor them. He has heard so many refugee stories of lives sacrificed for others that he's come to experience the meaning of the cross — a preoccupation among Catholics that Jim's Quaker sensitivities once found morbid. "Recently as I struggled to cope emotionally with having become a peripheral witness to the crucifixion of the Salvadoran people, a suspicion grew that the cross opens a way beyond breakdown. This kind of meaning one discovers only in meeting those who share it, much the same way a language lives among a people rather than in a

dictionary. It is also the kind of meaning that is accessible to children and the unsophisticated, a meaning that is here among us, historically and communally, rather than being the invention of clever minds."

Corbett's arrest may be simply a matter of time. His rescue of refugees brings him across two borders as far down as Guatemala. He's run the Mexican border so many times that he fears his presence will draw too much surveillance against the refugees. The "relays" take him away from home for days at a time. Even at home in Tucson, he's often called out in the deep of night to make a starlit run. His wife's only birthday request was a night with the phone off the hook.

Both Fife and Corbett worry about the INS' next move, the possibility of their breaking sanctuary as the national campaign gains momentum. Currently INS dismisses the sanctuary project as insignificant and a ploy of the churches for publicity. "We're not about to send investigators into a church and start dragging people out in front of TV cameras," said Bill Joyce, assistant general council to the INS. "We'll just wait them out, wait until they leave the

church. This is just a political thing dreamed up by the churches to get publicity — a game to pressure the government to allow Salvadorans to stay here. If we thought it was a significant problem, then maybe we'd look at it. But there are plenty of illegal aliens out there." (*Christian Science Monitor*, 8/30/82)

There are plenty out there and the increase in Guatemalan Indians fleeing wholesale slaughter in the country is taxing the church underground railroad to its limit. For the Tucson community, the glut of Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees increases. "Each week," says Corbett, "we must turn our backs on refugees who desperately need help but for whom there's just not enough time or money. And there are hundreds of thousands in El Salvador whose agonies far exceed the sufferings of those reaching the U.S."

For those who are safe here, like the Vargas family, the underground railroad and sanctuary are a protection and opportunity for refugees, the invisible ones, to educate us about the price of U.S. intervention. When the press asked Senor Vargas if he felt his family was being "used" in order to

draw attention to the plight of the refugees, he gave this response, "That is the wrong question. People should be asking, 'Why are we fleeing?' The answer to that would be because of the genocide in my country. This extermination of our people is being made possible with the aid that this government is sending to El Salvador." The final reason Senor Vargas gave for coming to this country resonated with the poetry of Salvadoran Rogue Dalton. Vargas said they left "because we are all walking around like dead people and we don't know where to go." The slain Rogue Dalton wrote, "*To be a Salvadoran is to be half-dead, the thing that moves is the half-lives they left us.*"

## Resources

Information packets on *How to Do Sanctuary* can be obtained from Lee Holstein, Chicago Religious Task Force on Central America, 407 South Dearborn, #320, Chicago, IL 60605, or call (312) 427-2553. Packets cost \$6.

"*We Shall Rise Again*," the 1983 Calendar of the Religious Task Force. A weekly datebook of contemporary inspiration and struggle from Central America. \$4.50. Religious Task Force Calendar, 1747 Connecticut Ave. N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009.







# 15 Million People Refugees at Christmas

by Carl F. Nielsen

**I**t's as if the entire population of Holland, or Malaysia, or Australia, or the three biggest cities of the United States — New York, Chicago and Los Angeles — were made homeless and then scattered around the world.

The size of the world refugee crisis, with up to 15 million people who have had to flee their homes, means that few countries remain untouched. But there are five main groupings of people who make up the larger part of this unwilling movement of humanity.

**1. Afghans:** Following a *coup d'etat* in 1978, the Soviet invasion of 1979 and subsequent warfare, Afghans have fled by the millions to two neighboring countries.

About 2.7 million Afghans are reported to be in Pakistan, while the estimate of Afghan refugees in Iran is between 500,000 and 1.5 million. This means that of Afghanistan's 15 million population four years ago, approximately a quarter have since become refugees.

The solution to this problem lies in a political settlement that will enable the refugees to go back home voluntarily. Until this happens — a remote prospect at present — nearly all these refugees

will stay where they are.

**2. Indochinese:** An estimated two million people have fled the wars and turmoil over several years in the three countries of Indochina. Either they have crossed a border and become refugees in the usual sense of the word, or they have been displaced within their own country.

Since the American withdrawal from Vietnam in 1975 and the ensuing internal political and economic difficulties there, hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese have left by sea ("boat people") or by land.

Thailand became the haven for large numbers of people fleeing both Vietnam and its neighboring countries of Laos and Kampuchea. Since 1975 about 750,000 Indochinese have been resettled abroad while some 220,000 still await resettlement from several countries in Southeast Asia. Many more remain as internally displaced refugees, hoping that one day conditions may allow them to return home.

Greater stability throughout the Indochinese peninsula is necessary if people are not to be forced to quit their homes, but there is unfortunately little evidence that such an improvement is likely soon.

**3. Central Americans:** In the Central American region, including Mexico, there are now probably more

than one million refugees and internally displaced people, mainly from the conflicts in El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua.

For decades, people have been leaving Central American countries ruled by repressive regimes, but in relatively small numbers. What is new in recent years is the growing scale of official violence. This has been countered by popular insurgency to the point where war conditions prevail and non-combatants flee for their lives.

The situation in Central America, and particularly in El Salvador, poses an ironic dilemma for the United States. The Salvadoran government's repression and military operations against its own people continue to produce many refugees.

Yet the United States which is deeply involved in supporting this government, refuses to grant refugee status to Salvadorans reaching the United States. Instead it designates them as "economic migrants" and deports them back to El Salvador, which merely perpetuates the problem.

**4. Africans:** Africa is the continent which, according to the estimate of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, has half the world's refugees.

Conflicts in Ethiopia have produced hundreds of thousands of refugees. An estimated 700,000 have gone to Somalia

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and another 550,000 to Sudan. Zaire, which has itself produced more than a quarter of a million refugees, also has up to 400,000 who have fled there from neighboring countries.

Throughout the whole continent there are masses of people who have fled wars and oppressive regimes or, in southern Africa, apartheid and its consequences. As elsewhere, these refugees have either crossed borders or been displaced within their own countries.

Collectively, the refugees of Africa demonstrate the instability, conflict and tension that beset both domestic and regional politics in the continent.

The provision and observation of human rights for all in Africa, not just those suffering under white minority regimes, is recognized as the ideal — but probably distant — solution to Africa's refugee problem.

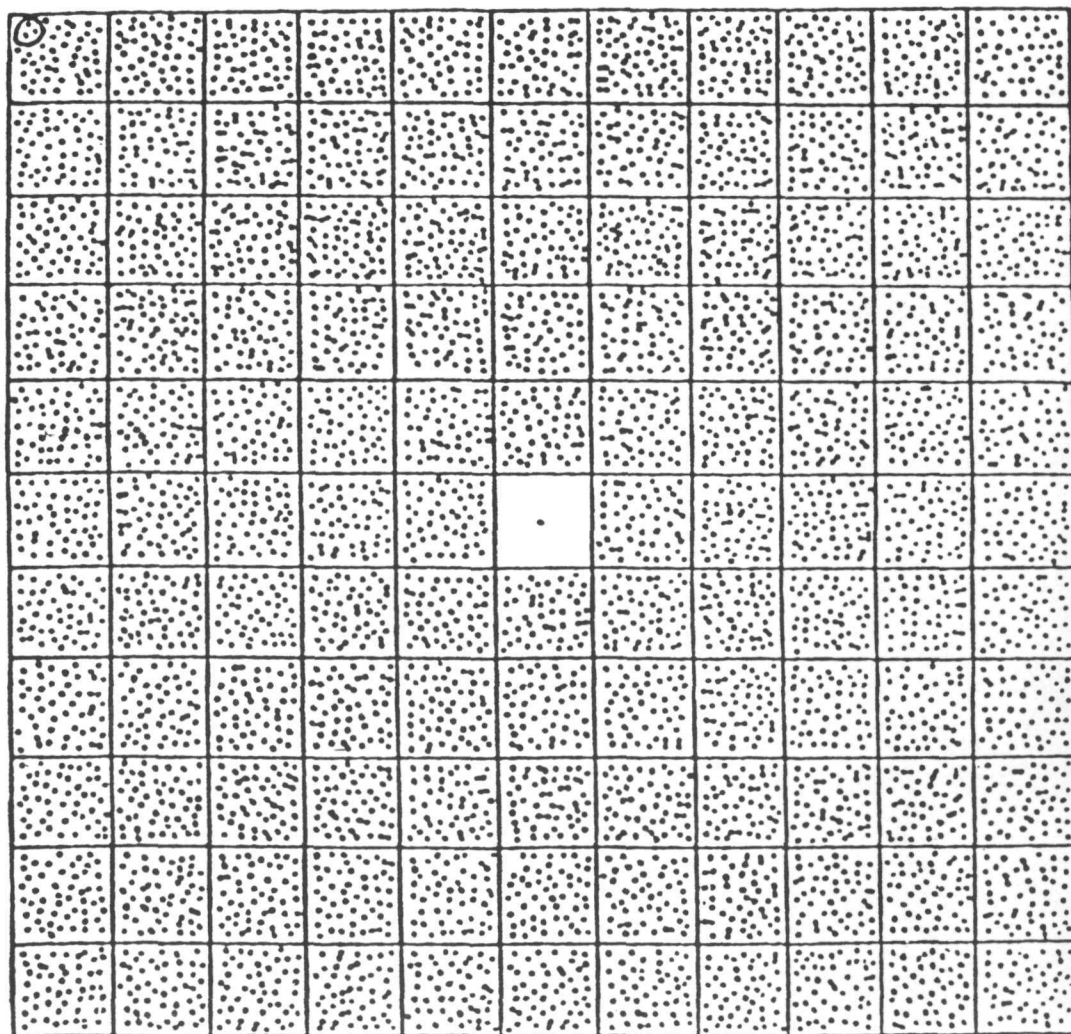
**5. Palestinians and Lebanese:** The recent Israeli invasion of Lebanon has underscored more than ever before the vital necessity of finding a comprehensive and fair solution to the problem of the Palestinian refugees.

Barring such a solution, continuing strife and the creation of new waves of refugees and displaced people throughout the Middle East is virtually guaranteed.

The events of July and August 1982 have not solved the Palestinian problem, merely intensified it. Approximately 1.7 million Palestinians, more widely scattered than ever before, still await a determination of their claim to statehood.

A large number of Lebanese have had to suffer homelessness and the near-destruction of their country because this claim by the Palestinians has not yet been addressed. □

(Reprinted with permission from *One World*, publication of the World Council of Churches, Geneva, October 1982.)



## Firepower to Destroy a World

The dot in the center square represents all the firepower of World War II—3 megatons. The other dots represent the firepower in existing nuclear weapons—18,000 megatons (equal to 6,000 WW IIs). About half belong to the Soviet Union, the other half to the U.S.

The top left circle represents the weapons on just

one Poseidon submarine—9 megatons (equal to the firepower of 3 WW IIs)—enough to destroy over 200 of the largest Soviet cities. The U.S. has 31 such subs and 10 similar Polaris subs. The lower left circle represents one new Trident sub—24 megatons (equal to the firepower of 8 WW IIs)—enough to destroy every

major city in the northern hemisphere. The Soviets have similar levels of destructive power.

Place a dime on the chart; the covered dots represent enough firepower to destroy all the large and medium-size cities in the entire world. What are you going to do with the rest of your coins?

(The above graphic by James Geier with Sharyl Green is from *Nuclear War In Vermont* by Parents and Teachers for Social Responsibility, and appeared on the Nov. 1 cover of *Friends Journal*. Reprinted with permission.)

## The Political Character

*In those days a decree went out from Caesar Augustus that all the world should be enrolled. This was the first enrollment, when Quirinius was governor of Syria. And all went to be enrolled, each to his own city. And Joseph also went up from Galilee, from the city of Nazareth, to Judea, to the city of David, which is called Bethlehem, because he was of the house and lineage of David, to be enrolled with Mary, his betrothed, who was with child. And while they were there, the time came for her to be delivered. And she gave birth to her first-born son and wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger, because there was no place for them in the inn.*

*And in the region there were shepherds out in the field, keeping watch over their flock by night. And an angel of the Lord appeared to them, and the glory of the Lord shone around them, and they were filled with fear. And the angel said to them, "Be not afraid; for behold, I bring you good news of a great joy which will come to all the*

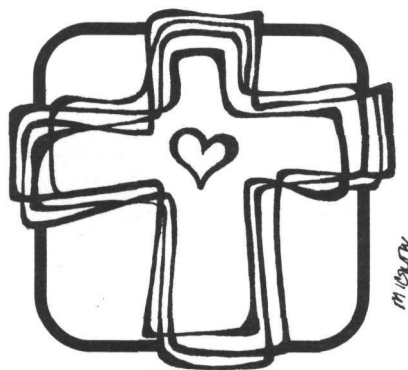
*people; for to you is born this day in the city of David a Savior, who is Christ the Lord. And this will be a sign for you: you will find a babe wrapped in swaddling clothes and lying in a manger." And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God and saying,*

*"Glory to God in the highest,  
and on earth peace among those with whom  
he is pleased!"*

*Luke 2: 1-14*

*In many and various ways God spoke of old to our fathers by the prophets; but in these last days God has spoken to us by a Son, appointed the heir of all things, through whom also God created the world. He reflects the glory of God and bears the very stamp of God's nature, upholding the universe by his word of power. When he had made purification for sins, he sat down at*

## Christmas as Parody



Among the Scriptural passages traditionally in liturgical use during the Christmas season are certain excerpts so variegated in style or syntax that it presses the imagination to affirm that they concern the same event — the birth of Jesus Christ.

It is not that one account or commentary refutes others, but rather that one variation amounts to satire of another. This circumstance is, manifestly, further complicated by the assortment of pagan and secular versions of Christmas which abound under commercial, political and cultural auspices. Thus the bewilderment of church people — to mention no one else — about the significance of Christmas is immeasurably multiplied.

This parody of Christmas which emerges from the contrasts among the various Christmas texts is illustrated by

the two citations set forth above — the story of the manger scene and the visit of the shepherds from the Gospel according to Luke, on one hand, compared with the discourse on cosmic aspects of the birth of Jesus Christ which opens the Letter to the Hebrews. Other passages might as readily be mentioned in the same connection (cf. Matthew 1:18-25; 2:1-12, and John 1:1-14). Superficially, the dissimilarities between the Luke story and the Hebrews sermon are pronounced; Luke is quaint, Hebrews is majestic; the former pastoral, the latter esoteric; the one homely, the other awesome. I think these distinctions between the two passages are superficial. That is, they represent literary differences rather than those of substantive content. Yet, at the same time, they signify the very incongruity of the Incarnation. They partake of the mystery of the Word of

## of the Birth of Christ

*the right hand of the Majesty on High, having become as much superior to angels as the name he has obtained is more excellent than theirs.*

*For to what angel did God ever say,*

*"Thou art my Son,  
today I have begotten thee"?*

*Or again,*

*"I will be to him a father,  
and he shall be to me a son"?*

*And again, when he brings the first-born into the world, he says,*

*"Let all God's angels worship him."*

*Of the angels he says,*

*"Who makes his angels winds,  
and his servants flames of fire."*

*But of the Son he says,*

*"Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever,  
the righteous scepter is the scepter of thy kingdom.*

*Thou hast loved righteousness and hated lawlessness;*

*therefore God, thy God, has anointed thee  
with the oil of gladness beyond thy comrades."*

*And,*

*"Thou, Lord, didst found the earth in the beginning  
and the heavens are the work of thy hands;  
they will perish, but thou remainest;  
they will all grow old like a garment  
like a mantle thou wilt roll them up,  
and they will be changed.*

*But thou art the same,  
and thy years will never end."*

*But to what angel has he ever said,*

*"Sit at my right hand,  
till I make thy enemies  
a stool for thy feet"?*

*Hebrews 1: 1-13*

## of the Gospel

by William Stringfellow

God beheld in human life. In that purview the formulations of Hebrews are as appropriate as the narrative of Luke, while the concrete report of Luke is as essential as the expansive apologetic of Hebrews. In short, these passages seem in parody because the Christmas event itself is a parody — both apt and good — of how the Word of God elects to redeem fallen creation. Or, as the Luke text reminds, the manger is a sign in the midst of what Hebrews names as the final age (See Luke 2:12; Hebrews 1:2).

When I say that the substantive message of Christmas in both Luke and Hebrews is similar, despite noticeable literary contrasts between the two passages, I refer to the political character of the Christmas event itself, as each text bespeaks that, albeit each in its own manner. The politics of Christmas does not have narrow, self

serving, mean connotations like those associated with common politics as the politics of Quirinius the governor, or Herod the king, or, for what it matters, Reagan the president. Moreover, the politics of Christmas categorically has nothing to do with either ecclesiastical politics or with the politics of the churches as a faction in society. Instead, the politics of the birth of Jesus Christ concern the comprehensive, versatile, ecumenical and resilient governance of this universe, and the totality and diversity of created life within this universe, in the Word of God imminently as well as consummately. In short, the politics of the Christmas event has to do with the *active* sovereignty of the Word of God in common history in this world here and now.

I realize that the association of politics with Christmas seems curious,

perchance offensive, to some who have supposed all along that Christmas is, in spite of the biblical reports, somehow nonpolitical or even antipolitical. So I beg you not to heed me in this issue, but to be open to the witness of the passages themselves.

Consider, for example, that the most poignant part of the Luke account — "*And she gave birth to her first-born son and wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger, because there was no place for them in the inn.*" (Luke 2:7) — constitutes, within itself, a political statement identifying Jesus with those who have no shelter or who are homeless, vagrant, destitute or otherwise deprived. That, and more audacious identifications with human need, become redundant during the historic ministry of Jesus.

Then notice that this simple aspect of the birth of Jesus — he was laid in a



manger — political statement as it is on its face — is exposed by the angel of the Lord as a sign to the shepherds of the coming of the Savior or Messiah (Luke 2:10-12).

Meanwhile, in the context of Hebrews, it becomes clear that the realm of Christ's authority politically is not merely that of a liberator, as one who delivers Israel from Rome's oppression, or some kindred secular revolutionary capacity. The political status of Jesus Christ is far more radical and durable than that. He is named the Son of God; he is elected heir to the universe; he is the one through whom God created the world; he reveals the very glory of God (Hebrews 1:2-3). The political claim, according to Hebrews, for Jesus, at Christmas, is that he is *Lord*, that he exercises the sovereignty of the Word of God in this world.

That same extraordinary political claim that Christ is Son of God or Lord of history, exercising dominion over the whole of creation is further attested in Luke when the angel, which has brought this good news to the shepherds, is suddenly attended by "*a multitude of the heavenly host praising God.*" (Luke 2:13). The heavenly host signifies all created life in assembly before the throne of God in adoration. What the shepherds behold in that scene, which prompts them to journey to Bethlehem to find the child in the manger, is a preview of the court of the Kingdom of God. The parallel reference in Hebrews is the sixth verse of the first chapter: "*when he brings the first-born into the world, he says, 'Let all God's angels worship him.'*"

It is part of the integrity of the worship of God in the Kingdom, on the part of the whole of created life, that every confusion concerning worship and idolatry is undone and finally ended. It is to the dissipelling of just such confusion that much of the issue of the superiority of Christ to the angelic

powers, in the Hebrews discourse, is addressed. Biblically, angels have many associations and the name is attributed to a diversity of created life. In the Book of Daniel, for instance, the connection of angels as guardians or patrons of nations, and of the ethos of nations, is mentioned (Daniel 4:13-23; 10:10-21). At the same time, there are New Testament references to fallen angels or rebellious angels (II Peter 2:4; Jude 6) and a remark about "*the devil and his angels*" is attributed directly to Jesus in Matthew (Matthew 25:41). Thus the concern in Hebrews about the status of angels in relation to the office of Christ is not esoteric or poetic, but concretely political, having to do with upholding the authenticity of the worship of God and with that not being corrupted by or confused with the idolatry of rebellious angels, including any associated with nations or other principalities.

In both Luke and Hebrews, the political character of the birth of Jesus Christ becomes most explicit in anticipation of judgment. If, in a manger, the office and authority of Christ is, to some, obscure, in the Kingdom his identity and vocation as judge of all life is eschatologically notorious. Thus, the peace on earth — so famous as a Christmas slogan — is, according to Luke, bestowed in the judgment "*among those with whom he is pleased.*" (Luke 2:14b). In Hebrews, in much the same vein, the question is posed: "*But to what angel has he ever said, 'Sit at my right hand, till I make thy enemies a stool for thy feet?'*" (Hebrews 1:13).

I do not suppose that it is tenable to observe Christmas without taking seriously the truth, verified in Luke and Hebrews and elsewhere, that the message of Christmas is political — that it concerns the incumbency of the Word of God sovereign over the life of the whole fallen creation. If that message is heard as good news, as it was by the

shepherds, it is also to be heeded as an admonition since the Lord who reigns now comes, in the end, as judge. □

William Stringfellow is a theologian, social critic, author and attorney.

## Friendly Persuasion

Back in the old days the Quaker master of a Quaker ship was in a quandary. The ship was under attack by pirates, and his crew was busily defending things — badly.

The problem here was his testimonies. They wouldn't let him fight. So he sat there holding a long knife, but holding back from jumping into the fray.

Finally he saw a pirate swarming up a rope which hung over the ship's edge. The Quaker master rushed over with his knife. Swiftly he cut the rope.

"There," he exclaimed, "if thee wants that rope so badly, thee may have it." (Charles Thomas)

Quoted in "Come Laughing," by Paul Blanchard, Jr., in *Friends Journal*, 11/15/82).

## The Bus for Old People

No fare is charged them; the Episcopalians pay for the ride into town and back. The old bus rattles and moans along the thin asphalt and dry concrete — but the riders fancy they ride in fashion, alert and brisk to be expeditious, accelerating to the shopping center

Once again they are allowed to visit the busy hive of action, commotion, sound; once more permitted the celebration of breath beyond mere gentleness — of longevity shorn of soft murmurings and devoid of rumors for more survival. Crowds sweep round; multitudes swarm; armies of strangers jostle and elbow and push. But life is motion, gesture, change — antithesis to death's ghastly fixity.

How easily their stiff joints move — how spry those lean limbs, suddenly nimble! Ancient eyes darting at window-displays — that traditional glitter for Christmastime. They shall seethe with an hour in agitation, bubbling with wonder, rolling with delight, before the free bus carries them home; they shall concoct a brew to ferment on, and boil through their rising, yeasty dreams.

— William Dauenhauer





by John Ambelang

The shepherds in the colder months gathered together on a hillside to share a fire as they guarded their flocks. This was one of those dark nights when one could hardly see in front of one's face.

Amos sat with his leg nearly in the fire. The leg had been injured in a fall several years earlier and the cold caused it to ache terribly. His older cousin, David, was seated across the fire and it was these two who carried on the principal conversation.

Amos spoke, "You wouldn't believe the crowding in town. It is worse than Passover. My wife just told me about a couple from the north staying in the outshed of Jacob's inn with his animals. That's not so bad, but she is pregnant. Due almost anytime."

"Wouldn't be the worst place to be born," David slowly responded, almost as if he were reading the words. "Wouldn't even have to be, if we were our

own masters." Amos scowled as he awaited the familiar tirade against the Romans. "They claim to bring peace to the world, but they can't even maintain peace in their own city," David continued. "Happy I was to hear that Caesar had been murdered. I only hope that they keep slicing each other up." There was a general murmur of assent as he went on. Eventually, he stopped and they all sank into their own thoughts.

Suddenly the angel of the Lord appeared to them and God's glory was everywhere. The men were frightened, but the angel announced to them, "Don't be afraid! I am here with good news for you. For tonight in Bethlehem, your Savior is born, Christ the Lord! You will find a baby wrapped in swaddling clothes and lying in a manger." And then there was the host of angels singing, "Glory to God in the highest, and peace on earth to men." Then they were gone.

It took the shepherds a moment to come out of shock. They quickly decided that they would all go into Bethlehem to see the

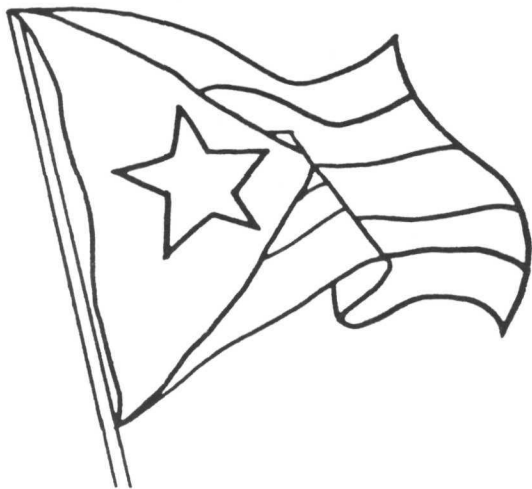
child except for lame Amos who would stay with the sheep. So they hurried off into the dark.

While waiting anxiously for them to return Amos cursed the leg which prevented him from joining them. Then his thoughts turned to what the birth would mean for the future. They would have to be patient of course, for it would take time for the child to grow into manhood. But his boys at least would see the glory of old return to Israel. The hated Romans with their sacrilege would be driven out by the Messiah and his armies. The temple would be rebuilt in all the glory that man and God could give it. "If only I were younger, I could be a part of this," he muttered aloud to himself.

He heard David and the others returning up the hill. They were more subdued than he expected. In the now dim firelight, he could see no joy on their faces, no excitement. Something was wrong. David threw himself down in his accustomed place, stared across the fire at Amos and with a look of utter disgust, growled, "It's a girl." □

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The Rev. John E. Ambelang is Rector of St. Michael's Church in Racine, Wisc.



# Signs of Colonialism Jar Public Hearings In Puerto Rico

by James Lewis

An ecumenical team of North Americans and Puerto Ricans heard five days of testimony about key social issues during public hearings Sept. 27 to Oct. 1.

The hearings, sponsored by the Ecumenical Committee on the Future of Puerto Rico, brought forth some 50 individuals and groups to testify on the issues of militarism, economics, environment, immigration and emigration, theology, and repression.

Panelists from North America were Sister Maureen Larkin, of the Sisters of St. Martha, Prince Edward Island, Canada, who spent three years in the Dominican Republic as an organizer among farmworkers; Dr. Karl D. Gregory, professor of economics at Oakland University, Southfield, Mich.; the Rev. James Lewis, rector of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Ann Arbor, Mich.; Sue Sullivan of the Haitian Refugee Project, Washington, D.C.; and Robert Potter, treasurer of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company.

Puerto Rican panelists were the Rt. Rev. Francisco Reus Froylan, Episcopal Bishop of Puerto Rico; Luis Nieves Falcon, professor of sociology at the University of Puerto Rico; the Rev. Fabian Rodriguez, a Jesuit parish priest who serves in Ponce; and Federico Cintron, chair of the Committee Against Oppression in Puerto Rico.

The accompanying article on the hearings represents a personal reflection by one of the panelists: the Rev. James Lewis. A full report on the event will be available in January from Hugh C. White, ECPC program staff coordinator for the project, at 4800 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, MI 48201.

As I was growing up in Baltimore in the late '40s and early '50s, one of the delights I still remember was a Sunday family ride to the country.

Sometimes that ride was up Route 40 into Frederick. The signs along that road always intrigued me. They appeared every five miles and pointed the way to Frederick by advertising Barbara Fritchie candy.

Barbara Fritchie, I came to know, was an elderly woman who, when the Confederate troops passed through Frederick during the Civil War, ignored a warning to stay indoors. Obstinate in her rebellion, she stuck her head out of an upstairs window in her home and waved a U.S. flag.

The tiny gray-haired woman who interrupted our first day of ecumenically-sponsored hearings in San Juan, was a Puerto Rican Barbara Fritchie.

A panel of nine — five North Americans and four Puerto Ricans — had come together for three days of public hearings. Those hearings were to be the culmination of almost two years of work by a broad cross section of U.S. and Puerto Rican people concerned about possible repressive conditions in Puerto Rico.

As a panel, we had been selected to listen to anyone from Puerto Rico who was willing to come forward with testimony concerning repression on

that island south of Florida and east of Cuba. Forty-nine people representing organizations and their own personal concerns signed up to testify.

Isabel Rosado's name was not on our list. No one knew that she would come forward spontaneously just as we were about to take a break.

Standing at the microphone, and with a fiery look in her eye, she waved a U.S. flag in front of us. It was attached to a plastic tube full of candy. She had taken it away from a child. Her anger flared as she recounted the incident.

"Why an American flag?" she had asked the child. "Why not a Puerto Rican flag?"

"No," replied the child, "give me back my candy."

Like a teacher denying a passing grade to an ill-prepared student, Isabel Rosado withheld the candy. Her country would not be sold for sugar. Her children would not be allowed to sell their birthright for a tube of candy.

I learned later, when the break finally did come, that Isabel Rosado had been arrested in the '50s for carrying and displaying a Puerto Rican flag.

Barbara Fritchie and Isabel Rosado had been linked across the years and miles by their willingness to express their independence in the face of oppression. Barbara Fritchie is remembered in poetry and through a candy which bears her name.

Isabel Rosado keeps her identity alive by carrying still a Puerto Rican flag in her purse and taking candy from a generation of children who are easy prey to the seductive powers of a colonial mentality that threatens to deprive them of their rich heritage.

In all the testimony that I heard, it seemed apparent that a fundamental relationship between one generation and the next is in danger of being jeopardized.

Jose Ortiz illustrated this point graphically as he told his story. He had driven northwest from Yabucoa to San Juan to represent the Committee for the Conservation of the Environment.

Yabucoa is an area much like the part of Appalachia I had just recently come from. Nestled in between the mountains to the west and the sea on the east, it resembles Charleston, W. Va., in its valley-like setting and by the fact that Union Carbide has a plant in both of those locations.

Over 1,400 people in that valley are effected by the Union Carbide graphite plant. The children are particularly victimized by the heavy layer of black graphite dust which forms a veil of soot and hangs heavily upon the residents of Yabucoa.

Jose Ortiz described the human cost of that graphite cloud.

The dust is easily visible on the clothes of the children who go to school. And even the rice served at lunch is peppered with graphite fallout. The black dust is breathed freely by the children during the day. At night it is spewed out of their noses and throats on white bed sheets.

The people of Yabucoa have carried those sheets to the management at Union Carbide. They have pleaded, protested and fought, through every legal means possible, to stop the fallout in their valley. But it continues and the parents fear for the lives of their children.

Apparent throughout the hearings,

was the concern expressed by testifiers about the apathy among the people. A certain fatalism is being passed on from one generation to the next and the result is a deadly impotence.

About 60% of the people in Puerto Rico are forced to accept food stamps in order to eat.

Unemployment ranges from a reported 20% to a more realistic figure somewhere around 40%. At least 280,000 Puerto Ricans are looking for work.

A whole wave of poor people unable to exist in Puerto Rico have fled to the United States. A new generation of middle class, well-educated and potential contributors to the welfare of Puerto Rico, are now being forced to leave their country in order to survive. Described by some as a "brain drain," this phenomenon leaves those behind even more hopeless in facing the future than they have been in the past.

The inevitable pathology resulting from such social upheaval is documented by personal stories of tragedy and layers and layers of depressing statistics.

- There are 83,000 known drug addicts in Puerto Rico.
- An average of 42 couples are divorced daily.
- Close to 600 people die in highway accidents per year.
- There is one prison death per week. The majority of those deaths are people who are young and poor.
- Alcoholism is of epidemic proportions with very few families left untouched.

The front page of *El Mundo*, the daily paper, says it all. A feature article claims that 52% of the children in secondary school have used drugs. Next to this is a story about the village of Penuelas where unemployment is 50%.

As one person testified, "We are witnessing the deterioration of the Puerto Rican personality."

At the heart of that deterioration is

the inability of the people of Puerto Rico to regain control over the very land which could deliver them from this oppression. Since the American invasion of Puerto Rico in 1898, the people have been literally losing ground. With that invasion came the dream of progress for Puerto Ricans. Progress equaled a more highly technical and urbanized life. Rural culture and values were uprooted to make way for economic development. Farming, as a way of life, was discouraged by U.S. companies like Kennecott which wanted the land for the rich copper that lies beneath the soil.

Valuable crop land was converted to sugar and confiscated by the large drug and petro-chemical companies in a post-World War II rescue attempt labeled "Operation Bootstrap." Scores of people were displaced by this economic venture.

Puerto Rico, once dreamed of as a showcase for U.S. entrepreneurial ingenuity, has now turned into a nightmare as business interests search out new Caribbean lands for cheap labor and tax credits while Puerto Ricans are unable to find room to live or land to produce food.

Once again it is the children who are forced to bear the brunt of land loss. Villa Sin Miedo illustrates that point.

Outside of San Juan, near the old Comandante Race Course, there is a 65-acre tract. It once supported about 40 cattle. Up until May, this piece of land has been home for over 1,000 Puerto Ricans.

Unable to find jobs or places to live, a number of people began to build small homes along the hillside. That was in November of 1980. Since then, 250 families have moved into this area. The people have built roads, laid water pipe, planted a cooperative garden, built a free health clinic and school, and even established a church. The village was given the name "Villa Sin Miedo" — "Village Without Fear." Inside the



Graphic above from a mural by the Puerto Rican Independentista artist, Fran Cervoni. The principal figure of this portion of the mural, which deals with the struggle for independence from the United States, is Don Pedro Albizu Campos, leader of the Nationalist Party and noted Puerto Rican patriot.

village, people were taught to read and were given vocational training. An internal governing committee of 31 was elected and decisions for the community were made by majority vote.

This past Spring, the government police and special forces went into Villa Sin Miedo, drove out all the residents, and burned their homes and possessions. The panel was able to see the video tapes of that destruction on a TV set carried into the hall where our hearings were held. The room was filled with former residents of Villa Sin Miedo. As we watched the tapes, they cried and turned their heads away.

One young man, Julio, had been carried into the hall on a stretcher. His leg had been broken during the raid. A

social worker who testified on behalf of the people had lost her job because of the advocacy work she had done for them. It struck me that even though these people had lost their homes and Julio had lost a piece of his leg and Anna Maria had lost her job, they had not lost their spirit.

Villa Sin Miedo was a threat to the government because it represented a communal spirit, a collective mind, that was able to question and challenge the colonial mentality. It had not been diminished by persecution.

During a break, I walked outside for some sun and air. How I would have loved to soak in the sea that surrounds Puerto Rico and be washed clean — renewed. A cat ran from the street into a

yard where children played. In the gutter was a discarded soft drink can. The brand name was “Old Colony.”

There is a more fully conscious awareness growing among people that Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States. The Decolonization Committee of the United Nations has come to that conclusion and has attempted to bring the matter before the General Assembly.

A week before our hearings began the General Assembly voted not to consider the status of Puerto Rico. *The Washington Post*, in a front page story, reported that U.S. officials at the highest level had done one of the most aggressive lobbying efforts ever undertaken by this country in the



United Nations to keep Puerto Rican status off the agenda.

Washington is worried.

The concern being generated in Washington seems directly related to the military significance of Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico is destined to become more important as a military base in the Caribbean as the United States struggles to maintain control in Latin America. The signs are clear.

Military drills in the area are numerous. Ocean Venture '81, which involved Navy and Marine landings in Puerto Rico, was the most massive military maneuver conducted by the United States since World War II.

In the last decade, the United States has assisted the Puerto Rican National Guard. That force has nearly doubled from the '70s when it was 7,000 to 12,400 in 1980. Its commander, Gen. Orlando Ilenze is currently the president of the National Association of National Guards of the United States.

As the economy worsens, Puerto Rican youth are being recruited into the U.S. armed forces in greater numbers. Junior ROTC programs are being established for children in high school and the unemployed are easy prey for recruiters.

Since Ronald Reagan became President, CETA cuts have cost the Island 25,000 jobs and funds for food and nutrition have been cut 25%.

Despite these cuts, funds for military purposes have increased to Puerto Rico to a record \$404 million, more than double the military aid to the entire Caribbean area, including El Salvador.

The last hearing sponsored by our Ecumenical team was conducted in Adjuntas, "City of the Sleeping Child," in the central-western hills of Puerto Rico.

The panel drove from Ponce north across a narrow, winding road into the tiny mountain community. The road was slick from a blinding rain storm.

In a small meeting hall in the town

square, dozens of people gathered to add their testimony to what had already been given in San Juan. We listened from 4:30 p.m. until almost midnight.

The people of Adjuntas are a proud people. Many are farmers. All are related to their Indian ancestors who fought last-ditch battles against the Spanish. They are not afraid to fight again, this time against Kennecott and Amax Corporation.

Elvin Perez, 16, spoke about his future. Protesting possible mining exploitation he said, "I am incapable of seeing our land die."

Ethel Rullan, a young Catholic woman, expressed her concern about the drug addiction among her peers and lack of concern by Puerto Rican youth about the future.

Don Francisco Santos, a farmer, read from Genesis and reminded his listeners that Puerto Ricans have a contract with the land and with God — a contract to create.

But it was Pedro Matos, a 70-year-old life-long member of the community who brought all ages together.

Matos has had no formal schooling. He is self-taught. He speaks resistance to any plan to mine the area and destroy the community. He reminded everyone that the real problem revolves around power. Puerto Ricans have no power. Until independence is won, Puerto Rico will continue to be raped of her resources and be a dumping ground of colonial ideas.

Matos abandoned the microphone, but only after he had reminded the U.S. members of the panel of the American Revolution necessary 200 years ago to achieve freedom. Ultimately, he said, it will not be what Puerto Ricans know in their heads that counts but what they are willing to risk in their lives through action resulting in freedom.

A final report is now being prepared by the committee in Puerto Rico that organized the hearings. I await it eagerly. Already I have come to a few

conclusions on my own.

- Most United States citizens do not know where Puerto Rico is geographically. It is a place in need of rediscovery.

- To rediscover Puerto Rico will be to see that country as a part of the entire Caribbean and Latin American complex. It will result in a heightened awareness of the reality of Puerto Rico.

- The reality of Puerto Rico is a colonial reality. U.S. citizens, basically desirous of doing good around the world, would be horrified and discouraged by the way our government is keeping Puerto Rico dependent and impotent.

- The roots of this dependency and impotence are grounded in the economical, political and military interests of the United States in the area.

- The price that Puerto Ricans have to pay for U.S. control is overwhelming. In terms of the health and welfare of a rich culture, Puerto Ricans are suffering immeasurably.

- The present Reagan policy, the Caribbean Basin Initiative, offers no hope for Puerto Ricans. If carried out, it can result only in more poverty, more pain and the increased emigration of large numbers of people to the mainland in search of employment. Such abandonment of their native land will only make it easier for the economic and military interest of the United States to exploit and further destroy Puerto Rico.

- In the midst of all of this the religious community, both in Puerto Rico and in the United States, must become more actively involved in standing with those oppressed and with those who are working toward a more autonomous Puerto Rico. The churches in both places will be challenged to focus upon theological realities of the Puerto Rican reality. The relationship of Puerto Rican economic, political and cultural life will have to be focused through the lens of liberation theology.

**Letters . . . Continued from page 2**

chairman, at different times, of the Colorado Committee for Civil Rights Legislation and of the Colorado Unity Council, I was especially disturbed.

We need more of the Rabbi's magnanimity and less vituperation to bring peace with justice.

**William B. Faherty, S.J., President  
St. Louis County Historical Society  
Florissant, Mo.**

## Balm for Souls

Michael Hamilton's "The Peace of Jerusalem" was balm to the souls of those who yearn for peace among our estranged Semitic brothers and sisters in the Holy Land and beyond.

As I stood overlooking the valley of Migiddo in '78, it looked so peaceful. I could not even imagine that this place could become "the beginning of the end" ("the fire next time"). Today I know it is a possibility which is only a button away . . . any moment . . . from numerous stockpiles.

By nationalistic myopia, Israel seems to be laying that nation (and planet Earth) on the nuclear altar of fire, as if with a self-destructive complex. This view ignores the reality of our age in which our planet has become a neighborhood with no security for any nation in military might.

We in the United States come under God's judgment in providing Israel the means for their warring madness; for our being the first to drop an atomic bomb; for our tragic participation in Vietnam . . . The punishment is in the nuclear "package."

Our hope for peace is in God's mercy and grace. May we come together and sacrifice for peace now while we have time.

**Mary Eunice Oliver  
San Diego, Cal.**

*(First, we should clarify that our editorial, Canon Hamilton's article and the responses above were written before the massacre of Palestinian men, women and children in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. Obviously, THE*

*WITNESS anguishes over this new body count and stands equally against the sanctioning Israelis and those Christian Phalangists who take their name and models from the Catholic Fascist movement of the '30's. The question arises, are those Phalangists really Christian and are those Israelis truly Jews, in the great traditions of those faiths? And then we must choose sides. We side with those Jews and those Christians who are working at other strategies for a viable peace in the area. In our view that peace, as stated in our editorial, will come when both the Israelis and the Palestinians are assured of a homeland with secure borders, and when Lebanon is once again autonomous.*

*Dr. Culbertson wants to "taint" THE WITNESS statistics by labeling them as coming from the PLO. That is irrelevant, since the figures must stand on their own, but THE WITNESS had no contact — perhaps regrettably — with the PLO. We corroborated those figures with a number of foreign publications unfettered by U.S. political pressures and measured them against the reports and slides from the World Council of Churches investigating team which had visited Beirut. — Eds.)*

## Hamilton Responds

To the Rev. Philip Culbertson . . . eyes that see not, ears that hear not:

Prior to 1948 the population of the land of Palestine was 500,000 Jews and 1,300,000 Arabs (Information Peace Almanac). Arabs were in a clear majority. Today there are 4,900,000 Jews and 480,000 Arabs in Israel. Most of the Arabs have been displaced and you will find 1,150 of them scratching a living on the narrow portions of land called the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. I submit as a distinction without a difference whether Palestinians were "forced off their land in 1948" or "fled" when they lost the war with the Israelis.

I did not say "A majority of Palestinians living within Israel see the PLO as their symbol of hope" but rather that the PLO was the "only national

expression of Palestinian Arabs." Most of the Palestinian Arabs are now in exile and the PLO represents their unchallenged leadership. It is a criminal offense for the Arabs still residing in Israel to express their support for the PLO; if they do they are either exiled, as many of their mayors have been, or jailed. Perhaps that is why Dr. Culbertson did not hear.

Dr. Culbertson did not see an Israeli swimming pool on his visits to the West Bank. If he had stayed at home and looked at an ABC documentary in August 1982 he would have. If he had read the *British Middle East Journal* (7/31/81) or the *Washington Post* (10/3/79) or indeed any of many other sources, he would have known that the Arabs have been forbidden to build new wells or increase their water intake from their existing wells since 1967. On the other hand, the Israelis have vastly increased the number of their wells to supply their expanded new agricultural acreage. This has often occurred to the detriment of traditional Arab water sources.

Communal punishment of Arabs is frequent. For instance, 1,500 houses of Arab families have been blown up since 1967. The reason? One of their family may be a terrorist, or a child may have thrown a rock at an Israeli tank. The Israeli military officials say this is a "policy of deterrence" (*Washington Post*, 11/29/79). Arab school children in Israel have to learn Hebrew (Jews do not have to learn Arabic), Arab schools are not allowed to receive outside financial assistance to improve their schools or subsidize the cost of text books (the United Jewish Appeal gives considerable money to Jewish schools for similar purposes), Arabs have an inferior teacher/student ratio. Additional information on this topic was in the *New York Times* (11/21/81).

I did not advocate a United Nations mandate in a new Palestinian state, only the possibility of stationing UN troops on Israeli/Palestinian borders.

**The Rev. Michael P. Hamilton  
Canon, Washington Cathedral  
Washington, D.C.**

Editorial . . . Continued from page 3

vulnerability, even to the point of risking "bold initiatives in nuclear disarmament." (*Episcopal Bishops Pastoral*)

And if, with a clap of thunder, or with the whimper of the final deterioration, our little human era does in fact fix its final punctuation mark? Then, to quote Scripture, "Then are the judgments of our Lord true and righteous altogether."

But it need not be. And such is the message of Christmas. It marks a visitation from the Eternal One, the Infinite One, the True One, the Righteous One. It is as when we are groping in a storm and a flash of lightning reveals the lost way, then disappears, leaving us the task of working out the steps which follow that vivid glimpse of reality. We must then try to make our way through the thickets, puzzling at forks in the road, but with an indelible image of the destination.

"Christ is born in Bethlehem." And so it goes? No. The depths have been revealed! The will of God, which was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, has been shown forth. Thus saith the Lord.

(R.L.D. and the editors)

#### CREDITS

Cover, Beth Seka; p. 4, Latin America Task Force, Detroit; p. 5, Religious Task Force, Washington, D.C.; cartoon, p. 7, Bulbul; pp. 8, 10, 13 Margaret Longdon; p. 9, as attributed, courtesy *Friends Journal*; p. 16, as attributed, courtesy Latin America Division-USCC Puerto Rican packet. Correction: THE WITNESS inadvertently omitted the credit for the peace dove on p. 16 in the October issue. It was designed by the Society of St. Francis, American Province, Mt. Sinai, N.Y.



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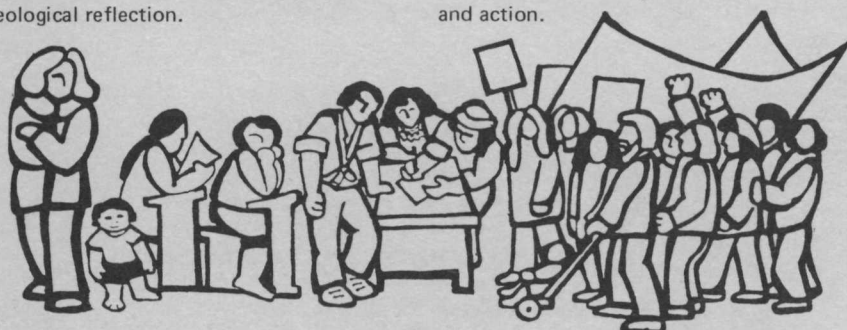
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