

Title: *The Witness*, January to December, 1984

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VOLUME • 67
NUMBER • 1
JANUARY 1984

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THE an ecumenical journal
of social concern
WITNESS

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House Needs Women

I was delighted to see the attention paid in the November WITNESS to the history and struggle for women to be seated in the house of Deputies of the Episcopal Church.

A woman's place *is* in the House of Bishops; but her place *is* in the House of Deputies also. From those first 28 women seated as deputies in Houston in 1970, progress through four General Conventions has been very slow. There were only 165 of us in 1982. Half of the more than 900 members of the House of Deputies would be more than 450 women; that's a long way to go, but anything is possible if we work at it. It is more than time to begin work on the election of deputies and alternates to the 1985 Convention.

I also appreciated reading about Dorothy Granada. I served with her on the Coalition for Human Needs for three years. I admire her dedication and singleness of purpose and thought about her and prayed for her during her fast.

Marge Christie
Franklin Lakes, N.J.

Lauds Editorial

Although I'm 72 and qualify for a limited income subscription rate, I'm sending the full \$12 because of your fine editorial in the November WITNESS. How could any sane person disagree with "Challenging the Bullies"?

E. D. Caldwell
Chagrin Falls, Ohio

Action Center Versatile

Thank you for your story about the Baltimore Progressive Action Center in the November WITNESS. I think Kathleen Soppas did a good job in describing its many and versatile services to the community. The aspect of the Center that I personally find most heartening is the extent to which it has eliminated the generation gap. The people who run the print shop, for example, are well over 65, and the Sunday afternoon discussion groups typically draw participants from college age through middle age, with a parallel children's program going on at the same time. WITNESS readers will be interested to know that the Center's numerous religious-affiliated sponsors include the Episcopal Chaplain at Johns

Hopkins and Jonah House.

Perhaps your readers do not know that Kathy Moylan, who is quoted in the article and who worked with the Red Wagon Day Care Center using feminist principles, died suddenly of an aneurism shortly before the November issue came out. She was 41 years old. I did not know her personally, but I did know of her fine work, and was saddened to hear of her death. It helped somewhat that I learned of it at the Center's birthday program — in a room whose walls were covered with evidence of her creativity and love and that of the children from Red Wagon.

Mary Louise McIntyre
Relay, Md.

(More letters p. 19)

ECPC Names New Executive

The Rev. Barbara C. Harris of the Diocese of Pennsylvania has been named to the newly created post of Executive Director of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company, it was announced by the Rt. Rev. H. Coleman McGehee, president, as THE WITNESS went to press.

Prominent in Episcopal circles, the Rev. Ms. Harris has served simultaneously over the past years as vice-chair of ECPC, as priest-in-charge of St. Augustine of Hippo Church, Norristown; and on numerous church boards and secular committees as well. Prior to ordination, she was senior staff consultant and in public relations at Sun Company, Inc.

New officers who will head the ECPC Board are Bishop McGehee, re-elected president; Mattie Hopkins, recently retired Chicago educator, vice-president; Gloria Brown, Los Angeles psychologist, secretary; and Carman St. J. Hunter, of World Education, Inc., New York, treasurer.

Newly named to the Board, along with the latter two, are the Rev. Kwasi Thornell



BARBARA HARRIS

of St. Louis, deputy urban missionary; the Rt. Rev. J. Antonio Ramos, associate director for the Caribbean and Latin America, National Council of Churches; and the Rev. Carter Heyward, faculty member at Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge. The full complement of the Board appears on the masthead on page 3.

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THE WITNESS is published monthly. Editorial office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002. Phone (215) 643-7067. Subscription rates \$12 per year. \$1 per copy. Copyright 1984 by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Printed in U.S.A. ISSN 0197-8896.

THE WITNESS EDITORIAL

1984

George Orwell's book, *1984*, spoke decades ago of a future society in which freedom becomes slavery, benevolence becomes oppression, and doublespeak lulls the population into compliance.

The actual calendar year, 1984, reflects startling parallels. In the name of freedom, the U.S. Administration has sent our Marines to invade Grenada and "to the shores of Tripoli" as well, where they will see in the New Year. We have witnessed the emplacement of a whole new round of Euromissiles, despite massive protest, thus bringing to cold reality the escalation of the arms race. And 1984 is the year Ronald Reagan will almost certainly run for re-election. He has demonstrated extraordinary ability in Orwellian doublespeak: The MX missile becomes a "peacekeeper," "builddown," the term for modernizing our nuclear strike force to greater and deadlier accuracy, and the invasion of a tiny island becomes a "rescue mission".

Yet Ronald Reagan simply brings into focus the position of those who believe that the American Dream of economic prosperity can only be achieved through nuclear deterrence and laissez-faire "surviv-

al of the fittest" economics.

As 1983 was passing into history, several phenomena on the American scene were challenging this position. Among them: the burgeoning of the peace movement, and the showing of "The Day After," which removed for Americans a comfortable frame of reference that refuses to acknowledge the possibility of thermonuclear war; the announcement of the candidacy of Jesse Jackson and his rainbow coalition; and the retrenching of a women's movement which realizes that the Administration's gender gap has become a gender gulf.

If the odds look formidable, those of us nurtured in the Christian community should be comforted with the recollection that the God of Israel and of Jesus Christ with shattering power demolished old frames of reference and established new ones, frequently to the extreme discomfiture of the People of God themselves. As this surely fateful year dawns, perhaps the God who shatters all myths with the redemptive fire of divine truth is calling us to greater urgency and greater risk.

(R.W.G. and the editors)

Christian Faith and the Crisis of Empire

by Richard Shaull

In Central America, our imperial power is being challenged. This, more than the threat of Soviet penetration in the region, is the source of our national anxiety.

At the end of World War II, Henry Luce announced the beginning of the "American Century." Now, less than four decades later, we realize that we no longer control a dangerous world; more than that, our hegemony is being contested by the little nations on our borders.

For many people of Central America, our pattern of economic development means that the few rich get richer while the masses of the poor get poorer. Our support of "democracy" means keeping in power military dictators who preserve order by killing thousands who want to save their children from starvation. In the face of this, one nation after another is affirming its right to self-determination. These countries want greater economic and political independence from the United States and the freedom to choose the economic system and create the political institutions they

believe will serve the best interests of their people.

What we have here is not merely the rejection of North American domination, but of any type of imperial rule.

Many of us find the prospect of a world we can no longer control very threatening, and we fear the loss of the privileges we now enjoy. President Reagan, playing on these fears, has launched an all-out effort to restore American power, no matter what the cost in human lives. Liberal political leaders may be disturbed by what he is doing but seem strangely incapable of challenging his policies or offering alternatives.

Christians, however, should be equipped to respond more creatively to this situation. If we look at our biblical and theological heritage with it in mind, two things stand out: First, that the Hebrew prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. lived during the period of decline and fall of the once-great nation of Israel. Most of what they have to say is directly related to that crisis. Second, that our classical Christian theology as formulated in the fourth century, which helped lay the foundation for a new and long era of Western history, was worked out against the backdrop of the decline of the Roman Empire.

An exploration of these sources can provide us with a most unusual perspec-

I,
Yahweh,
have
called
you
to serve
the
cause of
JUSTICE

Richard Shaull is Academic Director of the Program of Theological Education of the Instituto Pastoral Hispano of the Episcopal Church. He is also a member of the Commission on United States-Central American Relations, and has recently finished a book on Latin American liberation theology to be published in 1984.

tive on the use and abuse of imperial power, which may have something to say to us today as well.

In both instances, the faith response to imperial decline came from those outside its structures of power.

This is clearly the case with the prophets. J. Severino Croatto, an Argentinian scholar, says of them: "The prophets place themselves in *confrontation with the power structure*, and almost always from within the community of the people. The prophets are rarely from among the power elite; they rise from the grassroots or, at least, speak on the basis of their identification with the bottommost strata. Even when they criticize the people of Israel, they do not do so as power-holders but by using the single weapon of their word." (*Exodus: The Hermeneutics of Freedom*) As for the theologians of the fourth century, they belonged to a community that had been persecuted on and off for 300 years. They had no place in the sophisticated circles of the philosophers or among those who exercised power in the state. Athanasius, one of the leading architects of this theological counterculture, lived far from the center of the empire, in Alexandria, and was sent into exile five times by the Roman emperor.

If we take this history seriously, *theological reflection on U.S. policy in Central America should begin in grassroots communities of faith made up largely of marginalized people.*

Central American Christians who are the victims of our imperial power; Salvadoran refugees in our midst whose lives were threatened because they were active in Basic Christian Communities; Blacks, Hispanics and others pushed to the fringes in our own society: these are the people with whom we should gather to read the Bible and reflect on what it has to say about the future of our nation. Special attention should be given to the contribution of women to this process. For their insights into the rela-

tion of faith to issues of imperial power, which have never been heard, are of the utmost importance at this time.

Within such communities, we can hear once again two central affirmations of the prophets and the early theologians:

The pursuit of justice is more important than the survival of the nation. Those who live by faith analyze what is happening around them from this perspective. They are compelled to denounce injustice and, on occasion, warn their nation of impending doom.

Amos sees Yahweh marching through history, measuring each nation with the plumbline of justice. And the test of justice is what happens to the poor. For Augustine, the fundamental struggle of history is between the "love of power" in imperial societies and the "power of love" in the City of God. This understanding enables him to see the deficiencies of the established order and anticipate the fall of Rome.

The decline and fall of empire can become the occasion for the emergence of a new and more human social order. Beyond the fall of Israel the prophets envision a messianic era, in which the little people, who are the victims of hunger, oppression and fear, will enjoy a full and safe life; a time of peace when oppression will have been overcome. In the *Magnificat*, Mary announces not only that her child will hasten the dawning of this longed-for era; she declares that, in this new age, the wealthy and powerful will fall while the poor and powerless will be raised up.

Augustine's thought is dominated by a millennial vision of a divine society, a kingdom of goodness; his eyes are fixed on the life of "the world to come." Athanasius, in his treatise *On the Incarnation*, is not overwhelmed by the crisis of the empire because he is so impressed by the transformation of human life occurring wherever the Christian message is preached, and by the willing-

ness of so many young men and women to die for it.

Although this radical transformation of perspective may not be very evident at the heart of our empire today, it is certainly happening on the fringes. For a surprising number of men and women in Central America, identification with the poor and participation in their struggle has become the supreme reality, more important than the survival of a society offering them wealth and power. As they follow this road, they are surprised by the discovery of new life and purpose, and find the strength to face persecution and possible death.

In the midst of all this, Central Americans are convinced that they are engaged in creating something new: a new economic, social and political order oriented toward not only meeting the material needs of the poor but also toward offering them a place of significance and the possibility of exercising power. A Salvadoran theologian, Ignacio Ellacuria, calls it "a new type of economic development, and at a deeper level, a new type of civilization, which we will be able to call, with pride, a civilization of and for the poor."

Because of their belief in the divine activity in history — and their unusual perspective on it — prophets and theologians could claim that they were not wild utopian dreamers but the most realistic of persons.

Yahweh was the Lord of nature and history, and what Yahweh was about was the practice of "kindness, justice and righteousness in the earth" (Jer. 9:24). Consequently, only those who perceived how Yahweh's judgment operated could understand realistically what was happening in and to Israel. For Jesus, the issue was that of reading rightly "the signs of the times": signs of decay in the existing order, as well as the little signs of new life for the poor, the oppressed and the captives.

For the theologians of the fourth cen-

ture, the God who was active in history had become incarnate in Jesus of Nazareth. As a result, men and women who believed in and responded to Jesus were free to perceive the presence and work of the Redeemer in all spheres of life and history. In their struggle for the transformation of the world, Christians were simply apprehending the potentialities already present in the situation.

These theological formulations may not be as compelling for some of us as they were for earlier generations. Whether they are or not, life in a community of faith can lead us to make a wager: *That the crisis of empire and the violence and chaos which accompany it are opening the way for the emergence of the little people of the world; that the decline of U.S. — and Russian — power is a major factor contributing to this, and that we as a nation will have a place in the emerging international order to the degree that we participate in this process.*

Guided by such a vision, Christians will have some important things to say about our foreign policy as it relates to Third World countries:

1. In a democracy, national self-interest can only be conceived of as that which serves the interests of *the people*, not a small elite with power and wealth. The great majority of American citizens have little to lose and much to gain with the emergence in Central America of societies serving the aspirations of the poor.

Repressive regimes that kill labor leaders and keep wages low benefit multinational corporations; they do not serve the interests of the American people. When the U.S. government imagines that it has the responsibility to take over little countries, "keep them in their place," or even tell them how to organize their economic and political institutions, it is the victim of a colonial mentality which has dehumanizing consequences at home as well as abroad.

2. National security depends upon the establishment of social peace at home as poverty and exploitation are overcome. It also depends on the strengthening of regimes in Central America attempting to meet the aspirations of the poor. Our obsession with security through military might is, in part, a reflection of our fear of the poor people of the world. It is also self-defeating. Exclusive reliance on military power and the suppression of Third World movements for justice inevitably lead to the escalation of insecurity around the world.

In this perspective, a strong positive relationship on our part with the government of Nicaragua can contribute to our national security; our support of the military regime in El Salvador can only work against it.

3. Our nation stands to gain by supporting the new democratic developments in Central America: the application of our democratic ideal in the economic sphere, and the encouragement of popular movements which give the common people new opportunities to exercise public power at the local and national levels.

In fact, our contact with them could contribute to the revitalization of our own society. These new developments expose the limitations of our democratic institutions and suggest a worthy goal for the future transformation of our national life. Moreover, if and when the United States encourages authentic Third World struggles toward democracy, our government will no longer have to deceive us, calling brutally repressive regimes "democratic," and presenting a deliberately distorted picture of what is happening under their rule.

4. Stimulated by our religious heritage and the example of Central American Christians, we will find ourselves compelled to look more closely at the injustices in our own society.

Our affluence is due in part to our exploitation of the poor people of the

world. We have set the terms for our appropriation of their natural resources and the prices for the purchase of their agricultural products. Now multinational corporations take advantage of cheap labor there to feed our lust for consumption here. We can continue along this path only if we rely more and more on military power to keep rebellious, starving people in line.

The alternative is to find new ways to use our enormous wealth, our technological advances and our economic power to meet the needs of our own people and support the efforts of poor nations to become more self-sufficient. To do this, one thing is necessary: a fundamental change in our economic system. In the long run, this may well be the most important step we can take toward national security and world peace.

5. We can help people around us overcome their fear of Communism, and in so doing, respond wisely to the real threats it may present to us.

Here again, Christians in Central America have taken the lead. They have discovered that their faith in Jesus Christ leads them to make a total commitment to the cause of the poor. When they do this, they are denounced as Communists and harassed. Often their lives are threatened. This opens their eyes to the way the fear of Communism is used to keep the poor in their place at any cost.

At the same time, they meet Marxists who are also committed to the struggle for justice and find that they need not be afraid of them. As Christians move to the forefront of the revolutionary struggles, they see themselves building a society which may follow a socialist pattern, but will be neither "Marxist-Leninist" nor under the domination of Russia or Cuba.

Their experience suggests that a similar commitment on our part to the struggle for justice at home and abroad would go a long way toward restoring our national sanity. ■



'Coyote'

by Renny Golden

The Quaker had never smuggled before. Half-terrified next to him a young Salvadoran sat stiffly, his fist gripping the truck door handle. It was spring 1981, and Jim Corbett was maneuvering his pick-up through the backroads of the Sonora desert, carefully avoiding the Peck Canyon roadblock. The truck rolled past strawberry hedgehog and golden cane cholla — the desert in bloom, ancient witness to other outlaws, other refugees. For these two, it would be a first. If they made it, the refugee Miguel would remain in Rev. John Fife's Southside Presbyterian Church in Tucson, the first church to offer sanctuary in the United States. And Jim Corbett would conspire with grace and the desert to rescue refugees many more times.

Three years later Corbett has chalked up a professional "coyote" record — he's brought 400 Central American refugees across the border to safety. Unlike the coyotes who prey upon the desperate refugees, charging \$1,500 for

a crossing past *la migra* (immigration border officials), Corbett's concern is for the people not profit.

Jim's record has not gone unnoticed. Officials of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) have posted WANTED flyers of him on their office walls. His "crime," along with thousands of co-conspirators, who feloniously aid and harbor "aliens," is punishable by a 5-year prison sentence and/or a \$2,000 fine. The government's position is definitive. So is Jim's: "When the government itself sponsors the torture of entire peoples and then makes it a felony to shelter those seeking refuge, law-abiding protest merely trains us to live with atrocity . . . The presence of undocumented refugees here among us makes the definitive nature of our choice particularly clear and concrete. Where oppression rules, the way of peace is necessarily insurgent."

Corbett's rescue work now takes him as far into Mexico as the border regions of Guatemala. Objective danger has increased for Jim. But it was the first risk that caused anxiety. Corbett recalled another anxious moment of those early days. He was to pick up a family of 11 crossing through a hole in the border fence at night. A young boy guided them

to a safehouse on the other side to await Jim. In the middle of the night the woman of the safehouse panicked and called him, hysterically demanding a pick-up at 2:30 a.m. He knew it meant virtually pulling the van up against the fence in the moonlight. His low-keyed response must have deflated the woman's ballooning fear. She quieted and agreed to resume the plan of a daytime pick-up at another point.

Corbett could not have imagined back then that his intervening actions would spark a "domino" response. Church after church has turned to harboring refugees in the last year and a half. Beginning with the Southside Presbyterian Church, a sanctuary movement, pitting the grassroots church against INS policy, has begun and flourished. The U.S. sanctuary movement was begun out of moral effort to protect the thousands of Central American refugees pouring across the border desperately trying to avoid INS deportation back to Guatemala or El Salvador.

Public sanctuaries have been declared across the country, facilitated by an underground railroad replication of Harriet Tubman's safehouse stops for runaway slaves. This particular route extends from the Guatemalan border through

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).

Mexico, then as far north as Minneapolis, stretching from there to the East Coast. The railroad involves 50 congregation safehouses, and 30,000 co-conspirators. Recently the Ganieneh tribe of the Mohawk nation offered Guatemalan Indians sanctuary on sacred lands in northern New York.

In spite of this impressive beginning Corbett is characteristically forthright and unpredictable in assessing Tucson's role. "Reports that we here in Tucson have built an underground railroad or established a sanctuary movement are false; we are simply in the process of discovering the church. In whatever measure the church is the church, it will try to protect the oppressed from organized oppression — which usually means protecting them from the state. The oppressed are often betrayed by clergy and congregations who give primary allegiance to the law and order of established powers, but throughout Mexico and along the border the church remains the refugees' best prospect for protection."

It was late spring two years later and the impervious desert was again sprouting cactus, when I met Jim in the basement of the University of Arizona's library. He was photocopying reduced topographical maps of the Mexican-Texas border, carefully marking the river beds and crossing points. He would bring the maps to newly initiated sanctuary churches along the Rio Grande. Refugee crossings had failed on two occasions. Jim was certain well-marked terrain maps and the addition of landmarks and floating devices would "teach" sanctuary collaborators the terrain problems. Two

weeks later, guiding a Guatemalan refugee family through Mexico up into Texas, Jim had aided the first successful Texas crossing of refugees via the sanctuary "railroad."

When I met Jim he was recovering from a respiratory illness and a characteristic state of exhaustion. Often when bringing refugees through Mexico he doesn't sleep for nights, and he fasts during the trip. His friend Padre Ricardo told me his fasting so perplexed a destitute Salvadoran family he was guiding, that they pooled their centavos and bought him some tortillas. The Salvadorans were unfamiliar with Jim's spiritual regimen of which fasting while under pressure is the least unconventional. In Jim's pre-rescue work, "leisure" days he meditated by wandering in the desert for days, fasting except for milk from one of his goats who roamed with him in the sun. He has written a long paper on the economics of goat walking — which eliminates food planning — allowing an immersion in the desert that frees the heart for awareness of the harmony of all things. This asceticism probably accounts for his ability to "shut off" bodily discomfort signals; in fact, to thwart pain's incapacitating effects. He is so crippled from rheumatoid arthritis that he's unable to grip a steering wheel. His feet twist like gnarled tree roots. Nevertheless, walking with him on a backroad in Mexico, I was barely able to keep pace.

I asked about the arthritis. The disease struck in 1963, during a stressful period when as a librarian at Cochise State College he was fired for his anti-war stance. The job was not his only livelihood,

because he also worked as a rancher fighting screw-worms in Cochise County. But as the arthritis worsened he had to quit. Though Jim can't sit a horse anymore, his wife Pat is a skillful rancher who keeps their small homestead managed during Jim's long absences. Even now they keep goats in their back yard. "If I didn't have arthritis," Jim says, "I'd still be punching cows. I always wanted to be out in the open. As a child during the depression, when my father only had money for winter, he'd take my sister and me up into the Teton mountains where we'd live outdoors. By 14, my sister was severely crippled with arthritis."

Corbett claims he's careful about physical stress, not wanting to provoke a relapse. But in the conversation he seems to be estimating the gamble. "If I end up in prison I don't think I'd find the experience a source of relapse." In fact, Pat hopes he will get caught . . . on this side of the border. Given Mexico's political posture in relation to Central American refugees, authorities might choose to have Jim "disappear" rather than prosecute. Mexico's official stance toward refugees appears humane, but unofficially Mexico acts as an agent for U.S. Immigration/State Department policy.

Jim assumes there will be more surveillance of the Tucson "coyote" activities due to increasing pressure on Mexico to block refugee flow. This will force sanctuary workers to take higher risks. In Southern Mexico, Immigration is liberal in accepting refugees but once they attempt to move north of Mexico City toward U.S. borders, they are jailed and deported. Mexico has become an insulator for the United States in relation to refugee movement. According to Jim,



"It is essential that we break the insulator role — we must open more and more crossing areas on the border. The more open routes, the more difficult to control."

When asked to speak before established refugee and social service agencies in Austin, Tex., Jim crystallized much of his theological/political reflections ruminating during the long treks to Chiapas. Jim insists he's learning liberation theology in discovering the exile church of refugees. The time he's spent with refugees and Mexican catechists in the mountainous Chiapas area bordering Guatemala has been instructive of a fundamental tenet of liberation theology — that we must choose sides. Commenting on churches offering sanctuary Jim had this to say:

"What we have conceived as an effort to save undocumented Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees may prove, in retrospect, to have been the belated arrival in Anglo-America of the radical reformation that has been taking place in the Latin American church. Because the refugees are here amongst us being hunted down and shipped back by the tens of thousands, the churches must choose either to stand with the U.S. government against the refugees or else to stand as an insurgent with the refugees. The choice is not a matter of words or talk, but of actually helping undocumented people to evade capture."

Corbett can be tough. A quiet sense of moral authority informs his actions, an authority accessible to people who've confronted fear of death. Corbett once referred to his crippling arthritis as "a jolt that shook me out of complacency." In spite of a past preoccupation with ideas as a master in philosophy from Harvard, Corbett's faith life expresses itself in action.

Years ago he wrote a piece on Quixote's madness which seems autobiographical. But the image doesn't quite fit, though he identifies with Quixote's absurdities. Some of the stories of his travels verge

on Quixotian behaviour. He dispenses holy cards to border guards, from a Protestant Bible appearing to be a breviary. His friend Padre Ricardo laughed to recall that both he and Jim were discreet in giving the Blessed Virgin holy cards away because the "Magnificat" printed on the back could be considered radical. St. Francis of Assisi cards pass easily. Jim gravely informed me that he was not pretending to be a priest, but was symbolizing to suspicious refugees and guards his pastoral motivation.



When I asked if I should disguise information about his sanctuary activities he answered simply "Trust takes precedence over politics." More tactical and instrumentalist, I flinched. But for Jim such choices between truth and/or the struggle are dualisms. He *lives* as though "the truth will make you free."

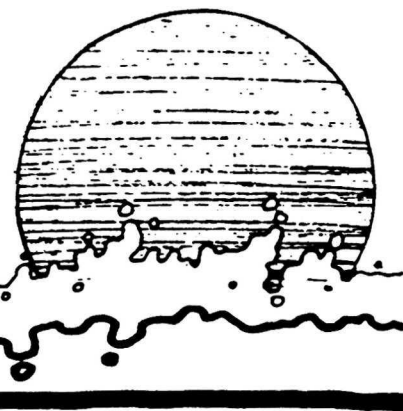
As a Quaker, more Hasidic than Christian, Jim has discovered ways in which he is a Jew. He is not yet sure he is a Christian but his encounter with the

Mexican church has been a surprise, in the way epiphanies are revelatory. "On the rare occasions when I'd looked into a Catholic church, usually as a dutiful tourist at places like San Xavier or at notable Mexican cathedrals, I was struck by what appeared to be a morbid obsession with the agonies of the cross, artists outdoing themselves in order to express the ultimate in torment. I dismissed it as a medieval aberration. But 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 — as revelatory depth meaning rather than salvationist egoism. This is the kind of meaning one discovers only in meeting those who share it much the way a language lives among a people rather than in a dictionary's afterthoughts . . . it is accessible to children and the unsophisticated, a meaning that is here among us historically and communally . . ."

In the last two years Jim's "coyote" work has kept him on the road with refugees more often than at home. From Chiapas, Hermosillo, Monterey, Tucson, he's written letters to friends, the Tucson refugee support group, the Quakers, more recently the sanctuary communities. As the sanctuary movement has stretched from coast to coast, the letters have become more strategic, appropriately responding to looming logistical problems with refugee transport through the railroad, needs for workers in Texas, analysis of INS/State Department's next move etc. But over a year ago, on Christmas Eve, he was still writing letters, still wanting us to know the human cost of the war against the poor of Central America. The following passage like an emerging theology of sanctuary was written not in a divinity school but on the run. It was written by a fugitive who had warned, "just as the refugees are outlawed, hunted down and impris-

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Making the Future Happen



by Ronald E. Stenning

It has been said that where the future is concerned, there are three kinds of people: those who let it happen, those who make it happen, and those who will wonder what happened. Obviously, the future belongs to those in the middle group. And it is equally certain that if we do not take an active role in creating the future as we want it to be, someone else — with good intentions or bad — will create it for us.

In his last book, *Critical Paths*, the late Buckminster Fuller dealt with the concept of personal responsibility. He said that we have a responsibility to design our own future as “co-creative humans” with a God who “designed the universe to provide for our success.” We have learned more about that design in the past half-century than in all the history that went before. We have gained sufficient insight and understanding of so many of the mysteries of

creation that we now have the capacity to create new worlds and new life forms. We also have the capacity to self-destruct.

We must also accept that as we move toward that new kind of civilization we can have only a limited influence on the immediate future: because that too has been largely determined by decisions already taken.

For example, by the year 2000 — as a result of a decision made 30 years ago — we will have accumulated approximately 100,000 tons of radioactive waste from spent fuel assemblies, millions of cubic feet of high level liquid waste, as well as other radioactive materials of a magnitude almost too difficult to comprehend. As yet there is no effective way to dispose of these products, and they will continue to be radioactive for three-quarters of a million years. Thus do decisions we make now have an effect on the lives not only of our children and grandchildren, but on generations yet to come.

Albert Einstein once said of nuclear

energy: “The real decision will be made in the village square.” I would like to add, “and in the local churches and synagogues.”

But when we look at the long-range future there are significant areas where we can be co-creators of the world we believe God intended. It is to those possibilities that we need to devote our attention.

The technological advances of the past 50 years and the opening of instantaneous global communications have made it impossible for a country and a people to live in isolation. The destinies of all people are inextricably linked, and we must work together in unprecedented ways to make our knowledge work for the benefit of all. That has special implications for the United States because of its historic role in global economics and politics.

A fundamental image we have of ourselves is that of a strong, independent people. The identification with the image of the pioneers and the Old West is seen today in the popularity of

The Rev. Ronald Stenning, an Episcopal priest, is the director of the U.S. Program of Church World Service.

western dress and the way advertisers use the theme. That image also largely shapes the policies of the United States in places like Central America. The "rugged individualist" is deeply embedded in our national psyche and it is being reinforced by national policy-makers in the present administration who picture themselves as standing in that tradition.

Hazel Henderson, a futurist thinker and activist, has written:

"Our Declaration of Independence being a document forged in rebellion asserts individual rights. That was entirely appropriate as a goal for a small nation of farmers and entrepreneurs faced with an almost empty continent. But in our complex modern society, individual rights must now be balanced with a concept of individual responsibilities and we may also require a Declaration of Interdependence."

That may be a hard lesson for some to accept. For example, the American Management Association recently released the findings of a study aimed at determining the attitudes and beliefs of 1,500 managers throughout the United States. One significant finding was the optimism of managers who believe that the future is open to influence by determined individuals and organizations. Sixty-one percent said we need "a return to basic values" which emphasize individual initiative and responsibility symbolized by "the rugged individualist with the pioneer spirit who helped build our nation." A very distant choice about what was needed to create a viable future, selected by less than one out of five, was "developing a value system emphasizing cooperation and the improvement of the total human community." What implications have we here for the future?

Technology and the increasing scarcity of natural resources continue to make

the nations of the world more interdependent. The isolation that tends to result from the kind of independence designated by the business managers is no longer suitable to the modern world. This does not imply, of course, that there is no longer room for individual initiative. But worldwide cooperation is a critical need today and it is in our best interest to be part of it.

Unfortunately, in the United States we have little experience that has prepared us to think globally. That is not true of any other major country. Public school education here for the most part has centered around *America* and *American* history, and the *American* economic system. The average high school graduate knows little about other countries and cultures.

When we established the Office on Global Education in Church World Service several years ago we discovered that only 5 out of 50 states required courses in global perspectives as part of the curriculum. Today, that figure has only grown to 19. Many other nations devote a major part of education to preparing their citizens for global citizenship. Sweden and the Netherlands are notable in this regard, but it is also true of Great Britain, West Germany, Denmark, Norway and Switzerland. World education is a part of every subject, like yeast in dough. Because we lack such a perspective we are often limited in our perception of reality. We have been led to believe that there is a "quick fix" for almost any problem. But there is no simplistic solution for inflation, for resource shortages, for falling productivity and a host of other national and international issues which call for concerted long-term action. And because we have such a narrow focus we fail to realize that for many in the world time is running out.

In his book *Megatrends*, John Naisbitt describes 10 new directions shaping our lives. One of these is the

move away from national economies to world economies. The two most important things to remember about world economies, he says, are that yesterday is over and that we must now adjust to living in a world of interdependent communities. Transnational corporations have demonstrated the ease with which national boundaries can be crossed in monetary terms and the impact that can have on local and national economies. The 6 o'clock U.S. news each morning gives the opening gold prices on the London market and the closing stock prices on the Japanese market. In such a world it is more important than ever before to make decisions based on ever increasing interdependence among all nations and peoples.

Another new reality affecting an increasing number of people is the movement from an industrial society to an information society. "Jobs available" ads in the major newspapers reflect that change. No longer are the ads primarily for machine operators, tool makers, production superintendents — the skills that were the backbone of an industrial society. Now the call is for data processing professionals, software sales representatives, program analysts, data center managers and computer operators; people who are knowledgeable in the communications and information industries. Thus, the very people who were skilled and able to survive in one kind of society are potentially the unemployed or underemployed in the new society.

The president of a major university recently announced what he called "the greatest educational innovation of the 20th century." Next year each incoming student will be required to purchase a personal computer terminal in the same way that those in the past were required to purchase basic textbooks. The personal computer terminals will be plugged into the university mainframe and will become a fundamental teaching tool.

Also, Brown University is considering a proposal which would spend \$50 to \$70 million in the next six years to equip each faculty member, student, administrator, and staff member on campus with a powerful new type of personal computer. The economic and human impact of this trend is unmistakable.

One further signal to which attention must be given is that for the past 200 years most people in the western industrial nations have benefited from vast quantities of inexpensive resources from the poor and economically underdeveloped nations of the world. Those inexpensive resources are no longer available to us on the same terms as in the past. We must also face the fact that our lifestyles and our desire for unlimited growth may quite literally have been destroying people with whom we share this finite earth.

The political and economic climate in the United States in coming years will be more than just the struggle between the traditional forces of right and left. One of the most important struggles of the next two decades will be between those who want to centralize society and those who want to decentralize. Already, special interest groups which have accumulated great amounts of capital have become potent political forces.

For those whose vision of the future is one of justice, one in which people will participate in the making of decisions affecting their lives, the most important commitment is to be involved in political action. Not the old politics of party but issue politics, citizen movement politics, public interest groups, corporate stockholder politics over energy use, environmental issues, the sale of public land and the development of conventional and nuclear weapons systems. Political action that challenges and calls to account those enormous private and corporate interests that want to use their power and their capital to shape

the future as they want it to be. This also means speaking out on the abusive use of power by those in government who control public resources and want to use them for their own ends. And it means being advocates for those who are the poor and powerless of this world. The church belongs in the midst of that struggle.

Naisbitt has said that we are living in the "time of the parenthesis," the time between eras as though we have bracketed off the present from both the past and the future, for we are neither here nor there. But for many caught in that middle-time:

- whose lives have been shattered by unemployment because their skills are no longer needed,
- who do not know where the next day's meal is coming from,
- who have to choose between food and fuel in cold weather,
- who find they are no longer covered by health care programs; it is for

these people that the church should have a particular concern.

Thankfully, some parishes and congregations are involving themselves by committing often limited resources to deal with those pressures. But many are not. In the face of increasing human need they continue to be concerned only about institutional matters, about buildings and about business as usual. It is informative to look at the agenda of diocesan conventions and annual church conferences and parish budgets to see what reference is made to issues of this kind.

But we cannot leave the responsibility only with the institutional church. Every individual who is concerned about what is happening to other human beings in this "time of the parenthesis" and who wants to play a part in shaping a just and livable human society must take some individual action. Not the kind de Tocqueville warned against as the greatest threat in a modern democratic society — the rugged individualism of the Old West — but a recognition of the important role the individual can play in an interdependent world.

The biblical witness is clear. God has chosen to change the world time and time again through one person at a time: often through the lowly and the unassuming. That has always been God's strategy; even to work through a baby born in a manger to turn the world right side up. It is still God's way to work through the seemingly insignificant to make the future happen.

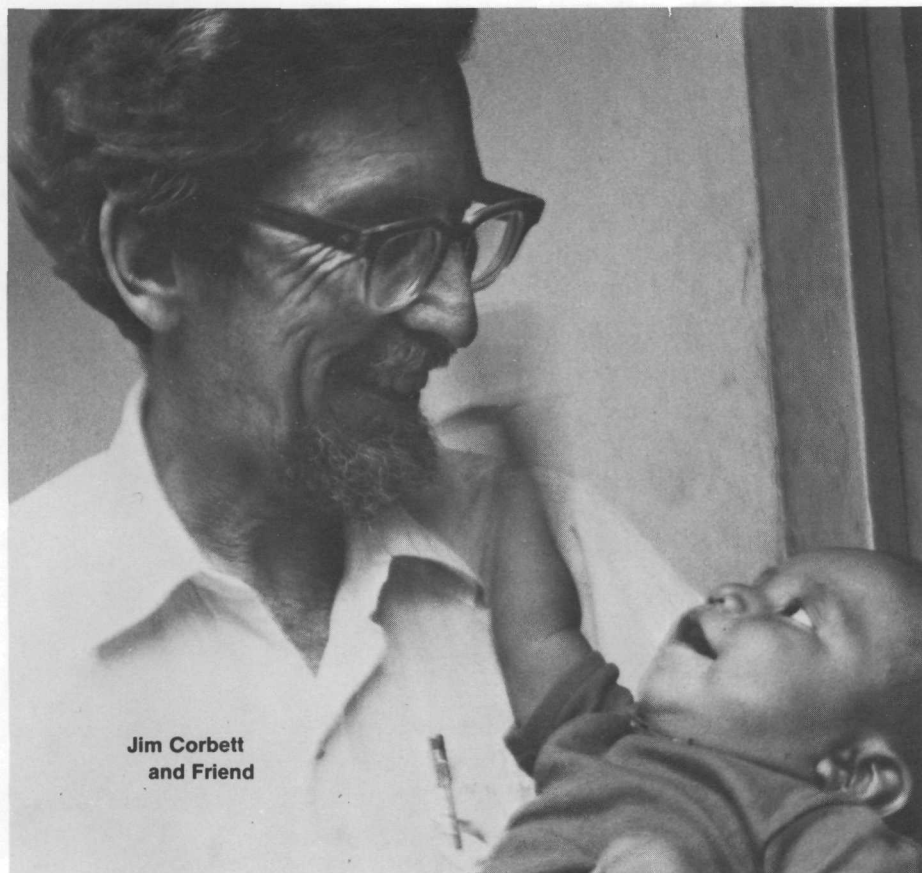
Let us hold to the hope that we can create a more just and prosperous world for generations yet to come, a world free from dependence and oppression, from hunger and want. If we can learn to accept the importance of that task for the future of the world, for generations yet to come, and if we can reflect that commitment in our church programs, our parishes, our families and in our own lives, we might just succeed. ■

Complaint

I get a little tired
hearing them called
**THE lame,
THE halt,
THE blind . . .**

Just as if
they
don't belong
to people of our kind.
Well,
maybe they don't.
Facing
what they have to face,
perhaps they do
become joined
in some superior race.
Each treasured art form
has
its limitations
which
mold and bound
its own
unique creations.

—Emma Blosser Hartzler



Jim Corbett
and Friend

Coyote . . . Continued from page 9
oned, if we chose to serve them in Spirit and truth, we will also be outlawed." It is appropriate to end with one of Jim's reflections. This is his Christmas story:

In Nogales on the afternoon of Dec. 24, I sat with a baby in my arms, hoping he would continue to sleep until his mother arrived, wondering what I would do if she were captured. Christmas crowds provided ironically appropriate cover for the grim game of cat-and-mouse taking place, a game played daily in which refugees try to evade the Border Patrol.

In this case the fate of the young mother and her child hung on the outcome. As family of a man known to be opposed to El Salvador's military rulers, they would

run a high risk of being tortured and then murdered if caught and deported to El Salvador. For almost a year, the woman had been in hiding, nurturing her firstborn, waiting for this chance to run the gauntlet of Mexican and U.S. *migra* in order to reunite the family.

The sleeping baby projected a trusting innocence that called quietly for love and protection. For a few moments I rediscovered the hope and wonder of Christmas, revealed in the child's presence.

But Herod's slaughter of the innocents casts the shadow of the Cross on the Christmas story. I couldn't help remembering, from two weeks earlier on Mexico's Guatemalan border, the grief in Mother Elvira's eyes as she told of

just such a baby boy, 9-months-old, whom Guatemalan soldiers had mutilated and slowly murdered while forcing his mother to watch. Only at the risk of wounding the mind can one learn about the methodical torture of dispossessed peoples which the United States is sponsoring in Latin America.

The victim might have been the baby in my arms. And it might yet be. As a Salvadoran refugee, he is called an illegal and hunted as a fugitive by the people of power who sponsor the military terror that drove his family from their home.

Flushed with excitement and relief, his mother rushed in and hugged him to her. By nightfall she would once again be with her husband, in a little barrio home in Tucson that a family shares with the refugees (a home sometimes so crowded that cars parked in back must be used as sleeping quarters).

A few miles away from the reunited family, Tucsonans were gathering at the Federal Building for the 45th weekly prayer vigil for social justice in El Salvador and Guatemala. Pat and I joined them. It was a good place to be on Christmas Eve. The service Father Ricardo had prepared lifted us from realistic awareness of the "darkness of oppression, torture, and death" up through prophetic torah to celebrative recognition of the holy night's revelatory light.

It chanced that I was asked to read the passage that begins, "She gave birth to her firstborn son and wrapped him in swaddling clothes and laid him in a manger, because there was no room for them in the place where travelers lodged. There were shepherds in that region, living in the fields and keeping night watch . . ."

■

Puerto Rico Is Colony, Church Group Tells U.N.

Puerto Rico has been called "a tropical Ulster on America's doorstep." Political and physical violence have escalated as the commonwealth debates its future course. Moreover, the National Council of Churches passed a resolution recently which says it will "support efforts to prevent the further militarization of Puerto Rico which will inevitably involve it as launching point and target in hostilities in the Caribbean basin." (Some of the U.S. troops which invaded Grenada were said to have come from Puerto Rico, and it has been alleged that the recent military exercises in Vieques were a dress rehearsal for the Grenada invasion.)

Against this background, THE WITNESS presents excerpts from a report given at the end of last year before a United Nations Committee, following a series of public hearings on the colonial crisis of Puerto Rico. The hearings were sponsored by the Ecumenical Committee for the Future of Puerto Rico. (See history accompanying box.) The report was presented by the Rt. Rev. J. Antonio Ramos, former Bishop of Costa Rica, and currently NCC's associate director of the Caribbean and Latin America.

In a recent edition, *National Geographic* published a leading article entitled "The Uncertain State of Puerto Rico." Through interviews with political leaders and informal conversations with people representing different sectors of Puerto Rican society, its author, Bill Richards, concludes that the major issue facing Puerto Ricans is that of the future:

"During weeks of criss-crossing the Cordillera Central, the mountainous crown of this bullet-shaped island, and exploring miles of its reef-combed Atlantic and Caribbean coastlines, I heard the same doubts repeated with impatience.

After nearly five centuries of absentee direction, first by Spain, and then by the United States—Puerto Ricans are wrestling with themselves to resolve, in their own way, the uncertainties of the future."

As stated by the author, in the inner fabric of the Puerto Rican person, the words of the famous national song "Lamento Borincano," ring with greater force today than ever before:

*"What will become of Boriquen
My dear God
What will become of my children
of my home."*

As a *jibaro* born and raised on a coffee farm in Puerto Rico's Cordillera Central, who has ministered to its people in the major urban metropolis, San Juan; as one who has lived in Chicago and New York and has had the opportunity to participate in all sorts of cultural and political events—it is my conviction too that "What will become of Boriquen?" is the major and most critical question confronting Puerto Rican people.

Puerto Rico experiences today a crisis of colonialism which needs to be recognized as such by the two parties involved: Puerto Rico and the United States. It revolves around the unresolved political

History of the Hearings

The Ecumenical Committee on the Future of Puerto Rico was created in 1982 at the initiative of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company.

It grew out of concern about the impact of U.S. policy upon Puerto Rico and upon Puerto Rican communities in the United States. Related to this was the growing sense of powerlessness felt by broad sectors of the Puerto Rican community; the underlying colonial nature of the island's relationship to the United States; and the increasing repression, including use of the Grand Jury process to subpoena Puerto Rican advocates of independence.

The Ecumenical Committee drew its membership both from Puerto Rico and the United States. Its goal was to communicate the findings of the hearings before national and international bodies, especially before the U.S. Congress and the United Nations.

Participating in the planning and implementation of the project were representatives of the churches; religious, political, cultural, civic and labor organizations; the academic community; grass roots movements and advocacy groups from Puerto Rico and the United States. Over 1982 and 1983, three hearings were held: in Puerto Rico (in San Juan and the rural town of Adjuntas); in New York City, and in Chicago.

The hearings were conducted in Spanish and English and presided over by panels of Puerto Rican and U.S. citizens representing various sectors of the community and professional fields. The events were publicized through the media, posters, and flyers, and invitations sent to government officials, civic, political and religious leaders.

In addition, a forum was held in Washington, D.C. to make public the findings and conclusions of the hearings. Invitations were sent to Government and Congresspersons.

status of Puerto Rico.

I believe that at the heart of the status issue stands more than just the future of a piece of land, small as it is, or who has sovereignty over it and its resources. Of fundamental importance is the identity of a people who for centuries have known ourselves as Puerto Ricans.

In the cry "What will become of Boriquen?" hangs the destiny of a people, of a culture, of nationhood, of belonging to a wider community with which we have a common cultural heritage—the Latin American community of nations.

Who are we? Who do we want to be or become? What sort of social, political, economic society do we want to shape for ourselves and future generations?

In 1982 the Ecumenical Committee on the Future of Puerto Rico was organized to explore these questions.

Summary Findings

Following is a summary of the most important findings and conclusions which the Ecumenical Committee wishes to share with the peoples of Puerto Rico and the United States, and the international community:

- On the basis of the political, social, economic, cultural and religious data gathered in the hearings and the research made for this report, the Ecumenical Committee is of the opinion that Puerto Rico is experiencing a colonial crisis which is of concern not only to the two parties involved, Puerto Rico and the United States, but also the whole international community. The Committee believes that this crisis is the direct result of the long-standing colonial history of

Puerto Rico and of the unresolved political status.

- The Ecumenical Committee is also of the opinion that under the present commonwealth status of a Free Associated State, Puerto Rico has achieved a greater degree of self-government in its internal affairs; however, the Committee considers that the present status has not resolved the colonial nature of Puerto Rico in its relationship to the United States. As defined by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1901, Puerto Rico remains a *"non-incorporated territory which belongs to, but is not part of the United States."*

The evidence provided in the oral and written testimonies indicate that the United States has not transferred to Puerto Rico powers and functions which are essential for the free and full exercise of autonomy. Even with the adoption of Public Law 600 of 1950 by the U.S. Congress and the subsequent approval by Puerto Rico and Congress of the commonwealth status as a Free Associated State, the ultimate power of decision was not transferred to the people of Puerto Rico and its legislature, but continued to reside within Congress and the President of the United States.

- It was quite evident to the Ecumenical Committee that the various political parties in Puerto Rico which advocate for a given status alternative (statehood, independence and commonwealth), recognize the unresolved nature of Puerto Rico's political status and the prevailing colonial conditions.

The New Progressive Party supports statehood being of the conviction that the only alternative for its supporters is that of full incorporation as a state of the United States. For them, the commonwealth status is "neither fish nor fowl," nor represents a definite resolution of the status issue.

The various political parties and movement which advocate for independence, (the Puerto Rican Independence Party,

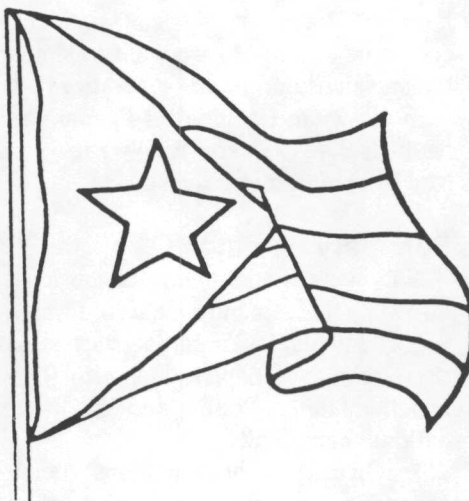
the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party, and the Socialist League) are of the conviction that the only alternative is the establishment of Puerto Rico as a free and sovereign nation. The present status is colonial for them.

On various occasions since the adoption of the commonwealth status, the Popular Democratic Party had recognized the limitations of the present status. Efforts have been made to strengthen it seeking additional powers from Congress. Both the Fernos-Murray Bill of 1959 and the "Compact of Permanent Union between Puerto Rico and the United States" of 1975 were not acted upon by Congress. Such repeated refusals indicate the unwillingness by the United States to grant Puerto Rico more autonomy and its intention to keep Puerto Rico as a non-incorporated territory under its direct jurisdiction. Within the leadership of the Popular Democratic Party there are those who favor the full transfer of powers to Puerto Rico, as required by the United Nations Resolution 1514 of 1960, prior to any final decision on the status question whereby Puerto Ricans would be free to choose any of the alternatives, including the commonwealth one.

- The Ecumenical Committee is therefore of the opinion that Puerto Rico remains under colonial status as defined by the United Nations Resolution 1514 and as reported since 1972 by its Decolonization Committee. The Committee believes that the question of the colonial status of Puerto Rico should be included in the agenda of the United Nations and that the United Nations should require the United States to end its colonial rule over Puerto Rico acting in conformity with said Resolution 1514.

Given the long history of colonialism in the life of Puerto Ricans; the psychological conditioning to which they have been submitted (including the propaganda to fear freedom), the repressive measures being applied against advo-

cates of independence, the Ecumenical Committee concurs with those who testified in the hearings in favor of a "decolonizing" process as an urgent need to enable the exercise of free self-determination. This, together with the immediate cessation of armed actions and all repressive measures, would assist in creating the necessary conditions and climate in Puerto Rico for the free exercise of the right to self-determination



Although Puerto Rico experiences a serious economic, social and cultural crisis, the Ecumenical Committee is of the opinion that this should not be used as pretext for delaying self-determination and an end to the colonial status.

- Finally, the Ecumenical Committee is of the opinion that the prevailing colonial conditions are having serious effects in all aspects of Puerto Rico's life and the lives of its people on the island and in the United States. In this summary, it underlies the following:

- the dependent nature of Puerto Rico's economy, its vulnerability and the attitudes of

powerlessness that it is generating;

- the intolerable levels of unemployment and social disruption;

- the increasing emigration of Puerto Ricans to the United States, where already about 2 million Puerto Ricans live marginalized, under conditions of poverty and discriminated against as a minority;

- the increasing militarization of Puerto Rico and its role in the Caribbean and Latin America as a military base of the United States;

- the increasing repression against Puerto Ricans on the island and in the United States and the use of abuse of the grand jury process;

- the increasing disappearance of Puerto Rican culture, values and identity;

- the increasing damage to the ecology of the island by the industrial development pursued;

- the need to protect Puerto Rico's natural resources on the island and in its territorial waters as a patrimony of the people of Puerto Rico.

Is Puerto Rico a Colony?

The commonwealth status has provided greater self-government to Puerto Rico in its internal affairs; however, major powers necessary for autonomy remain with the U.S. Congress and its President. The seat of power still resides in the U.S. Congress and *not* in the legislature of Puerto Rico or its people. Under Public Law 600 of 1950, the United States reserved for itself the right, under the "territorial clause" of its Constitution (Article IV, Section 2, Paragraph 2), to derogate any law approved by the Puerto Rican legislature, including Public Law 600.

Since 1952, various attempts have been made to enlarge the powers of the commonwealth status but without success. The Fernos-Murray Bill was presented in 1957 and the New Compact in 1970; but the U.S. Congress did not act upon any of these requests made by the proponents of the Free Associated State. At present, Puerto Rico does not have control over the following areas which are essential for self-government and full autonomy:

- Foreign and international relations
- Trade
- Communications
- Air and marine transportation
- Immigration and emigration
- Trips to the exterior (other than the U.S.)
- Customs laws and tariffs
- Currency
- Postal system
- Defense and control of the territory under U.S. military control
- Military service
- Banking system
- Social Security
- Environmental laws
- Ports
- Internal Security
- The judicial system is subject to review by the Federal District Court, the Court of Appeals of Boston, and the U.S. Supreme Court.

The lack of power over such important areas and the enforcement in Puerto Rico of other congressional legislation demonstrate the limited nature of Puerto Rico's "self-government."

The Congress and the U.S. President can impose actions contrary to the will of the people of Puerto Rico, its governor, or its legislature. A flagrant example of this was the recent relocation by the United States of Haitian refugees from Miami to Fort Allen in Puerto Rico, a refugee center opposed by the people and its government.

Dr. Trina Rivera de Rios, a prominent

Puerto Rican social worker, presented the following definition of a colony, taken from the Dictionary of the Social Sciences:

"A territory subordinated in various forms, political, cultural or economically, to a country more developed. The dominant country retains the supreme legislative power and a good part of the administration."

The panel which reported on the hearings held in Puerto Rico concluded that Puerto Rico fits that definition. It was also the consensus of the hearings that the case of Puerto Rico be placed on the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly and that the United States be required to act in accordance with the stipulation of Resolution 1514 which mandates its members to take immediate steps "in Trust and Non-self-governing territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories."

Puerto Rico's heritage, history and unresolved status, have created what was referred to in the hearings as "a crisis of colonialism" which has affected all aspects of life in Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans on the island and those residing in the United States. The economy was an important area covered in the various testimonies.

When the United States invaded Puerto Rico in 1898, Puerto Rico had developed an agricultural economy which provided for the exportation of certain commodities and met the basic food needs of its population. The economy was based primarily on coffee, tobacco and sugar; 32% of the land was used for edible foods and Puerto Rican farmers owned 93% of the farms. It was then substantially a self-reliant economy. The few available mineral resources (like gold) had been exploited by the Spanish rulers. The new political situation in 1898 changed this rapidly.

By 1910, four United States-owned sugar mills had been established and gradually the island became a "foreign-owned, foreign-run plantation." Today, 85 years later, Puerto Rico's economy has become a dependent one. The island imports 90% of what it consumes; over 50% of the population receives some kind of subsidy (food stamps or cash) due to the impoverished conditions of large sectors of the population. Because agriculture has been severely reduced, Puerto Rico imports most of the edible products (like plantains, tomatoes, vegetables) which it once produced. Its production is oriented towards the demands of capital enterprise and not towards meeting the basic needs of the people.

Today the economy survives because of U.S. subsidies. U.S. citizens are not aware that their tax dollars are sustaining Puerto Rico's economy, while the beneficiary of the consumption patterns of Puerto Rico and of its exports is the private sector of the U.S. economy. Puerto Rico, an economic model praised before as "the showcase of development" in the Caribbean, has become a "showcase" of a colonial, dependent, artificially-sustained economy. *The New York Times* said in a recent editorial:

"The scale of Puerto Rico's misfortunes is easily documented. The average annual income of 3.2 million islanders is half that in Mississippi, the poorest state. Unemployment on the mainland is a record 9.8%; on the island it is 24%—meaning 250,000 jobless..."

The situation today is worse and the future bleak, if the colonial crisis persists.

Resource

A complete text of Bishop Ramos' report to the United Nations is available from Hugh White, Coordinator, Ecumenical Committee on the Future of Puerto Rico, 4800 Woodward Ave., Detroit, MI 48201; (313) 832-4406. Spanish translations available.



Nicaragua Needs Church Effort

by Jeanette L. and Robert W. Renouf

Two years have passed since we arrived in Managua as consultants to the Episcopal Church of Nicaragua. During those two years we have seen the people of Nicaragua work for peace, justice and reconciliation. Today they are still working for the same goals but with less hope of achieving them, due to increased U.S. involvement in the affairs of Nicaragua.

The spiritual and religious aspects of the U.S.-Nicaragua conflict are beginning to transcend the political and military. The conflict has been placed on the religious and moral agenda of the world, an agenda demanding change, renewal and transformation. Can these religious issues be addressed?

At least three dynamics must take place, in our opinion, if such goals are to be achieved. They are: 1) an increased ability of the United States to view Nicaragua's reconstruction through Nicaraguan eyes; 2) a spiritual transformation of U.S. society and; 3) an increased witness by U.S. churches and other religious groups.

1. Nicaragua's liberation must be seen through the eyes of Nicaraguans. Liberation for the majority of Nicaraguans meant release from a cruel dictatorship under Anastasio Somoza, social injustice and illiteracy. It meant working for

the elimination of slums, malnutrition and hopelessness. It meant agrarian reform and involvement in the future of the country by a majority of the people. Liberation has meant freedom from the lack of basic human necessities. This is how Nicaraguans might describe their liberation of July 19, 1979.

However, when members of the U.S. Congress, on a whirlwind tour of Nicaragua, view this Central American republic, they see a very poor country, struggling for survival. They seem to be put off by the signs and symbols of revolution. Rather than asking what those signs and symbols express in Nicaraguan experience, more often than not they react negatively from their own context. A U.S. Congressman said to us recently that the Nicaraguan revolution had failed, it was lost and that he felt betrayed. What this liberal Democrat was really saying is that emotionally he could not handle the revolutionary rhetoric and lessons on history of U.S.-Nicaragua relations. Having come to Nicaragua with a pre-conceived idea of what he was going to see, his liberalism just couldn't relate to the Nicaraguan context and what justice demands within that context.

2. If there is to be reconciliation between the United States and Nicaragua, transformation of American attitudes, values and life-style must take place. The very inability to see justice through Nicaraguan eyes is one of the major blindspots that hinders peace and reconciliation from taking place. North

Americans, those from the United States in particular, seem to be unable to view Nicaragua except through the frame of reference of their own self interest centered in material possessions and their convictions of having been especially blessed by God.

In the eyes of perhaps most Nicaraguans, the United States is seen as rich, powerful and proud. It is viewed as being in need of liberation from its greed, its arrogance and its xenophobia (its abnormal fear of anything strange or foreign). Many Nicaraguans believe the United States must reform itself before it can reform others. A rather powerful message is coming forth from Nicaragua (and other Third World countries). The message says that a lifestyle based upon greed, a lack of humanitarian concern for the poor, the needy and the aged and concern only for what is best for U.S. power and self-interest is not a lifestyle that Nicaraguans wish to have imposed upon them.

3. Increased witness by U.S. churches and religious groups. The U.S. churches, in many respects, have been the most perceptive, caring and helpful groups dealing with the Nicaraguan people in their process of revolution and reconstruction. This has taken courage, strong leadership and commitment to the Gospel. Such witness is celebrated and appreciated throughout Nicaragua. But the time has come for a change of focus for U.S. church involvement.

The strongest witness now must be directed within the United States to

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bring about a transformation of the values of the American people that allow the U.S. government to foster a foreign policy based upon greed, arrogance and fear. It is accurate to say that if the present U.S. policy is successful, it will return to power in Nicaragua the same people who were responsible for the repression that brought about the need for revolution in the first place. And if this should happen the American people will have to be held responsible.

Required now in the United States is a massive, organized, powerfully prophetic witness of U.S. churches, religious bodies and other groups, to speak to the religious issue inherent in the U.S.-Nicaraguan conflict and could be a manifestation of the Holy Spirit's unification of Christians in those two countries.

The theological and spiritual issues can be avoided no longer. Churches within these countries must forcefully confront the religious dimensions of the conflict. The U.S. government cannot continue to pursue immoral policies designed to bring about destruction, chaos and turmoil in other countries without destroying its own moral integrity in the process.

Of course, there are some internal issues facing Nicaragua that must be solved in order to effect total justice. These must be acknowledged and changes made. However, the internal Nicaraguan problems in no way affect what is required by the United States. The religious issues must be addressed if indeed, there is to be peace between the two countries. ■

Correction

The credit line for William Hodges' poem, "Nijinsky's Diary," was inadvertently omitted from the November WITNESS. It is copyrighted and previously appeared in *The St. Luke's Journal of Theology* published in Sewanee, Tenn.

Letters . . . Continued from page 2

WITNESS to Nicaragua

I photocopied THE WITNESS articles on the World Council of Churches meeting and sent them along with Carter Heyward on her trip to Nicaragua to deliver to Tomas Tellez, who appears in the covenant photos.

I appreciated THE WITNESS' substantial coverage of the assembly, especially its Central American focus.

Final delight: In Jim and Margaret Goff's article, my son Bob appears in the photo of additional signers of the Central American "covenant for life." He lives in Seattle and works on Seattle's anti-intervention citywide petitions and sanctuary support, and was visiting us and the Assembly that weekend.

Jane Cary Peck
Andover Newton Theological School
Newton Centre, Mass.

Kudos for WCC Reports

The October issue was superb! Some of the best reporting on the WCC Assembly I've seen anywhere. And the November WCC article was equally informative.

If you accept poetry around current events that doesn't scan, you're welcome to the following:

Prayers of the People

It is not within me, Lord, to pray for Presidents,
But for our Vice President I do pray
That soon he may obtain his heart's desire
And for all the Democratic candidates,
That one at least may now find favor in your sight.

For the little ones who suffer
Under 'those in authority over us'
And for those who suffer with them:
May compassion in the one
Match the passion of the other.

May the bureaucrats who link
The rulers and the ruled,
As an endless flight of stars,
No longer, escalator like, descend to crush
But go up only, bearing our petitions with them:

"To the angels in paradise, purgatory, is hell:
But to the doomed of hell, purgatory is paradise."

Charles Long, Editor
Forward Movement Publications
Cincinnati, Ohio

(We are especially complimented because Charles Long has himself authored an interpretive book for congregations on the Sixth Assembly of the World Council entitled *Vancouver Voices*. Available from Forward Movement Publications, 412 Sycamore St. Cincinnati, Ohio 45202. \$2.75 postpaid. — Eds.)

Filmstrip Close to Issue

I am forwarding a complimentary copy of a filmstrip on Central America just released by the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. Your excellent September issue on Central America arrived just a few days too late for me to use: I had the responsibility of writing the script. I believe, however, that you will see that the perspectives of the filmstrip closely approximate your own.

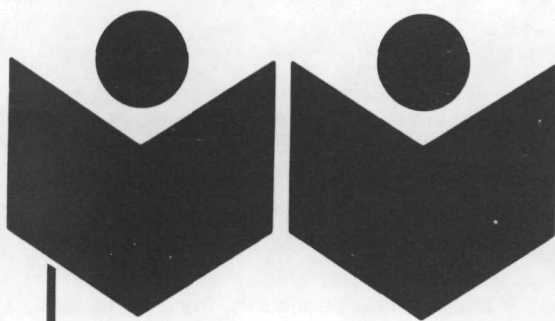
The Presbyterian Church wanted to produce an educational resource, that would commend itself to ecumenical audiences concerned about Central America, for there is a great need to marshall the combined influence of American Christians on this issue. I hope that you will find merit in this new resource, which the Presbyterians want to make widely available for \$15 each postpaid.

Congratulations on the important work that you are doing through THE WITNESS, which I frequently call to my students' attention here at Drew.

David M. Graybeal, PH.D.
Theological School
Drew University
Madison, N.J.

CREDITS

Cover, Beth Seka; graphic p. 4, Margaret Longdon; graphic p. 8, *CALC Report*; graphic p. 9, Vicky Reeves; graphic p. 10, Gay Christian Movement, England; photo p. 13, Renny Golden; graphic p. 18, Rini Templeton.



THE WITNESS 1983 Index

The task of indexing — whether it be that of a book or a year's collection of articles in a magazine — is a tedious and thankless process, not to be undertaken by the faint-hearted. For the past two years, Bonnie Pierce-Spady has headed up this project for THE WITNESS, providing a tool which has been met with appreciation by librarians, researchers, and students.

Recently she also compiled an Author/Title index going back to 1974, when the magazine was reinstituted. This abbreviated index may appeal to long-time subscribers interested in looking up their

favorite authors, or to librarians. (Available from THE WITNESS, P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002 for \$2).

In sum, we now have a complete index of the 1982 and 1983 volumes, and an Author/Title index from 1974 to 1981. Incidentally, THE WITNESS is also indexed by *Religion Index One*, a publication of the American Theological Library Association.

We would appreciate your reactions to these offerings, and welcome any queries concerning the availability of back issues or articles by your favorite writers.

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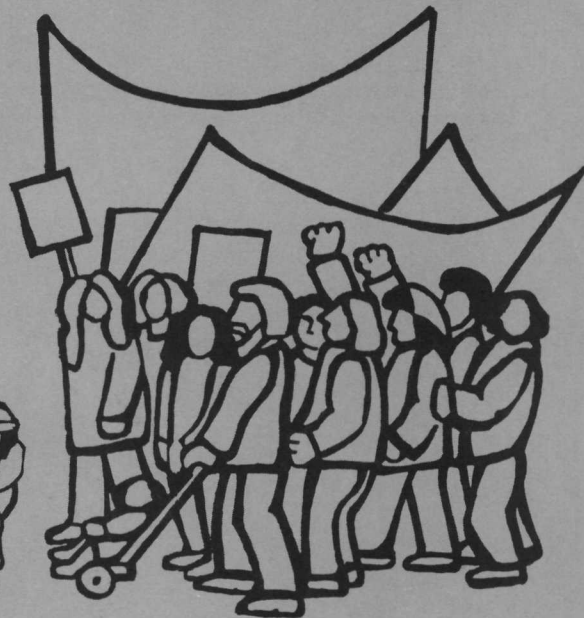


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VOLUME • 67
NUMBER • 2
FEBRUARY 1984

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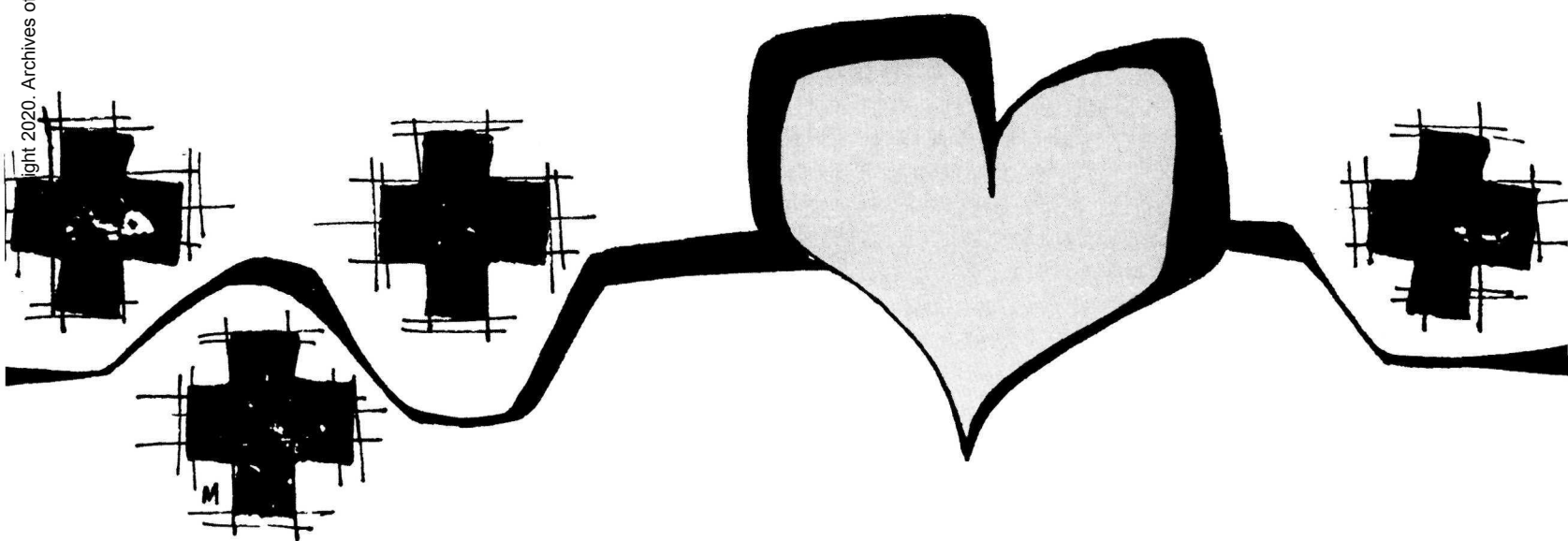
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Letters

Dangerous Precedent

THE WITNESS rightly labeled the United States "the Herod of imperialism, cutting off new governments before they have had a chance to develop," in its December editorial relating to Grenada. Much has been written about the events leading to the killing of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and the subsequent military invasion of Grenada.

But the new element was the so-called "invitation" by members of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) to the United States and other non-members to participate in the invasion. This was in violation of the very articles of the OECS itself, and of international law as well.

This revised application of the Monroe Doctrine constitutes a dangerous precedent with serious implications for Latin America as a whole and Central America in particular. It allows members of a regional security organization, enjoined and convinced by the United States, to invade a third nation, regardless of the internal situation in the latter, and in violation of that nation's sovereignty and international law.

The action coincides with the revival of the Central American Defense Committee (CONDECA), by Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras at the instigation of the United States, to resolve the Central American crisis through the military. It is now possible for example, that El Salvador might call upon its allies in Central America and the United States to resolve its internal crisis militarily, or for Honduras to invite the United States, through CONDECA, to invade Nicaragua. I believe that it is against these possibilities that public opinion must analyze and judge the Grenada episode.

The Rt. Rev. Antonio Ramos
National Council of Churches
New York, N.Y.

Editorial High Point

Your editorial, "Blessed Are the Peacemakers" (December WITNESS) was a high point in good writing, maintaining your "right on target" prophetic tradition. We need your voice. I'm enclosing gift subscriptions for some of my friends who will be grateful for that voice and who will help to assure that it continues to get a wider audience.

James B. Guinan
Deerfield, Va.

Jesus Not a Murderer

In the November issue of THE WITNESS there is a so-called poem by Jim Janda titled, "Jesus Feeds the Multitudes."

While Janda is obviously trying to underline the attitude of many of our church-going citizens, and I will admit that there are many of these Christians that feel great anathema insofar as homosexuals and homosexuality are concerned, I feel that Janda's placing Our Lord Jesus in the role of a murderer is disgusting and even blasphemous.

Surely the editors of THE WITNESS can provide their readers with articles, poetry and the like, which have a real and positive Christian basis, and not the kind of tripe that calls Jesus a murderer.

Charles D. Corwin
Colonial Beach, Va.

Frightening Parody

J. Janda's "Jesus Feeds the Multitudes" is unthinkable, offensive, shocking — yes indeed. The poem is a horrifying, frightening kind of parody.

What if the prodigal son, returning home to his father, found him waiting, whip in hand? What if Jesus made a scourge and turned it on the children, instead of the money changers? What if one substitutes the word "gay" for Samaritan?

The message of the Cross, the mes-

sage of the Incarnation is disturbing, especially in the light of persecution and hate. Ask St. Paul after Damascus. Ask gay Christians today.

To be Christ-like, the church should no longer tolerate the prosecution of any of its children. Like Jesus, who never put labels on anyone for their sexuality, we need to nurture, feed, share and love all our brothers and sisters.

Roberta Nobleman
Dumont, N.J.

Granada Address

I am very much interested in obtaining the address of Dorothy Granada about whom THE WITNESS wrote in November ("38-Day Fast for Life Ends With Communion"). She ran our St. Luke's Hospital School of Nursing in Puerto Rico in the middle 1940's, and over the years we lost touch with each other. Now that I have "found her again," I would like to say, "Que tal, como estas?"

You publish an excellent magazine and you have championed the cause of Hispanics under official persecution. For that we praise you.

The Rt. Rev. Francisco Reus-Froylan
Bishop of Puerto Rico

Several readers have written requesting Dorothy Granada's address. She can be reached through Fast for Life, 4848 E. 14th St., Oakland, CA 94601. — Eds.

Fox Called 'Disloyal'

I am flattered by the prominent play which THE WITNESS accorded me and the message I wrote when I resigned my commission as Captain in the U.S. Army Reserves. I am grateful to you for helping me make the most of this one-time podium to express my feelings on our country's outrageous behavior in Central America. (See December WITNESS.)

Continued on page 22

THE WITNESS

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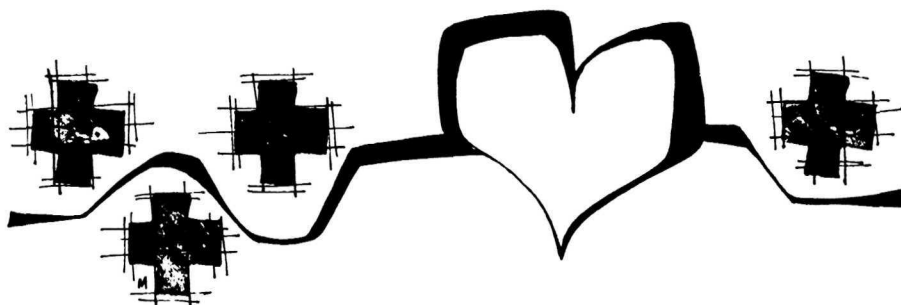


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THE WITNESS is published monthly. Editorial office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002. Phone (215)643-7067. Subscription rates \$12 per year. \$1 per copy. THE WITNESS is indexed in the American Theological Library Association's *Religion Index One: Periodicals*. Copyright 1984 by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Printed in U.S.A. ISSN 0197-8896.

The Judas Generation

by Henry H. Rightor

Guest writer for this month's editorial is the Rev. Henry H. Rightor, J.D., D.D., Professor Emeritus of Pastoral Care and Canon Law at Virginia Theological Seminary, Alexandria. He practiced as an attorney and served as a representative in the Arkansas State Legislature prior to ordination.

We in the Western religious tradition have always made associations with certain symbols taken from Scripture. When we have behaved badly, Peter has often given us hope and an understanding of ourselves; if a friend has had doubts, Thomas has been useful to us; many of our well loved communities have been named Salem.

It would not come easily, however, for people in the Christian tradition to identify themselves or their generation with Judas — Judas who destroyed himself after he had betrayed our Lord for money, then repented, not to Jesus but to the chief priests who first had bribed him, and then spurned him and the silver he returned.

It would require considerable “reorientation” of the Judas sym-

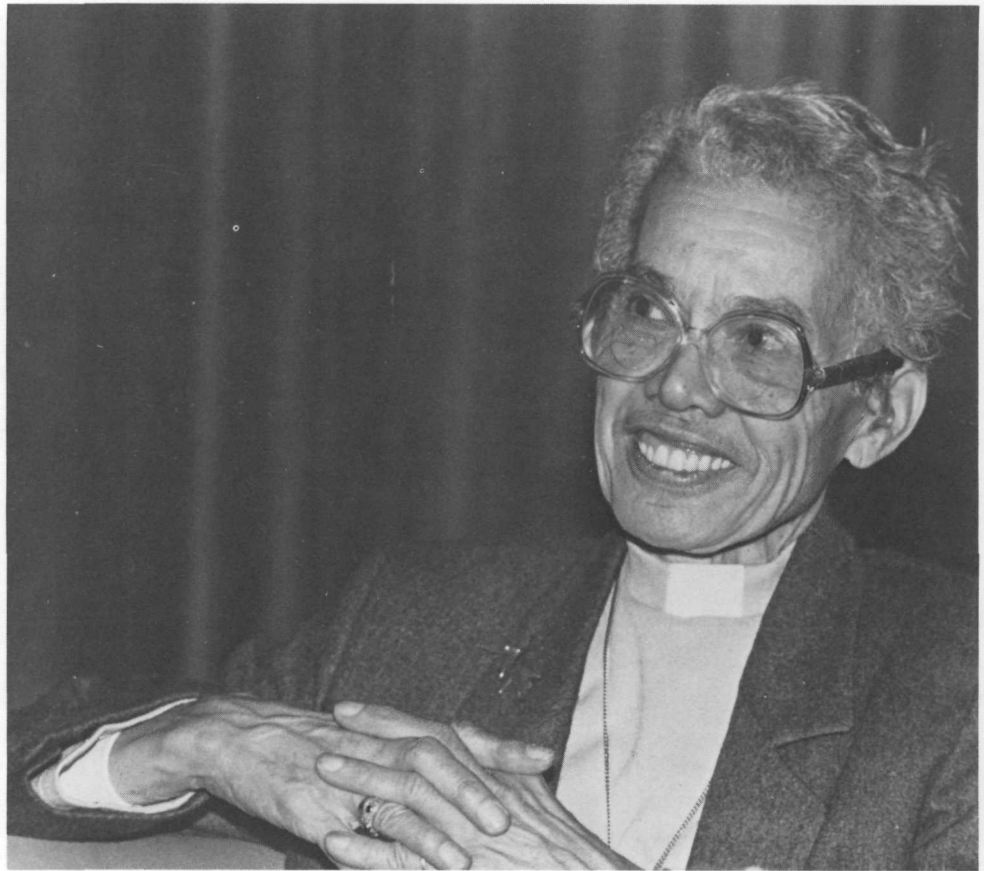
bol for us to apply it to our whole generation. There is, however, precedent of a kind in Jesus’ personalizing a whole generation as “wicked and adulterous,” and then contrasting them with the people of Ninevah who heeded Jonah’s call to repentance.

Identifying our generation with Judas could awaken us to the iniquity implicit in arming for nuclear warfare. God has made us responsible for creation; and it does not overstretch my imagination to relate Judas’ betrayal of our Lord to the steps we are taking toward the betrayal of our responsibility through the destruction of God’s people and God’s world.

Identification of our generation with Judas could awaken us in another way. Should we become

disposed to repent our stockpiling of nuclear weapons, the Judas story tells us how *not* to repent and to whom we should *not* give over the profits from their manufacture. For our basic betrayal has been of the responsibility given us by God. Therefore, our repentance should be to God, and whatever “silver” we might have (from our profits or the disposition of arms, the plants that manufacture nuclear arms, etc.) should be given to God’s needy children here and around the world.

The alternative to such repentance and restoration is clear in the story of Judas, who went out and hanged himself. This is the first generation that has had the means of destroying itself, along with its world. Pray God that we may change our present path. ■



© Janet Charles

The Rev. Pauli Murray

Minority Women and Feminist Spirituality

by Pauli Murray

The Rev. Dr. Pauli Murray, a retired Episcopal priest, is one of the co-founders of the National Organization for Women and has had full time careers as lawyer, professor of political science and American studies, and advocate for human rights. She is currently finishing her autobiography to be published by Harper and Row, and until her retirement served as priest-in-charge of Church of the Holy Nativity, Baltimore.

Some time ago, I did a comparative study of Black Theology and Feminist Theology, seeking insights into the dual burdens of race and sex. I discovered that although the two theologies arose out of parallel liberation movements in the United States and that certain historical similarities in the subjugation of Blacks and women suggest a basis for solidarity and fruitful dialogue, considerable tension existed between the two.

Black theology, rooted in the male-oriented Black Power movement which began in the late 1960s, regarded the emerging women's movement as a com-

petitive diversion. Its exponents ignored feminist theology and did not address themselves to the special problems of Black women.

On the other hand, the revived women's movement, led by predominantly White, middle- or upper-class women, had not successfully incorporated the aspirations of poor and minority women into its struggle. Both groups tended to concentrate upon a single factor of oppression without adequate consideration of the "interstructuring" of racism, sexism, and economic exploitation. I noted that focusing on a particular factor of oppression

could obscure the goal of universal liberation and reconciliation which lies at the heart of the Christian gospel.

Some feminist theologians, aware of this danger, stressed the necessity for an inclusive approach, broad social analysis, and self-criticism which recognizes and opposes the oppressive practices within one's own group. This feminist analysis also points to the fact that women constitute half of every social class and their common concerns necessarily embrace the whole spectrum of the human condition. This offers possibilities for joint action which can begin to transcend barriers of race, sex, and economic class. At the time of the study I also noted that the interlocking factors of racism and sexism within the Black experience await analysis.

With these findings as a point of departure, the question arises: What promise does feminist spirituality in the context of the women's movement hold for minority women—and specifically Black women—in their struggles for liberation? In the broad sense, spirituality refers to that which gives meaning and purpose to our lives, our vision of wholeness of being. Theologian Letty Russell speaks of the spirituality of liberation which focuses upon partnership in situations of oppression. "Feminist theologians," she notes, "have sought to articulate the groaning of women and to build solidarity among those working to anticipate the new meaning of human wholeness."

When I seek to apply this model, however, I find that the severe tensions existing between Black women and White women stand as barriers to the solidarity which feminist spirituality envisions. What follows is an attempt to highlight some of these tensions in the hope that an analysis will produce insights that point the way toward reconciliation and collaborative effort.

Alienation of Black Women

A typical expression of the deep-seated alienation Black women continue to feel toward White women 20 years after the rebirth of the women's movement is that of Dr. Deborah Harmon Hines of Meharry Medical College, Nashville, and national president of the Union of Black Episcopalians. Speaking on "The Black Women's Agenda" at a conference of the Episcopal Church's Task Force on Women in 1981, Dr. Hines declared:

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 experience. 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 our archenemy in this struggle.

Dr. Hines spoke of the degrading images—"Aunt Jemima," "Jezebel," and "welfare seeker"—with which Black women have to contend, and charged that "my White step-sisters are often as guilty or guiltier than their menfolk in perpetuating these myths about Black women." (See THE WITNESS, 2/82.) She went on to say:

Black women find it extremely difficult to ally themselves with those who have not been 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. Until

our step-sisters stop superimposing their needs onto us, we have nothing to say to them.

This sentiment expressed by a Black professional woman who is a deeply committed Christian is echoed in various ways by other Black women and is cause for deep concern among those of us who work for solidarity among women as a necessary expression of our feminist spirituality. Its implications go to the core of our beliefs and actions and must be confronted honestly, however painful this may be.

A review of recent literature in which Black women have sought to define themselves and their priorities reveals the consistent theme that Black women are the victims of multi-layered oppression. The "Black Feminist Statement" formulated by the Combahee River Collective states: "We believe that sexual politics under patriarchy is as pervasive in Black women's lives as are the politics of race and class. We also find it difficult to separate race from class from sex oppression because in our lives they are experienced simultaneously."

To a much greater extent than White women, Black women are victimized by racial-sexual violence which has deep historical roots in slavery and continues today in rape, forced sterilization and physical abuse in family relations. They constitute the most disadvantaged group in the United States as compared to White men, Black men and White women. They are found in the most menial, lowest-paying jobs, and are disproportionately represented among poor, female-headed and welfare families. Black women and their families suffer from inadequate health care, high rates of infant mortality and other health hazards associated with poverty and powerlessness.

As Deborah Hines indicated, Black women have had to struggle against

myths and humiliating stereotypes which undermine a positive self-image. The Black matriarchy myth which became popular in the social science literature of the 1960s has depicted Black women as having an unnatural dominant role in family life, which has had damaging effects upon Black society. The ill effects attributed to the alleged existence of a matriarchal family structure included juvenile delinquency, self-hatred, low intelligence, cultural deprivation, crimes against persons, and schizophrenia among Blacks, according to one reviewer. The sharp rise in numbers of female-headed families in the Black community has reinforced this stereotype.

This matriarchy myth has come under heavy criticism during the past decade, particularly by Black women scholars. Dr. Jacqueline J. Jackson of Duke University Medical Center, has pointed to the demographic factor of a significant sex-ratio imbalance in the Black population. She noted that in 1970, there were about 91 Black males for every 100 Black females in the United States. The growing excess of Black females over Black males has been reflected in every census since 1860, but has become increasingly acute. By 1976, the U.S. Census reported that there were 80.7 Black males for every 100 Black females over 24 years old.

This cannot be explained solely on the ground that Black males have been overlooked in the census count. Jackson finds that this sex-ratio imbalance is directly related to the high proportion of Black female-headed families and has defined these families as an adaptation to larger social structural forces. The limited availability of marital partners for Black women is also a factor in expressions of hostility toward White women who enter into sexual or marital relationships with Black men.

In their embattled struggle for day-to-day survival, Black women's attitudes

toward the women's movement have ranged from indifference and outright rejection, to suspicion, to cautious approval of certain of the movement's goals coupled with aloofness and strong criticism of perceived racism and classism within the movement itself.

Gloria I. Joseph and Jill Lewis of Hampshire College, in a penetrating analysis of conflicts in Black and White feminist perspectives, maintain: "The White women's movement has had its own explicit forms of racism in the way it has given priority to certain aspects of struggles and neglected others, and it has often been blind and ignorant of the conditions of Black women's lives."

While they acknowledge that many of the issues raised by White women do affect *all* women's lives—e.g. contraception, abortion, forced sterilization, rape, wife battering, inequities in law, health care, welfare, work conditions, and pay—they point out that "because of the inherently racist assumptions and perspectives brought to bear on these issues in the first articulations by the White women's movement, they were rejected by Black women as irrelevant, when in fact the same problems, seen from different perspectives, can be highly relevant to Black women's lives." "Too frequently," they assert, "participants in the struggles of parallel liberation movements are blinded to each other and have only a limited understanding of each other's priorities."

One area of misunderstanding has been in the perception of male/female relationships. According to the Joseph and Lewis study:

The differences recognized in the sexual relationships between Black women and Black men in contrast to White women and White men relate to the question of power . . . To categorically lump all men together and at-

tribute the same sense of power to both Black and White men is racist in the same sense that the crucial role of white-skin privilege in our society is being disregarded. It is incumbent upon White feminists to recognize the very real differences that exist between White men and Black men when their degree of power is considered.

While White feminists necessarily have directed their energies against a system of male domination, Black males and females are bound together in a political struggle against White racism which has traditionally repressed in the most brutal manner assertions of power by Black males. Black women, feeling a strong need to support their men, have often perceived the women's movement to be a "divisive" tactic which would alienate them from their partners in their effort to throw off White domination. Black women face the dilemma of the



Rachel Burger/cpf

competing claims of the Black liberation movement and the women's liberation movement, each of which is a separate entity based on its own distinctive realities. The Black woman cannot participate fully in both, but she cannot afford to ignore either movement.

Toward a Resolution

The rise of Black feminism within the past decade is an important development but it is not yet clear what direction it will take to resolve the Black woman's dilemma. Some Black women's groups have developed coalitions with White women on specific issues. Several Black feminist groups have sprung up as a third movement exclusively devoted to the concerns of Black women, but their isolation and aloofness raises questions as to their effectiveness. Dr. Constance M. Carroll, President of Indian Valley College, Novato, Cal., urges an alternative course which is a "productive but difficult and lonely road if the Black woman is to achieve concrete benefits at the end of her struggle. She must be the gadfly who stings both movements into achieving their goals—prodding the women's movement into confronting its racism and working doubly hard for the concerns of Black women, and prodding the less volatile Black movement into confronting its inherent sexism and righting the injustice it has done to Black women. She must become the sorely needed bridge between them if their goals are to be translated into reality."

Some Black women are beginning to follow this course—reexamining their position and becoming more vocal in their feminism, within the Black movement at least. Several Black women theologians have launched a critique of Black theology. The most pointed criticism has come from Jacquelyn Grant, doctoral candidate at Union Theological Seminary. She observes that "Some theologians have acquiesced in one or more oppressive aspects of the liberation

struggle itself. Where racism is rejected, sexism has been embraced. Where classism is called into question, racism and sexism have been tolerated. And where sexism is repudiated racism and classism are often ignored." She declares bluntly, "The failure of the Black church and Black theology to proclaim explicitly the liberation of Black women indicates that they cannot claim to be agents of divine liberation. If the theology, like the church, has no word for Black women, its conception of liberation is inauthentic." Grant also questions the thesis that the central problem of Black women is related to their race and not their sex. She says, "I contend that as long as the Black struggle refuses to recognize and deal with its own sexism, the idea that women will receive justice from that struggle alone will never work."

Significantly, these and similar criticisms have influenced Black theologian James H. Cone to reexamine his views. In his recent book, *My Soul Looks Back*, Cone confesses: "When I began writing about Black theology, the problem of sexism was not a part of my theological consciousness. When it was raised by others, I rejected it as a joke or an intrusion upon the legitimate struggle of Black people to eliminate racism."

Cone traces his reeducation which began at Union Theological Seminary where he was exposed to the women's liberation movement. He says:

While White women forced me to consider the problem of sexism in a White context, Black women forced me to face the reality of sexism in the Black community . . . As I listened to Black women articulate their pain, and as I observed the insensitive responses of Black men, it became existentially clear to me that sexism was a Black problem too . . . Black women theologians appear to be developing a new comprehensive way of thinking about theology,

church, and society. While Black male theologians focus almost exclusively on racism, White feminists primarily on sexism, and Third World theologians or Latin Americans concern themselves with classism, Black women are seeking to combine the issues of race, sex, and class, because they are deeply affected by each.

Further indication of Cone's movement toward a more comprehensive approach is his reflection upon the doctrine of "woman's place," and the doctrine of "Black people's place," which leads him to ask, "Is it not possible that the two doctrines are derived from the same root disease? This does not necessarily mean that the struggles of White women are identical with Black people's liberation. It does mean that oppressions are interconnected."

Cone's new insight affirms the central theme of my presentation. As feminist theologian Rosemary Ruether has urged, it is "essential that the women's movement reach out and include in its struggle the interstructuring of sexism with all other kinds of oppression, and recognize a pluralism of women's movements in the context of different groupings." White feminists need to recognize that racism is also a feminist problem and begin to deal with it as a necessary development of feminist consciousness. As Ellen Pence, a White feminist, has put it:

Knowing that we grew up in a society permeated with the belief that White values, culture, and lifestyle are superior, we can assume that regardless of our rejection of the concept we still act out of that socialization. The same anger and frustration that we have as women in dealing with men whose sexism is subtle, not blatant, are the frustration and anger women of color must feel toward us. The same helpless feelings we have in

*trying to expose that subtle sexism
must be the feelings of women of
color in working with us.*

The women's movement has rich resources at its disposal to deal seriously with this issue. One of these is the experience women have gained in consciousness-raising, which can now be used to explore the ways in which racism has dehumanized women of all races and classes in the United States. This is already being done by small groups of Black and White women in face-to-face discussions, especially in the academic field.

Finally, if feminist spirituality includes the vision of wholeness of being, then those who follow that vision have the task of reeducation within the women's movement, which involves both a search for greater understanding and a capacity for self-criticism of the racism and classism which alienate us from one another.

Feminist theology points the way toward this imperative. Marianne H. Micks reminds us that "human selfhood before God is historical selfhood," and speaks of the need to "stretch ourselves, go beyond ourselves, as we enter the spaces of our common past which many of us have never visited. If we are to understand each other today," she says, "we must know more about Native American experience, Black experience, and the experience of many additional ethnic groups."

I submit that our openness to self-criticism is an antidote to the guilt which often paralyzes our actions and makes us resistant to change. I also believe that the sharing of personal histories and feelings in face-to-face contact brings an understanding which we cannot achieve merely through the absorption of historical and statistical data. Both are important steps in the healing process which builds mutual trust and the basis of genuine solidarity as we strive together in our daily lives to make real our vision of human wholeness. ■

Resources

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But Some of Us Are Brave: Black Women's Studies; Gloria T. Hull, Patricia Bell Scott, and Barbara Smith, eds. Feminist Press 1982.

Racism and Mental Health; Charles Willie, Bernard Kramer and Bertram Brown, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972.

Black Macho & the Myth of the Superwoman, Dial Press, 1979.

Common Differences: Conflicts in Black and White Feminist Perspectives; Gloria I. Joseph and Jill Lewis. Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1981.

Our Search for Identity: Humanity in the Image of God, Marianne H. Micks, Fortress Press, 1982.

Growth in Partnership, Letty Russell, Westminster Press, 1981.

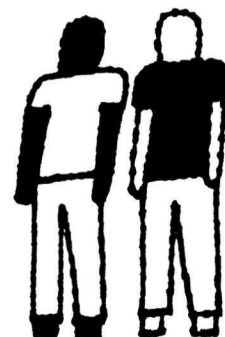
New Woman/New Earth: Sexist Ideologies & Human Liberation, Rosemary Ruether, Seabury Press, 1975.

Identity

(Song for Two Voices)

What is black?
Black is a grackle's feather
tinged with blue,
a shadow
washed with purple,
a dot
on a ladybug's wing.
Black is the weather side
of an oak
after rain.
Black is the big round open letters
in a child's first
reading book.
Black is ebony, jet,
and the heart of a daisy.
I, too, am black!

What is white?
White is the breast of a snow goose,
a shaft of light
with dusty motes,
a dot on a woodpecker's back.
White is a birch tree
in the winter sun.
White is the space between the big round open letters
in a child's first
reading book.
White is ivory, crystal,
and a daisy petal.
I, too, am white!



—Georgia Pierce

Holistic Scripture

by David F. Ross

Biblical sexism is the evil for which an inclusive-language lectionary is the currently proposed corrective. Two versions of this remedy are now available, *Hearing the Word*, published by the Episcopal Church of Saint Stephen and the Incarnation in Washington, D.C., and the National Council of Churches' *An Inclusive Language Lectionary*, published by Westminster Press. Neither has as yet been approved for liturgical use in the Episcopal Church, and another acrimonious controversy can be expected when the proposal is made. Zealots on each side will see bigots on the other, with women's rights as the battleground. The smoke from this battle may well obscure, however, a more fundamental aspect of the problem.

The issue of women's rights has been addressed by Claire Randall, of the NCC, who points out that women experience a "different kind of feeling" when they hear Bible readings that include them. Jack Woodard, of Saint Stephen and the Incarnation, points to the benefits of "understanding that women have always been part of God's people, and that women to this day are addressed by God's word as fully as are men." The

situation of a girl or woman in church has always been that of a daughter whose mother goes quietly about her household tasks while her father sits praising the virtues and achievements of his sons, occasionally remembering to add that he loves his daughter too, because she is pretty and obedient.

Without going far beyond the bounds of translation and into the realm of fantasy, we cannot do much at this stage to correct the invisibility of biblical women. The daughters of Adam and Eve are lost to us forever, along with the name of Noah's wife and the remorse that she and her husband must have felt over the fate of their daughters. Substitutes can be found for masculine pronouns, "Sons of Abraham" can become "Children of Sarah and Abraham," but when all is said and done most of the people who are memorable for their words and deeds will remain male, and most of the women who are identified will be known only for their sexual roles. Women were chattels in biblical times, after all, and have been repressed throughout all of human history. Even if we could conceal this, it would not advance the cause of women's rights to do so. It is something, rather, of which we need to be more aware. The pulpit, rather than the lectern, must be our principal recourse.

The more fundamental aspect of biblical sexism, however, is one that can be attacked most effectively through the lectionary. The Word of God, reflecting

the nature of God, and reflected in God's creation, is unmistakably a combination of feminine and masculine elements. Nothing can conceal this; but when the Word is transcribed, interpreted, and translated exclusively by male minds and hands, it becomes distorted. It is through this distortion that we receive the macho image of God that denies us the hope of peace and denounces the hungry for their weakness. Without addressing this issue, the inclusive-language lectionographers can do nothing to restore that balance of the feminine and masculine qualities which Jesus laid down as the foundation of his church.

Because the opposition does and will proclaim the contrary, it needs to be emphasized that the movement for inclusive language is one of renewal, not of revision. It is, in essence, rigorous Christian fundamentalism. The feminine element is present in the Holy Scripture, but in a male-dominated culture it tends to become obscured and depreciated. This was the situation that Jesus found when he came into the world. His teaching lays such stress upon the "feminine" virtues that the ethical content of the Gospel is not inclusive but downright feminist. Christians, in fact, have often felt it necessary to counter the image of sweet, gentle, meek-and-mild Jesus by pointing out that what he did required considerable courage and fortitude, that he did lose his temper on occasion, and that he resorted to physical aggression

The Rev. David Ross is associate professor of economics at the University of Kentucky. An Episcopalian priest, he is author of the newly published book, *Gandhian Economics: Sources, Substances and Legacy* (Prasad Publications, Bangalore).

against the money changers in the temple.

The balance that is inherent in God's will and creation could be restored in the time of Jesus's ministry only by throwing a lot of weight on the feminine side, and the same is true today. One needs no other reference than the daily newspaper to establish this. The current personification of so-called Christian fundamentalism, Jerry Falwell, for example, opposed the showing of a television program on the horrors of nuclear war because it might induce support for unilateral disarmament. Indeed it might; and it might even be granted that unilateral disarmament would be an inexpedient approach to the world's problems at this moment in history. Still, nothing could be more pure, fundamental, and orthodox in its adherence to the clear, explicit, and reiterated teaching of Jesus than unilateral disarmament. Falwell must know this at the intellectual level, but it has not penetrated to the gonadal essence of his being. It is difficult to take seriously such transparent jocks-for-Christ theology, but we must, because it is a caricature of something real and potent in the church.

The problem is not, and probably never was, that people are persuaded to resort to force by faith in a scriptural representation of God which exaggerates masculine values. That tendency requires no cultivation, and in fact thrives on neglect. Sunday-morning Christians do not habitually consult the Bible before deciding how to deal with domestic, social, economic, and political choices. They are vaguely aware, however, that Jesus said things like "love your enemies," "turn the other cheek," and "blessed are the meek." They cannot help but wonder from time to time how such articles of faith apply to developing a first-strike nuclear capability or invading Grenada. The superman version of the Christian deity promoted by such clerical and lay leaders as Falwell and Reagan is dangerous because

it rationalizes the suppression of such tentative propensities toward the lamb and consecrates the beast.

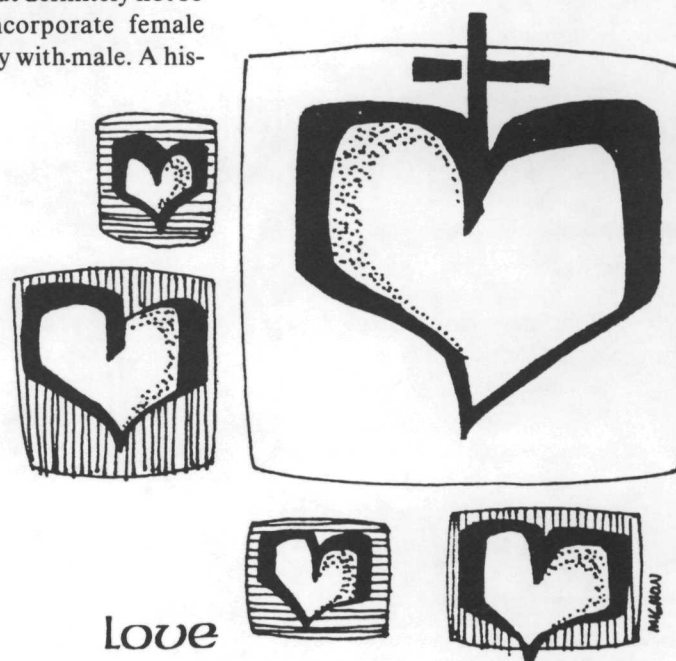
The metaphor of God as parent is so fruitful that it cannot be eliminated without impoverishing the faith. It conveys creation, authority, loving, caring, disciplining, teaching, sustaining, forgiving — everything, in short, that we mean and can express in no other way when we turn our thoughts to God.

The error in the symbolism of the Heavenly Father is merely that it is incomplete — it is part of our heritage, instead of everything that comes from God. Grammarians may insist that the masculine embraces the feminine and that "our Father," like "our fathers" and "our forefathers," refers to parenthood generally, not just to the male line. Nevertheless, for most of us they conjure up images of men — admirable men of great strength and intelligence who are brave, just, faithful, creative, and extraordinarily farsighted, but definitely not so remarkable as to incorporate female characteristics equally with male. A his-

torian or patriot who wishes to give equal credit to the strong, courageous, and otherwise admirable women who were borne up through the hardships and dangers of the wilderness and of defiance to tyranny by the vision of a better life for their descendants, can only do so by referring explicitly to "our forefathers and foremothers" or "our mothers and fathers." So too it must be with God, if we are to preserve the parental metaphor.

The problem with Jesus is more complex, because when the Word became flesh and dwelt among us, the flesh was unquestionably male, and unquestionably referred to God as "Father." From these historical facts derives the father-son imagery of the trinitarian formula, leaving only the ambiguous Holy Spirit as a partial expression of the feminine essence. Nothing in the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation requires us

Continued on page 20



is not just words
and mere talk
But something
real and active.

The Politics of Pastoral Care

Now Peter and John were going up to the temple at the hour of prayer, the ninth hour. And a man lame from birth was being carried, whom they laid daily at the gate of the temple which is called Beautiful to ask alms of those who entered the temple. Seeing Peter and John about to go into the temple, he asked for alms. And Peter directed his gaze at him, with John, and said, "Look at us."

And he fixed his attention upon them, expecting to receive something from them. But Peter said, "I have no silver and gold, but I give you what I have; in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, walk." And he took him by the right hand and raised him up; and immediately his feet and ankles were made strong.

And leaping up he stood and walked and entered the temple with them, walking and leaping and praising God. And all the people saw him walking and praising God, and recognized him as the one who sat for alms at the Beautiful Gate of the temple; and they were filled with wonder and amazement at what had happened to him.

The Acts of the Apostles 3:1-10

And as (Peter and John) were speaking to the people, the priests and the captain of the temple and the Sadducees came upon them, annoyed because they were teaching the people and proclaiming in Jesus the resurrection from the dead. And they arrested them and put them in custody . . .

The Acts of the Apostles 4:1-3A

an ecumenical meditation concerning the incumbent Pope

by William Stringfellow

In the earliest experience of the Apostolic Church, during the period promptly after Pentecost . . . long before the church acquired an ecclesiastical polity resembling what now prevails . . . when the orders and ministries of the church were simply authorized charismatically and functionally . . . prior to the conformity and decadence sponsored by the Constantinian Arrangement . . . the precedent for the office and service of those who would, later on, be called and ordained as bishops was established. So it is that the vocation of a bishop is illuminated in *The Acts of the Apostles*.

I have participated during the last few years in the endemic dismay of church-folk — both within and outside of the Roman Communion — at the ambivalent, and poignant, behavior of Pope John Paul II.

Perchance I should mention, before further comment, that I remember circumstances when I, as with many other non-Roman Christians, thought it impudent to publicly volunteer my views of any Pope's conduct. That vain etiquette, however, has been obviated by, among other things, John Paul's own construction of the ecclesiastical primacy of the papacy.

Hence, in the midst of my repeated bewilderments and multiplying disenchantments with John Paul, I turn to *The Acts of the Apostles* to ascertain what I

can from this elementary source about what a bishop is (or is supposed to be) according to ancient experience.

What is to be found and confirmed in *Acts* is a priority of pastoral care epitomized in the function and ministry of bishop. Administration, which so pre-empts the attention of contemporary bishops, is, in *Acts*, a matter, at most, of quaint allusion. It is merely one specification of the pastoral office. At the same time, teaching in *Acts* virtually always has the particular connotation of "teaching and proclaiming the resurrection from the dead." It is more prominent than administration, yet it has the same emphatic aspect of nurture. Teaching is a feature of pastoral care. Much the same can be affirmed, from *Acts*, concerning the confrontation with the world and the discernment of the needs of the world, as the texts cited indicate.

In brief, the Apostolic ministry begins in pastoral concern for each member of the whole church and reaches into the very interstices of the body of the church. Simultaneously, it addresses the worldly regimes of the principalities and powers, as well as all people everywhere, at once exposing every need and vouching for the redemptive vigilance of the Word of God in the world. Thus, a bishop (as I am sure many bishops realize) is dialectically positioned between church and world. This is really not a situation of grandeur. Maybe that is why, too often, where the office of bishop has been rendered grandiloquent it has lost pastoral integrity for either church or world.

While I name pastoral care as the venerable characteristic of the ministry of a bishop, I trust it is understood that

there are no particular psychological or similar implications assumed. Pastoral care has acquired narrow, partisan and self-serving connotations in certain ecclesial precincts nowadays associated with assorted therapies. Possibly such have some worldly legitimacy, but, recalling *Acts* concretely, none furnish substitute for the new life, exemplified in Jesus Christ and informed by the vitality of the Word of God in the Holy Spirit. None do more than foreshadow the new humanity in Christ which constitutes the exact vocation of the Church. Bishops have reason for both gratitude and cheer. They are not called to be amateur or ersatz therapists of any sort: they are called, rather, to be pastors for the whole church in this world.

Yet if the pastoral ministry pertinent to a bishop's office is free of heavy psychological or personalistic or indulgent implications, it must be openly acknowledged that pastoral care *does* have political significance. In this regard the whole Bible is redundant, and the book of *The Acts of the Apostles* is most notably so. Thus, the episode first related in *Acts* concerning the activities of the Apostles following their own renewal as persons and as a community in the Holy Spirit, at Pentecost, is archtypical of the episodes reported later on in the book. *Acts* is, simply, the chronicle of the confrontations between the Apostles and the Apostolic Church and the ruling authorities. The witness and ministry *pastorally* of the new Christians is beset by hostility, harassment, surveillance, arrest, imprisonment, sometimes execution, persecution. Over and over again, the story of that experience which composes *Acts*

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is, essentially, the same as that which Peter and John knew in the first reported incident involving the healing of the lame beggar at the gate of the temple called Beautiful.

The lame beggar is healed (notice that the beggar did not seek or ask to be healed, but only that he be given alms or conventional worldly charity), and thereupon the Apostles are arrested. Peter himself asks the rulers why he and John have been kept in custody because of "a good deed done to a cripple." (*Acts 4:9*) Why should the political authorities take offense at that? Why were Peter and John arrested? And why did a similar fate thereafter meet the pastoral effort of succeeding Apostles?

Peter's question is no conundrum. The authority invoked and deployed in addressing the lame beggar is that of the resurrection from death. The healing is itself a sign of the efficacy of the resurrection. But that is an authority which straightforwardly exposes the impotence of the authority of the rulers.

The authority of the rulers is not only helpless against the power of death, it relies upon death and diverse threats of death as its only moral sanction. And so, from the earliest experience of the church, the Apostles are poised against the rulers of this world. That is the basic posture in the relationships of church and worldly regimes. I believe this is a clue to the political character of authentic pastoral care, especially as the pastoral ministry is vested in the office of bishop. One lesson to be learned from the arrest of Peter and John in consequence of their care for the beggar and their witness, thus, to the world, is that when bishops are most conscientious pastorally they are apt to be most cogent politically.

Some bishops seem, lately, to return to this discernment (after the prolonged manipulation of bishops and of the whole church via the Constantinian Arrangement and its derivations). The American Roman Catholic bishops' pastoral letter

on nuclear reality is a particularly significant example. Other bishops, including some Episcopalians, now repudiate the "just war" sophistry which has so benighted Christendom in the West for so long.

There seems, however, to me to be such diffidence on these matters on the part of the incumbent Pontiff as to raise a query about whether John Paul — reputed chief pastor of all in both church and world — comprehends the inherently political character of pastoral ministry as elucidated in *Acts* in incidents like that of the arrest of Peter and John.

At the least John Paul appears radically ambivalent. One specific source of disillusionment with his behavior is, on one hand, his bold and passionate pastoral involvement in Poland — and the manifold and continuing political ramifications of that care; coupled, on the other hand, with his paternalistic and caustic attitude toward the need for a comparable ministry and witness in Central America.

Meanwhile, especially on the American scene, John Paul sponsors the interminable suppression of women, particularly the religious, and exacts "loyalty oaths" favoring male dominance ecclesiastically from nominees to the episcopacy. In that context, his views concerning both sexuality and sex invite ridicule. To put it directly, does the Pope seriously suppose that scoldings condemning masturbation as "a very grave moral disorder" deflect attention from the oppression of women or merit more notice and effort than the threat of nuclear obliteration, about which the Pope has been cautious, if not equivocal?

Papal utterances concerning the sanctity of life sound hollow or hypocritical to many people who note the quietness or coyness of the Vatican on Grenada, or El Salvador, or, for that matter, Lebanon, or the increasing probabilities of nuclear calamity. And, to me, most ominous and alarming are the official Papal inquests into some of the women's religious orders.

These parallel investigations affecting the Archbishop of Seattle (who has refused to pay taxes for war) and kindred bishops, and the attempts to manipulate the governance of the Jesuits. Are these what they seem to be — attempts to intimidate factions or persons or powers within the church who are apt to be critical of the Pope and his ambivalent politics?

It is a melancholy scene that attends John Paul, one in which a politics is practiced that has a kind of anti-pastoral emphasis, or in which a pastoral ministry is professed which is anti-political. There may be no *timely* remedy for this extraordinary shortcoming or confusion in the ministry of John Paul. But I commend, to one and all, that a fit remedy is awaiting application. It is in the politics of pastoral care articulated in *The Acts of the Apostles*. ■

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The 100th Monkey

by Ken Keyes, Jr.

*There is a phenomenon
I'd like to tell you about
In it may lie
our only hope
of a future
for our species.*

*Here is the story
of the Hundredth Monkey:
The Japanese monkey,
Macaca fuscata,
has been observed in the wild
for a period of over 30 years.*

*In 1952,
on the island of Koshima
scientists were providing monkeys
with sweet potatoes
dropped in the sand.
The monkeys liked the taste
of the raw sweet potatoes,
but they found the dirt unpleasant.*

*An 18-month-old female
named Imo
found she could solve the problem
by washing the potatoes
in a nearby stream.
She taught this trick
to her mother.
Her playmates also
learned this new way
and they taught their mothers, too.*

*This cultural innovation
was gradually picked up
by various monkeys
before the eyes of the scientists.*

*Between 1952 and 1958,
all the young monkeys
learned to wash
the sandy sweet potatoes
to make them more palatable.*

*Only the adults
who imitated their children*

learned this social improvement.

*Other adults
kept eating
the dirty sweet potatoes.*

*Then something startling took place.
In the autumn of 1958,
a certain number of Koshima monkeys
were washing sweet potatoes—
the exact number is not known.*

*Let us suppose
that when the sun rose one morning
there were 99 monkeys
on Koshima Island
who had learned
to wash their sweet potatoes.*

*Let's further suppose
that later that morning,
the hundredth monkey
learned to wash potatoes.*

THEN IT HAPPENED!

*By that evening
almost everyone in the tribe
was washing sweet potatoes
before eating them.*

*The added energy
of this hundredth monkey
somehow created
an ideological breakthrough!*

But notice.

*The most surprising thing
observed by these scientists
was that the habit
of washing sweet potatoes
then spontaneously jumped
over the sea—*

*Colonies of monkeys
on other islands
and the mainland troop of monkeys
at Takasakiyama
began washing
their sweet potatoes!*

*Thus, when a certain critical number
achieves an awareness,
this new awareness
may be communicated
from mind to mind.*

*Although the exact number may vary,
the Hundredth Monkey Phenomenon
means that when only
a limited number of people
know of a new way,
it may remain
the consciousness property
of these people.*

*But there is a point at which
if only one more person
tunes-in to a new awareness,
a field is strengthened
so that this awareness
reaches almost everyone!*

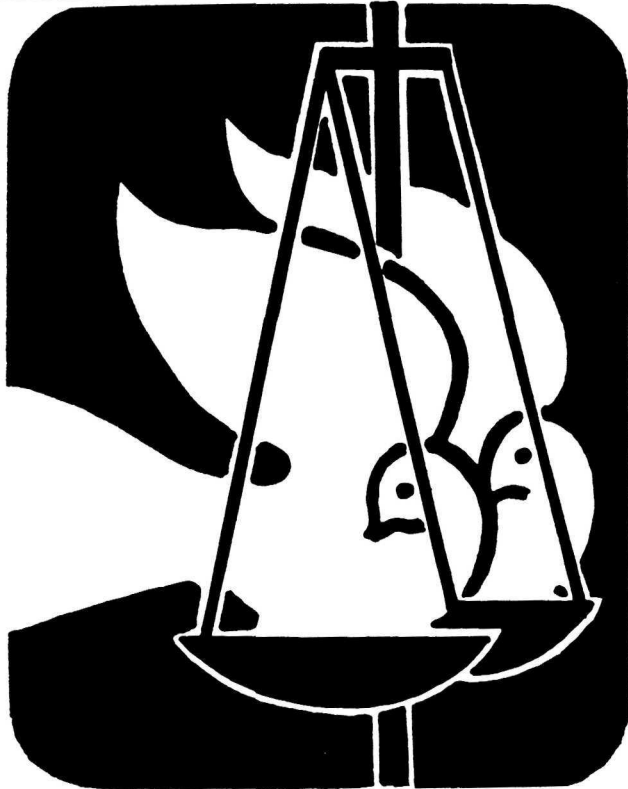
*Your awareness
is needed
in saving the world
from nuclear war.*

*You may be
the "Hundredth Monkey" . . .*

*You may furnish
the added consciousness energy
to create
the sacred awareness
of the urgent necessity
to rapidly achieve
a nuclear-free world.*

— Excerpt from "The 100th Monkey"

(You can get *The 100th Monkey* by Ken Keyes, a short but compelling book raising consciousness about nuclear disarmament, for the nominal cost of \$1.50 while supplies last, from THE WITNESS. Send your prepaid order to THE WITNESS, P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002.)



We Win the War, Lose

Since our leaders are inclined to minimize the catastrophic nature of nuclear war, it is imperative that we repeatedly remind them that no one could win World War III and that both sides would suffer a total devastation. Yet it is not enough to rest one's desire for peace on the argument that war would be mutually destructive.

For one thing, the mutual-destruction argument contains the unintentional but stunning implication that the only thing, or most important thing, keeping us from incinerating millions of human beings who inhabit the Soviet Union is that we too would be destroyed. It implies that if nuclear war *were* winnable, and the destruction *not* mutual, if the Soviets could not retaliate in any seriously damaging way, then a nuclear attack might well be an acceptable option at some future time. Indeed,

there are influential military strategists and policymakers in Washington who have drawn that very conclusion.

The belief that no one would survive a nuclear war has never actually been demonstrated — thank God. But never having been demonstrated, it remains an arguable hypothesis rather than a conclusive prohibition in the minds of some. It is an empirical proposition, not a moral one; it rests on no moral stricture, only on crass self-interest. Hence, those who have a different empirical view might not feel morally constrained to reject nuclear war. Indeed, starting from the same self-interested premise, persons in high places have calculated that under the right circumstances the next war could bring a resounding victory over the Soviet Union, with only “minimal” losses to us.

Let us assume they are right. Let us assume that the United States can win a nuclear war without sustaining millions of American casualties and without doing much damage to the ozone layer, and without contaminating the earth's atmosphere and the world's food and

water supplies for years to come. These are gargantuan assumptions, but let us make them anyway.

What exactly would such a victory bring? A nuclear win against the Soviet Union would obliterate not only the rulers but the ruled of that nation. Some 260 million human beings, whom on other days U.S. cold warriors dream of liberating from the “Communist yoke,” would now be judged better dead than red. We are told that the Soviet people are the innocent captives of the Soviet system. But to vanquish that system by nuclear arms we would have to slaughter millions upon millions of unoffending men, women and children, obliterate their cities and farmlands, and devastate and contaminate one-sixth of the earth's surface.

What would it mean to win such a holocaust? How many of us are prepared to engage in the greatest mass murder in human history in order to free the world — or what would be left of it — of Marxist persuasions (assuming the war would do that)? How many of us want to demonstrate that Amer-

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Our Souls

by Michael Parenti

ican capitalism has produced a more lethal nuclear delivery system and a more insane leadership than Soviet socialism?

In order to win a nuclear war our leaders presumably would have to strike first. What moral justification could they possibly give to the world for an all-out attack? What would they claim as a sufficient *casus belli*? Would it be some unusually rambunctious statement issued by Moscow? Or information known only to U.S. intelligence agents that the Soviets were purportedly planning to strike first? Or news that the Red Army was at last rousing itself to make that long march into Paris which our cold warriors have been fearfully anticipating for almost 40 years?

There is *no* moral justification. This is the central point recently made by the American Catholic bishops and by religious leaders of various other denominations who maintain that nothing, not even victory, can justify an act of genocidal ferocity greater than all of history's previous atrocities combined.

We who oppose war, therefore, must do better than rest our polemic on an amoral self-interested, cost-benefit calculation.

Nuclear war is to be denounced not only because it is unwinnable but because even if "the enemy" sustains most or all of the losses, it is the most horrendous, dreadful act of destruction and murder one could imagine. Even if we accept the highly improbable view that the war would not be suicidal, it would still be monstrously genocidal. A policy that entertains the possibility of nuclear victory is not only "insane," it is profoundly evil — even if achievable. To paraphrase the bishops, in trying to save our lives by preparing for World War III, we are in danger of losing our souls.

Our opposition to nuclear war and to the nuclear arms race, therefore, should not rest primarily on calculations about retaliation and survival but on the unyielding, uncompromising, absolute moral rejection of mass murder and the instruments that increase the likelihood of mass murder. ■

The Lost Ones

They wander the streets of New York,
Los Angeles, San Francisco and Seattle;
every year, a million American kids
run away from homes
which cannot provide them
with the time and the care
and the love they need
to survive.

For them, the pace gets faster and faster;
every day there is more and more pressure
in a rat race that never stops;
they must earn money for clothes and books,
working parents need their help
with household chores and younger siblings;
and, if they don't get grades in the top percentile,
they can't qualify for the scholarships required
to admit them to college
and save them from sharing the fate
of the untrained and inexperienced
for whom there is no future.

They buy a ticket
to wherever a bus will take them —
Minnesota Strip or Sunset Strip,
in search of new lives
as models or disc jockeys;
they become the prey of hookers and pimps
to whom they sell the precious instrument
which was intended to provide
the deepest fusion of two human spirits
for a few lousy bucks
or a dirty bed in a flophouse.

If they have no funds to buy a ticket
they wander the streets of their hometown
on their own private "Highway to Hell";
they escape from their well of loneliness and pain
via a freeway overpass, a forgotten hunting rifle,
or a bottle of aspirin.

The parents who want to help them
must carry double workloads
to earn enough for food and rent;
the counselors and crisis centers
to which they might go
are all victims of Reaganomics
which supports the Right to Life,
but not the right to live.

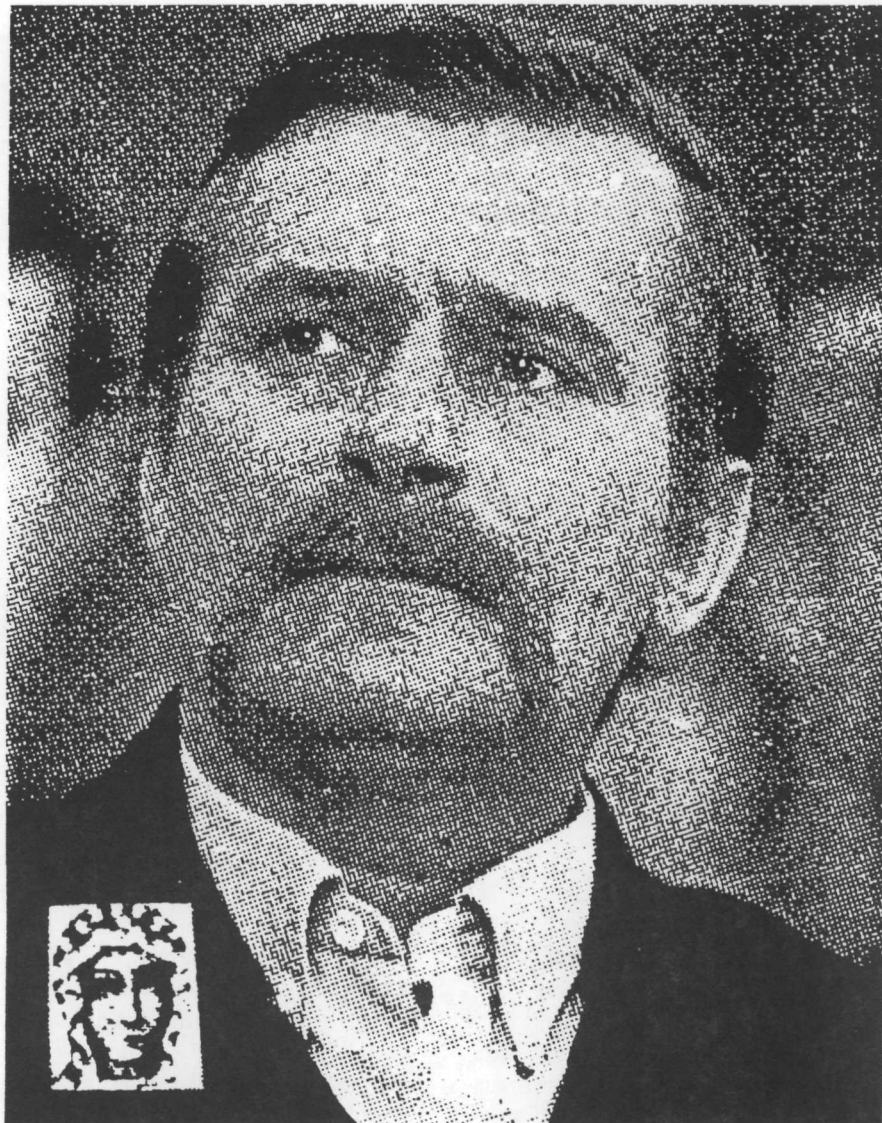
The Highway to Hell is paved
with the souls of these, our kids,
whose lives were considered of less value
than rapid deployment systems
and neutron bombs.

— Mary Jane Brewster

Walesa, Socialism & Christianity

by Jacques Ellul

Jacques Ellul is Professor of Law and Jurisprudence at the University of Bordeaux. His most recent books published in the United States include *The Betrayal of the West*, *Apocalypse*, *The Ethics of Freedom* and *The New Demons*.



Nobel Prize winner Lech Walesa

We must understand that Lech Walesa's *Solidarity* Union is in no way a rejection of socialism, a return to capitalism, a reestablishment of the bourgeoisie. Quite the contrary! Yes, it certainly is *anti-Soviet* communism; but at the same time it is the appearance of a new socialism. The widely heralded socialism which starts from *the base* — with a human face, self-directing, flexible, progressive — will certainly not be put into practice by the Soviets or by the renewed, profound Marxist theories found throughout the world.

The socialism that is being created in Poland by Walesa and *Solidarity* comes out of a Catholic Christianity, deeply lived, exacting, determined and capable of self-renewal and confrontation, with a socialism stripped of its police and its ready-made ideas about economics and administration. This encounter is not a pure and simple spontaneity, heeding all impulses coming from *the base*.

The base is not "in itself" — the people or the proletariat. It does not exist "in itself"! It cannot be objectively defined: it has a past, beliefs, hopes. It lives today

following a specific morality. Its “spontaneity” will differ depending on the components it brings to the crisis. On this point, I believe that the Catholic Christian components explain this remarkable orientation in Poland toward a new socialism.

I believe the role of Christianity — if, alas, this were properly understood by the churches in other nations — provides socialism with the possibility of an evolution which, apart from the *Solidarity* encounter, cannot take place. There is talk about “Christians for socialism.” I believe there is only one example and realization of “Christians for socialism”: Lech Walesa and his *Solidarity* Union.

In France and the World Council of Churches, the link, even at times the identity, between socialism and Christianity is excessively evident. The opposite, I suspect, is the proclamation in the United States, i.e., the *incompatibility* of socialism and Christian faith. Walesa gives us a very important example. Of course, I am not about to redefine socialism. I will only point out that we must not confuse socialism, Marxism, communism and Stalinism. These are four different orientations and conceptions, and no single one necessarily implies the others. I am speaking of *socialism*.

What is essential to me is that we see in *Solidarity* an encounter, if not a union, between Walesa’s socialism and what would seem to be in this respect the harshest, most irreconcilable, most intransigent form of Christianity: Roman Catholicism in Poland. Then the questions: Could Walesa be a bad Christian? On the contrary, his behavior represented a *lived* Christian faith. Is he a bad Catholic? The Pope himself gave Walesa his total approval, blessed him, and declared him to be in the right.

Is Walesa a bad socialist? He is certainly an anti-Stalinist. He seeks to destroy the hierarchical, centralized, authoritarian, police-ridden communist

order. But he does this precisely with the goal and perspective that moves to the truth of socialism. He calls into question the deviations, lies, and oppressions of socialism, *not socialism itself*. That is, Walesa does not wish to return the principal means of production to private control. On the contrary, he wishes those involved in production to exercise control (and not a State and Party administration to replace administration by cartels). He does not wish to reopen the question of the path to social justice. On the contrary, he emphasizes it by demanding suppression of the unjust privileges of members of the Party and of the *Nomenklatura*.

He does not reopen the question of union power, but he refuses to let the union be an organ of the State and administration, so that the union can become again a free association defending the freedom of workers. He does not reopen the question of socialist planning. On the contrary, he demands that planning be truly socialist, that is, that it be based on the real demands of people, and not on bureaucratic decisions. Everything he demands corresponds to a truer socialism than that of Stalin. There is nothing anti-Christian in all this.

Moreover, Christians must consider the following: In the past 40 years, only two attempts with genuinely new methods sought to get the world out of its impasse (and not to resolve the economic crisis — the situation is much graver!), to find a new way which belongs neither to

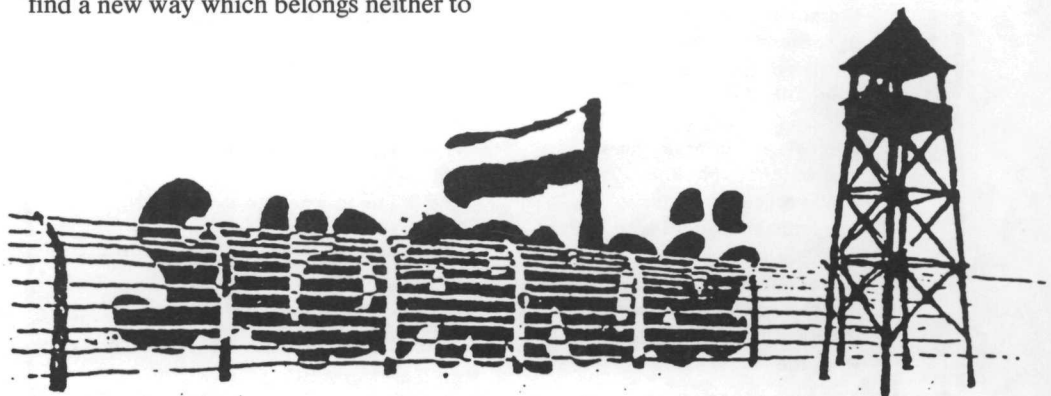
capitalism nor communism nor the Third World. They were both made in communist countries: Radovan Richta’s in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Lech Walesa’s in Poland in 1980.

In other words, these two methods were created from the harsh *communist* experience, as an attempt to go beyond it, to take the greatest advantage of technical progress by placing this progress in the service of the most humble and weak, to balance the excess of power by a return to human values. In the capitalist world in the past 40 years, absolutely *nothing* new has been discovered in the political or economic sphere — neither the reorganization of society, nor the incarnation of Christian values, nor the better utilization of science, nor progress toward peace: *nothing*.

The two fundamentally new methods are linked to socialism. In Richta’s case, an intellectual foundation taking seriously humanistic values. In the case of Lech Walesa, the foundation is practical syndicalism and authentic Christian inspiration.

We should think about this. ■

The above article is excerpted from “Lech Walesa and the Social Force of Christianity” by Jacques Ellul in the 1982 summer supplement of Katalagete, with permission of the editors. Copyright by Katallagete, Inc.



Barbara McClintock, 81, was awarded the Nobel Prize recently for her pioneering research in medicine. Dr. McClintock's work in the corn fields and in her laboratory in Cold Spring Harbor, N.Y., moved the medical profession along toward solving riddles about virus-transmitted diseases, resistant bacteria and cancer.



Nobel Woman

For Dr. Barbara McClintock

Your winter words
staggered the world:
life changes before the egg!

No amount of lack of interest
or neglect stopped you
from your job of smiling over
the miracle in your yard,
the stunning erotics of poetry
hidden by sheer commonness:

the double helix surprise
of something new, an ear
of corn deciding on variation
within itself —

you listened to grain grow,
you watched, you told
what you saw over time,
you amazed us with your maize,

you spoke a new tongue,
like the women who saw
the Resurrection and told
what the Angel said

and no one believed them
because no one could imagine
what had never been dreamed
before, until the news media
began to spread the Word
and a few accredited committees
verified it: What the woman says
is true! Maize does produce
spontaneous genetic changes
and Christ is risen indeed!

And so we are encouraged
by our elders to go on
telling in tongues of fire
what happens in secret cornfields
at night and what unheard of
wonders visit our gardens at dawn
and call our names
and tell us to weep no more.

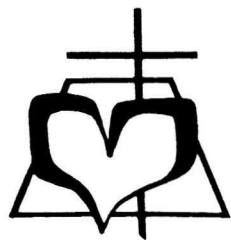
— Alla Bozarth-Campbell

Scripture . . . Continued from page 11

to believe that the eternal Word is in any sense peculiarly male apart from the fleeting moment of the incarnation; nevertheless, "Jesus, the Son of God" so readily turns into "Jesus, God the Son" that theologians and laity alike identify the second person as a glorified version of the man who was born of Mary.

Since the doctrine of the Trinity is post-biblical, the most that can be done to rectify this misconception through the lectionary is to emphasize the significant aspect of the incarnation — that the Word became human — and let it stand as merely incidental that the particular form of human flesh was male. This is, again, not revision, but the strictest fundamentalism. Nothing in the canonical record of Jesus's life and ministry, except his circumcision, depends upon his masculinity.

Both of the inclusive-language lectionaries now available do an excellent job of restoring what visibility is possible to female characters in the biblical drama. The editors of *Hearing the Word*, however, have approached the theological problem with such caution and circumspection that the result is hardly noticeable. Pronouns are avoided to a great extent with reference to God, and "Son of Man" becomes "Chosen One"; "Son of God" remains, however, as do most of the references to God as "Father." Those who are concerned about the dangers of macho theology can find significant comfort only in the NCC's version, *An Inclusive Language Lectionary*. Here alone can be found "God the Mother and Father" and Jesus, the "Child of God." The selections are, unfortunately for us, not precisely those of the Episcopal lectionary. They coincide at many points, however — to permit extensive trial use in congregations which are sufficiently feminine in their orientation to value the spirit of the Gospel above the legalism of the canons.



In Celebration of Commitment

by Robert Cromeey

Marriage is not a celebration of love; it is a celebration of commitment. Love is a basic ingredient in marriage. But the reason for getting married is to make commitment public. It is the agreement to be faithful, monogamous, and to be with the partner in sickness and in health for a lifetime.

Commitment is a rational act. It is the willing, free choice of a person to be committed to another person. Love is not rational. It is an emotion. It is flecked with highs and lows. It is mercurial, full of passion and pain. Commitment is rational. It is a reasonable statement and promise and pledge that two people make to each other. Commitment is not bondage. Commitment, when entered into willingly and freely, brings great freedom and peace.

Is it reasonable to think that in our life and time faithful monogamy can work? Isn't it an old-fashioned notion? Can people in a faithful monogamous relationship keep up the interest and the

excitement with each other that they felt when they were first in love?

Yes, indeed. I think faithful monogamy is absolutely essential to marriage and to committed relationships. Yes, people can try open marriages and relationships. Yes, people can experiment with other partners for sexual and personal pleasure. Many people in our society do just that. Unfortunately, it just doesn't work. It might work for a time. It might last a year or two. Or three. Or four. But something will soon give. Either the marriage will break up or the outside relationships will end. It sounds rational and possible to maintain relationships where there are other partners. But my experience, both as a priest and as a therapist, having talked to hundreds of couples, is that it just doesn't work to try to be in a deep relationship without the commitment of faithful monogamy.

Monogamy needs help. It must be nurtured by a radical, complete openness and honesty. The couple must be willing to share with each other their dreams, their fantasies, their emotions, their resentments, and their demands in considerable detail. It is not just an honesty about the facts of life. It is an

honesty about the emotional stuff that happens between people.

Faithful monogamy must be nourished by an open and full sexuality. In the old Prayer Book, the couple vowed, "With my body I thee wed." And that free sexuality is a sacrament of the inner grace and peace that comes to a couple who really deeply care about each other. Faithful monogamy is nourished by constant expressions of appreciation, respect and love, not just once in a while, but regularly, constantly. Each partner must tell the other what he or she likes and appreciates. Out of that great well of love and appreciation will come the capacity to be even more honest about resentments and troubles.

Julia Poppy, a good friend, has a wonderful line. She says that she becomes all women to her husband, and her husband becomes all men to her. And when people get that notion and live from that point of view, there is the possibility for true faithful monogamy.

Well, what happens when one person is attracted sexually to another person? The first thing to do is to talk about it immediately to the married partner. Radical openness and honesty is to tell that partner "Yes, indeed, I am attracted

The Rev. Robert Warren Cromeey is an Episcopal priest-counselor and rector of Trinity Church, San Francisco.

to Sam or Sally, and yes, while I am sexually attracted, I choose not to do anything about it. I renew again my vow to be faithful and monogamous with you." One must be able to talk about sexual attraction in some detail with his or her partner. And the partner must be able to listen and to understand without judging the feelings of attraction. Those feelings are absolutely natural and normal in life. When they can be acknowledged and shared, then the person who feels them can turn to his or her partner and say, "Yes, I have these feelings, but I am not going to act on them." And the full monogamy is affirmed.

Persons in any committed relationship are one body with their partners. And yet they are separate. They are close, yet free. Being one yet separate is a dynamic tension that exists in a marriage. Learning how to do this is one of the challenges of a committed relationship.

When persons have a full commitment to another person, they grow, are enhanced, flower and blossom. And they can change, often for the better. That certainly is one of the wondrous by-products of a full committed relationship.

Finally it is important to say a word to those who are not in committed relationships. Not all people are called to that state at any given time in their lives. Sometimes we go through life-long periods where that kind of relationship or commitment is not available to us. Perhaps we are not ready. Perhaps we have not met the right person. People should not feel bad because they are not in that kind of relationship. That may not be what they are called to be.

But those of us who are called to be in a committed relationship must take seriously the issue of full, faithful monogamy as a joyous and wonderful way to be in the world. Commitment needs celebration. ■

Letters . . . Continued from page 2

Although there were those who did try to hit me with their flack of criticism, I am buoyed by the greater number of people I have since come into contact with who are supportive of my action and who have a deep and abiding concern with the Reagan Administration's policy toward Latin America as a whole.

The Army, however, views things differently. I was informed in my "exit briefing" that despite my 13 years of honorable service, two Meritorius Service Medals, Army Commendation Medal, Humanitarian Service Medal and a couple of other awards, my official files are now flagged and I am categorized as "disloyal." Well, I expected that, and if speaking with a conscience is disloyalty, then so be it. I intend to continue.

**Peter Fox
Billings, Mont.**

An Aid to Hope

Your December WITNESS is worth the total price of a year's subscription. I am an 80-year-old Unitarian Universalist, and do not expect to live much longer, but THE WITNESS helps me to hope for a better world.

**Lynette Colbert
Arcata, Cal.**

Children's House Excels

Thank you for the December issue of THE WITNESS which included the excellent article, "Who's Minding the Children?," by Connie Myer.

We are most appreciative of this highlighting of the church's role in child care, a role which has tremendous implications for the church as well as the nation at large. The Episcopal Church may well be proud of the Children's House, one of our demonstration projects and the boxed focus of the article. It is indeed a significant ministry.

**June R. Rogers
Child Advocacy Office
National Council of Churches**

On Yielding Sovereignty

Near the end of last year, I, along with millions of others, watched "The Day After" and the panel discussion which followed. I was terrified — not by the movie which depicted scenes far less frightening than those I've imagined, but rather by the paucity of hope offered by the panel which contained a good representation of this country's most respected opinion-makers. The least dreadful vision was offered by Robert McNamara who felt that a reduction from 40,000 to 20,000 nuclear weapons during the next decade might be possible. My God!! That reduces the number to only (insert your guess) times that's needed to destroy the world.

In many disciplines, we learn that when a problem appears insolvable, it's time to re-examine the assumptions. Although not explicitly stated, all of the "unacceptable" solutions are based on the assumption that no nation will relinquish its sovereignty to a higher authority. It is axiomatic that, in such an environment, each nation must protect itself against aggression to the best of its ability. And, when potential enemies distrust one another, an arms race is inevitable. It must be remembered that every arms race in the history of mankind has ended in war.

In this nuclear age, when war is no longer an acceptable means of resolving conflict, the root cause of war, national sovereignty, must be eliminated, and a supreme world government established. On a lesser scale, our founding fathers realized this when they replaced a weak confederation of sovereign states with our present form of government. It's time now to move this thought process up a level, i.e. to sovereign nations.

We tried it after World War I. The threat was not real enough, particularly to the United States whose failure to join essentially killed the League of Nations.

We tried again after World War II. This time we, and only we, had the bomb and our insistence on a veto in the United Nations, to insure that that body

could not dictate to us, doomed that experiment to failure.

Now with two super-powers — each with the power to destroy the world — and at least four other nations in the “atomic club,” yielding national sovereignty is no longer unthinkable — indeed, our only hope of survival lies in a world government with the power to resolve international conflicts through a rule of law.

Donald L. Pike
Santa Barbara, Cal.

Different View Helpful

Thank you for your witness. Your articles on Central America are especially important. It helps to have facts and different viewpoints when talking about that area.

Robert and Jean Wagner
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Organizing Courses Set

In 1984, three week-long training sessions which may be a valuable resource to readers of THE WITNESS will be sponsored by The Institute for Social Justice, which organizes for justice in the church and in the community:

Urban Organizer Training: Boston, March 25-30

Rural Organizer Training: Little Rock, April 15-20

Church Based Organizer Training: St. Louis (Kenrick Seminary), May 27-June 1.

The purpose of the training is to promote the understanding, vision and commitment that will enhance effective work. Included in the training are practical skills and principles of organizing. The Institute has a working relationship with ACORN, the nation's largest organization of low to moderate income families (over 80,000 family members in 27 states).

For information contact: Institute for Social Justice, 4415 San Jacinto, Dallas, TX 75204

Terry B. Thompson
Dallas, Tex.

What Will It Take to Prevent Nuclear War? It Will Take People!

- prophet-people who dare to lay bare the fallacies that choke and blind us even if we cannot hear their words nor dream their dreams;
- parent-people who look with love at the work of their creation and refuse to leave their children only a heritage of destruction;
- nurture-people who grow plants and feed birds and pick up dirt from the earth and love what is great, fresh and growing;
- healing-people whose hands touch others into life and well-being, struggling always against the forces of death;
- poet-people who call us beyond where we are, point to the lastingness of life, the folly of choosing death ever;
- fun-people who lift up and lighten and laugh others into fruitfulness and courage for the long haul;
- women-people whose role through time has been to nurture, to empower others, to make grow, to make clean, to make new again;
- soul-people whose eyes are clear and open, inviting trust and the kind of bonding that draws us together;
- young-people who have nothing to gain by destruction and death but death itself;
- justice-people who cry out against the oppressors of people, the destroyers of the earth, those who would bomb and burn and obliterate;
- little-people who don't know themselves as special but who are in truth the 'salt of the earth,' feeding and clothing and housing the human family from one end of day to the next.

**WE ARE THE PEOPLE WHO WILL PREVENT NUCLEAR WAR
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Jane Blewett, *Center Focus*
Center of Concern
Washington, D.C.

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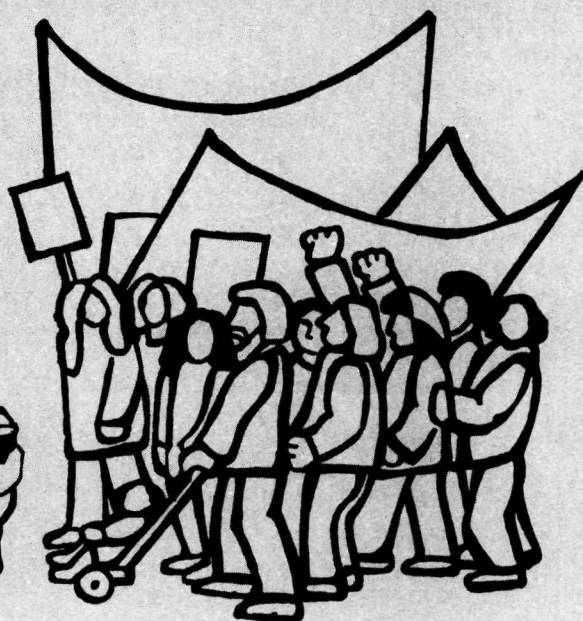
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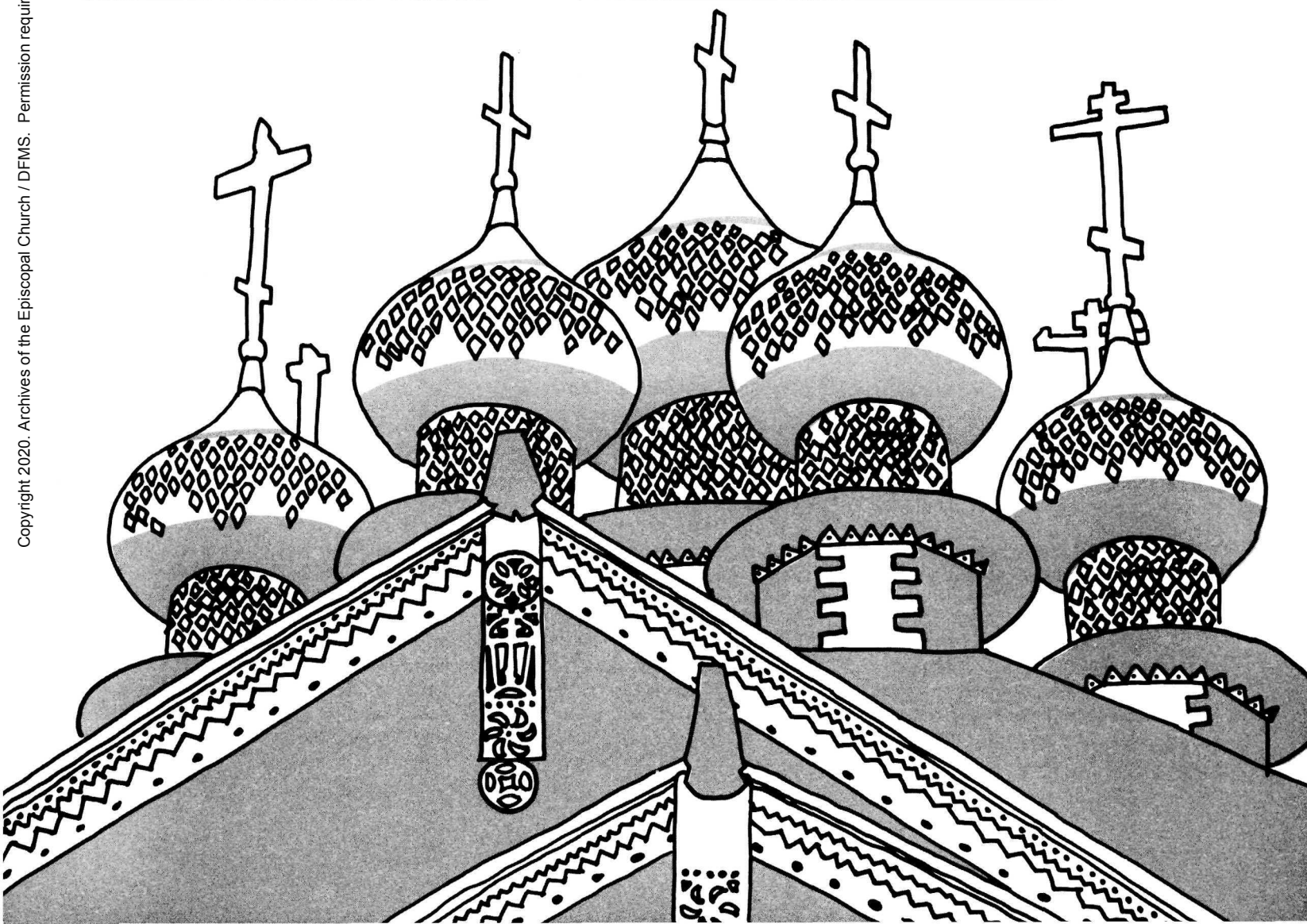
VOLUME • 67
NUMBER • 3
MARCH 1984

Demystifying the Soviet Threat • Richard W. Gillett

Whose Freedom of the Press? • Carter Heyward

Black Setbacks Under Reagan • Mary Anderson Cooper

Lenten Reflection • Nathan E. Williams



Letters

Offers Sanctuary

We have been overwhelmed by the implications of Renny Golden's article "Coyote" describing the work Jim Corbett and others are doing to help refugees in need of sanctuary. (January Issue)

If you will be adding other names to the list of those able to offer housing to people fleeing from the abominations in El Salvador and Guatemala, please put us down. We can accommodate six people if need be.

James and Helen Fritz
State College, Pa.

(Renny Golden suggests that WITNESS readers like the Fritzes, who are interested in accommodating refugees, contact Lee Holstein, Coordinator, National Sanctuary Movement, Chicago Religious Task Force on Central America, 407 S. Dearborn, Room 370, Chicago, Ill. 60605 — Eds.)

Doomsday Band-Aid

WITNESS readers should be alerted to a "band-aid for doomsday" plan concocted by the Department of Defense. In 1980, the DOD quietly and without Congressional debate circulated a request to major hospitals throughout the country. It was entitled the Civilian-Military Contingency Hospital System (CMCHS) and urged that civilian hospitals be able to set aside 50,000 beds on short notice for the treatment of military casualties.

One of the DOD computer models of future conventional war casualties would require one-third more beds than are available in military and veterans' hospitals in the continental United States. Hence, the CMCHS. To obtain the extra beds, it would be necessary for hospitals in the plan to curtail elective admissions and the use of other means of meeting the needs caused by floods, fires and other

disasters. As of some months ago, over 400 hospitals across the nation had joined the CMCHS.

There is one flaw in the computer printout. The scenario calls for a conventional war and doesn't take into account the possibility of either a tactical nuclear exchange or a full-scale one. Physicians for Social Responsibility have opposed the plan, stating that "the authors fail to acknowledge that full-scale conventional and nuclear warmaking capabilities are inseparably interlocked by a common technology and a publicly articulated military doctrine." They state that the DOD has come up with a totally unrealistic game plan.

The Department of Defense directed its request directly to hospital administrators and bypassed debate on the plan by Congress, the public and the majority of the medical profession.

We now know that a full-scale nuclear exchange between the superpowers would in all probability result in the extinction of the human race. So at best this informal approach to hospitals is an exercise in futility; at worst, a cynical piece of busy work to further delude the public that survival after a nuclear war is a possibility.

Lawrence Carter
Santa Monica, Cal.

WITNESS Plus NCR

Thanks for your offering of Christmas gift subscriptions. Over the past year, after I read THE WITNESS I would pass it on to my rector. But now I'm sending him a subscription so I can pass mine on to someone else. I really count as necessary reading THE WITNESS and *National Catholic Reporter*, to which I also subscribe. I pass those on to the Director of the New Mexico Conference of Churches.

Ruth Lackey
Albuquerque, N.M.

WITNESS in Darkness

Your magazine is so far to the left and liberal that I personally question if you are Christian. It is a certain fact that you are not biblical, but perhaps like most liberal thinkers, you do not intend to be biblical.

Please remember that it is one thing to be "religious" and "theological" and a very different thing to be uniquely "Christian" and "biblical." Those of us who are committed to biblical truth and honesty and are "born again" and "filled with the Holy Spirit" know the difference. Our hearts and prayers go out to those who are living in spiritual darkness.

Sanford C. Oyer
Wooster, Ohio

Must Speak Out

I commend you for your January editorial, "1984." I am in full agreement with it.

At 83 years of age, I find myself thinking how every day another step is planned or taken toward readying the thermonuclear air, sea and land devices to be used for the destruction of property and of human beings.

Yet the basic human needs for survival are not being met; lives are in jeopardy, and our governments request our condoning military programs or do not admit to the fact of their present implementation.

We must become more and more articulate, as THE WITNESS has. We must be seriously prayerful in asking God to move the minds of men and women toward recognition of the absolute necessity for peaceful negotiations between people and nations. I myself have never found that selling people on the idea of peaceful negotiation between nations has been easy. The alternative,

however, will be annihilation of most of the people on our planet.

Helen Stone
Petersburg, Mich.

Need Futurists

Crucial periods have come and gone. One is no worse than the other. Each has produced changes that have proved to be beneficial to humanity. But with all the benefits, there is always a high price to pay.

The battle today, as I see it, is not a crusade for some new social conscience locked in with century old theories, which have become as bureaucratic as industry and politics, but a battle against the 300-year-old industrial age structure now in the throes of transition. It is a worldwide phenomenon.

The industrial tradition has radically influenced the people of God to the point of determining the economic system over and above the physical, mental and spiritual health of the whole human family.

There must be futurists in all religions, bold enough to cut the paths to a new civilization. The 21st century age. The atom and space age. Until the past is ignored and the new beginning is developed on sound and truth-filled foundations, religions will fall as quickly and as definitely as the industrial system. The atomic age must be addressed in atomic age language, ideas, principles and most of all religious *truths*.

It is time for involvement. The church must strike out anew and break with the industrial complex. Can it be said that religions have not felt the impact of the governing elite?

Jesus was vexing and disturbing. The present world's Christianity has forgotten his teachings and has bought Paul's fairy tales which were the political structure for the Roman Empire.

S. Stuart Johnson
Sheridan, Wyo.

It's our birthday and you get the gift.



Coming in May!
our special
10th Anniversary supplement . . .

Free to all
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The history of THE WITNESS dates back farther than 10 years, of course — our first issue came off the press Jan. 6, 1917. But THE (new) WITNESS came to life again in 1974, after a two-year interruption following the death of its courageous editor, William B. Spofford, Sr.

The year 1974 was memorable for another reason: THE WITNESS declared its rebirth in a special supplement announcing the ordination of the first Episcopalian women priests, the Philadelphia 11. And new editor, Robert L. DeWitt, was one of the bishops who ordained them.

We are proud to be celebrating these twin events this year, and we will again produce a special supplement — not only commemorating those ordinations which made history in the Episcopal Church — but also focusing on what that event means to the present and the future.

Jesus Under Torture

A.D. 33 — A.D. 1984

Is there anything more abhorrent to ponder than an act of torture? The notion that one human being would willfully inflict physical pain or mental torment upon another toward some presumed higher end makes us cringe, makes us nauseous, makes us recoil in disgust.

These reactions normally prompt us to shy away from Lenten meditations focusing on Jesus under torture — the scourging, the crowning with thorns, the crucifixion. In the agony in the Garden, we see the Savior himself shaken in anticipation of the final events of Calvary, praying “if it be possible, let this cup pass from me.”

And so we make excuses to avoid contemplating Christ’s final hours. After all, that happened in A.D. 33. Surely we live in a more civilized era.

But reflecting upon events of recent history gives us pause. In our own country, consider the abominations of slavery which produced lynchings, dismembered bodies, rape victims, Black children tied to autos and dragged at high speed through gravel roads . . .

Then in other parts of the world, Jews sent to Hitler’s gas chambers, prisoners to tiger cages, the inhuman crimes of Stalinist purges . . .

And now, over the past two decades, a catalogue of modern horrors has emerged from Central and South America, reported by human rights commissions frequently connected with or aided by the churches:

An army colonel collects human ears to prove the sum of his body count . . . mutilated peasant men and women are found in the countryside; disemboweled, limbs chopped, genitals castrated, nipples cut off, *in utero* infants carved out . . . a mother receives her daughter’s severed hands, in a box, on Christmas eve . . . electric shocks are applied to prisoners to retrieve information . . .

Carolyn Forché has recounted many such ignominies in the new book, *El Salvador*, a collection of photos taken by 30 photographers on assignment from *Time*, *Newsweek*, etc. Forché was quoted recently about these grisly pheno-

mena: The perpetrators believe that “when mere death no longer instills fear in the population, the stakes must be raised. The people must be made to see that not only will they die, but die slowly and brutally.”

So has it been throughout history.

In the end, of course, the demonic use of force to achieve ends doesn’t work. It didn’t work when Christians were thrown to the lions, when unbelievers were delivered to the rack (and other horrors) during the Inquisition, when witches were burned at the stake. And neither will it work for the military and paramilitary forces who are tearing apart the soul of Latin America.

Some ineluctable spark fires the will of those who survive or witness atrocities, enabling them to struggle on in spite of the consequences. This mysterious capacity of the human spirit to stand fast, even under torture, for a cause believed to be just is truly grist for Lenten meditation. (See page 12.)

(M.L.S. and the editors)

THE WITNESS

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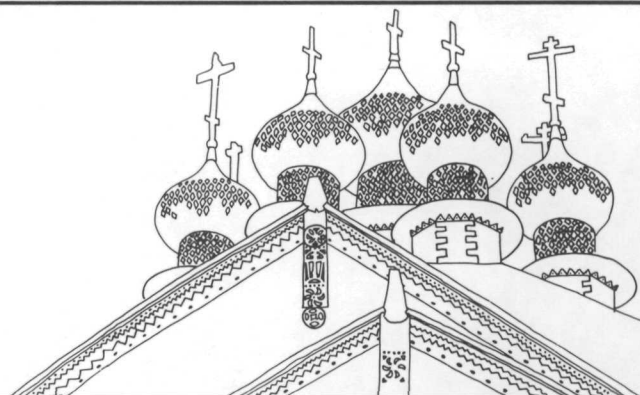


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Cover, Beth Seka from a graphic by Citizen Exchange Council, 18 E. 41 St., N.Y., N.Y.; graphic p. 3, Margaret Longdon; photos pp. 6, 9, courtesy Richard W. Gillett; graphic p. 11, *Cities* magazine; "Crucifixion" p. 12 and "Joseph and Son" p. 21, Robert F. McGovern.

THE WITNESS is published monthly. Editorial office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002. Phone (215)643-7067. Subscription rates \$12 per year. \$1 per copy. THE WITNESS is indexed in the American Theological Library Association's *Religion Index One: Periodicals*. Copyright 1984 by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Printed in U.S.A. ISSN 0197-8896.



The Rev. William Howard, Executive Director of the Black Council, Reformed Churches in America, is welcomed to the U.S.S.R. by Archbishop Pitirim of Volokolamsk, head of the publishing department of the Moscow Patriarchate. Looking on is Gennady Fedosov, Secretary-General of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Friendship Society. The meeting took place during the trip described in the accompanying article.

WITNESS contributing editor Dick Gillett visited the Soviet Union recently under the auspices of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Citizens' Dialogue. Here are his impressions . . .

Demystifying

As the American presidential primaries begin, and as poking and fumbling for the political pulse of the country becomes the obsession of every candidate for public office, how will the vital issue of the Soviet Union as principal antagonist of the United States be debated?

At this writing, a prediction is unfortunately not difficult to make. Notwithstanding recent peace posturing, Ronald Reagan has been successful towards convincing public opinion that the Soviet Union is "the focus of evil" (the phrase he used last year when speaking before a group of evangelical clergy in Florida). Although there is some resistance among Democrats to his "global conspiracy" theory of Communism, Reagan's vituperations against the Soviets' basic untrustworthiness, their conspiratorial temperament, their willingness to risk nuclear war, and the morally reprehensible nature of their society have gained alarming acceptance in the public mind. So much so, that practically no candidate, Republican or Democrat, is likely to take a position questioning this categorization of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Even the religious groups most actively involved in protesting the nuclear arms race generally have focused on the military escalation of both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., condemning the two nations equally and hastening to avoid the use of the word "trust" in any relation to the Soviet Union, lest they be accused of being "soft on Communism."

(Make no mistake about it: We are not in danger of returning to another Joe McCarthy period, *we have already returned there*).

During a visit as part of a 29-member citizens' dialogue delegation to the Soviet

the Russian Threat

by Richard W. Gillett

Union last year, I found such categorizations of the Soviet people and leadership to be not only highly simplistic but fraught with untruths. I found much that is good and noble in the Soviet Union, along with profound paradoxes and disturbing perspectives. What is more, I believe that an objective look at the Soviet Union today (one neither blindly pro-socialist nor fanatically anti-Communist) will disclose that the balance of responsibility for Cold War tensions at this juncture may lie more with the United States than the Soviet Union. Such a verdict may indeed be more than the American public can currently tolerate, but the issue must be approached with an open mind.

First-Hand Impressions

First-hand impressions are important. Herewith, acknowledging the limitations inherent in one short visit, are my own.

Our trip was sponsored by the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Citizens' Dialogue, Inc., a largely church-based group dedicated to promoting mutual trust and understanding between our two peoples through exchange visitations in each others' countries. We traveled together to Leningrad and Moscow, and then split into sub-groups to visit the Soviet republics of Estonia (Tallinn), Khazakhstan (Alma Ata), and Armenia (Yerevan). We held both formal and informal sessions on the subjects of war and peace and the relations between our two countries, and we did some sightseeing and visited churches and church leaders.

We landed in Leningrad on a late April afternoon in 50 degree weather. After clearing immigration (we had no difficulties), we went immediately from the airport to the monument commemorating the 900-day siege of Leningrad.

There began to form right away one of the two chief impressions that I carried back with me — that the Russians have suffered more from war than we can ever imagine.

When the Germans launched their offensive against the Soviet Union in 1941, they aimed straight at Leningrad, the cradle of the Revolution, the gem of Peter the Great, the soul, in many ways, of the Russian past and present. To hold that city cost the Russians the destruction of 3,000 buildings, including 187 architectural monuments, and the lives of 1 million people. The first winter of that siege, our guides told us, was the coldest in a century. About 500,000 died in the first 12 months, mostly women and children.

The next day at the Piskariovskoye Cemetery, we laid a wreath on the unmarked graves of soldiers and civilians who died in Leningrad.

So our delegation felt and perceived right at the start the Russian experience with war and suffering. Hardly a family did not suffer the death of a member or members. Twenty million Soviet people died in World War II. Over 1,700 cities and towns were destroyed. There is a noticeable scarcity of men on the streets between the ages of 57 and 70; they simply are absent from the population.

(The United States lost 405,000 armed forces personnel in that war. No town in the continental United States came under enemy attack, surface or air, and no foreign soldier set foot on our soil here.)

Over and over, the Soviets will tell you, "We do not want war." The pain is still in their eyes and voices.

The first night we arrived in Leningrad, some of us went walking — it was 10 p.m. and still twilight in that northern city. In their beautiful parks, ev-

eryone was out. There were lots of soldiers in uniform also, but they were not armed. It seemed that they were off-duty but required to be in uniform. We walked freely and without a guide around those incredible historic buildings in the Leningrad evening. Phyllis Palmer of Ohio said, as we saw the people enjoying the balmy night and the beautiful Neva River, "And to think that we have our missiles aimed at this city!" On the way back to the hotel, we saw a child's hopscotch pattern on the sidewalk. As we approached the hotel, we heard the sounds of a disco — a Western disco. Young people there were dressed similarly to the way my own children dress — acquiring a little Western "decadence"!

The next evening after a session with the Soviets and some sight-seeing, we boarded the train for Moscow. The following morning at 6:30, the radio began playing in the compartment — first some undecipherable Russian (a mixture of chit-chat and propaganda, one of our Russian-speaking American delegates told us) and then the unmistakable tune of "Do Re Mi" from *The Sound of Music*, sung in Russian!

Moscow Vignettes

Moscow was prettier than I thought it would be. People were out in great numbers in the streets; they appeared well-dressed and were not all scurrying along with their coat collars turned up. There were children. There were parents having trouble with their children. There were couples. There were more cars than I expected. You'd think you were any place in Europe, except there were no billboards or ads. They were replaced by political banners and signs, some in vintage 1950 neon. We found the huge apartment complexes dull and monot-

onous — but a long sight better than the crumbling blockbusters of Chicago's south side or Lower Manhattan. We saw no individual homes in Moscow, but there are wide boulevards, parks, playgrounds, and an incredible transportation network of electric trolleys and the Moscow subway.

Our most extensive dialogue with the Soviets took place in Moscow, at "Dom Druzhbu" (Friendship House), a beautiful old historic building. In both formal and informal exchanges, our differences became clear. The Russians asserted that we had been first to develop almost every major new weapons system since World War II, that the escalation of the arms race was begun again in 1979 by us (Jimmy Carter still being in office) and that they had armed simply to catch up. They said the United States had missed many opportunities since World War I for a de-escalation of the arms race. They said the U.S.S.R. has formally pledged not to use nuclear weapons first and has endorsed a mutual verifiable freeze and asked us why our government would not reciprocate. They felt that with Ronald Reagan, relations had plunged to their lowest in 40 years (this was said before either the Korean Airlines 007 disaster or the Grenada invasion), and expressed great fear that he could well start a nuclear conflagration and even seemed prepared to risk one.

The latter was my second chief impression from talking to the Soviets: their great fear of American intentions. It seemed a fear confirmed by the Russians' historic experience with the West ever since Napoleon's invasion of Russia. It had been the Germans who invaded Russia in World War I. Then, following the 1917 Revolution, Britain, France, and to a lesser extent, the United States, sent troops into Russia to support the (anti-Bolshevik) Whites in their effort to turn back the revolution. This was followed by the German inva-

sion in 1941. It finds its historic continuity today, when U.S. Cruise and Pershing II missiles are placed on European soil, aiming at the Soviet Union.

Several of us felt the Russians were correct in some of these assessments and said so. On the other hand, when we criticized their invasion of Afghanistan, their buildup of SS-20 missiles, their control of events in Poland, their throttling of Soviet dissidents, including particularly Jewish dissidents, their closed and secretive society, the enormous crimes of Stalin, and other acts, they basically defended them. There is a maddening inability of the Soviets to be critical of any Soviet foreign policy stance or of domestic security policies.

In religious matters, there is considerably more freedom than is commonly supposed in the West. More people are attending churches, and the government, although officially atheist, is allowing more congregations to open. Churches are crowded. People are not persecuted for the mere fact of attending church, but it is against Soviet law to propagate the faith or to evangelize. Except for seminaries, which are viewed as training schools, no Christian education class or schools are allowed (education is the function of the state). Certainly, no criticism of the government is tolerated from the pulpit. In visits with prelates of both the Russian Orthodox Church and the Armenian Apostolic Church, however, we were impressed with their commitment to peace and their regard for us as Christian brothers and sisters in that endeavor.

I returned to this country with a new awareness that we cannot begin to understand another people and culture unless we attempt to see history and world events from their perspective. Through the insights of liberation theology (Latin American, Black, and feminist), we in the "First World" are beginning to understand this as applied to Third

World peoples and minorities. It is time we took Russian history and culture with equal seriousness. We will thereby likely discover the validity of some of their perspectives, as well as the paranoia (focused historically in a love-hate relationship with the West) that skews their view of us.

I developed a maxim that I believe holds true in any dialogue we will have with the Russians: To the extent that we are willing to admit and discuss the prominent injustices and oppression, past and present, in our own society, to that same extent we can be tolerant and understanding of the injustices and oppressions in Soviet society— thereby eliminating the tendency to put the Soviets "in the dock" for their crimes, as if we had a superior moral platform from which to judge them.

In attempting to assess responsibility for the present dangerous impasse between our two countries, we should acknowledge at least four military and political realities dominating U.S. policy towards the Soviet Union since the end of World War II. First, that the United States has held military supremacy over the Soviet Union ever since the end of World War II, until only recently.

Second, that the United States possesses much more extensive military interventionary capacity than does the Soviet Union. There is no equivalent Soviet policy to the "two-and-a-half war" scenario which our country is planning to be able to wage simultaneously.

Third, under President Reagan, policy to force internal changes in the Soviet Union through economic and propaganda tactics has become explicit.

Fourth, the United States issued in 1982 (according to a document leaked to the *New York Times*) a plan which, among other things, called for the development of a "nuclear war-fighting cap-

ability" that would permit the United States to prevail in a nuclear war over a "protracted conflict period."

These aspects of our policy, I submit, weigh heavily — perhaps decisively — when compared to Soviet aggressions in Eastern Europe, Soviet aid to Third World countries, and the general global extension of Soviet influence and ideology, which has suffered serious setbacks in the last decade.

If our two societies are so vastly different and our histories and reigning ideologies are so far apart, where might we start to narrow the gap? George F. Kennan, the distinguished career diplomat and Ambassador to the Soviet Union for many years, recalls the wisdom of General George C. Marshall regarding the Soviet Union during the early post-World War II years: "Marshall used to say to us, 'Don't fight the problem,' by which he meant, I believe, 'Don't fight against the problem as a whole, for it includes elements that you

cannot hope to change. Find out which elements, if any, are susceptible to your influence and concentrate on them.'"

Specifically, we can begin to advocate a return to the level of cultural, educational, and scientific exchanges which blossomed during Khrushchev's time. (The United States, seeking diplomatic retaliation for the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, sharply curtailed these exchanges.)

In a visit with Valentina Tereshkova, the first woman cosmonaut in space, four of us were deeply moved by her tender and reverent description of earth as she first viewed it from space. She related it beautifully to our need to live together on the planet and expressed her hope that Soviets and Americans could again link up in space for peaceful purposes, as they had in the early 1970s. That is another area of cooperation we could advocate.

In our visit to Armenia, engineer

Gamlet Maksapetian gave a moving speech advocating joint solutions to world environmental problems which affect us all. In these and other areas, there is room for our governments to take small steps towards cooperation.

Months after my trip, I find myself still fascinated, yet perplexed, about the Soviet Union. We saw and felt much, yet much remained darkly hidden. We saw great beauty in the people we met, yet there was a certain decay of the spirit perceptible underneath (as, perchance, in our own country?). We saw the striking results of an historic revolution that has eliminated poverty, homelessness, and unemployment. Yet the democratic impulses of that revolution seem to have been largely lost.

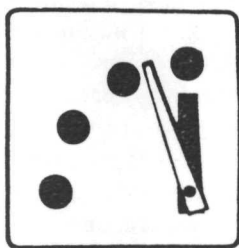
Above all, I came away convinced of this: The movement by the churches and others to reverse the arms race is going to be halted somewhere down the road unless it takes the decisive step of addressing and disarming the fear that feeds that race, namely our fear of the Russians. We need to discuss and develop a strategy for demystifying the Russian threat and enhancing mutual trust.

Such a strategy must be every bit as purposeful and vigorous as our nuclear protest strategies. It is risky, of course: We will be attacked as dupes, soft on Communism, un-American, and all the other historic epithets. But *not* to take the risk will be to let lie unaddressed, unexorcised, that pathology of fear and ignorance that breeds hatred. Like a recurrent fever, it will inevitably rise and paralyze further progress.

If we undertake such a strategy of rapprochement with the Soviets, I believe we in the churches could make a difference. The chances are considerably more than even that we will find enough common ground for a mutual trust that will eventually allow significant disarmament to occur, and enable our children and grandchildren — both there and here — to inherit a peaceful world. ■



Mme. Proskurnikova, Vice Chair of the Soviet Women's Committee, addresses U.S. delegates.



From MAD to NUTS

Have We Lost Control?

by Carl G. Jacobsen

Last year ended with the deployment of new U.S. missile systems in Europe. In January of 1984 the famed "doomsday clock" of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists moved still closer to midnight. It was the *second* such move since the inauguration of the Reagan administration. Relations between the superpowers were at a nadir. The fall of 1983 saw Washington and Moscow each comparing the other to Nazi Germany. George Kennan, America's senior Soviet specialist, somberly noted that such exchanges "are the familiar characteristics, the unflinching characteristics, of a march toward war."

There is a widespread consensus that the most immediate (though not the only) danger emanates from the Reagan administration's explicit disavowal of strategic assumptions accepted by its predecessors, both Republican and Democratic. But there is also longer term fear, that both sides might be approaching 21st century weapons with 19th century mindsets, that the military-industrial juggernauts might have become impervious to

the deliberations of statesmen and strategists, and that we are losing control — with systems dictating policy, rather than policy dictating systems.

The most immediate concern focuses on the deployment in West Germany of Pershing II ballistic missiles. Their minimal flight time to Soviet targets is seen by many to constitute an unconscionable increase in the risk of accidental war. U.S. warning systems suffered 147 false alarms over a recent 18-month period (the causes ranged from radar misidentification of Canada geese and the rising of the moon, to the insertion of a training tape into the wrong computer). Soviet technology is no better. Intercontinental-range flight times allow for backup checks. But with Pershing IIs on the border, so to speak, Moscow will not have time to verify whether radar blips are missiles or natural phenomena.

The Pershing deployment breaks a tacit 20-year-old superpower agreement not to deploy medium-range missiles adjacent to the other's territory. The withdrawal of American missiles from Turkey following Moscow's withdrawal from Cuba in 1962 mirrored mutual acceptance of the thesis that such deployments were unduly destabilizing. They were also increasingly unnecessary, due to the advent of large numbers of intercontinental-range missiles.

This did not mean that new strategic systems could not be developed. They did of course proliferate. But deployment decisions, the wheres and hows, sought to maximize one's security without jeopardizing the other's. Forward deployment of Pershing IIs defies the dictum.

NATO's "dual-track" decision of 1979 called for missile preparations to proceed in tandem with negotiations; the missiles constituted a bargaining chip, to be deployed only if negotiations failed. Yet in the end Pershing and cruise missiles were deployed in spite of the fact that Moscow had conceded far more than originally expected.

A quick review is in order. For three years prior to 1979 NATO viewed Soviet SS-20 deployment, accompanied by phase-out of older missiles, as a normal process of modernization. In the *Military Balance 1979-80*, Britain's prestigious Institute for Strategic Studies summarized establishment attitudes. Noting that 120 SS-20 launchers had been deployed, it continued: "If the Soviets were to retire the SS-4 and SS-5 missiles our calculations show that another 140 SS-20 would do the job of the 590 SS-4 and SS-5 missiles." In other words, 260 SS-20 missiles were seen as an acceptable component of Moscow's counter to America's Forward Based Systems (land and carrier-based nuclear-armed fighter bombers

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plus NATO-assigned submarines) and British and French forces. Only if deployment proceeded beyond 260 would parity be endangered.

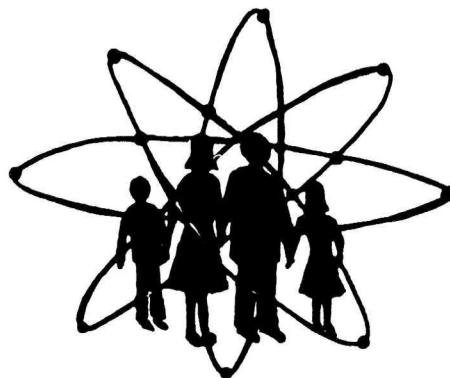
By the end of 1983 SS-20 numbers in Europe approximated but did not exceed this "acceptable" figure. Another 100 were stationed in Soviet Asia, and could in theory be moved westward (though the specter of Asian rivals was likely to keep them East of the Urals). But Moscow had backtracked. The Soviet Union offered to cut SS-20 warhead numbers drastically, down to British and French levels. The concept of "theater-range" parity with Britain and France could in the future become a recipe for SS-20 proliferation, since these nations both entertained grandiose expansion plans. But in December 1983 Moscow's offer meant that Soviet nuclear forces aimed at Western Europe would be cut to a level not seen since the late 1950s. NATO's dual-track decision had succeeded beyond anyone's expectation.

Yet Washington held steadfastly to the position that British and French forces were extraneous, and that U.S. theater-nuclear missile numbers in Europe match Moscow's — though Moscow must not deploy analogous systems in Cuba. The reverse, that America tolerate Soviet rockets in Cuba, without even posing a similar threat to Moscow in Europe, and that America furthermore agree not to count missiles developed by Cuba, with or without Soviet help, would of course be utterly unacceptable. Moscow was dared to precipitate a world crisis, or concede a U.S. advantage, and nullify two decades of military-political effort.

Ronald Reagan took office at a time when Moscow had secured countervailing strategic power, and growing ability to intervene in distant regions. But Pentagon data documented, then as now, U.S. superiority in most areas of basic technology. America remains ahead in the most important indices of power: warhead numbers, both strategic and

overall; accuracy potentials (far more important than yield); warhead miniaturization technologies (allowing more to be packed on smaller missiles); vulnerability (71% of Moscow's nuclear arsenal is land-based and theoretically vulnerable, as opposed to 21% of America's); and day-to-day readiness (60% of U.S. submarines are at their firing locales, versus 14% of Moscow's).

U.S. arguments about Soviet superiority are sleights of hand. Soviet yields are cited with no reference to overall accuracies. Warhead tabulations are skewed, excluding categories of U.S.



advantage. Soviet systems are dated from the appearance of their final configuration, while U.S. systems are dated from their first appearance (thus Soviet SS-18s and SS-19s are said to be 15 years newer than the Minuteman, although many are older than the latest Minuteman IIIs). Naval computations equate aircraft carriers with lesser craft, turning a two to one U.S. tonnage advantage into a Soviet lead. Tank numbers incorporate Warsaw Pact reserves, but exclude NATO's, and ignore NATO's twice-higher average firing rate and other qualitative differences.

The pursuit of war fighting and war survival echoes a tradition rooted in the flexible response doctrines of the 1960s, the early '70s Schlesinger doctrine of selective targeting and demonstration

strikes, and Carter's counterforce options. But with preceding administrations Mutual Assured Destruction remained the bottom line. Therein lay the precondition, rationale and imperative for arms control. But Reagan demurred. Today's procurements are explicitly designed to "render the accumulated Soviet equipment stock obsolete."

Established programs to develop and deploy Trident, MX and Pershing II missiles with the theoretical accuracy to take out Moscow's land-based forces continue. But now they are joined by orders for supercarriers and naval units openly designed to penetrate and attack Soviet second-strike submarine sanctuaries in the Barents Sea in the north (and the Okhotsk, in the Far East). The threat to Moscow's retaliatory force potential constitutes *de facto* repudiation of MAD, and hence of the need for arms control. The new catch-word is NUTS — nuclear utilization theories — reinforced further by the President's call for a decades-long program to establish space-based ballistic missile defense systems.

The chorus of objections from so many past national security advisors focused in part on the impracticability of the ambition. Internal U.S. Navy documents speak of the Barents Sea ambition with extreme skepticism. The space vision presupposes awesome scientific progress, at awesome cost, and ignores prospects for cheap, effective countermeasures. And the first strike potential of Trident, MX, Pershing II and newer Soviet missile models rests on accuracy computations that ignore the differences between peacetime and wartime trajectories, and between ideal and hostile environments.

Technological realities and constraints, and pressure from allies and Congress, may yet persuade the Reagan administration to revert to its predecessors' acceptance of MAD. The outline of a compromise exists. Paul Nitze, America's theater-nuclear arms negotiator in Eu-

Continued on page 23



Bloody Religion: Secret to Wisdom

by Nathan E. Williams

I am amazed at the ease with which the cross is displayed. This hideous instrument of execution now hangs from our necks on chains, adorns the lapels of our jackets, dangles from our wrists on bracelets, and is traced in frosting on cakes and bakery rolls. Can you imagine doing the same with a hangman's noose? An electric chair? A cyanide pot? A firing squad? I cannot.

There were three means of capital punishment in first century Palestine:

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stoning, beheading, and crucifixion. All are mentioned in the New Testament. Crucifixion was the most odious punishment. Ancient writers were repulsed by it. It was viewed by the authorities as a deterrent to crime, and for that reason administered to the most "dangerous" criminals. In A.D. 6, Judas the Galilean and 3,000 of his followers were crucified along the roads of Palestine for a guerrilla insurrection against a Roman census. Jesus, who never took up arms or advocated that others do so, was regarded as sufficiently dangerous to merit this exemplary death.

We have domesticated the cross. Its

power to offend has been stolen and with this loss, the scandal and the power of the Gospel have disappeared from our lives. The cross is as offensive as the electric chair; and the "preaching of the cross" — the insistence that a man tried, convicted, and executed for a capital crime is the Savior of the world — is scandalous. (*I Corinthians 1:18-25*)

God's wisdom is said to be bound up with that event. This "foolish Gospel" of Christ crucified is said to be the very power of God.

I have puzzled for years over the meaning of the cross. I have read commentaries and many books, but some-

how they always seem a little wide of the mark. It was not until I understood that the cross interprets what happens to all the poor of this world that the event began to make sense.

Those who suffer are people who subsist on the fringes of any society, who are forced through no fault of their own to live in the cracks and crannies of this world's systems. We do not lack contemporary illustrations. If I take a gun, enter your house, and with my gun deprive you of everything you need to sustain your life and that of your family, I am a criminal. On the other hand, if I live in Central or South America, and with my

friends and backing from the CIA, foment a coup, expropriate communal lands, refuse to grow corn and beans and rice and instead raise crops for export (sugarcane, strawberries, orchids, coffee), and hire you at a subsistence wage to work my lands, I am a capitalist. Every society, every system, intentionally marginalizes people. It happens under socialism, it happens under capitalism. We have grown adept at criticizing dehumanization and oppression occurring under socialism. We are not so adept at criticizing the oppression which exists under capitalism.

The crucified Christ is the interpreting symbol for all the marginalized and oppressed peoples of this world — Jews through the centuries, Armenians at the hands of Turks, Hottentots under the Boers, American Indians and Black Americans, victims of Stalinist purges, victims of the Inquisition, Palestinians at the hands of the Israelis, and the list could go endlessly on.

The crucified Christ interprets that suffering because he is one with it. Finitude and death were an unavoidable consequence of incarnation. Suffering, as one caught in the grinding of society's institutions, was a choice which went beyond what was implicit in incarnation. To believe that God really was "in Christ" is to believe that God is intentionally one with all who suffer. The cross is a theology of suffering, God's perspective on the world. Paul asserts that this gospel is the heart of Christian preaching, and he will know nothing other than "Christ crucified."

Commitment to the cross is a commitment to bloody religion, and we don't like bloody religion. The old liberal theology did away with bloody religion in favour of ethical religion. No more dying Jesus and blood-stained cross. The "real" Jesus had been located between Matthew,

Chapters 5 and 7. Here was the Great Teacher, the Young Idealist, the Inspirer. But liberal theology crashed on a bloody event — World War I — and neither theology nor our world has been the same since.

It is time we discovered that bloody religion is the secret to understanding the wisdom of God. Only God is foolish enough to become one with those who suffer and die. Conventional wisdom has no room for this nonsense . . .

We can illustrate the demand made on us by pointing to Paul. We first see him among the powerful standing at the edge of a circle, holding the clothes of those who are stoning Stephen to death. He is next with a detachment of soldiers making his way to Damascus to hunt out those whose faith is seen as a threat to the standing order. But something happens. He is converted, and before long we see Paul at another stoning. This time he is the center of the circle, and the stones are striking him. Paul went from oppressor to oppressed with his conversion to Christ. Paul was not born marginalized, but he became one with those whose lot it was to be hunted and pursued to death. He was converted to the poor.

This conversion must happen to us. I am struggling with my own response. It has to mean some changes, or I will be guilty of hearing the gospel and not obeying it — which is not to hear it at all. And sooner or later, this conversion must mean some changes in our church.

Several years ago the Latin American bishops, meeting in 1968 at Medellin, Colombia, agreed that God loves everyone, but insisted God has a preferential love for the poor. The bishops went on to say that there are three forms of poverty: poverty as lack; spiritual poverty; and, poverty as commitment. The first is self-evident. The second is defined as "the condition of total availability to God."

The third is that event in which those born with enough, out of their total availability to God, become one with the poor to testify to the destructiveness of poverty and to work with the poor to transform their situation. This is the conversion to the poor which issues from the cross seen as a theology of suffering.

I close with a paraphrase of *I Cor. 1:18-24*. It is based on the insights already discussed, and on the recognition that the words 'Jews' and 'Greeks' do not refer primarily to ethnicity or to religion, but to rival ways of thinking and acting.

The theology of suffering is always regarded as utter foolishness by the powerful who are on their way to destruction, but to us who are on the way to salvation it is the power of God. Scripture promises that God will expose the scheming of the powerful and the manipulations of the person who knows all the angles. There is no way to God through power and cunning — they are limited to the world which is passing away. Because the world was utterly without hope of knowing God through the categories of its choosing, God resolved to save those who have faith by the foolishness of the gospel. Capitalists invest for profit and socialists demand collective ownership of capital; but we proclaim Christ — yes, Christ nailed to the cross. And though this is absurdity to capitalists and nonsense to socialists, yet to those who have heard Christ's call — capitalists and socialists alike — Christ is the power of God and the wisdom of God.

(A longer version of the above article appeared in *The Expository Times*, Vol. IV, #6, published by T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, Scotland. Reprinted by permission.) ■

SHORT TAKES

Friends Upsetting

"I get upset with some of my conservative friends because they act like they invented Jesus . . . but also with some of my liberal friends because they act like they don't know who he is."

—Woodie W. White, General Secretary
Commission on Religion and Race
Quoted in *Circuit Rider*

Babies on Bumpers

He made the suggestion as a way to reduce automobile accidents. This man was concerned about the mushrooming violence on our streets and highways. He proposed that the state pass a law requiring us to install seats on the front bumpers, and that is where all children would ride.

His hope, of course, is that putting our children up front that way where they would be unprotected and fully exposed would prompt a revolutionary change in our driving habits. That proposal is mostly an attention getter. But when it comes to nuclear war, the babies are already on the bumpers. . .

Hundreds of millions of children and their parents are already out there, fully exposed and totally unprotected by any defense. How can we get the attention of the decision makers on these matters? They seem to have lost touch with reality. We need to be brutally realistic about a matter as serious as this.

—Robert W. Moon
Central United Methodist Church
Stockton, Cal.

How Women Are Equal

"In an age of nuclear proliferation, women are equal with men in the threat of annihilation. Nuclear weapons do not discriminate on the basis of sex. But women are not equal in the decision-making power to reverse this destructive trend. The arms race underscores the horrible fact that women are equal in death, but not in the power and means to choose life."

—Patricia Mische
Global Education Association

The Elephant and the Mouse

Bishop Desmond M. Tutu, Episcopal prelate and winner of the New York Council of Churches Family of Man Award, told the press recently that interest in Africa among Americans was at a low point.

The issue of South Africa could play a role, however in the 1984 Presidential election because of apartheid and the rise of Black political efforts in the United States, he said. He provided by way of explanation his parable about the elephant and the mouse.

"If you are neutral in a situation of injustice, you have chosen the side of the oppressor. If an elephant has his foot on the tail of the mouse, and you say you are neutral, the mouse will not appreciate your neutrality."

Through Buddhist Eyes

"The term 'engaged Buddhism' is, in a sense, redundant. Buddhism means to be awake—mindful of what is happening in one's body, feelings, mind, and in the world. If you are awake you cannot do otherwise but act compassionately to help relieve the suffering you see around you. So Buddhism must be engaged in the world.

"When you look at this chair, can you see in it the forest from which the wood came? Can you see the sun that shone upon that forest, and the clouds that rained upon it? Can you see the woodcutter and his family? And the wheat that fed them? Can you see that the chair is comprised of the whole non-chair world? Can you see that the sun is your own heart, and the atmosphere your lungs?

"All things exist in a state of inter-being—we inter-act with everything. 'This is because that is; this is not because that is not.'"

—Thich Nhat Hanh
IFOR Report

Whose Freedom of the Press?

by Carter Heyward

A recent fact-finding visit to Nicaragua and neighboring Honduras provided an occasion for our delegation of U.S. women to explore some of the facts and fictions embedded in the Reagan administration's allegation that Nicaragua's Sandinista leadership is constructing a totalitarian regime. To support his contention that Nicaragua is being run by Communists, Reagan charges that the Sandinistas have inhibited peoples' freedom, and, in particular, freedom of the press.

Pedro Joaquin Chamorro agrees. As editor of *La Prensa*, a Managua daily, Chamorro protests vigorously against reference to *La Prensa* as an opposition paper. "Opposition? That's a compliment to the Sandinistas. We are not an opposition paper, because that implies freedom. We are not free to print, to say what we want."

Demonstrating his complaint, Chamorro hands us copies of columns and editorials which have been censored by the Sandinistas. Included are articles on ARDE (Eden Pastora's group of

"contras" who are organizing to overthrow the government); a recent trip of Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega to Mexico; a quote from the *New York Times* in which the Nicaraguan censor had insisted, in reference to the movement to topple the government, that *La Prensa* change the words *rebel*, *insurgent*, and *dissident Sandinista* to "contra;" and finally some editorials calling for the Sandinistas to return to the democratic goals of the revolutionary movement which overthrew Anastasio Somoza in 1979.

Chamorro, son of the late Pedro Chamorro who was assassinated in 1978 by forces friendly to the Somoza dictatorship, speaks for a significant number of Nicaraguan business and middle-income people who are unwilling to identify themselves with either the Somocistas (right-wing supporters of the late President Somoza) or the Sandinistas.

"We want a country in which there can be free play," states Enrique Bolano, head of INDE (private enterprise organization). Echoing Chamorro, Bolano envisions the nation he desires as a democracy in which all are free to write what they please (freedom of the press) and to make and attract whatever investments they please (free enterprise).

These persons and others with whom our delegation met have been disappointed by the Sandinista government. "We used to criticize Somoza because of

the lack of human rights," laments Indalecio Rodriguez, a director of the FDN (Nicaraguan Democratic Front, organization overseeing the "contra" movement). Speaking in the FDN's headquarters across the border in Honduras, Rodriguez continues, "It is even worse now, because Nicaragua is being run by Marxist terrorists who have put Nicaragua in the pocket of Soviet power. Nicaragua is an occupied country today. There is no freedom."

For Rodriguez, Bolano and Chamorro, the problem is rooted in the Sandinista betrayal of the original — democratic — goals of the revolution. They agree that Somoza was a disaster and they are strong in their criticism of the United States for having put and kept the Somoza family in power. "But," Rodriguez contends, "while Somoza came to power with the blessings of the United States, the Sandinista terrorists came to power with the blessings of President Carter."

To businessman Bolano and the FDN, the solution is clear. The United States, under the leadership specifically of President Reagan, can help bring freedom to Nicaragua by providing the "contras" with whatever military and economic assistance they need in order to rid the country of the Sandinistas. Editor Chamorro is somewhat more circumspect in his support of the "contras," but, as his censored editorials suggest,

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freedom and democracy must be brought to Nicaragua.

If the White House press corps or U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick were writing this essay, it would probably stop here and serve well their purpose to generate support for current U.S. policy toward Central America in general and Nicaragua in particular.

The Reagan administration's position is simple. It was summarized nicely for us by a Honduran journalist who is sympathetic to the Sandinista government and outraged at U.S. intervention in the affairs of both Nicaragua and Honduras. "The U.S. position has become the Honduran position," reflects Jaime Gomez (not his real name).^{*} "The U.S. government believes, and has instructed the Honduran government to believe, that (1) Communism is bad. (2) Nicaragua is Communist. (3) The United States is Honduras' only defense against Nicaragua. (4) In order for Honduras to survive, Honduras must give up its freedom as a nation and we must turn ourselves over to U.S. wishes."

Gomez continues, "I write so that, in the future, no one will be able to associate my name with these four 'truths.' I don't want my children disappointed." Unlike a number of Honduran dissidents, Gomez uses his real name in his work and did not ask us to conceal his identity.^{*} We were also interested that no one in Nicaragua, including the political opposition, seemed hesitant to have his or her identity revealed.

Having been told by officials at the U.S. Embassy in Tegucigalpa that Honduras' "remarkably free press" is a fine contrast to Nicaragua's censored journalism, we asked Gomez and his fellow journalist, Roberto Romero (also a pseudonym)^{*} about freedom of the press in Honduras, the Central American coun-

try which, many persons on all sides of these issues agree, is fast becoming a U.S. Marine base.

Romero shook his head and smiled at the mention of a free press. The two writers agreed that it all depends upon whose freedom is being allowed and served by the press. Speaking for both, Gomez noted, "There's no official censorship here, but much unofficial self-censorship." Journalists in Honduras censor themselves because, in his words, "The safest business in Honduras these days is to keep your mouth shut. When we write, we run a risk, people call it suicidal, but we write because we cannot stand not to speak."

Prayers of the People

Petitions that may be inserted into the Prayers of the People at the Eucharist:

For the people of Central America, that they may have the opportunity for self-government, free from outside military influence.

For the governments and leaders of Central American countries, that they may promote dignity, freedom and peace for all of their people.

—Episcopal Peace Fellowship

Can these journalists criticize the U.S. government? The Honduran government? Can they publicly support the Sandinistas? "Occasionally they let one of our articles through," Gomez comments, "but, after all, advertisers control newspapers, and this means that money controls newspapers, and this of course means that the status quo controls the press. We have no base for any alternative papers here. You ask about freedom of the press? In Honduras if you don't censor yourself, they simply don't publish it."

What is the permissible journalistic line these days in Honduras? "That the U.S. Marines are the saviors of Honduras," Gomez states sharply.

Back in Nicaragua, Gustavo Parajon,

President of CEPAD (Evangelical Committee for Aid and Development) and a medical doctor who worked in rural Nicaragua before assuming a Baptist pastorate in Managua, spoke passionately of the U.S. government's attempt to "destroy Nicaragua."

In Parajon's view, the freedom of the press argument is simply one more tactic the United States is using to discredit Sandinista efforts to build a country in which the poor have food and all have health care and in which, since the Sandinistas came to power in 1979, the illiteracy rate has dropped from 55% to 14%.

"If we're going to talk about freedom of press," Parajon suggested, "let's talk about the U.S. press. About the news blackout during the Grenada invasion. And about the Voice of America or the U.S. Armed Forces radio. Have you listened to them recently?" he inquired. "Pure propaganda. That's all. The United States will do anything and say anything right now to further its own interests."

As for the Sandinista censorship of such papers as *La Prensa*, Parajon insisted, "Of course, there is censorship, and that's not to be desired. But you must understand that Nicaragua has Goliath on its back. We are in a state of national crisis, which your government has created. We are at war. I would refer you to your own history — to the censorship measures that have been imposed upon your press during times of war."

When pushed as to whether, even so, it is legitimate to limit peoples' freedom (a question, perhaps, only a white middle- or upper-strata U.S. citizen could ask), Parajon responded, "I think it is illegitimate to attempt to bring down a government at the expense of the poor. And not only illegitimate, but unpastoral. Because what can be more pastoral than to be for justice and life."

A day earlier our delegation had met with about 150 members of a Christian

^{*}Although these interviewees did not ask us to conceal their identity, I thought it prudent not to reveal these sources, lest such articles as this provoke reprisals.—C.H.

base community in Esteli, a town not far from the Honduran border and a regional center of agrarian cooperative reform. "What is this 'freedom' about which your President speaks?" a woman asked us. "For the first time, we are free to have the food we need to eat. For the first time, we are free to have babies who will live past one-year of age. For the first time, we have free health care, which means that our children do not die of polio."

A man rose to join in, "Is it freedom, if you have a warehouse full of food and I am starving? Is this what Mr. Reagan means by freedom?"

Juan, a young farmer carrying a rifle to protect himself, his family, his land and, for the moment, our delegation from the possibility of a contra-attack, walked with us through a field of tomatoes. "What is your country trying to do to us?" he wondered outloud. "To bring democracy and freedom to those of us who, for the first time in the many generations of our families, have land that we can work, crops that we can sell, the possibility of an income that we can save? Are there not people in your country — Black people and Indians and other poor people — who are not yet as free as we have become? It seems to us that your government wants to keep all poor people, in Nicaragua and in the United States, unfree. It seems to us that the only people whose freedom matters is the rich peoples' freedom to live as they want."

This is precisely the point, according to Peter Marchetti, a Jesuit priest and U.S. economist working in Managua. Agreeing with Gustavo Parajon as well as with the farmers and Christian base community members with whom we spoke, Marchetti condemns U.S. aggression against Nicaragua as a "war of the rich against the poor." In Marchetti's analysis, the United States "will not tolerate the emergence of a neighboring state which is committed to a mixed

economy and a posture of international non-alignment" (dependence upon different spheres of influence for different needs). In this way, Nicaragua represents to other Third World nations the possibility of *actual freedom* from the competitive hegemony of the superpowers. In Marchetti's opinion, this is the reason the United States is bent upon the destruction of the Sandinista vision.

"Even if the United States bombs this country back to a million people with a Somoza and a vicious national guard," Marchetti asserts, "Nicaragua will have served as a model to Third World countries of how an actual democracy can come into being in the world, among the poor."

"Yes," concurs Monica Baltodano, a guerilla leader against Somoza and today one of the nine members of the governing directorate of the Sandinistas. "We cannot deny that we have a flawed system — a censored press, political prisoners — but the United States is purposely exploiting our problems for its own gain. The fact is, those whom we have arrested for attempting to overthrow our government are treated humanely. They are not tortured or killed." Baltodano was inviting us to compare Nicaragua's treatment of its political dissidents to that of those nations which the United States supports like Guatemala, Chile, Argentina and El Salvador.

She admitted that the insensitivity and cultural chauvinism shown toward the Miskito Indians has deep roots in Nicaraguan history and is a form of racism which the Sandinistas must overcome.

"What you see today is a flawed system which needs to be much better than it is," she acknowledges. "But rather than being able to make our nation better, to solve the problems we admit we have, our entire nation is having to accelerate preparation to win this war with the United States. Your political, economic and military assault on us has

affected all sectors of our life, not just the military. Everybody and everything is affected. And all of our people are prepared to fight to defend our freedom from U.S. domination."

But is it true, we asked, that you are now getting military help from the Soviet Union? "Of course. We will take assistance from anyone who will offer it. We did not start this war. We asked for friendly relationships with your government but it shut the door in our face and announced its plans to destroy us. We will not be aligned with either of the superpowers, but we will take help from anyone who provides it in order to defend our country."

Rita Delia Casco was Nicaraguan ambassador to the the United States after Somoza's fall, during the last year of the Carter administration and into the Reagan administration. Casco reiterated Baltodano's charge, "Please point out to your people that, from the beginning of our new government, Nicaragua has sought good relations with the United States. What we have said is that we will not be your slaves. And that is why your current administration refuses even to dialogue with us. Under Carter, we could at least engage in conversation. Under Reagan, we are told that our role is to listen, submit, and follow."

"Under the pretext of dialogue, your government sends a group like the Kissinger Commission, which informs us that either we will do things your way or be destroyed," Casco recollects. "They were to be a fact-finding body. Presumably their role was to listen. But all they did was talk to us about our lack of freedom, our being a closed society, our being unwilling to listen to anyone but Communists."

"And when Comandante Daniel Ortega finally got up to speak," Casco informs us, "Mr. Kissinger removed his earphones, and we heard one of the Commission members say to another, 'Stop listening to this son-of-a-bitch.'"

Black Setbacks Under Reagan

by Mary Anderson Cooper

The recent appointment of White House advisor Edwin Meese as Attorney General of the United States can only be viewed as one more affront to minorities in general and Blacks in particular.

Meese was the driving force behind the recent firing of the Civil Rights Commissioners and reconstruction of a Reagan-controlled Commission. For years he has worked to destroy the Legal Services Corporation, which provides assistance for low income people. He also opposes the role played by many federal judges in interpreting the law on such social issues as school busing and affirmative action. His long history of aggressive activism in these areas gives Blacks yet another reason to fear the loss of many advances they have made in the last two decades.

A recent *Washington Post*/ABC poll shows that nine out of ten Blacks feel that they have been hurt by Reagan policies and that seven in ten think he doesn't care that they are suffering.

This indicates that Black voters could play a crucial role in the 1984 election. They are key in four states—North Carolina, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Texas—where the Democrats hope to capture Senate seats. In 11 states, unregistered Blacks of voting age comprise a larger group than the President's margin of victory in those states in 1980.

Budget Cuts

The effect of administration policies on Black Americans was the subject of a recent study by Milton Coleman of the

Washington Post. He interviewed more than 50 Cabinet Secretaries and Assistant Secretaries, White House staffers, members of Congress, Civil Rights leaders and concluded: "It was not quite an accident, nor was it planned, but the budget cuts that President Reagan steamed through Congress in his first two years in office have apparently had a far greater impact on Black than on White Americans."

The reason is that the average Black family's income is far lower than that of the average White family. Median Black family income in 1981 was 56% of the White median. Since the greatest burden of the administration's budget cuts fell on the means-tested programs which serve the low-income population, it was inevitable that Blacks would lose the most.

According to the Congressional Budget Office, in fiscal year 1983, total federal spending was 3.6% below what it would have been had the Reagan budget cuts not taken place. But in the programs where the cuts did occur, Medicaid spending was reduced 5%, food stamps 10%, Aid to Families with Dependent Children 13%, job programs 58%, child nutrition 29%, educational aid for the poor 19%, and college student aid 11%. Subsidized housing was ended. In every case, Blacks have disproportionate interest in these programs.

In the early days of the Reagan administration, the President promised to maintain a "social safety net" to support the "truly needy," and he listed several programs which he said would not be cut. Most of them aided more middle-class people than poor people (i.e., Medicare) and most have subsequently been cut at the President's request. In the meantime, Budget Director David Stockman has thrown into question even this nominal commitment to supporting those in need

by remarking that "it was a happenstance list, just a spur-of-the-moment thing that the press office wanted to put out."

Negative effects of the budget cuts on Blacks have been felt in some unanticipated ways. One in every four Blacks in the work force is employed by some sort of government agency, compared with one in six Whites. Between January 1981 and August 1982, 1.4 million jobs disappeared in the public sector, due in part to a Reagan policy of staff reductions in government agencies. Despite recovery of about 1 million jobs, over 400,000 of the positions have not been refilled. Black workers suffered one third of the total cuts and were laid off at a rate three times that of Whites.

While there is no evidence that the administration intentionally discriminated against Blacks in its efforts to cut or eliminate programs serving the poor, there is also no evidence that any thought was given to assuring that the budget axe did not fall with particular severity upon one group, namely Blacks. According to economist Andrew E. Brimmer, "The Reagan people don't think about Blacks first thing in the morning . . . seldom do they think of Blacks at all." Said Nixon administration welfare specialist Thomas C. Joe, the Reagan administration's approach was "a simplistic mechanical deal and not racist. I think insensitivity may be the word."

Civil Rights

If observers are willing to give the administration the benefit of the doubt in relation to the effect of budget cuts on Blacks, the arena of civil rights is another matter. Here the record of the Reagan team has clearly been one of deliberately withdrawing the special protections for

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minority groups which have characterized federal policy for the last 50 years. This administration came into office firmly opposed to affirmative action in any form and it has consistently dragged its feet on enforcing existing law, despite protestations that it is committed to treating Blacks just like everyone else. The nation's chief civil rights enforcer, William Bradford Reynolds, Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, has even declared that he does not consider himself bound by Supreme Court decisions related to school desegregation.

The racial insensitivity of the Administration has been clearly demonstrated in four especially troubling situations which drew widespread criticism from Congress and the public:

—The administration sought to give tax exemption to the Goldsboro (NC) Christian Schools and to Bob Jones University, even though they openly practice segregation. This effort was halted by a Supreme Court finding that the schools are ineligible for tax exemption.

—The President opposed extension of the Voting Rights Act and worked hard to get the legislation watered down. He only got on the bandwagon in the last few days when it was evident that Congress overwhelmingly opposed his position.

—Mr. Reagan fired all members of the Civil Rights Commission except one person whom he had appointed. The battle in Congress over reauthorization of the Commission became so heated that the legislators finally wrested control of half of the appointments to the Commission from the President, who then reneged on an agreement to reappoint some of those whom he had fired. In collusion with Congressional Republican leaders, Mr. Reagan has managed to control six of the eight membership slots on the Commission, a situation which seriously jeopardizes the independence of that body.

—The President opposed creation of a federal holiday honoring Martin Luther King and when he lost on that issue, offended millions by making an off-hand remark to the effect that the country

would have to wait 35 years to know if King was a Communist.

Two recent statements by government officials sum up the problem facing the administration as it confronts its relationship with Black voters. Said Michael Horowitz of the Office of Management and Budget, "We are being savaged by the fairness issue. Our moral and, correspondingly, our political base has been truly eroded. The toll has been acute."

An explanation for why that is the case was offered by Republican Rep. Newt Gingrich, of Georgia. He said, "In the Black community, conservative is a code word for racism, and a balanced budget is a code word for cutting off their neighborhood. If you come in as a conservative Republican and make promises that make sense to the White middle class, you have to reach out over and over every week and vividly demonstrate your commitment to an integrated America." That is precisely what the Reagan administration has failed to do, and the Black community is fully aware of that failure. ■



Nation Moves Backward on Civil Rights

Interview With Mary Frances Berry

A special issue of Networking, Church and Society newsletter, features an exclusive interview with Dr. Mary Frances Berry, outspoken activist on the Civil Rights Commission, by Richard W. Gillett. Available free while they last from Church and Society, 2808 Altura, Los Angeles, CA 90031. An excerpt follows:

GILLETT: Please comment on the role of the Civil Rights Commission and its effectiveness during the Reagan Administration and prior to the Administration.

BERRY: The Commission has been in existence since 1957. Our job all that time as a Commission has been not only to do research and analysis and hearings on problems which exist in the country and make recommendations to the Congress and the President about what should be done, but to monitor the federal agencies once the civil rights laws were passed, to see if they were enforcing civil rights laws. Before the Reagan Administration came into office, most presidents understood this watchdog role. Even President

Nixon, who was criticized by then Commission Chair Father Ted Hesburgh, did not respond by trying to fire him. In *this* Administration, the Reagan Administration, there was a feeling from the beginning, expressed to reporters and publicly that Civil Rights ought to be a tool of the Administration. This administration has tried to reinterpret the rights laws without Congress changing them. It even went so far as the administrative agencies deciding that they would not give the Civil Rights Commission information in order to keep the Commission from doing reports on them. We had to threaten to subpoena the White House and the various agencies in order to get them to give us information that we needed.

Frivolous Fruits

by Kay Atwater

*Conscience needs no persuader
But is of itself the goad;
It brooks no pain, regret or grief;
One step, then all is well.*

—Old English grave marker

Don't be surprised if your conscience starts goading you more often in the early days of spring. It could be warming you up for Income Tax deadline, April 15. By that day, you may have joined the widening circle of war tax conscientious objectors who are escrowing or redirecting their taxes to alternate funds.

If you do, the government has anticipated your move. In September of 1982, the Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act (TEFRA) was made into law. It is part of the current administration's effort to curb income tax abuse. With the U.S. budget and the resulting deficit increasing each year, TEFRA is expected to help the Internal Revenue Service bring in additional revenue. Section 6702 of this law has become all too familiar to those of us who are refusing income taxes for U.S. military expenditures. It reads, in part:

If a return . . . does not contain information on which the substantial correctness of the self-assessment may be judged, or contains information that on its face indicates that the self-assessment is

substantially incorrect; and [this] conduct . . . is due to a position which is frivolous, or a desire to delay or impede the administration of Federal income tax laws, then such individual shall pay a penalty of \$500.

If the penalty is to be appealed, tax resisters must pay 15% (\$75) of the total fine and appeal within 30 days. If the appeal is denied we have another 30 days to file for District Court. TEFRA also raised the cost of going to Tax Court from \$500 to \$5,000, and added a fine (\$1,000) for assisting others in preparing what they consider to be false documents.

Until 1982 it was solely the level of underpayment that determined the penalty amount. Today, the "frivolity" fine is \$500 whether the shortage is \$7 or \$7,000, and it is imposed immediately after filing.

Conscientious objectors to military taxes now face a number of ways of getting caught. A tax return showing a credit or deduction for peace, with or without extra writing on its face, is liable for the fine; (but a return which is filled out "correctly" would not be penalized, even if the tax or a portion of it is refused in a separate document). The figures must reconcile, no information must be lacking, and one must not write anything extra on the return. Any of these could delay the clerks in their initial processing. Separate letters of conscience are read later.

The doubly liable protest would consist of an incompletely or incorrectly

written return that triggers the fine, then a refusal to pay that fine. Extra penalties would be picked up on the way to the courthouse, along with interest, or during the collection process.

With a reduced budget and increased diligence, the IRS processed some 94½ million individual tax returns for 1982. Total protests numbered over 49,000, an increase of 83% over 1981. Protests from pacifists numbered an estimated 12,000, but it is hard to pin down this number because of semantic differences with the IRS. Estimates are, however, that pacifist protests more than doubled from 1981 to 1982. The Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act was promulgated to afford some relief from this situation, to punish and deter protesters and to shorten the collection process by collecting fines "up front."

About 4,700 "frivolous" fines were imposed beginning in May 1983, for protest returns of all varieties, including antiwar protests. Over 100 of those had been reported by late October to the Center on Law and Pacifism. At least six others are being handled by the ACLU. The Center on Law and Pacifism has agreed to act as a clearinghouse for "frivolous" fine cases and its staff attorneys are aware of at least 40 cases in which some aspect of TEFRA is being challenged.

The Center on Law and Pacifism publishes *Center Peace*, a "News Journal for Alternative Living," in addition to other materials covering a broad range of subjects of interest to Christian pacifists. *Center Peace* carries updates on the

Kay Atwater is a 50% income tax escrower and former WITNESS staffer who now works on computers.

Supreme Court cases involving challenges to TEFRA. Some of the legal issues are: the right of free speech (writing a message of concern on a government document), the free exercise of religion, and the right of due process, since the IRS does not print a warning about the new law on the return and there is no chance to appeal the immediate payment of 15% of the fine.

It is, however, the choice of the word "frivolous" that has rankled conscientious objectors and given TEFRA a bad name. In legalese, a "frivolous" position is one found to have been unsuccessful in the courts after having been tried there repeatedly. The word in normal usage, though, has a meaning that is diametrically opposed to anything involving conscience: "Of little value or importance, trivial, trifling, . . . giddy, etc."

If I refuse to pay taxes for weapons that can hurt or kill people (and violate my conscience), my position is deemed frivolous because our current laws do not allow for this kind of position. The word is a bad choice, but let's not get stuck there. The grievance lies in the *non-status*

attributed to my conscience in matters of civil law. You cannot see or feel my conscience, you cannot ask me to list its history or its contents — but it is my main decision maker, and therefore it most certainly exists! Laws that do not recognize the existence, let alone the authority of conscience ought to be reconsidered.

Senator Mark Hatfield, one of the authors of the World Peace Tax Fund Bill, is well aware of this problem. So many complaints were sent to Congress by conscientious objectors on which the new \$500 fine had been imposed that Mr. Hatfield conducted an investigation on behalf of those who protested on religious or moral grounds. A statement was released saying that the penalty was never intended to be used against conscientious objectors who file honest tax returns, but was aimed at those who practice tax *evasion*, a willful, criminal act.

TEFRA does not distinguish between the two, so the IRS clerk sees a protest return and tosses it into the "frivolous" basket. In fact, military tax refusal, even on grounds of conscience, is seen as just another scheme to avoid the payment of

income taxes. The widespread existence of alternative funds for human welfare and escrow funds persuade us that this is not the case.

TEFRA will help by trapping some of the evaders, but it is the pacifists who tend to appeal the penalty and follow through with their protest in the courts. How successful they will be remains to be seen. If indeed, as Senator Hatfield has indicated, the co-authors are "embarrassed" to know that it is being used against conscientious refusers, this could well have some effect for the selection of returns for the \$500 fine. Whether it continues to be used against resisters or not, the stir that TEFRA has raised can only help the World Peace Tax Fund Bill (HR3224,S2105). It's safe to say that legislative relief for tax COs is not imminent, but at the same time pacifists generally are optimistic.

The bill gained a new Senate sponsor recently, Charles Mathias of Maryland. There are two senators and 47 representatives as of this writing.

The World Peace Tax Fund Bill proposes a trust fund, administered by a



Joseph a Tax Resister?

I often wonder if Joseph ever got around to getting enrolled for taxes before he had to get out of town fast with the Mother and Child. I wonder if Joseph ever felt like he could leave Mary and the Babe alone long enough to stand in line to get enrolled?

And, if not, would he get signed up the minute he returned from Egypt — knowing what taxes had been used for in Bethlehem — to pay the soldiers who slaughtered the infants?

Joseph may well have been a tax-delinquent who turned into a

tax resister, who became glad that he wasn't paying the taxes that enabled the ungodly things the government was doing.

I am a tax resister, so I don't pay for any of the U.S. military horrors, but that is of little comfort to those who are jailed or abused in any way by the misuse of power.

I thank all who bring to the attention of the American people what their country is doing. Keep at it.

—Abbie Jane Wells
Juneau, Alaska

board of trustees, to which conscientious refusers of war taxes may direct their money. A congressional committee will approve the appropriations and no part of the fund may be spent for anything having to do with war or weapons. The bill recognizes the differences among taxpayers, not in their politics (that is a foregone conclusion in this country!), but in the matter of individual conscience — that God-given ingredient of the human spirit that compels us to do outlandish things, only some of which are legal.

The Campaign Committee of the WPTF sponsors an intensive lobbying effort, and each monthly newsletter carries reports of some of the encounters with members of Congress or their deputies. Arguments and suggested replies to objections are updated regularly in the newsletter for those who wish to lobby personally with their representatives or senators.

These rebuttals, for example, point out that the WPTF is not a “special privilege” tax bill which would reduce or eliminate taxes for the peace people. The full amount of taxes due will be paid, but redirected to the trust fund and earmarked for peacemaking projects. It has nothing to do with tax evasion or reduction and everything to do with the relief of conscience.

In 1979, Ed and Gloria Pearson began an organization called the Conscience and Military Tax Campaign. The group circulates the CMTC Resolution, which is designed to register one’s willingness to refuse war taxes as soon as there are 100,000 total signers. This deals with the hesitation that most people have about submitting a “maverick” tax return and tells them they are in no way alone. Of the 4,000 or more signers to date, most have already taken some “first steps,” e.g., writing or calling their representatives, refusing the telephone tax, enclosing a letter of conscience with their income tax return, and so forth.

The Escrow Fund of the CMTC has

about 700 depositors, with a current total on deposit of about a quarter million in refused military taxes. Interest from the accounts is used by the CMTC for their expenses: a splendid newsletter, an advisory network, a speakers’ bureau, and the recent spearheading of the National War Tax Resisters Coordinating Committee to help people locally.

The IRS has served levy notices against three individual accounts in the CMTC Escrow Fund. In each case the Administrator refused to comply and the individual depositors assumed responsibility. No strings are attached to one’s account; money can be withdrawn whenever the need arises. Other escrow and alternative funds have sprung up all over the country and in a dozen or more other countries, where people have awakened to the folly of the arms race.

The question of conscience and income taxes has been raised primarily with individual taxpayers, but within recent years there have been several cases involving corporate withholding. If an employee wants to refuse part or all of his or her income tax it’s best if the employer is sympathetic and willing to refuse to comply with a levy on the employee’s wages. This is not usually the way it is, but we can rejoice in the witness of such organizations as Sojourners, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Philadelphia Friends Yearly Meeting, the General Conference of Mennonite Churches, the Church of the Brethren, and a score of others who have not only pledged moral support for tax refusers but have taken some kind of step to indicate their solidarity with each other and with their employees. In most of these cases, after an initial levy attempt by the IRS, the levy notice has been withdrawn. The same thing is beginning to happen to some individual churches.

Local churches and meetings are standing up to the IRS as never before, some with more success than others, when their pastors declare themselves. A min-

ister who refuses to pay war taxes comes to the point where she or he must have the support of the congregation or violate his/her conscience and pay the tax.

The dialogue that ensues between pastor and people generally enters territory most Christians have never traveled. They are usually split down the middle between those who support the CO and those who cannot bring themselves to participate in breaking the law, perhaps for fear of the unknown and what might happen to them. If the IRS approaches the parishioners with a garnishee demand on the pastor’s salary, it makes the local news. Everybody starts talking on a new theological level!

Whatever the decision, the people tend to be in favor of the minister’s right not to pay for war, but they do not always agree with his or her reasons for the action, and they deliberate a very long time before agreeing not to cooperate with the IRS.

Such an act of conscience moves like a steam roller. Whether it is the act of one person or a group, you don’t try to stop it, and it needs no justification. The U.S. citizen who files a tax return either takes that sure step forward to say “no more” and accepts the consequences, or simply complies with the law. There’s “no pain, regret or grief.” Either way, the fruits of all our conscience, in their own time, will ripen in our midst. ■

Resources

The Center on Law and Pacifism, P.O. Box 1584, Colorado Springs, CO. 80901 (303-635-0041).

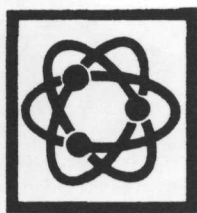
Conscience & Military Tax Campaign — U.S., 44 Bellhaven Rd., Bellport, N.Y. 11713 (516-286-8825).

Episcopal Peace Fellowship, Hearst Hall, Woodley Road & Wisconsin Ave., Washington, D.C. 20016 (212-363-5532).

National Campaign for a World Peace Tax Fund, 2121 Decatur Pl. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008 (202-483-3751).

Continued from page 11

rope and doyen of the more conservative wing of the arms control community, charted a formula of slower cruise missiles but no Pershing IIs in Western Europe. It meets the dictates of realpolitik, while allowing Moscow to limit its response to one that Washington can live with. It needs to be resurrected. Dreams of real superiority must be recognized as fatuous in an era with two million Hiroshima equivalents of nuclear horror (the use of just one-fiftieth of existing arsenals will suffice to bring in a "Nuclear Winter" that no life can survive).



But if compromises are reached and immediate dangers averted, others remain. The longer comprehensive arms control efforts are put off, the more difficult they become. The technologies and systems now in the pipeline pose ever more vexing problems. Submarines, missiles, and planes are easy to "see" and count; cruise missiles small enough to hide behind a winch on a fishing trawler, and laser and high energy particle beams are not.

We may indeed be on the verge of losing control. In his farewell address President Dwight D. Eisenhower warned against the "conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry" whose "total influence — economic, political, even spiritual — is felt in every city, every statehouse, every office of the federal government. . . The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist." Yet the awesome reality that he felt was

but a Lilliput compared to the Gullivers of today's American and Soviet military-industrial complexes. Half the world's scientists are employed directly or indirectly by the ubiquitous military-industrial beast.

The *increase* alone in 1983 world military outlays could have paid for all of the following:

- vaccination against diseases that kill more than five million children annually;

- extending literacy by the end of this century to the 25% of the world's adult population that is unable to read or write and hence is cut off from most sources of knowledge;

- training health auxiliaries, barefoot doctors, and midwives (who can take care of 85% of a Third World village's health needs) to service vast rural regions of the less developed world that have no access to professional medical services;

- eradicating the malnutrition that today sees more than 500 million people eating fewer calories than are needed to sustain ordinary physical activity, and that condemns 200 million pre-school children to chronic hunger (one out of three children die from starvation before reaching the age of five);

- providing supplementary feeding to 60 million malnourished pregnant and lactating women, that would dramatically decrease infant mortality rates.

Even after paying for all this, there would still be enough money to establish 100 million new school places (250 million new school places are needed within the next five years just to keep Third World enrollment at 50%) and to introduce hygienic water supply systems (waterborne diseases kill 25,000 people every day; such diseases are the most common cause of death among children under five).

Herein lies the gravest threat of all. The relative impoverishment, increasing alienation and desperation of the less

developed nations, together with the fact that many of them will be able to acquire primitive nuclear arsenals before the end of this decade, constitute an exceedingly combustible mix. Aid programs in the past have all too often been either band-aid attempts to salve the donor's moral conscience, outright bribery, or else "tied," and hence, *de facto* donor country industrial welfare programs of little or no benefice to the recipient. Current international trends may compel fundamental re-evaluation. There is today every reason to say that foreign aid programs should become integral parts of the developed world's defense budgets — with all that this would entail in terms of increased funding, and near immunity to normal fiscal restraints. Traditional threat images are less and less germane. If anything, they merely obfuscate the real threats, threats that are far more dire. ■

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Cueto, Guerra et al to Jail

A Federal Court has ruled against Maria Cueto, Steven Guerra, and three other Hispanics who were appealing criminal contempt charges for refusing to testify before a Grand Jury, it was announced Feb. 13.

Cueto is former executive director of the Episcopal Church's National Commission on Hispanic Affairs, and Guerra is a member of the Board of Directors of the Episcopal Church

United States v. Rosado

In September of 1982 a special federal grand jury was impanelled in Brooklyn. According to the government, the purpose of the grand jury was to investigate the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN). The grand jury was conducting an investigation under the Racketeer Influenced Corrupt Organization Act (RICO), originally passed to prevent the laundering of money by organized crime. Two days after it was impanelled it indicted five persons for criminal contempt for refusing, in December 1981, to testify before a different grand jury also supposedly investigating the FALN. The five persons are Julio Rosado, Andres Rosado, Maria Cueto, Ricardo Romero and Steven Guerra. Four are members of the Movimiento Liberacion Nacional ("MLN"), a group advocating independence for Puerto Rico. This case marked the first time, in recent history, that supporters of Puerto Rican independence or any other political witnesses have been charged with criminal contempt. Four of the defendants were previously jailed for civil contempt for refusing to cooperate with similar grand juries.

At trial the jurors' names were kept secret as the government requested anonymity to "protect" the jurors from the FALN and the five were convicted of the felony of criminal contempt.

As all but Guerra had already served substantial periods of time in jail for civil contempt, the government knew when it subpoenaed them that they were going to refuse to testify. The government maintains that the five are members of the FALN, but because it lacks sufficient evidence to bring them

Publishing Company. The five Hispanics will begin serving three year jail sentences, during which time a petition will be filed requesting the Supreme Court to review their case.

Further details were unavailable at press time, but will appear in next month's WITNESS. For those unfamiliar with the case, a historical precis follows, issued by attorneys for the defendants.

to trial on charges directly related to such an alleged membership, it has tried them for criminal contempt.

It was the government's intention to present evidence of such membership at the sentencing hearing to convince the court to give them substantial terms in prison. Such a sentencing hearing—to prove membership in an organization—had been used solely in organized crime cases and only when the underlying crime was related to organized crime activities. However, as the government consistently violated the court's orders with regard to submitting sentencing material to the probation department, the court precluded the government from attempting to show FALN connections as a sanction for its misconduct. The five were sentenced to three years in prison.

Subsequently the United Nations Special Committee on the Situation With Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples adopted a resolution which noted its members were "concerned also by the intensification of repressive measures against the Puerto Rican independence forces, including the activities of the federal Grand Jury utilized by the United States as an instrument of pressure and intimidation against Puerto Rican Patriots." It went on to "demand the cessation of all repressive measures against Puerto Rican independence forces, including the intimidatory activities by the federal Grand Jury which were denounced before the Committee."

[Margaret L. Ratner with CCR cooperating attorney Elizabeth M. Fink and Michael Deutsch]

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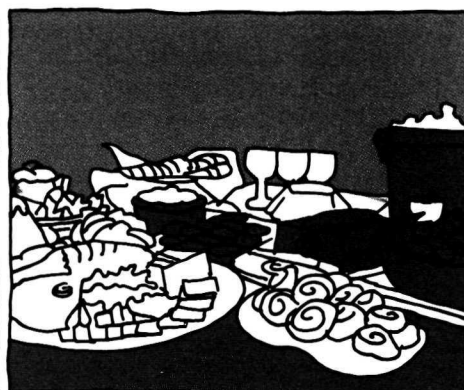
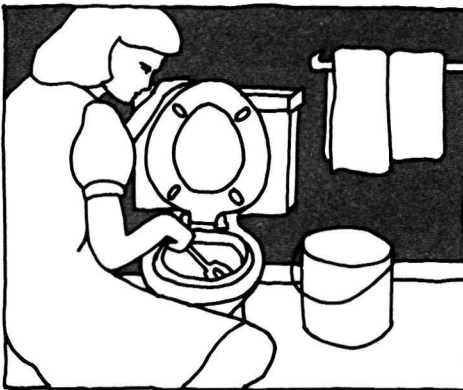
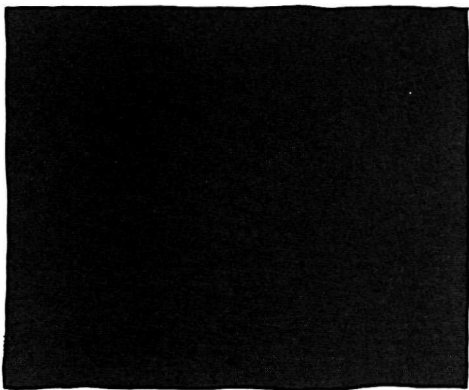
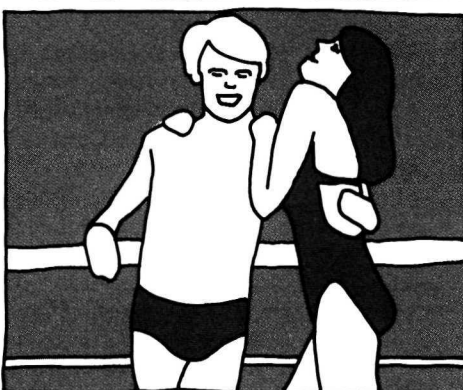
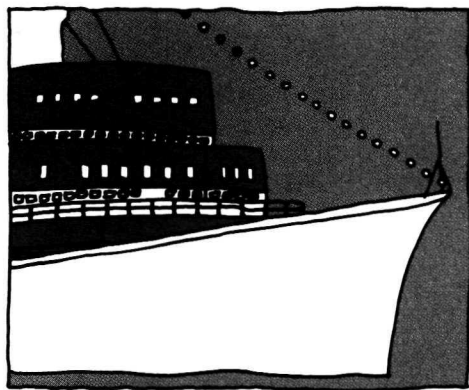
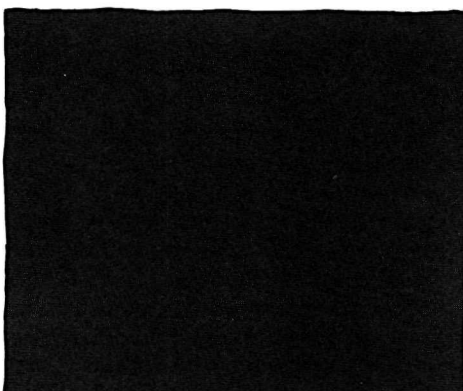
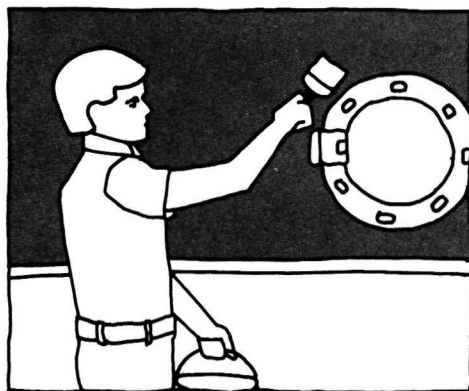
THE an ecumenical journal of social concern WITNESS

VOLUME • 67
NUMBER • 4

APRIL 1984

Exclusive Interview:
Maria Cueto, Steve Guerra
Enroute to Jail
• Joan Trafecanty

Ships of Success/Crews in Despair • Frank Joyce



Letters

Nuclear Shell Game?

I must again, with sorrow and cause, call into question your "Death Train" article of last July. Recently I heard a young man tell of his duty in the Navy, assisting in the movement of nuclear weaponry to seaports. He said that only twice in his enlistment had he known such arms to move by rail. Further, he said that most of the time arms were trucked out in unmarked vans, or sometimes disguised. One truck he recalls was stenciled and painted with a popular dog food trade mark.

Jim Douglass of Ground Zero has rightly rebuked me in previous Letters to the Editor for neglecting the spiritual side of arms. What I should like to warn here is that a great shell game may be under way. As we gird for the quest of stopping a "death train," nuclear goods in fact hie down the highway. I assume the Reagan administrators will use game theory here to pick routes by choice, while the Roosevelt administrators were driven to it.

My friend also said that he had once opened fire on some people he termed "demonstrators." "I hit five or six of them," he added, "and you should've seen the FBI and CIA men just crowd in."

The power to stop this madness certainly lies in the heart. The most direct way to stop the making of arms is not to pay for them. The most money for arms is voted by Congress. You elect the Congress. What the heart wishes here turns ultimately on the ballot, and what it works. And faith without good works is hollow. By your vote, close the nuclear purse.

Those of us who love railroads will thank you for ending a curse.

David Jones
Okemos, Mich.

Douglass Responds

It is true that the "White Train" from the Pantex Plant in Amarillo, Tex., final assembly plant for all U.S. hydrogen bombs, may not be seen as often at a particular Navy weapons storage area as the unmarked vans that David Jones' ex-Navy friend speaks of. The White Train is the means of delivering large concentrations of nuclear weapons to transshipment points, from which unmarked vans take over to distribute them further in smaller loads.

Even the Department of Energy has acknowledged that trains are the principle means of transporting nuclear weapons from Pantex to their destination. These trains, now becoming recognizable to the people of this country, are nothing new. They have been going through the heart of it for 20 years, filled with holocaust weapons. What is new is that the trains are finally becoming the focus for prayerful, non-violent resistance.

The point of our finally becoming conscious of the Death Trains moving across this country is to take responsibility for what is in them, refusing all further cooperation with this evil.

I have no argument with David Jones' wish to elect members of Congress who will refuse to cooperate with nuclear weapons, in sufficient numbers for weapons funding to be cut off. But I believe we also have a personal responsibility to refuse all cooperation with this global sin and crime every time the government asks each of us to fund nuclear weapons (on April 15) or depends upon us to remain silent (as we have for 20 years) when the White Train carries another load of hydrogen bombs through our midst.

It doesn't matter if the government starts playing shell games with its holocaust transportation system. So far it has

tried the strategies of rerouting the trains to avoid our vigils — more vigils spring up on the new routes — or rushing the trains through at speeds far greater than their legal limit of 35 mph, which draws further attention to our reckless nuclear policy. If a shell game is next, it would simply emphasize that a government committed to more nuclear weapons lives in fear of its citizens knowing and realizing too much. Such weapons must be hidden and protected from the people they are supposed to protect, who find the stark realities of the White Train and its cargo intolerable.

The point of being by the tracks is to break through our silence. If a government says or implies "there are no Jews in those boxcars" or "no warheads in that White Train" it has the burden of proof. All of us have the responsibility to stop such trains through our presence at the tracks. It is a deep sign of hope that we are beginning to do so.

Jim Douglass
Silverdale, Wash.

(In a recent run of the Death Train from Amarillo, Tex., to the Trident base in Bangor, Wash., 51 non-violent peace activists were arrested, including 35 who blocked the tracks and stopped the train for 2½ hours in Portland. Among those arrested were the Rev. Nat Pierce of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship and WITNESS author Jim Douglass. See related story this issue.—Eds.)

Shaul 'Ray of Hope'

Dick Shaul's article "Christian Faith and the Crisis of Empire" (January WITNESS) is a beacon in the foggy political weather we've been having lately. If hope is, as St. Paul says, "the evidence of things not seen," Shaul has given us a ray of hope by helping to make clear what is really happening in the

world today, that is, what God is doing in our time.

Dr. Shaull has made the evidence speak through the eyes of faith. He has stripped away false religiosity, pomposity, and the self-righteousness that comes with the wrong use of power. In giving us a fresh way to read the Bible in our times, he has made it possible for us to find its true prophetic use by reminding us of the bias the Bible has for the poor, the downtrodden, the dispossessed and the marginal peoples of the world.

That he includes women in his list of people who may contribute to the insights needed for "the relation of faith to issues of imperial power," is a further indication of the keen sensitivity of Dr. Shaull's analysis. Reading this article gave me renewed courage and refreshed vigor for the struggles that I am involved in locally, nationally and globally.

Reading the article also swept me back through the past 30 years of my life: Dick Shaull has been doing this kind of writing and theologizing since the early 1950s. In 1955 my reading for the three-week voyage to the then Belgian Congo (now Zaire) included a copy of his *Encounter With Revolution*. It helped prepare me for what was already happening there, and for what would eventually engulf the whole continent of Africa. Dick Shaull's work is a rich vein in my life which I acknowledge with this word of appreciation for his continuing effort to help us see with the eyes of faith.

**Peggy Cleveland
Willits, Cal.**

Christians vs. Indians

The American Indians were better Christians before the coming of Christianity. Columbus found them to be "gentle beings, souls of hospitality, curious and merry, truthful and faithful, walking in

beauty and possessors of a spiritual religion." Furthermore, every early explorer was welcomed in peace. Nevertheless the mistreatment of Indians began with Columbus. Remember the date, 1492.

The gentle beings were worked to death in mines, digging for gold. Those who tried to hide in the jungles were found and shot if they refused to work. When the island now Haiti was depopulated, Columbus sent his soldiers to nearby islands for more slave laborers.

According to Dr. Richard Drinnon, history professor at Bucknell University, in 1492, there were one million Indians on the U.S. continental area. By 1890, there were only 250,000 Indians left alive after the massacre at Wounded Knee. (*The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire Building*, The New American Library, Inc.)

When Columbus came in 1492, Europe had already had Christianity for 1,178 years, figuring from the Church Council at Arles in 314 A.D. Christianity already must have been well spread by that time for some British bishops attended that Council.

What was Christianity teaching the Europeans in all those centuries? The evangelism of force, imparting fear by the use of stocks and stakes and starting wars against nations to establish the Faith, once and for all delivered to the Saint from which nothing shall be added or subtracted? Or just depopulate a whole race such as the American Indians in the name of the Prince of Peace? You bet that was it.

**Vine Deloria, Sr.
Pierre, S.D.**

Inspires Tax Resister

It might interest you to know my third protest letter to the IRS as a tax resister takes its main theme from Henry H.

Rightor's article, "The Judas Generation" in your January issue. I'm always inspired by the content and quality of the articles printed in the magazine. Your prophetic voice is needed and is doing more good than you know.

**Larry Lange
Devil's Lake, N.D.**

Open Letter to Fox

Dear Peter Fox/Editors,

It was an honor to read your remarks pertaining to your reasons for resigning your commission in the December WITNESS. You point out the material losses sustained through your decision to relinquish your commission, along with substantial financial benefits, in protest over current U.S. foreign policy in Central America. You rightly point to the swelling ranks of Central American refugees cast homeless as a consequence of the policy you protest. We all decry these indecencies.

About these things we share a hope that the misdeeds will be halted and perpetrators restrained, if not brought to justice. Here our aspirations are shared; yet, our respective experience is different. Whereas you have *upon your own initiative* voluntarily sustained personal material loss in protest to the policies of our government, I have in no way sought the material and psychological loss sustained through wandering homeless in America along with others similarly displaced as a direct result of the policies of this government.

The government encourages the worst proclivities of a society predicated upon individual attainment at the expense of the community, and strengthens the least humane tendencies of an economic system which historically has been shown to cast out into the street millions

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The Cost of Principle

"There has been no showing or indication in any of the papers presented to me that these women (Maria Cueto and Raisa Nemikin) are other than what they appear to be — persons legitimately engaged in the work of their church. There has been no showing that they are themselves involved in criminal activities or engaged in crime. There has been no indication that they belong to FALN, or condone or espouse its terrorists' views . . . It does not appear to me that coercive incarceration beyond six months' duration is justified in situations of this kind."

—Judge Robert L. Carter,
Jan. 23, 1978

With the above words — and finding no guilt in these women — Judge Carter freed two Episcopal Church workers after they had served almost a year in prison for refusing to testify before a Grand Jury investigating FALN bombings.

Today, one of them, Maria Cueto, again has been sentenced — this time to three years in jail, for that same act of conscience. So it is that we are still witnessing the reverberations from that event of seven years past when the National Episcopal Church opened its files to the FBI during a nocturnal visit to its headquarters,

consented to by Episcopal administrators.

Five Hispanics, including Cueto and Steven Guerra of the Board of Directors of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company, will begin serving three-year jail terms April 10 for refusing to testify before a Grand Jury which they felt was trying to repress freedom of dissent. (The government had asked for 15 years, and had elevated the charge from civil to criminal contempt.) The other defendants are Andres and Julio Rosado, Puerto Ricans, of New York, and Ricardo Romero, a Mexican American, from Colorado.

At the end of the liturgical season of Lent, it is not difficult to find biblical associations in the case, as the Gospel message depicts a Christ badgered by his enemies with trumped-up charges and false trials.

Maria and Steve were flown nine times across the country for legal proceedings, their family life and community work disrupted.

Over the long period as the case was pending, the FBI was actively intimidating families and potential

employers of the defendants with periodic visits, so that it was impossible for them to hold jobs. Toward the end of 1982, the FBI picked up four of the five in a flurry of arrests across the country. Unable immediately to locate Romero, they labeled him a fugitive, although he turned himself in voluntarily when he discovered he was sought.

Maria, treated as the worst kind of criminal, was arrested at a department store lunch counter by seven FBI agents, who handcuffed her and took her to prison where she was put in maximum security, her bail set at \$50,000. She was denied a visit by a priest, and was not released until 72 hours later.

The charge then as now, was never more than refusing to testify before a Grand Jury.

Their final trial carried its own share of indignities. First, the government asked the presiding judge to try the case before an anonymous jury, intimating that jurors hearing the case might need special protection. Secondly, the five found that they were being labeled "the unincarcerated

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THE WITNESS

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THE WITNESS

an ecumenical journal
of social concern



**Grand Jury
Resisters**
Steve Guerra
Maria Cueto

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THE WITNESS is published monthly. Editorial office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002. Phone (215)643-7067. Subscription rates \$12 per year. \$1 per copy. THE WITNESS is indexed in the American Theological Library Association's *Religion Index One: Periodicals*. Copyright 1984 by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Printed in U.S.A. ISSN 0197-8896.

Exclusive Interview:

Grand Jury Resisters Enroute to Jail

by Joan Trafecanty



Steven Guerra *



Maria Cueto

For more than two years, THE WITNESS has been following events in the case of five Hispanic Grand Jury resisters, two of whom have strong ties with the Episcopal Church. Maria Cueto was formerly director of the National Commission on Hispanic Affairs and Steven Guerra is a member of the Board of Directors of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company.

An appeal of their three-year sentence for criminal contempt of the Grand Jury was recently denied, and by the time this issue of THE WITNESS reaches most readers, they will have begun serving their time in federal prison (scheduled for April 10). They were interviewed for THE WITNESS in late February by Joan Trafecanty, a free-lance journalist and former assistant in ECPC's Los Angeles office.

Maria Cueto spent 10 months in prison in 1977 for

refusing to testify before a similar Grand Jury investigating alleged terrorist activities of the FALN. She denied being an FALN supporter or having knowledge of the group, and said she believed the government was using the Grand Jury process to intimidate Hispanics, especially those who espoused independence for Puerto Rico. In addition, she argued that cooperation with the Grand Jury would endanger the trust which she as a church representative had established with grass roots Hispanic groups.

Steven Guerra has served on the ECPC Board since 1979, and was particularly involved in the Episcopal Urban Bishops' hearings in Chicago and in the recent open hearings sponsored by the Ecumenical Committee on the Future of Puerto Rico.

The interview follows.

JOAN TRAFECANTY: Do you think that the issues have changed, Maria, since the first time you went to jail?

MARIA CUETO: No, I don't think any of the issues have changed. The information that they seek from me in this present subpoena is what they sought in '77, concerning my work with the church, the people that I knew and the grants that we made.

TRAFECANTY: Steven, you're the only person of the five who wasn't involved in the original case. How did you get pulled into this?

STEVEN GUERRA: I believe there

are a number of factors. In '77 I was a teacher at the Puerto Rican School in Chicago. Maria was already in jail then. I didn't know much about Grand Jury resisters at the time, but I was asked to sit in on a couple of meetings. Soon I began to lead the local opposition to the Grand Jury. Ultimately, I was directing the national campaign with very little experience. We were pretty effective in opposing the Grand Jury — to the extent that we won furloughs for the prisoners over holidays, for example. Because we were effective, I became the target of a probe. The FBI cut my car off on the street on a number of occasions and jumped out and tried to talk to me.

Another reason for the subpoenas, I think, is to send a warning to the church. For the four or five years after the first Grand Jury resisters were released I became active with the church not only around Puerto Rican independence, but social issues in general. The government wanted to tell people in the church to keep their distance from these issues or accept the consequences, which could mean imprisonment without having committed any crime. It's clear that the Grand Jury, which originally was intended to safeguard the rights of individuals, is going to be used as a principal tool of political repression. The Grand Jury is the most foolproof mechanism for

putting a person in jail. You don't have to do anything other than not testify.

TRAFECANTY: What do you think is the government's motive in prosecuting you?

CUETO: I think it's mainly because they haven't been able to accomplish anything through the years. We were the scapegoats in '77, and I think the government has to show something every so often. That's what is happening now. We are proponents of independence for Puerto Rico. The government feels threatened by that. We're some of many who are going through this.

TRAFECANTY: Besides the five of you, how many others are being prosecuted?

CUETO: There are five more now who have already started the legal process on criminal contempt charges. Until recently there were some still jailed on civil contempt over the same question. So the government is expanding its fishing expedition.

TRAFECANTY: Do you have any idea how many people have gone through the Grand Jury process over this issue?

CUETO: In the United States, about 20. In Puerto Rico — I lose count there.

TRAFECANTY: Why is the government so threatened by the Puerto Rican independence movement?

CUETO: I think the United States has a great deal to lose with Puerto Rico. It's militarily strategic in the Caribbean. The United States is able to exploit its resources and mobilize the people whenever it chooses. It controls that country. It would lose a lot if it lost Puerto Rico. The government doesn't want to do that. They will keep it at all costs. The independence movement in Puerto Rico is growing and it's growing in the United States and sooner or later they will have to deal with the consequences of what the people in Puerto Rico want.

TRAFECANTY: People will ask, "Well, if you don't know anything, why not go before the Grand Jury and just say, I don't know anything?"

CUETO: As I said earlier, none of the issues have changed, and that's one of them — the question of the Grand Jury and how it abuses its power. One could assume the position that you're not hurting anyone by just saying, "I don't know anything," but that's not going to be enough. The FBI insists that you *do* and creates the kind of situation where you're accused of hiding something or lying to them. By not testifying, you don't allow them to create that situation.

GUERRA: The fact of the matter is that this action by the government is a method of chilling the opposition. I'm not going to become a willing partner in their efforts to chill political activity. It's not a question of knowing something or not knowing. This is a method of persecuting not only you, but your whole movement.

TRAFECANTY: So you see implications for civil resisters in general — the government is going to be coming down harder on people?

GUERRA: Oh, definitely. I see it as a principle threat for people who are involved in anti-militarist activities. The people who oppose Ronald Reagan's policies most successfully are from the religious left. I believe the anti-nuclear movement is almost certainly a target in the future for Grand Jury repression. Here in San Francisco one of the main organizations under scrutiny by the FBI is an organization called the Livermore Action Group. They're just a group of people who believe that nuclear power and weapons are unsafe and that they have an obligation to oppose them, not with violence, but with demonstrations and leaflets and civil disobedience. They're not threatening, in any violent way, a nuclear facility. But they say they want to take this issue to the street. What is happening very clearly is that the

government feels that any political opposition of this kind is a danger.

TRAFECANTY: The government is trying to connect you with the FALN which has used violence. Do you think that even groups that espouse nonviolence will be targeted, or will it be more difficult for the government to make a case against them?

GUERRA: They can still be targeted because it's a mere question of alleged association. It won't matter that a group espouses nonviolence because the government can insinuate that you are somehow associated with violent activities.

CUETO: The government would like to make people think that we are the leadership of the FALN, but obviously we are not. Anybody can see that. None of us has been indicted for any part of what the FBI has accused us of in the press.

GUERRA: The religious left is certainly not a violent association of individuals. It's a network of Christians who are working for peace and for a better life for those who are dispossessed. They have been major targets of Grand Juries, as in the '70s, and are more and more becoming potential targets, and it's not because they've placed bombs anywhere. It's not because they've thrown rocks through windows. But it's because they stand in active opposition to the government's policies, and this administration, as others before it, sees that as a very dangerous thing. You see, it's a fallacy that people believe that Grand Juries are investigative bodies operating independently of the Justice Department. They operate at the direction of the Justice Department and they become a rubber stamp. They hear only what the U.S. Attorneys want them to.

TRAFECANTY: Can you review briefly what's been happening as far as the trial is concerned?

CUETO: We were subpoenaed in December of 1981 to appear before the

Grand Jury. We had to go to New York, but they dropped it at that point. About nine months later, in September of 1982, we were charged with criminal contempt. We were arrested, but then released on our own recognizance. The trial started in February of 1983. That trial should have taken a matter of minutes because it was very clear that we had refused to testify before the Grand Jury and that was all that had to be proven in order for us to be found guilty of criminal contempt. But it took eight days because the government wanted to give us a 15 year sentence.

TRAFECANTY: Was there a limit on the number of years you could have been given?

CUETO: No, it was an indeterminant amount of time. The government needed the eight days to show why we were “dangerous” individuals in order to justify the 15 years. They would bring all kinds of equipment into the courtroom and scare everybody half to death — pictures of the remains of a bombing for instance. They insisted on an anonymous jury because the jurors’ lives were supposedly in danger. They created a real live circus, and all of this was relayed to the media.

GUERRA: The viciousness of the government became apparent when Bishop Roger Blanchard testified on our behalf. No one could deny that he is a very gentle person, and yet the U.S. Attorney went after him with a fury. He was asked if he knew that he was, in fact, financing terrorism. The implication was that not only were we the principals in this, but now Bishop Blanchard himself by association was also supporting terrorism. It was shocking that they would do this to a person who they *know* had never committed any type of crime consciously or unconsciously in his entire life. This U.S. Attorney felt so threatened by the fact that this man would dare to support us that he made him also a candidate for attack.

TRAFECANTY: Did the judge try to prevent any of this?

CUETO: He would try on occasion, but the judge, I think, was more confused than anybody else about what criminal contempt of the Grand Jury really meant. Because it had not been really used before except in cases of organized crime. So everybody was testing this ground and the government used it to do whatever it could get away with. In the end there were several mistakes and abuses that the government and the judge made during the trial. All of that was included in our appeal that was denied recently. The appeals court agreed that there was error, but they referred to it as “harmless error.”

TRAFECANTY: So it sounds like you might have grounds to go to the Supreme Court?

CUETO: I believe that the Supreme Court only takes cases that challenge the constitutionality of a certain action. I don’t think there’s much chance that they’ll hear it, but I do think we’re going to give it a try.

TRAFECANTY: Do you think the fact that religious people have come forward and been supportive of you has had a restraining effect on what the government tried to do?

GUERRA: I don’t have any doubt about that. The presence of church people and the fact that people were following the case very closely had a tremendous impact. The church is a very important institution in this society. I believe the government thought that once they said, “FALN, FALN, FALN” — just say it and say it until everybody believes it — that would alienate us from the church. They thought we were going to find ourselves left out in the cold. What happened, obviously, was the government had taken notice of what Bishop Allin did back in 1976 when Maria was the Director of the Hispanic Affairs Commission of the Episcopal Church —

he rolled over, he let the FBI inside of church headquarters to go through any file they wanted to. The government was convinced that the church is not a good ally of oppressed people. But the four bishops who testified at our trial are indicative of a whole constituency within the church which said to the government, “We are not going to run. We shall not be intimidated.” The government took heed of this, obviously. As long as it was just a group of Latinos who have no power, no access to the media, the government would have done what it wanted to do. As it was, our rights were violated in court and they were able to get away with it. I can’t imagine what they would have done if the church hadn’t been there.

CUETO: All of us are grateful for the church people who truly have understood what the issues are. The jurors and the judge were impressed by their testimony because they could understand words like “commitment” and “conviction.” I definitely think the judge was impressed by the concern of church people and their willingness to stand with us until this was over. Of course, the government didn’t like their participation because it gave us credibility.

TRAFECANTY: Does the fact that you’ve already served time make it any easier to face the reality of being in prison, Maria?

CUETO: The only thing it does for me is that I know somewhat of what I can expect inside. Before, I didn’t have any idea. Now, I certainly do. No, it doesn’t make it any easier. You never get used to confinement. You learn to live with it, but you certainly don’t get used to it.

TRAFECANTY: How about you, Steven? Do you feel prepared for the reality of going to prison?

GUERRA: I think I am. I’ve had to come to grips with it over a two year period. Talking to people — their support

of me — is one of the things that makes it possible to go to jail. The question of presence is so very important. I don't believe that you can be absent from a group of people if they stand with you. I've read a number of books. One was called *Reluctant Resister* by Jeff Dietrich, the peace activist. That was a very good book to read because he was in a similar position to me: Being in prison was an incredibly new experience for him.

You have to decide that the principle is the most important thing in your life. For me, the question of Puerto Rican independence is the motivating factor in my life, and it's for that reason that I go forward without very much fear. It's the most important thing in my life to struggle for a better society for the whole of the Puerto Rican nation.

I've had profound personal talks with a number of people about what they think I'm doing. Across the board, 100% of them have said that it's right. In fact, Bishop Coleman McGehee in his testimony said, "If I were Steven and I were asked to come before this Grand Jury, I would not testify." When a person like him says this, then you know what you're doing is right — that you're not a criminal. That's been absolutely the worst part of it — there's an attempt to paint you as a criminal and to say that you've committed these crimes. But when everybody I respect tells me, "This is the only thing that you can do," there is no question in my mind that I've made the right choice. And when people you don't even know write letters to the judge or sign petitions — you realize there are people who will perhaps learn from this example, and when they're confronted with this situation, they'll step forward and say, "Never. I'll never become a willing participant in the government's attempt to destroy my movement."

TRAFECANTY: So you see some good coming out of this? You feel connected to other people who have resisted?



Steven and Nancy Guerra
"She would have divorced me if I hadn't done this."

GUERRA: Oh, yes. In Puerto Rico there's a saying that "Nothing bad happens that good doesn't come from."

TRAFECANTY: This must be hard on your wife.

GUERRA: No. In fact, she's told me on a number of occasions she would divorce me if I didn't do this. I think she's actually stronger than I am. Most people have strong feelings about someone betraying their principles. From early American history, it was Thomas Paine who said, "I would rather suffer the fires of hell . . . than become a whore to my principles." And that's how we feel.

TRAFECANTY: Do you wonder when this will end — perhaps after the three years are up?

CUETO: People have asked me when this will end and I say, "Maybe not for a long time." It will go on because what's created this kind of situation is a political question. And until that political question is resolved this is going to continue. It will affect us in different ways. They might not call us again after these three years, but they'll be harassing other people in the same way. So who do we want this to end for?

TRAFECANTY: What do you mean by the political question?

CUETO: In this particular case, the political question is the independence of Puerto Rico, and the question of whether or not the Grand Jury system violates people's civil liberties. That's not going to change until attitudes change across the country.

TRAFECANTY: There seems to be a lot of paranoia in government right now about terrorism — they're building walls around the White House and so forth. Do you think that's all part of the mood of people in power — they're really threatened by someone who supports Puerto Rican independence or is concerned about Central America?

CUETO: The United States has its fingers in so many areas of the world — it's upset so many governments through efforts of the CIA. You can read about these incidents in the paper. No one can deny that the government has used less than honorable means to get what they want. I think the paranoia they're experiencing is something that they deserve. As long as those actions continue, then the terror in their hearts will stay.



The 17-car White Train, so called because it is painted a luminescent white to deflect heat from its cargo of nuclear warheads, was stopped for 2½ hours in Portland, Ore. recently by non-violent peace demonstrators. (Photo by Mike Barnes.)

Demonstrators Stop 'White Train'

by Andy Robinson

Church People in Vigil

Twelve Roman Catholic bishops recently announced that they would join their people in prayerful vigil along the tracks when the White Train carrying nuclear cargo passed through their communities. Leaders of the effort are Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen of Seattle and Bishop Leroy Matthiesen of Amarillo.

The bishops also urged their parishioners to join a public protest June 10 along the routes traveled by the White Train.

In a related communique concerning the February demonstrations against the White Train, Mary Miller, executive director of the Episcopal Peace Fellowships told THE WITNESS that the Rev. Nat Pierce was arrested with non-violent demonstrators in Nampa; among other Episcopalians participating but not arrested were Audrey Pierce and the Rev. Harry Grace, who led the people in prayer after the arrests, and the Rev. William Waltz who organized a vigil in Mountain Home, Idaho.

The White Train made an unscheduled stop in Portland, Ore., recently. The train, which carries nuclear weapons and related materials, was delayed here for nearly three hours by a group of people who stood, sat, kneeled and lay down on the railroad tracks.

A network of peace activists armed only with telephones and walkie-talkies monitored the train's progress from the Pantex nuclear weapons assembly plant in Amarillo, Tex., to the Trident submarine base on Puget Sound. Protests and vigils occurred at eight different locations along the route. Fifty-one people in three cities were arrested. The train was actually stopped only once — in Portland.

When the train reached town on Feb.

24 more than 150 people were present to greet it. Many of them were on the tracks, including one man in a wheelchair. Arriving with the train were a dozen city police and at least as many Union Pacific Railroad employees. The train slowed to a crawl as they began picking up the demonstrators and bodily moving them to the side of the tracks. Once removed, many simply got up and moved further down the line to take up new positions.

After 30 minutes of this, a stalemate was apparent. The authorities ordered the train to stop, much to the delight of the protesters, and radioed for reinforcements.

While more law enforcement personnel were being called in, the activists, police and railroad employees debated nuclear arms policy. One policeman urged the protesters to make themselves heard through the ballot box. Another officer was asked if he thought nuclear weapons

Andy Robinson is a free-lance writer and peace activist in Portland, Ore.

were dangerous. His response: "It depends upon how you use them."

For nearly two hours everyone waited in the driving rain. The police apparently had trouble finding the county jail bus. Eventually more officers arrived, including six on horseback and 20 members of the state riot squad in full battle dress, and the arrests were made without incident. Thirty-five people were booked, charged with trespassing and released. Prior to the arrests, authorities had warned the blockaders that federal charges would be lodged, but only state charges were filed.

The federal government has a policy of neither confirming nor denying the presence of nuclear materials on these trains. However, David G. Jackson, spokesperson for the Department of Energy in Albuquerque, New Mex., stated that the shipment contained "either nuclear weapons, special nuclear materials

or other classified components."

The protesters exulted in their victory. "We're well-pleased with the results," said Johnny W. Baranski of Portland Agape Community, a local peace group that helped organize the blockade. (*Agape* is a Latin word meaning, *the power of God's love in the human heart.*) "Our objective was to stop the train in a loving and non-violent way and we succeeded. We reached the hearts and minds of those on the train."

Mike O'Sullivan of Northwest Action for Disarmament, one of those arrested, reflected on the need for civil disobedience. "I don't want warheads carried through this area," he said. "[The idea] wasn't so much to get arrested. I would have camped out there. I wanted to see the train turn around."

Many of those arrested are considering a courtroom defense based on international law in general and the Nuremberg

Principles in particular. Many peace activists have compared the White Train to the trains which carried civilians to the gas chambers in Europe more than four decades ago. Roman Catholic Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen, of Seattle, has called Trident "the Auschwitz of Puget Sound."

The judgments at Nuremberg and the precepts of international law forbid preparation for inflicting genocide or launching aggressive war. In the 1980s, Mary Kaufman, former prosecuting attorney at the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal, points out, "the test of the legality of the new technological weapons has to be, *is*, the dictates of public conscience. "And," she adds, "I can't think of a more forceful way of not merely formulating the dictates of public conscience, but expressing the dictates of public conscience, than the act of civil disobedience."

Union Pacific employees and Portland police dragged demonstrators from the tracks. (Photo by Paul McAdams.)

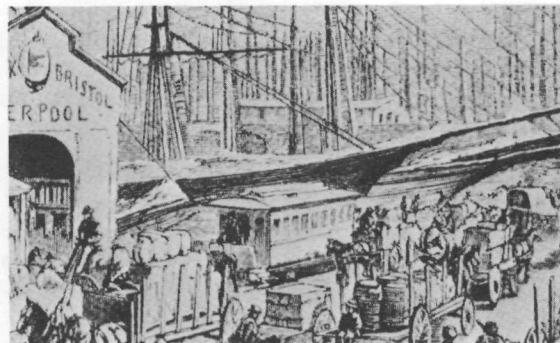


Ships of Success With Crews in Despair

by Frank Joyce

Ships crew, in the eyes of many captains and their employers, were species of sub-human. Driven like slaves, taught to obey commands and whips like circus animals, their working lives were briefer than those of men in any other following. From the fecal alleys of slums ashore they were trundled into the galleys of slums at sea. Without rights of any kind, they lived under the threat that they could be replaced in a moment by any one of the hundreds of indigents who continually crowded the docking areas looking for any ship that might sign them on.

—Description of 19th century transatlantic passenger shipping in John Malcolm Brinnan's *The Sway of the Grand Saloon.*



South Street, NYC — 1800's

It's the twentieth century now, gaining fast on the twenty-first. This is the era of the Love Boat, not the slave boat. So surely in such enlightened times, conditions like those described above are a thing of the past, right?

Wrong. The age of the Love Boat is still the age of the now "modern" slave boat. While tourists are lured to "dream" vacations by TV glamour and ads proclaiming that the crew members who serve them want only "smiles for tips," beneath the luxurious passenger decks is a large and growing multi-national work force of some of the world's most exploited workers.

There is, in a general sense, nothing unique in that. Workers everywhere face an intensifying contradiction between their aspirations for a decent, secure life and the drive of corporate owners for the greatest possible profit. But there is a glamour and romance to seafaring, especially given the Love Boat image, that is different from, say, a steel mill or the data processing department of an insurance company. And there is something quite distinctive about the relationship between seafarers of all kinds and the Protestant church.

As a rule, the institutionalized church, regardless of denomination, has cared little about workers *qua* workers. Some "industrial missions" have come — and for the most

part, gone. But seafarers have enjoyed church support dating back many years. Traditional parish ministries, it was realized, could not adequately serve those whose home is really the sea.

Thus, exactly 150 years ago Episcopalians founded the Seamen's Church Institute based in the Port of New York and New Jersey. Current director is the Rev. James Whittemore. The Institute was instrumental in recent years in establishing as a companion organization, the ecumenical Center for Seafarers' Rights.

Catholics maintain the worldwide Apostleship of the Sea, based at the Vatican. And most port cities have chaplains who regularly visit ships when they call. From England, the International Christian Maritime Association (ICMA) coordinates the efforts of many denominations ministering to seafarers all over the world.

This ministry puts the chaplains in a unique position to observe and understand the plight of seafarers. In 1982, a conference at the Vatican gave birth to the idea of a workshop to consider the growing pattern of abuses of seafarers in the cruise ship industry.

James Whittemore offered the services of the Seamen's Church Institute and the Center for Seafarers' Rights as primary sponsors and organizers of the meeting. Miami, the center of the cruise ship industry, was chosen as the logical site.

Frank Joyce is Program Director of WDET-FM, Detroit, and Public Affairs Director for Tribune United Cable TV-Michigan.

Support was also forthcoming from the Caribbean Council of Churches, the ICMA and the maritime trade unions, particularly the International Transport Workers Federation (ITF).

So in January, for three days, a conference room overlooking the Port of Miami was filled with nearly 100 men and women constituting an ad hoc coalition of priests, trade-unionists and academics from Europe, the United States and the Caribbean. They immersed themselves in lectures and workshops concerning maritime law, trade union victories and setbacks, legislative reform, and ecumenical dialogue.

Trade unionists like Capt. Mols Sorenson, head of the Danish Mates Union, who chaired several key conference sessions; Ake Selander, Assistant General Secretary of the ITF and Shannon Wall, President of the U.S. National Maritime Union were able to meet and caucus with leaders of the Caribbean maritime trade union movement like Trinidadian Francis Mungroo of the Seamen and Waterfront Workers Trade Union.

Conference participants were able to visit informally with Port officials, visit a cruise ship and interview crew members at dockside. They also heard moving testimony about conditions on board the ships from Wayne Harwood, a Barbadian and former crew member of the S.S. *Britannis*, and Per Stosveen, a seafarer from Norway.

Contrary to their promises in advance of the workshop, only the Liberians among major Flagship States and ship-owner groups sent representatives. Other owner and government representatives, ostensibly fearing confrontations with trade unionists, reneged on commitments to attend.

Not surprisingly, the conference quickly established that the most exploited seafarers tend to come from nations like the Philippines, Bangladesh, South Korea and Haiti, whose people are generally the most exploited. In particular, they make up the bulk of the crew members on the "hotel," passenger-serving side of the burgeoning cruise ship industry.

Many are technically employed by concessionaires, under contract to the shipowners and operators. Although the practice is patently illegal, many are forced to pay as much as \$2,000 to a "manning agent" to get their jobs in the first place. They are generally promised conditions far different than those they actually encounter when they join the ship — often thousands of miles from where they were "recruited."

Once aboard, they are subjected to 17 to 18-hour workdays, seven days a week, with no time ashore. They eat low quality food which is often alien to their diet, custom and religious preference. They live in cramped, unsanitary conditions and have access to neither recreation facilities nor medical care. Unless it is part of their duties, as in the case of

room stewards, they are forbidden to enter the passenger areas of the ship while passengers are on board.

Safety conditions are virtually non-existent, even in dangerous areas such as boiler rooms. Female crew members are subjected to the most barbaric forms of sexual harassment.

The pay? Often less than 50¢ per hour, including "smiles for tips."

Complaints can produce monetary fines, deducted from paychecks without warning or explanation; physical abuse, or being put ashore thousands of miles from home with no means to return.

Actual protests can bring an even more drastic response. In late April, 1981, 240 Hondurans who had struck the Carnival Cruise Lines ships the *Carnivale* and the *Mardi Gras* while in Miami were summarily declared illegal aliens by the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, taken prisoner by armed private security guards, deported by plane to Honduras, and blacklisted.

Reasons for the especially harsh exploitation of seafarers in the cruise ship industry are several. First, shipping is the original and perhaps most basic "multi-national" industry. The corporations who are the shipowners and employers are far better organized and have the power of far more governments at their beck and call than do the employees.

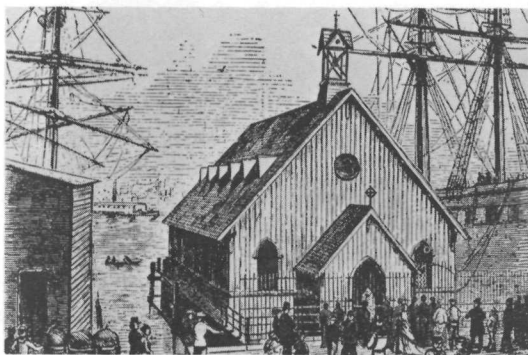
Traditional maritime nations such as Great Britain, the United States and the Scandinavian countries have crews that are generally organized and protected to some degree by unions affiliated with the International Transport Federation, headquartered in London.

In general, however, the unionized segment of the shipping industry, like others, is diminishing. It is depressed by the worldwide economic crisis, the containerization of much cargo, the global oil glut and the inhibiting effect of the overvalued dollar on world trade.

The Love Boats are the exception — ships of success in a sea of despair. They are the only rapidly expanding section of the shipping industry. And their service to passengers is far more labor intensive than the moving of cargo.

For a time, following the advent of mass transoceanic jet travel in 1957, the bottom had dropped out of the passenger ship business. But cruise ships, operating in warm weather areas, using jets to fly in customers from all over the world, have more than reversed the trend. Shipbuilding companies, heavily subsidized throughout the industrial world, are increasingly turning their efforts to producing cruise ships. The hope is that the appeal of The Love Boat TV program, together with the weather and legal, casino-style gambling in international waters will continue to expand the business.

The S.S. *Norway* is a typical Love Boat entry. Formerly



Third floating Church of Our Saviour — 1870-1910

Episcopal Church in 150th Year Of Mission to Seafarers

The Episcopal Church this year celebrates 150 years of ministry to exploited seafarers. The Seamen's Church Institute, from its earliest days as a floating chapel to the present operation as a full service shorebased agency, has been serving as an advocate for the special needs of the world's merchant seafarers, as well as the maritime transportation community in the port of New York/New Jersey.

Under the direction of the Rev. James Whittemore, who is himself a seasoned bluewater sailor, the Institute operates 24 hours a day, seven days a week, providing a broad range of human services to hundreds of thousands of seafaring men and women.

Founded in 1834, the Institute was first known as the Young Men's Auxiliary Missionary and Education Society. Consisting of charter members drawn from Episcopal congregations in Manhattan, Brooklyn and Staten Island, the Society's aim was to improve the treatment of merchant seamen. In those days along the port's violent waterfront, thieves, crimps and certain boarding-housekeepers conspired to plunder or

shanghai defenseless seamen. Aboard ship, life, too, could be filled with violence and "lost at sea" was not an uncommon epitaph.

To confront these conditions, the Society literally brought the church to the seamen in 1844 by building a floating chapel in the heart of ships' row on Manhattan's East River. Later two other floating chapels were launched. These unique floating churches were so popular with the public that pews had to be reserved for the several hundred seafarers who came to worship at each service.

By 1854, the Society had enlarged its charter to include "lodging and entertainment of seamen for their spiritual, mental and bodily welfare." In 1888, funds from the legacy of William H. Vanderbilt helped provide for the Society's first brick church and its accompanying recreation and residence halls.

By 1902, the Society had organized and procured the first American legislation granting legal protection for seamen. In 1906, the Society changed its name to the Seamen's Church Institute.

Other key dates in recent history:

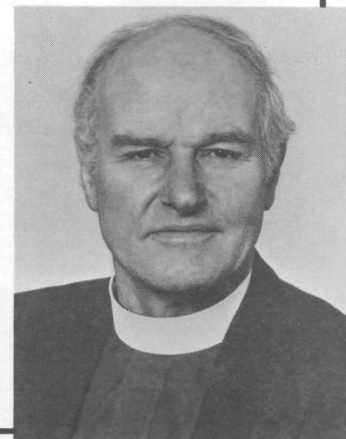
- 1913: A Dutch-Colonial

building was constructed at 25 South St. Known by seafarers as "The Doghouse," it soon became a downtown New York landmark.

- 1916: A full time Merchant Marine school was begun. During the depression, the Institute maintained religious, educational and social services when there was a critical absence of public health and welfare programs.

- World War II: During these years, the Institute was both refuge for Allied merchant seamen torpedoed off the Eastern Coast and a training station for the U.S. Coast Guard Maritime Pool.

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The Rev. James Whittemore

the idle transatlantic luxury liner S.S. France, it was taken out of drydock in 1980 and refitted as a cruise ship, plying primarily the Caribbean. It takes up two full berths in the Port of Miami when docked and its crew numbers a whopping 793 from at least 32 different countries.

With regard to the treatment of its crew, the S.S. Norway is far from the worst of the lot. Under registry of Norway, a traditional maritime nation, the ship and its crew are subject to relatively enlightened laws, regulation practices and labor contracts.

Far more serious problems tend to be found on ships registered under the “flags-of-convenience” system — the original runaway shops. Just as Alabama, Mississippi, Puerto Rico and other depressed and “right to work” areas provide a refuge for those in the United States seeking a “favorable business climate” (that is, anti-labor), so do flags of convenience offer that same climate for shipowners.

In many cases such flag states have no maritime laws, or, where safety and labor regulations do exist, they are frequently not enforced. Even if flag states had the will, the economies of prominent ones such as Panama, Liberia, the Bahamas, India, etc., hardly permit the means to enforce laws applying to ships operating thousands of miles from their borders.

Despite the fact that a large percentage of the cruise ship business operates from U.S. ports, especially in Florida, U.S. laws also offer little protection to the seafarer. The U.S. Supreme Court has held that provisions of the NLRA, Fair Labor Standards Act, OSHA, etc. do *not* apply to foreign nationals on foreign registry ships. And U.S. immigration laws can serve as a weapon in the hands of shipowners and concessionaires as dramatically illustrated in the Carnivale incident. Further, the United States has failed and/or refused to ratify several international conventions and treaties which, if observed, would provide improved conditions for seafarers.

Moreover, U.S. safety, health, environmental and sanitary standards, designed to protect the port and the passengers, usually mean for crew members that a superficial face-lift is occasionally given their quarters prior to docking when an inspection is anticipated. In an era when U.S. workers’ basic rights to strike and organize are under relentless attack, it is unlikely there will be much movement toward affording protection for “foreign” workers for the brief time they are in U.S. ports.

In fact, that “briefness” is a part of the seafarers’ problem. Profitability in the cruise ship industry is conditional on achieving the most rapid possible “turn-around time.” The quicker one set of passengers can be disembarked and another boarded the more money there is to be made. Most

crew members must work frantically while in port to refit the ship. And even for those not working, there is usually too little time (4 or 5 hours) to go ashore and accomplish much of anything by way of personal business or recreation.

Finally, in a larger and more basic context, the inexhaustible supply of cheap labor created by keeping entire Third World nations in economic bondage means that there is a limitless supply of workers for whom the adverse conditions on a cruise ship constitute an *improvement* or at least, a desperate necessity.

In some cases, this takes an especially cruel form. In the Philippines for example, it is the law that 80% of the wages of seafarers must be remitted in Western currency to the government, which then pays the families of the seafarer. This, of course, provides the Marcos government with valuable hard currency and an interest-free loan — as it takes its time to convert wages to the local currency and then forward them to the families.

Shipowners of Liberian, Panamanian and other flag-of-convenience registry customarily pay their crew members according to the wage scale of their home country. Haitians, for example, are paid at Haitian wage rates, South Koreans at South Korean rates, etc. Not only is this cheaper for the shipowner but it also serves to reinforce divisions of economics, language, ethnicity and nationality among crew members — making it harder for them to organize.

But as the Miami workshop demonstrated, organizing is underway — if not with a vengeance, at least with vigor. And the church, led by the Seamen’s Church Institute, is in the forefront.

That’s hardly unprecedented. As Mark Twain wrote in 1897, in a slightly different context, in *Following the Equator*:

Captain Wawn is crystal clear on one point: He does not approve of missionaries. They obstruct his business. They make “Recruiting,” as he calls it (“Slave-Catching,” as they call it in their frank way) a trouble when it ought to be just a picnic and a pleasure excursion. The missionaries have their opinion about the manner in which the Labor Traffic is conducted, as about the recruiter’s evasions of the law of the traffic, and about the traffic itself and it is distinctly uncomplimentary to the traffic and to everything connected with it, including the law for its regulation.

Now, 85 years later, the “missionaries” are at it again. Notable is the unity between the Episcopalians and the Roman Catholics. Catholic Bishop Rene Gracida, who heads the U.S. Apostleship of the Sea from his base in Corpus Christi, Tex., summed it up in Miami at the final

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Love Boat Food

by Judith Moore

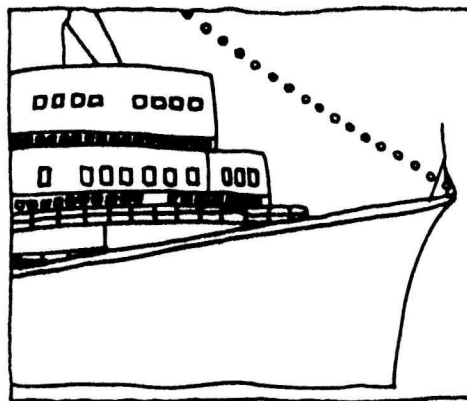
You no longer have to book passage on the Love Boat to eat Love Boat food. Today numerous hotels, private clubs, chain motel dining rooms and mid-priced restaurants in shopping malls offer cruise-ship-style brunch and dinner buffets for on-shore diners. These all-you-can-eat buffets, decorated with ice carvings and offering tableside service, charge \$15 to \$30 per person.

Recently when I was on a three-day Love Boat cruise I encountered the gaudy buffet. Food heaped high shimmered under heat lamps, shimmered on crushed ice, bubbled atop steam tables. Lean seafarers from Central America and Asia served. They watched plump White hands empty bowls and platters.

I saw men and women load potatoes, gelatins, marbled red-meat, chicken legs, on foot-wide plates. The ship's food, overdressed, overdone and past its prime, evoked a latter-day Whore of Babylon. Back on land people would not, I thought, eat as they did on board ship. People would not gorge where they meet neighbors. But they do. Open the newspaper. See the advertisements: "All You Can Eat."

Despite *haute cuisine* (stiff, federal, imposing, buttery) and the reformation *nouvelle cuisine* (Zen-style fetishism) an increasing number of Americans fill up at on-land cruise buffets. Anyone who can pay, can play.

It's not cheap. I found my terra firma eat-your-heart-out in Berkeley. Menu



and public gluttony appeared as rich in metaphor at the edge of the Bay as it had between troughs of waves off Baja California. In this pop, eating-out ambience you discover All-American does not mean "egalitarian and inclusive." It means White middle class.

White middle class food starts with the Jamestown Thanksgiving feast, updated. Add northern and western European dishes. Take out garlic. Put in more sugar, more salt, chemical flavor buds, butterfat and milk solids.

It is so much more than food. What it is, is subtle. We are so full of it and surrounded by it we do not recognize its history and politics and psychology. This cuisine is built on nostalgia. The era is long gone that evolved its menu.

The escaloped potatoes au gratin, the potato salad, the cole slaw, the Parker-

house rolls, the Golden Glow salad spread out across the buffet are as likely to bring tears to eyes as to make a mouth water. This is the menu of pre-World War II innocence.

The buffet menu elaborates on Midwestern holiday feasts, on ladies' bridge club luncheons, on the wedding reception dinner. It serves the pickles, salads, hot rolls, savorys and casseroles carried to church potlucks. It spreads out the elaborate gelatins and angel food cakes our forebears called "the funeral meats." It is what they eat in Sinclair Lewis' *Main Street* town, Gopher Prairie. It is the food and way of life which Lewis' anti-bourgeois heroine, Carol, rebels against by serving chop suey. Chop suey makes Carol anathema in Gopher Prairie.

We the people, as individuals, families, a nation, are not who we once were. The food has changed too. In the mind this food is the ambrosia of our lost Eden. (In the mouth, it is ashes.) The small farms and orchards that raised its turkeys and pie apples are now agribusinesses. These ag-bus corporations grow food on foreign lands that are used as U.S. plantations, hoed by men and women who are quasi-slaves. You see these landless people ladling food from cruise ship and U.S. restaurant steam tables.

One-third of the U.S. people (80 million) are overweight. In 1982 the overweight spent \$10 billion to get thin. Half the diners heaping plates at the on-land cruise buffet look fat.

Bellies pop out over white belts and stretch shirtfronts. Thighs and buttocks

Judith Moore is a free-lance journalist based in Berkeley, Cal.

move like heavy machinery under tight skirts. Father looks at mother. He says, "We sure are getting our money's worth, babe."

Look at it:

Above a pyramid of sliced fruits (the cantaloupe is hard, unripe; the orange slices are pithy), the sculptured ice swan arches its neck. The ice dolphin leaps from a sea of radish roses poised over the cantilevered tiers of shrimp, crab legs, crab claws, oysters, steamed clams. (Only the oysters had not been frozen. When the crab, shrimp, etc., are put onto the diner's plate, they melt and leave a briny puddle.)

Walk past molded gelatin salads and desserts. The tomato aspic mixed with black olives and canned "baby" shrimp is formed into a fish. The fish lays on its side stretched across lettuce leaves. The fish's scales are dill pickle slices. Its one big gelatin eye looks up through an olive ring, whose pimento has been removed.

Emerald, topaz and ruby gelatins float with fruit cocktail and miniature marshmallows. They are turned out as toques and turbans and garden party skimmers decorated with mint, orange slices, cherries with stems and aerosol-released whipped cream ruffles. After the first servings are removed, the hats look disheveled. You expect a fallen bobby pin on the cut glass plate.

Smell the macho prime rib, glazed ham and Tom Turkey. Look at Tom's white paper pantaloons, his basted legs akimbo. White clouds puff out along trays set in steam tables. Sauces gurgle and percolate.

Poke at the sea legs. A sea leg, you learn, is reconstituted sole, whitefish, and crab. It is sweetened and pressed into fish stick lengths and striped along the sides with lobster red dye. A sea leg is the essence of ersatz. It tastes awful. But the motive of this cuisine is not to enhance ingredients. It only means to replicate American food dreams on a cost-effective basis.

Appearance persistently beats out essence. As Lewis' unfortunate heroine, Carol, learned in Gopher Prairie, the celebration's credo is: "We know how to have a good time without having too much fun."

In the mouth this food is polite. It does not embarrass by tasting "strong." It is never brilliant or complex, never noisy, never difficult to chew. To its eaters, this food says they have socio-economically arrived. This food assures its consumers they are out of the ghetto, off the farm and on the town. It doesn't talk politics. It *is* politics. It doesn't talk religion. What would be the point?

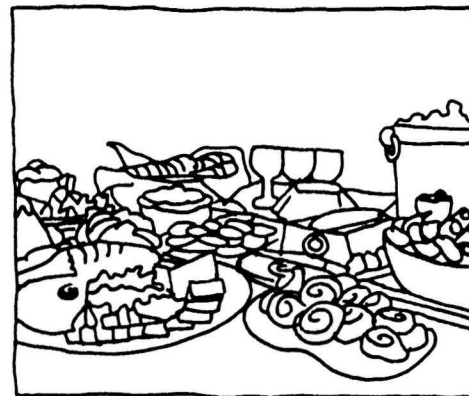
This is an arrogant cuisine. It dominates the globe as the cuisine of First World progress. Like English as language, blonde as beautiful, Muzak as music, and the formula-feeding of babies, this food has become international style.

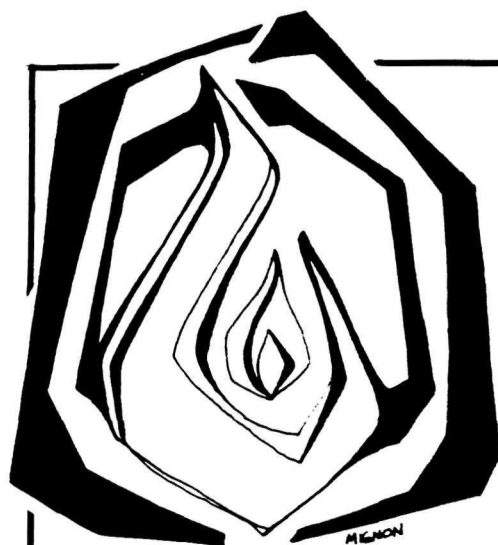
It is the *mal gout* — bad taste — that follows our progress everywhere, carrying wherever it goes its microwave ovens,

walk-in freezers, dehydrated potatoes, cake mixes, unassuageable hunger, White skin privilege and middle class values. Aggrandizement of race, class, longing and nostalgia, carried in sea legs and escalloped potatoes and ruby gelatin, could not have happened without agribusiness, saturation advertising, modern food processing, rapid transportation, First World planting of Third World land.

In our own domestic dining rooms this cuisine's memorializing of frilly gelatin and Tom Turkey is pathos. But when these foods strew their hideous manna across the world, while this food circles the globe with astronauts as "the right stuff," it is aggression.

In our time, ersatz has triumphantly taken the place of *esse*. Transnational inns can replicate the bonhomie of Lewis' *Main Street*. Any small town in the United States and any country in the world can prepare and serve food that does to meat and potatoes what the Hammond organ does to Bach fugues, what that ship of fools, the Love Boat, does to romance. Bon appetit! ■





Learning God's 'Yes'

by F. Forrester Church

When I was growing up I believed in God without questioning what I really meant by this. God was God and that was that. My three-year-old son has reached about the same level of theological sophistication that I had achieved at a somewhat more advanced age. You ask him where God lives. He points to the sky and goes on with his business.

In my case, more important than the existence of God was that of the goblins and evil spirits that lurked under my bed at night. About them I knew at least this much. When my mother turned on the light, got on her hands and knees, raised the bedspread, and looked under the bed, they were gone. When she turned off the light and left the room, they returned in force to haunt me.

In my early years God figured in precisely the opposite fashion. When things were going well, when I did not need God, God was there. I believed in God without worrying too much about why I did. When darkness fell and I was troubled, when I experienced what in later years would recur periodically as a dark night of the soul, I could not sense God anywhere.

So it was that I decided that if God did exist, God was not important to me. Other things were infinitely more so. I believed in what I could see, what I could touch, what I could learn, what I could love. Compared to these the wonders of a distant God in heaven held no allure. I found myself believing in the rainbow but not in the pot of gold at the end of it. If it did exist, it was not

important to me. Or, more precisely, I knew enough or thought I did, not to search for it, for such a search would be in vain. By the time I closed in, the rainbow would be gone.

None of this has changed. I still believe in the vanishing rainbow as I do in the dark sky over the mountains. But I also believe in God, and I believe that God is important to me. The God I believe in now is different from the God I did not believe in then. Here are some of the differences.

The God I believe in now does not intercede, like a royal eagle swooping down from on high, to save the day for those who, outnumbered and outflanked, fight under God's banner . . . the God I believe in does not play favorites when it comes to faith or creed. The God I believe in is not male or female or any divine combination of the two. All this I know or think I know. On the other hand, I do not know, and think I will never know, just what the God I believe in is. The God I believe in remains a mystery to me. It is hard to put into words, but let me share with you my own experience of the mystery of God.

If my theology is grounded anywhere, it is upon the principles of humility and openness. As to the first of these — and it may be a truism — the more I know of life and death and God, the greater my ignorance appears. Beyond every ridge lies another slope and beyond every promontory looms yet another vast and awesome range. However far we trek, while cursed (or blessed) with the knowledge of our own mortality, we shall never finally know the answer to the question why. This, by the way, is one of the reasons I cannot embrace a rigidly dogmatic faith. Even should the dogma be

F. Forrester Church, M.Div., Ph.D., is minister of the Unitarian Church of All Souls in New York City. He is the son of former Senator Frank Church of Idaho.

fashioned wholly according to my own liking, experience tells me that it would not stand the test, my own test, of growth, unfolding truth and time.

This, then, is the lesson of humility. Alone, it is insufficient, teaching us only what we cannot hope to know. On the other hand, openness, the possibility of principle, invites us to probe life as deeply as we can, without regard to limits. So it is that, accepting my smallness while remaining open to explore as fully as possible the unresolvable mystery of my own and our shared being, I find myself growing in faith. The mystery of life becomes ever more deep and wondrous, the gift of life ever more precious and unaccountable. By remaining open to the unknown, one dares to enter further into it. One grows in knowledge, yes, and in ignorance, but one also grows in wonder and, finally, in trust.

My own forays are usually journeys taken in meditation or prayer, but they also may come about through the medium of music, or nature, or some magical moment of human interaction. Losing oneself one finds oneself, and one's whole perspective is changed. Here words begin to fail me. I can only describe the experience as one of mystical union in that which is greater than all of its parts and yet present in each, that which gives meaning to all, beyond explanation, beyond knowing or naming.

This power which I cannot explain or know or name I call God. God is not God's name. God is my name for the mystery that looms within and arches beyond the limits of my being. Life force, spirit of life, ground of being, these too are names for the unnameable which I am now content to call my God.

When I pray to God, God's answer

comes to me from within and not from beyond. God's answer is Yes, not to the specifics of my prayer, but in response to my hunger for meaning and peace. God's answer is not a what or a how or a when but a yes. Choose life and trust life. Grow in service and in love. Take nothing for granted. Be thankful for the gift. Suffer well. Dare to risk much. Consecrate your world with laughter and with tears. And know not what I am or who I am or how I am, know only that I am with you. This is God's answer to my prayer.

As I plunge deeper, in fits and starts, seeking to penetrate the mystery of God, the mystery grows. It grows in wonder and in power, in moment and in depth. There are times when God is not with me, so many times. Times of distraction, fragmentation, alienation, brokenness. But when I open myself to God, incrementally my wholeness is restored. Perhaps that which I call the mystery of God is no more than the mystery of life itself. I cannot know, nor do I care, for the power that emanates from deep within the heart of this mystery is redemptive. It is divine. By opening myself to it, without ever hoping or presuming to understand it, I find peace.

The mystery of God will remain a mystery. That, I suppose, is as it should be. Anything less would fail to do justice to the miracle of consciousness, of love and of pain, of life and of death. Responding to this miracle, responding to God's Yes, I can do no other than to answer "Yes" in return. "Yes, I place my trust in Thee. Yes, I offer up my heartfelt thanks."

(Reprinted with permission by the *Harvard Divinity Bulletin*, Vol. XIII, No. 1.) ■

The Crown of Thorns Is Blooming

On four inches of unlikely stem
(thorn upon thorn upon thorn)
comes a bud
looking for all the world
like another thorn.

But it will open:
two precise petals, blood red,
perfect and perfectly vulnerable
indelibly stamping the world with
"Ephemeral; thus inexpressibly precious."

Blood, Life, Tears, Joy, Death,
Resurrection. All these.
I marvel that a blossom
(so small a one)
sustains the symbolism
that I desperately suck from it.

Strong it stands
pushed out of vicious,
yet sustaining, stalk
(thorn upon thorn upon thorn).

Lord, God of Creation,
the Crown of Thorns is blooming.
If it can bloom
then I can live
and not just live, but sing.

—Muriel Thiessen Stackley

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Ships . . . Continued from page 15

session, "The pluralism of the seafaring world compels the chaplain to be a collaborator. There must be a genuine spirit of ecumenism . . ."

In that spirit and with support from the trade union representatives present, the conference adopted a series of resolutions toward a strategy of action. How successful they will be in improving the conditions for seafarers remains to be seen. While the church is ever hopeful that the "good" shipowners will find it in their moral and economic interest to impose reform on the "bad" shipowners, history and economic reality suggest that a confrontation of some sort will probably be necessary.

Point Nine of the strategy plan adopted by the conference sets the stage for such a confrontation. If reform is not forthcoming, it calls for a consumer boycott of the cruise lines and ships which are the worst offenders against the basic rights of seafarers. Taking a leaf from the farmworker's lettuce and other boycotts, the church and trade union forces in Miami appeared fully committed to the organization of such a worldwide boycott if other efforts fail. At this writing it appears virtually certain that the Seamen's Church Institute and the Center for Seafarers' Rights will soon be heading a major struggle for economic justice which will compel the attention and support of the religious and the secular community. ■

Ministry . . . Continued from page 14

- 1960: The Institute opened the Mariners' International Center at Port Newark/Elizabeth, N.J. Today the Center and its sports field is still the only seamen's service facility in the area.

- 1968: The Institute's South Street building was replaced by its present 23-story Manhattan facility overlooking Battery Park. Its services include ship visiting, lodging, postal services, baggage storage, library, personal and career counseling, pastoral care, emergency assistance, a seafarer's rights center, Merchant Marine and Radar Schools, and its Roosevelt Institute of Maritime Studies for shorebased personnel.

Today, increased volunteer participation and parish support at both its Manhattan and Port Newark installations enhance the effectiveness of the Institute's work.

A recent and welcome addition to the Institute's ship visiting ministry is the Rev. Barbara Crafton, who serves as port chaplain out of both Port Newark and Port Elizabeth.

Her two daughters frequently accompany her, to the delight of the seafarers, who are drawn to them like magnets. "You can really tell how much they miss their own children by the way they gravitate toward mine,"

Crafton says.

But her presence is perhaps most appreciated by women who work on the ships, who are "happy to see another woman, just to talk," she said. "There are a lot more women on board ships today than you'd think. Of course they are largely serving as stewards, a traditional women's occupation, but many are now in other roles, like radio operators. Some 30% of the Russian radio operators are women."

Crafton says that loneliness is one



The Rev. Barbara Crafton

of the chief problems shared by all seafarers, which leads to broken marriages and family problems. "But women seem to be able to handle loneliness better than men. They are less disoriented by it," she said.

One of the reasons may be that many women set a certain distance from their male companions at sea to avoid sexual assault or sexual complications. "If you are the one lone woman on board ship with 30 guys, you have to set strong limits from the outset. Most of the women tend to have platonic relations with their colleagues; and the most successful keep to themselves. Many people we know feel apart and alienated. Seafarers live it," Crafton said.

The Seamen's Church Institute's commitment is to serve the seafarer as a "whole person," in all that this implies. This means extending its ministry to the larger community as well, where many of the issues affecting seafarers must ultimately be resolved. In this regard, maritime safety, education and training, and human rights and port advocacy are four areas of major emphasis for the future. Those wishing to support its work should contact the Rev. James Whittemore, Seamen's Church Institute, 15 State St., New York, N.Y. 10004. ■

Short Takes

Choosing Sides

We might as well admit it: *Nothing* is as distasteful to most Episcopalians as getting into the position of having plainly to choose sides.

Now that's not all bad. The tendency to choose sides too quickly is the source of much evil. Sometimes, choosing sides *at all* is wrong for it often assumes there is a simple right and wrong in an otherwise complex situation.

But we might as well *also* admit there *are* times and issues which demand choosing sides. One of those times is now. One of those issues is militarism generally and nuclear weaponry specifically.

There is a diocesan "Commission of Inquiry" on the issue of nuclear weaponry. Along with its parent, the "Peace Commission," it is exhibiting the normal Episcopalian distaste for choosing sides in public.

There is much concern about not offending people (the Episcopal Church in the Washington area would drastically shrink were all military people, CIA employees, and administration functionaries suddenly to become Baptists!).

But stripped of all the complexities used to befuddle Congress and the electorate, to justify putting the matter solely into the hands of "the experts," the issue comes down to the same one Joshua defined to the people of Yahweh gathered at Shechem: "... choose you this day whom ye will serve; whether the gods which your forebears served on the other side of the flood, or the gods of the Amorites, in whose land ye dwell: but as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord." (Joshua 24:15)

The Rev. Jack Woodard
Washington, D.C.
Quoted in *Bread*

Church and Just Wage

While the church is bound to give witness to justice, she recognizes that everyone who ventures to speak to people about justice must first be just in their eyes. Those who serve the church by their labor should receive a sufficient livelihood and enjoy that social security which is customary. The church doesn't say, "if it's good enough for Mother Teresa, it's good enough for you."

—**The Rev. Richard McBrien, Theologian**
Initiatives

It's our birthday and you get the gift.

Coming in May!
our special
10th Anniversary supplement . . .



Ten years ago, eleven women defied the hierarchy of the Episcopal Church of the United States and claimed for themselves the right to be ordained. In the inner-city Church of the Advocate in Philadelphia on a hot summer day, three bishops "irregularly" ordained the eleven to the priesthood. Those three bishops included then WITNESS editor Robert L. DeWitt.

We will examine in a special issue of THE WITNESS • Why the participants chose to take such a revolutionary step • How that historical moment has influenced the present • What it portends for the future.

**Free to all WITNESS
subscribers**

Editorial . . . Continued from page 4
leadership of the FALN" in FBI
press releases distributed to the
media.

Soon headlines, even in the
prestigious *New York Times*, were
shouting "FALN Trial" and
"Accused Terrorists" as the
defendants began to undergo trial
by newspaper.

Yet the five remained silent.
Except, perhaps for the question
addressed to certain church people,
"Who do you say that I am?" In a
dramatic day in court, four bishops
and three layworkers came forth to
testify as character witnesses. It
was this testimony that was largely
credited for the reduced sentences.

To the end, the accused
remained silent before the Grand
Jury. Why didn't they talk? What
harm, if they had nothing to hide?

Bishop Coleman McGehee,
Chair of the Episcopal Church
Publishing Company, said, "That
question may seem reasonable
enough to those who have never
been the object of an FBI
investigation, but members of
minority, dissident, and alienated
groups know from grim experience
that authorities are not above
bullying, intimidation, and
harassment."

In their interview in this issue of
THE WITNESS, Steve and Maria
warn of a climate of mounting
political repression which they
discern will be coming down not
only on minorities, but on political
dissenters in general, such as non-
violent resisters who disagree with
U.S. policies on nuclear power and
militarization. Thus it may be that
in the end, the Hispanics enroute
to jail will have stood up not only
for their own people, but for the
rights of all of us.

(M.L.S. and the editors)

New Beatitudes

Blessed are . . .

- those with mental problems;
they may know the miracle the rest call normal.
- those with serious disability or illness;
they may cherish this assumption called *being*.
- those who have known addiction;
they will know the value of possessing one's soul
in rest and quietness.
- those whose child has died;
they have withstood the most painful bereavement.
- those who have reconciled their marital problems;
they may know both forgiveness and faithful love's worth.
- those who have mangled a car;
they may respect the power they control.
- those whose house is robbed;
in an empty room their most precious belonging most
clearly may be seen.
- the aged;
they know life is more than the carrots
pursued by the young.
- the unemployed;
they may realize a fat economy is no substitute
for social justice.
- the bankrupt;
they may discover real riches.
- those who are falsely arrested, accused, or imprisoned;
they may learn that only *one* Judge is competent to
judge over life and death.

*Blessed are you, if you have gone to war to serve your
ideal of human civilization's highest achievement; and you
find yourself abandoned among bodies and lives that are
blown to meaningless ugly sickening scraps; and you find
shells of people or of buildings, where souls once dwelt; and
where corruption, addiction, greed, hypocrisy, power, and
selfish ambition count more than reason or life; and there is
no difference between paranoia and reality, fear and rest.
Blessed are you, for you have made a great discovery. Apart
from God's Way, this is sinful mankind's highest achieve-
ment: and it is hell. Blessed are you, for you will know the
meaning of the words, "God forgive!" "God have mercy!"
and "God save us!"; and you may turn to God's Way, and
live!*

— The Rev. John F. LaVoe, Rector
All Saints Church
Utica, N.Y.

Letters . . . Continued from page 3
of its own citizens.

I, along with these people, cannot claim to have experienced any degree of hardship resulting from present policy as a matter of choice. Not a single wandering soul I encountered while at large in America voluntarily chose their plight. Not the young couple curled up in a driving rain, lying on the front steps of a warehouse; not a middle-aged man whose ankles were broken, who painfully staggers unemployable through the streets of New York; not the student in his first year of college who, unable to afford housing, sleeps during the day in his school library; not the mother and her two children forced into a shelter because of financial difficulties.

None of us, Peter Fox, chose our circumstances as a matter of principled protest. Like you, I join in expressing outrage and contempt for those who in their own country enjoy all the benefits of society while turning their backs on the less fortunate.

In degree, you have chosen to join the economically dispossessed at a time when the fashion is for individuals to grab as much for themselves as is (in)humanly possible. This is why I am writing respectfully to you for your courage and convictions and your decency. In principle, Peter Fox, you have chosen what few now choose.

Michael Paschal
Cambridge, Mass.

(Peter Fox has informed THE WITNESS that he appreciates Michael Paschal's letter, as well as the score of supportive letters from WITNESS readers across the country who wrote to him personally after he resigned his commission in protest of U.S. policy in Central America. Fox, city editor of the Billings Gazette, said that of the mail received at his newspaper following his resignation, two-thirds was supportive, one-third against. — Eds.)

Voices to Northwoods

The February issue, as usual, was excellent, especially Michael Parenti's article, "We Win the War and Lose Our Souls" and William Stringfellow's "The Politics of Pastoral Care." My thanks for making it possible for these voices to be heard in our Northwoods.

Joan Heide
Rhineland, Wisc.

Co-opting Peace Thrust

I am appreciative of recent WITNESS articles addressing peace and disarmament. At the same time, I am deeply concerned that the Anglican commitment to consensus is co-opting the thrust of peace efforts. Righteous indignation is matched with other points of view in parish and diocesan peace commissions and what has the potential for being a strong voice for change is lost in polite

conversation and lengthy educational approaches.

While we form commissions, study the issues and work for consensus the world rushes ever closer to the extinction of life. Are there those in the hierarchy of our church who have the courage to say "no" to nuclear weapons; to claim the Gospel as a defense and a mandate?

Alas, I am frustrated. We may, one day, reach consensus on something in our church, but on the issue of nuclear war we are indulging ourselves with a luxury we can ill afford.

The Rev. Ralph Pitman
Richmond, Va.

Seeks Group Rate

Is there a group rate for THE WITNESS? So many of the articles should be read by many, I have proposed that St. Margaret's Guild of the Seaside Parish buy multiple copies and use it as a basis for discussion groups.

Could you send me a bundle of back issues as samples for our group?

Dr. Prudence Dyer
Cannon Beach, Ore.

(THE WITNESS is eager to supply parish groups with a multiple copy subscription. Our rate is \$5 for each subscription—a savings of \$7 per sub—with the entire order being delivered to the same address. Send your request to THE WITNESS, P.O. Box 359, Ambler PA 19002.—Eds.)

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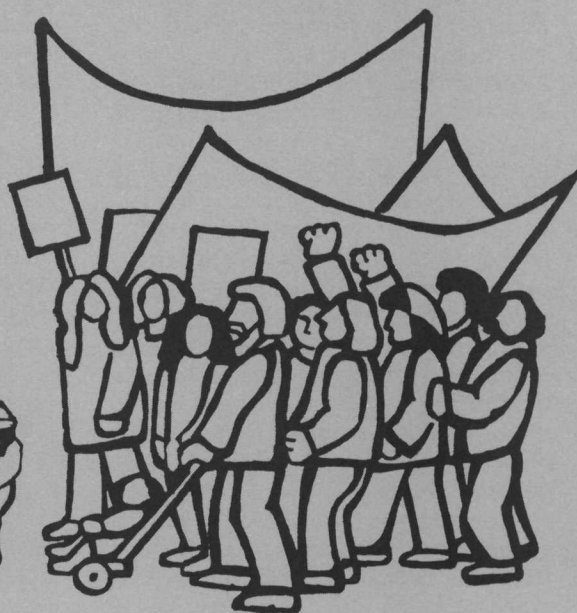
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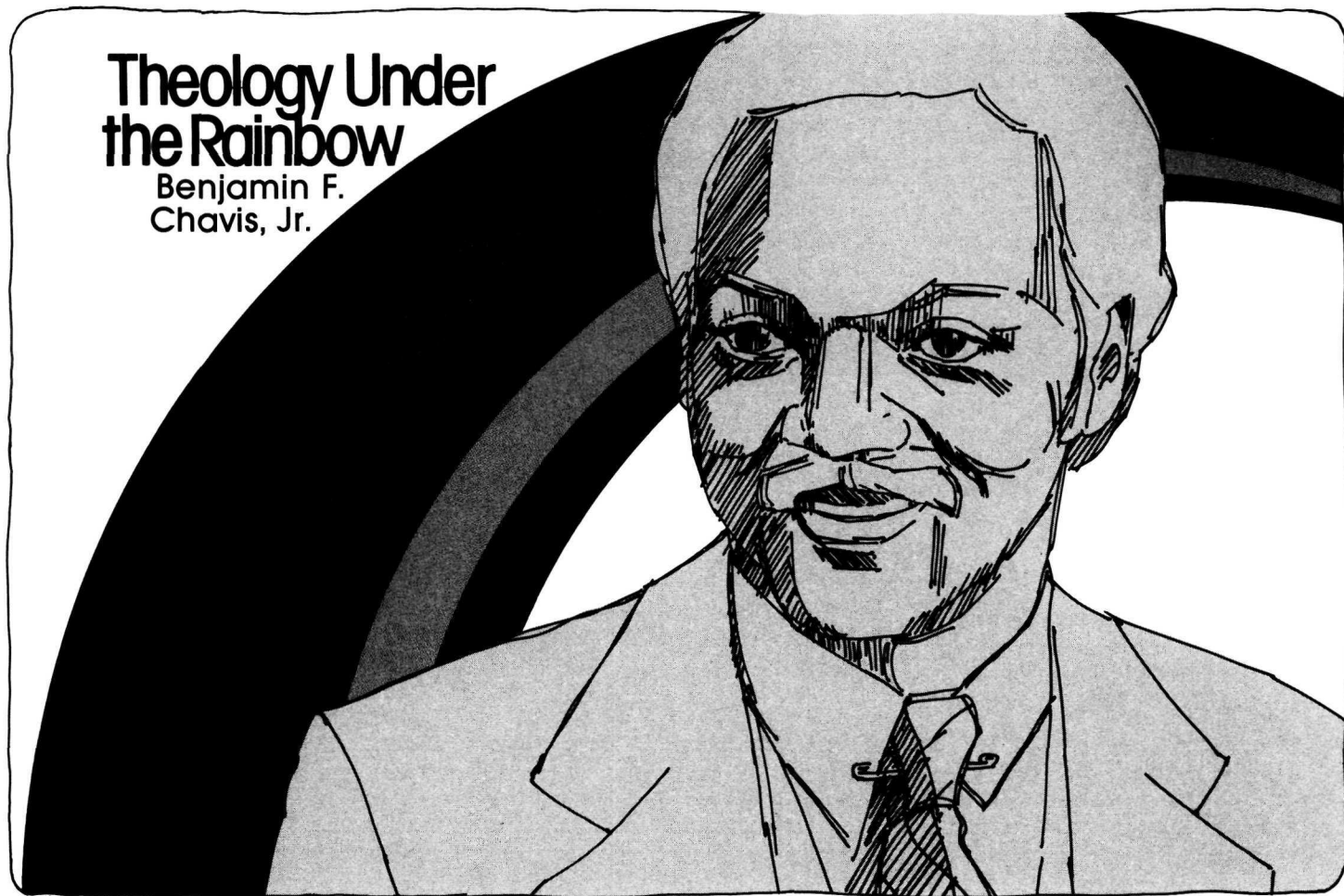
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NUMBER • 5
MAY 1984

Guatemala: Tapestry of Genocide • Jean Molesky

Sects in Latin America • Gary MacEoin

Theology Under the Rainbow

Benjamin F.
Chavis, Jr.



Letters

'We Can't Wait' Dept.

A special friend of ours, and of THE WITNESS, the Rev. Jean Dementi (priest-in-charge of St. Jude's, North Pole, Alaska) reports on an amazing opportunity ahead for her.

Paula Long from her congregation found a white envelope on the airport parking lot as she went to pick up Jean and her husband, Jim, as they arrived home from a brief vacation. She investigated the envelope's contents, and to her great surprise discovered \$14,000 in checks which had been donated toward expenses of Pope John Paul's visit to Fairbanks on May 2! When Paula called Catholic Diocesan Headquarters to report what she had found, she requested that her priest be included in the Pope's celebration. She was told there would be no mass celebrated, and that only the sick and the handicapped would be seeing the Pope. Paula, undaunted, explained that her priest had terminal cancer, and was then assured that Jean would be included.

The Episcopalians and Catholics are somewhat awed at all this emanating from the little mission of St. Jude, the patron saint of lost articles and hopeless cases.

**Mary Eunice Oliver
San Diego, Cal.**

(When Mary Eunice Oliver had a moment in 1981 in Los Angeles to urge the Archbishop of Canterbury to ordain women, Jean Dementi told her, "Well, that takes care of England." When Jean—the first woman to be nominated for Diocesan Bishop in the Anglican Communion — intersects with the Pope, who knows what miracle of wholeness might take place? Mary Eunice says she is ready to proclaim, "Well, that takes care of Rome." — Eds.)

'Realistic Reflection'

I was pleased to receive the insight of the Rev. Pauli Murray about "Minority

Women and Feminist Spirituality." (February WITNESS) The essay, although it seems more emphatic about empowerment of Black women than an assessment of feminist spirituality, is an important one, I believe. The emphasis on an updated understanding of Black women is essential for the kind of readership which THE WITNESS enjoys.

Social concern and social justice are generated by a clear understanding of social reality and social analysis. Pauli Murray offers us a realistic reflection, and thus invites us all to renewed meanings for spirituality as an exercise of the gifts of the Spirit (e.g. wisdom, knowledge, fidelity, trust). Thank you for providing such inclusive information in your magazine.

**Toinette Eugene, PBVM, Ph.D.
Asst. Prof. of Education & Society
Bexley Hall
Rochester, N.Y.**

(We have learned that the American Theological Library Association has requested Pauli Murray to do a 100-word abstract of her WITNESS article for inclusion in Religion Index One.—Eds.)

Questions Shaull

When Richard Shaull speaks of "imperial power" and a "pattern of economic development (where) the few rich get richer while the masses of the poor get poorer" he has my sympathy ("Christian Faith and the Crisis of Empire," January WITNESS). But when he speaks of America's imperial power and "our pattern of economic development" Shaull shows little knowledge of international banking or appreciation for what has been given.

In the recent examination of what went wrong in Brazil, for example, we found the economic policy of that country had not been set by America. On the contrary, loans had been made to that nation by both capitalist and communist govern-

ments from the world over. The administration of these noncoordinated funds had been carried out by the government of Brazil in secret. If anything was learned from this experience, it was not that too much direction was given these loans, but rather, like Lear, the giving was too generous. Goneril chose her own self-consuming love.

I sympathize with the church today for wanting to speak of injustice. In the early third of this century we did a poor job of speaking for Christ in the world, as the success of Hitler, Mussolini, Franco and Stalin proved. However, though today the church appears to be more involved in the affairs of the people, I wonder if that much has changed?

Taking a longer view, when we look at our past and consider men like Thomas à Becket and David, we find men who were knowledgeable in both theology and politics, men who had not only the innocence of doves but could utilize the wiles of snakes.

When speaking of injustice, why speak only of America? What about: Russian airplanes with nuclear capability recently stationed in Viet Nam? Cuban troops invading South Africa? The Rumanian connection in the assassination of the Pope? Afghanistan? Poland? To mention a few.

The world is complex and so is human nature. The "cowboys" and "Indians" are not as clearly delineated, and often disagreement is between men of good will. As a foil to such argument we are cautioned to be impartial in judgment.

I wonder, if in the spirit of our heritage, we might not reflect on all aspects of truth, assess its dialectic nature as Aquinas did, and then reflect upon it so that through prayer we might arrive at insight.

It seems to me to avoid the sectarian conflicts today that have been so often a part of religious institutions in every society, we are going to have to reassess our religious literature against the light of what we can know about the world. It's

good to start from principle and then define its limits against reality. But to start from principle and act on assumptions of reality leads to a tyranny which eventually is self-consuming.

Douglas H. Schewe
Madison, Wisc.

Shaul Responds

I find it very difficult to dialogue with someone who criticizes specific things I've written without dealing with the context in which they were said.

My central thesis was: In the prophets of the Old Testament and in the theologians of the fourth century, we have a theological perspective on the crisis of empire we would do well to take into account. They offer us the freedom to look critically at an empire in decline and to see why it stands under judgment. More than that, they propose that we look at the present crisis in the light of "the world to come" — a new order of greater justice — and rediscover our reason for existence as a nation as we struggle toward that goal.

Douglas Schewe may consider this to be a mistaken interpretation of our theological heritage; or he may be convinced that it doesn't apply to our situation in the United States today. These are questions on which we might have a fruitful exchange.

As he has not expressed his opinion about them, I can only point out that the perspective I've presented by no means ignores or considers unimportant the issues he raises. But it does deal with them in a quite different way.

Take the question, "Why speak only of America?" As a matter of fact, I didn't. I made a point of speaking of U.S. and Russian power, the problems both nations create for the little peoples of the world, and the decline of both. But if I've learned anything from the prophets, it is that judgment must begin at home. I hope that, if I were a Russian citizen, I would

have the wisdom and the courage to look critically at what my country was doing. But I'm a North American, and my burden is to understand God's judgment and mercy as it applies to my country, and act accordingly. Moreover, after several decades of living in other cultures, and participating in international conferences, I have discovered that I can best help other people take a critical approach to what is happening in their countries if I demonstrate that I am doing the same thing in relation to my own.

On the issue of balance and impartiality in the face of complex problems, the need to "reflect on all aspects of truth" and avoid "sectarian conflict," are important things after which the Christian spirit should always strive. But from the theological perspective I've referred to, there is another question which must always be raised with it: In doing all this, toward what end are we moving? On this point, I think the prophets are very clear: We are called to analyze society and all its ambiguities *as we work diligently for its transformation*. They would, I believe, urge us to make sure that we are not using the argument about lack of complete balance or impartiality as a means of avoiding the radical call to repentance and new life as a nation.

Richard Shaul
Philadelphia, Pa.

Unique Ministry

As part of my Lenten discipline to express praise and care, I am writing to thank you for the unique ministry of THE WITNESS magazine.

Other Episcopal Church publications serve as in-house organs of communication, but only THE WITNESS provides Episcopalians and others to whom we invariably pass along the issues (pun intended) with a truly global awareness.

THE WITNESS is a witness to the needs of a broken world, and a call to Christians to respond to those needs. In a

sense, the magazine publishes the creative Word's persistent invitation to minister to the suffering, almost embodying the sacramental ministries of compassion (the diaconate), consecration (the priesthood), and communication (the episcopate). And it makes us all one in this call, affirming that whether in the ministries of baptism or ordination, we are one people, God's *laos* all.

I know of no other publication that addresses, in one issue, Scripture ("Holistic Scripture", David Ross), pastoral ministry ("The Politics of Pastoral Care", William Stringfellow), social Gospel issues ("Walesa, Socialism & Christianity", Jacques Ellul), the sacraments ("In Celebration of Commitment", Robert Crome), and profoundly moving poetry ("Identity", Georgia Pierce) mirrored by personal perspectives on philosophy and history ("Minority Women and Feminist Spirituality", Pauli Murray). [See February WITNESS.]

One more service of THE WITNESS — and this is also essential. You stand for the vital unity of functions which the world and the church have too often falsified as separate: spirituality and sexuality, the personal and political, public and private, clergy and laity, social and scriptural, home-centered and worldwide. You stand for the cosmic perspective that is the most accurate view of creation, and the church's mission on earth is to both see and speak from that perspective — which is all too often lost, and where we all too often fail and fall into blindness.

The Rev. Dr. Alla Bozarth-Campbell
Wisdom House West
Sandy, Ore.

'Think About This'

Jacques Ellul's article in the February WITNESS is excellent. He carefully washes away the muddy and murky

Continued on page 21

The Permanent Underclass

It clearly matters who is elected President of the United States in November. Those persons even marginally concerned about justice and peace in our country and in the world will see that the rejection of our current domestic and foreign policy is imperative.

But in this election, and beyond it, those who take with some seriousness the Gospel's insistence on justice "for the widow and the orphan" must focus on the underlying reality overtaking American society in the 1980s; namely, the hardening into permanence of a throwaway underclass.

This observation has been made before, even from within the churches. In fact, it may now be a bit *chic* to acknowledge it — as one takes another sip of chablis at a wine and cheese party and rolls one's eyes in pretended horror at talk of Reagan being re-elected.

Yet the human tragedies continue to unfold, family by family, mother by mother, child by child. The reader can find the afflicted individuals easily enough in his or her own community. A sample of statistics documents the spreading plague of poverty in this wealthiest nation on earth:

- One child in five in families below the poverty line is now malnourished; *one Black child in two* in families below the poverty line is malnourished;

- In 1983 demands for food

assistance jumped an average of 71% in 20 of the nation's cities;

- From 1980 to 1982, the number of people living below the official poverty line (\$9,862 for a family of four) jumped by 5 million.

- As of 1982, 34.4 million people — *15% of the population* — were poor.

While unemployment has dipped to about 8% in the population as a whole, unemployment for Blacks is climbing, reaching 17.8% in January. ("Economic recovery" talk omits noting the increasing employment occurring in the expanding military production section which does not produce goods and services. Nor do the job statistics count those discouraged workers who have given up looking for work.)

The Reagan administration basically disbelieves that anyone is truly hungry or that people cannot find a job if they really want to work.

Furthermore, in the President's 1985 proposed budget, he asks for more cuts of \$2.8 billion in federal outlays for poor persons. He includes cuts in aid to dependent children; cuts of at least 200,000 pregnant women, infants, and children under the age of five from a special program supplying high protein food; and cuts in Medicaid, the health care program for the poor. Said Reagan's budget director Stockman as he unveiled the 1985 spending plan in January:

"We have to do something about entitlements . . . but *big, sweeping changes are not feasible in this Congress.*" (Emphasis ours.)

If not in this, perhaps in the 1985 Congress, over which Reagan would preside?

We are not confident, either, that the present Democratic front-runners, on gaining the White House, would vigorously address the issue of a permanent underclass existing in the midst of American society. Presumed budgetary pressures, the presumed need to allow private enterprise increased freedoms from taxation and governmental restrictions so that capital "may be productively invested," and the "need for a strong defense" are likely to continue to make the poor the scapegoats — even with the Democrats in power.

The religious community in this country is one of the few societal groupings left to question this emerging holocaust for the poor. In Hitler's Germany, good church people could not bring themselves to acknowledge the incremental steps taken against Jews, homosexuals, and leftists until it was too late. Today we stand in similar danger. In and beyond the presidential campaign, the churches must find the voice and the program to address directly this human tragedy.

(R. W. G. and the editors)

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an ecumenical journal
of social concern

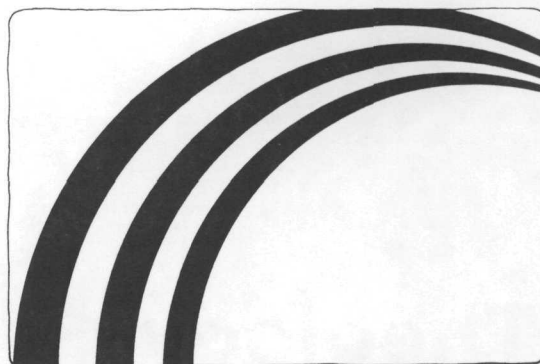


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Credits

Cover, Beth Seka; Jackson photo p. 6, Julia Jones; graphic p. 13, Margaret Longdon; graphic p. 15, Agricultural Missions, Inc. pamphlet; graphic p. 17, John Gummere.

THE WITNESS is published monthly. Editorial office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002. Phone (215)643-7067. Subscription rates \$12 per year. \$1 per copy. THE WITNESS is indexed in the American Theological Library Association's *Religion Index One: Periodicals*. Copyright 1984 by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Printed in U.S.A. ISSN 0197-8896.

Theology Under the Rainbow

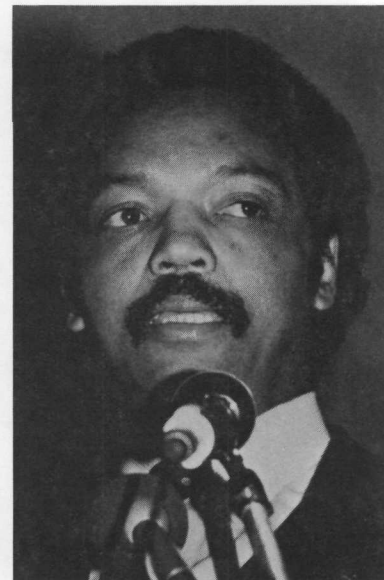
by Benjamin F. Chavis, Jr.

To be sure, 1984 is not just another election year when candidates and political parties engage in national efforts to maintain or to seize the reins of power and decision making in the White House. In addition to the usual national media events, debates and elitist power brokering that has characterized prior presidential campaigns, there is today something quite different happening. The presidential campaign of the Rev. Jesse Louis Jackson over the last several months has emerged as one of the most important national and international crusades for justice, liberation and peace of the 20th century.

On Nov. 3, 1983, in Washington, D.C. standing before thousands of sup-

porters in the Washington Convention Center, Jesse Jackson announced, "We are here that we might fulfill our mission to defend the poor, make welcome the outcast, deliver the needy and be the source of hope for people yearning to be free everywhere." Jackson's decision to seek the presidency of the United States was not only political, but also a moral decision which continues to provide a unique opportunity to reaffirm the essence of the Christian faith through political praxis.

I was present when Jesse Jackson announced his decision to run. His address was more of a sermon, in the tradition of great Black Baptist preachers, than a speech by an aspiring politician. Throughout his speech, many in the audience shouted "Amen," "Run, Jesse, Run," and "Win, Jesse, Win." As it is experienced in the Black church tradition, "the Spirit was sure present." The political genius of his message, however, was not diluted by the presence of Spirit. Jackson affirmed:



Jesse Jackson

My candidacy will help to change the present course of our nation and to rekindle the dormant flames of idealism for all Americans, but especially for the young. This administration has turned its back on civil rights, human rights and the poor, both in the country and in the world. It has inverted the basic notions of our Judeo-Christian ethic, encouraging us to spend millions to beat our plowshares into swords, while leaving the disadvantaged begging for bread.

Regretfully, the Democratic Party and its leaders have remained too silent and too passive in the face of these onslaughts. My concern is to lift the boats stuck on the bottom; to fight to provide education based on one's ability rather than one's ability to pay; to fight to provide health care for all Americans on the basis of need not wealth; to provide a strong and adequate national defense, but end

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the massive waste, fraud, abuse and other unnecessary costs of the military; to campaign on behalf of a national and fair immigration policy; to move beyond our current, racial, sexual and class battle-grounds to economic and political common grounds; and to change the present course of our foreign policy so we can again be respected in the world community.

From that moment American politics has not been and never will be the same. Immediately following Jackson's announcement, the *Washington Post* in an editorial commented, "Jesse Jackson has the potential to change the political dialogue. Few, if any, politicians today are more adept at public debate and framing the issues." A mass-based politics developed through a serious moral appeal for the human rights of all people regardless of race, class, sex, religion or geography has the tremendous potential in 1984 to begin the process of transforming the nation.

At this time in history, it is crucial that the church community in the United States, across denominational lines, strives to understand the theological importance of this new prophetic crusade and mass political movement.

Theological Underpinnings

James H. Cone, in *God of the Oppressed*, has reminded the church community that God is political. Cone stated, "Yahweh is known and worshiped as the Lord who brought Israel out of Egypt, and who raised Jesus from the dead. He is the political God, the protector of the poor and the establisher of the right for those who are oppressed." The quest for theological understanding, therefore, involves the experience of the community of faith in the political struggles of the oppressed. Cone emphasized, "For theologians to speak of this God, they too must become interested in politics and economics, recognizing that there is no

truth about Yahweh unless it is the truth of freedom as that event is revealed in the oppressed people's struggle for justice in this world."

Unfortunately, there are some church persons who take the position that Divine salvation has nothing to do with social justice, world peace and electoral politics. Yet, in the Old and New Testaments, the Scripture challenges all who believe in God in Christ to "do justice, love mercy and walk humbly with thy God," (*Micah 6:8*). Doing justice, loving mercy and walking with God involves more than the contemplation or affirmation of faith. The challenge of the Christian faith, in addition, involves a commitment to social action, i.e. an acting out of the faith in human history. In *A Theology of Liberation*, Gustavo Gutierrez concluded:

Theology as critical reflection on historical praxis is a liberating theology, a theology of the liberating transformation of the history of mankind and also therefore that part of mankind — gathered into ecclesia — which openly confesses Christ. This is a theology which does not stop with reflecting on the world, but rather tries to be part of the process through which the world is transformed."

Jesse Jackson has affirmed by word and deed his commitment to a theology of social transformation through political action. Jackson's theology is a theology of liberation, informed by the Black church religious experience and in dialogue with the religious and political experiences of the world community, particularly the Third World. For the first time in American history, a candidate for the office of President of the United States has articulated a sensitive respect and concern for the liberation of the oppressed masses of the world as the moral basis for the U.S. government's domestic and foreign policy.

For Jackson there can be no world peace in the presence of world injustice.

Martin Luther King, Jr., writing from the Birmingham Jail, cautioned that an "injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere." We remember, however, the wrath of criticism that was directed at Dr. King for linking "peace with justice" in his public opposition to the immoral U.S. war in Viet Nam. Jackson, despite the political risks, continues to state:

My candidacy will be a quest for a just society and peaceful world. We must recognize, as did Dr. King, that we need to develop a world house. Likewise, we must appreciate that the world has become a global village where military resources alone will not supply peace.

Justice, therefore, is the precondition for peace. The God of justice demands peace with justice. "Blessed are the peace makers for they shall be called the children of God." Effective peacemaking necessitates that all international conditions of injustice be challenged in the interest of a new "world house," i.e. a just world order.

The Jackson campaign has changed the focus of the political debate concerning U.S. foreign policy. He has challenged the policy and contradiction of U.S. involvement and support of multinational corporate exploitation and military domination of the peoples of Central America, the Philippines, the Middle East, the Caribbean and Africa. Never before in the history of American politics has a candidate campaigning for the presidency been invited to speak to a constituent body of the United Nations.

In his January 1984 speech before diplomats representing more than 50 African nations, Jackson stated, "My approach to foreign policy is to engage in negotiations, not confrontations. Africa and the rest of the world community must be treated justly and fairly by our government . . . The racial injustice of apartheid in South Africa is a disgrace

before God.” There was a tremendous response from the African diplomats and a pledge made to invite Jackson to speak to the international meeting of the Organization of African Unity this spring. Similar invitations have come from Latin American and Asian organizations.

Jesse Jackson’s call for the building of a “rainbow coalition” has several theological implications. First is the affirmation of the equal creation of all human beings in the “image of God.” Racism and sexism are sins that defy this basic tenet of the Christian faith. The call for African, Hispanic, Asian and Native Americans to join with progressive Anglo Americans, women and the poor to work together politically and spiritually is to affirm through social action the oneness of humanity created by God in God’s image.

Secondly, the rainbow coalition in its formative stage has already nurtured a rebirth of a national ecumenical spirit and political cooperation between main-line Protestant denominations and the historically Black denominations. Not since the 1960s, in response to Martin Luther King, Jr.’s prophetic leadership have I seen this kind of unity in action among Black and progressive clergy persons.

A Rainbow Theology

T. J. Jemison, President of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., made an unprecedented step when he announced his personal endorsement of the Jackson campaign. Jemison along with most of the national leadership of the other six largest Black denominations in the U.S., representing over 17 million members, has become an integral part of the rainbow coalition.

William Howard, former President of the National Council of Churches, stressed, “Jackson’s vision and organization of the rainbow coalition has reminded us of some of the past failings of the organized ecumenical movement in terms of embracing some of the diverse groups of our

society. To the extent that we have now learned of these shortcomings, the rainbow coalition is likely to give greater impetus to the ecumenical movement for many years to come.” Rainbow theology, therefore, is an ecumenical theology that calls for the celebration of the oneness and diversity of God’s creation. It is a political theology affirming God’s presence in the struggle of the oppressed for liberation and it provides an opportunity for theological reflection on the spirit of ecumenism as it is related to social and political transformation.

Thirdly, rainbow theology should not be viewed as an attempt to engage in some vague type of pluralism that lacks theological clarity. Rather it is justice-seeking theology that is evolving out of concrete political praxis and it takes seriously the issue of self-determination. For example, Bill Chong of Asians for Equality has concluded that the rainbow coalition is important to the Asian American community because it can help to heighten their struggle for justice and empowerment. Chong stated, “We must forge and strengthen alliances with Blacks and other oppressed groups. The rainbow coalition is not only a good idea, but a matter of survival for our community.”

Rainbow theology must by definition be directed toward supporting and interpreting the struggles of all of the oppressed within and outside the church. It is an inclusive and mass-based theology rather than an exclusive or elitist conceptualization of ultimate reality. Tony Bonilla of the National Hispanic Leadership Conference predicted that, for the first time, the Hispanic agenda will be lifted up before the entire nation through this rainbow coalition. John Collins of Clergy and Laity Concerned has challenged other white religious leaders to join him in helping not only to build this new coalition but also to help address the new theological awareness and practice of rainbow theology.

Another unique religious aspect of the

rainbow coalition is the active participation of the Nation of Islam under the effective leadership of Minister Louis Farrakhan. The operational and spiritual unity working through the activities of the rainbow coalition is unprecedented: Christians, Jews, Islamics and others all working for justice and freedom together — not just in theory but in practice. Farrakhan affirmed:

Now the power and presence of Allah (God) is being felt in the activity of the children of slaves, who, in quest of their own freedom, must make a thrust for the freedom of all others. That one of the sons of former slaves is running for the highest office of the land is a sign of the times in which we live and is clear proof that Almighty God is with us.

Farrakhan’s faith in the God of justice who intervenes in human history on the side of the oppressed has created a bridge for constructive dialogue and joint action with the Christian community. The theology of the rainbow coalition continues to evolve out of the struggle of the coalition-building process itself. There is much to be learned, there is much to be shared and there remains much to be done.

Any analysis of Jesse Jackson’s bid to become President of the United States at this point in the campaign can only be tentative. From the very beginning, though, it was clear that certain questions and risks were involved:

- Can a nation like the U.S.A. that is grounded in racism, capitalism and sexism repent and change?
- Can the church afford to be silent to Jesse Jackson’s prophetic challenge?
- Will 1984 be the last presidential election because of the likelihood of nuclear war under the present administration?
- What does the Lord require of us today?

These questions, I believe, can only

be answered through the risks of faith, i.e. allowing God through Jesus Christ to use us at this moment in history to act out our faith in God no matter what the risks might be. The presidential campaign of Jesse Jackson offers the church but another opportunity to respond to the love and grace of God in the concreteness of social and political action. The theological importance is that we now have a chance to do a new theology that is grounded in a new indigenous mass

movement for liberation in North America in concert with the struggle of other peoples throughout the world.

Jackson's success in his mercy mission to Damascus to free Lt. Goodman and to avert escalation of the war in the Middle East is testament to the efficacy of maintaining a faithful witness over being politically expedient. National church leaders such as Charles E. Cobb, Wyatt Tee Walker, H. H. Brookins, C. T. Vivian, Philip Cousins, Calvin Butts,

William Jones, William Howard and thousands of others have recognized the positive impact of the Jackson campaign.

Speaking in the Dorchester section of Boston recently, Jackson concluded:

This mission for leadership that makes sense, this mission of black, red, yellow and white — all of us are precious in God's sight — this mission does not stop in July. It's not just an election to win. It is a civilization to save. ■

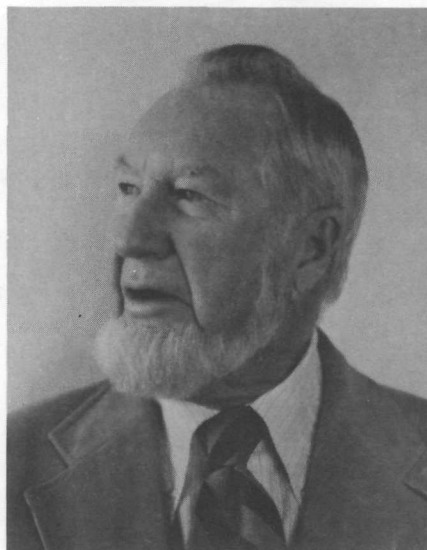
A Different Kind of Obit

To our staff, it always seemed that Jo Shannon should more appropriately be donned in a sou'wester, hauling lobsters of a weekend in Maine alongside his friend and WITNESS editor, Bob DeWitt. He had the visage of a sea captain — but Jo worked in coat and tie, an enthusiastic promoter of the magazine. How wrenching for THE WITNESS family that Jo died of cancer in mid-March.

His titles and good works were many, covered in the usual obituary notices. But obits frequently omit most meaningful data; for example, how Jo loved daffodils and planted them around his home, in numbers and varieties to make a Wordsworth proud.

Over and above that, Jo was "special" to us for the creative groundwork he did to get THE WITNESS launched. He put his head and heart and ready wit to the task of outreach and promotion in the mid '70s when the magazine was revived. Best of all, staff morale always soared when Jo was in town.

Administrator, ecumenist, counselor, he met life with great humor. His pastoral approach left people healed in its wake. And why not? He was a deeply committed Christian, for whom the Gospel precepts were simple and self-evident. He was somewhat mystified why people,



The Rev. Jones B. Shannon

Ordained Christ Church, Bloomfield Hills, Mich., 1952; Rector, St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, State College, Pa., 1952-57; Director, Church Society for College Work, Washington, D.C. 1957-1966; Founder, Consultation Search; Founder and President, Hospice Outreach Chapter, Fall River, Mass.

even churchpeople, "got the message all fouled up," as one of our staffers put it.

He had a profound respect for the English language and for the pursuit of

scholarship. An unanswered note on my desk still chides, from Bob DeWitt, "Contact Jo about Associates for Religion and the Intellectual Life." My fondest memory is of Jo sharing literary passages which moved him.

"Listen to *this* . . ." He would read, his white beard bobbing up and down, punctuating the prose. Frequently moved to tears by his own declamation, he would pull out his handkerchief, wipe and blow, slam the book shut and declare, "*That's* writing." One could hardly miss the implication to "go and do likewise."

His last project for us was to set up a process for wider distribution of THE WITNESS to seminaries. This reflected his special devotion to students and faculty of colleges and seminaries throughout his life, which kept him remarkably young in spirit.

Those seminarians who find THE WITNESS available today in their libraries or student centers are the beneficiaries of Jo Shannon's labor.

We are grateful to Jo and to God for Jo's presence in our family. To his wife, Ginny, his sons, William and Jones B. Jr., and daughter Dinny, our loving prayers, and thanks for sharing Jo with us.

Mary Lou Suhor & WITNESS Staff



Spiritual Values In Today's Student

by William Pregnall

It is commonplace today to note the obvious shift in campus ministry from social action to the highly personalized place religion now occupies. We look at our strengths as Anglicans and how we might offer kerygmatically and catechetically this rich heritage to the strengths of today's students. We know the difficulty and the frustration of communication with a student populace that, on the one hand, is narcissistic and oriented toward material gain through the system and, on the other hand, is suffering from a severe ennui which has no enthusiasm for any system or its institutions. All around us are the end-of-the-world syndrome, the sexual revolution, drugs, the loss of any sense of direction, the loss of healthy competition, and the escape into interior space walled by fantasy games of Mazes and Monsters or by headphones which substitute self-selected noise for the noise of the external environment. In the midst of such a litany of despair, it is a tenuous task to probe (carefully) into the question which haunts so many in campus ministry today: Where is the wellspring of spiritual values in today's student?

I.

First, let me share three of my presuppositions.

God's Holy Spirit is at much 'at work in today's world as in ages past. I deeply believe that God

works in and through so-called secular culture as well as through the church. Kathleen Bliss once wrote something to the effect that it makes an immense amount of difference when we Christians go into the world whether we see ourselves as carrying Christ to the world or whether we expect to find him there already at work. (K. Bliss, *We The People*.) I expect to discover him already at work.

My second faith assumption is that God calls us to be faithful witnesses of the work of salvation—wrought in our past, in our own personal lives, and being worked in our culture today. In that sense, I rejoice in those in the renewal movement who speak unabashedly about the Christ in their lives. For too long we have been too bashful about our witness to that which is our basic motivation and power in ministry, the living Christ. I am aware in myself and others of my own unbelief. But equally I am aware of my own distaste for simplistic, overly confident statements about what God has done today that "I've witnessed." I am also aware that as baptized Christians we are called to represent Christ and his church and to bear witness to him wherever we are.

A third presupposition is that we who do ministry—especially in a setting such as a campus—want to be able to communicate with those with whom and for whom we offer our ministries. Not to be able to communicate with them—whether lay or ordained—is about the most frustrating of all situations. It is in the dialogue, the give and take of honest communica-

The Very Rev. William Pregnall is Dean of the Church Divinity School of the Pacific, Berkeley, Cal.

tion, that God's Spirit can work in both parties in the dialogue.

A corollary to this is that without valid communication, we ourselves lose our sense of identity and self esteem. All of us know that as a marriage is troubled and breaks down, communication fails, and there is a loss in both parties of identity and self esteem. But we also know that a loss of self esteem and identity is often a cause as well as an effect in the breakdown of communication. As it is in a marriage, so it is in our ministries. Jesus said that to lose one's life is to find it. An aspect of what this means for me is that insofar as I am able to offer you myself—my life, thoughts, feelings, values— and insofar as you are able to receive me into your life without violating me in my vulnerability before you, then we are beginning a dialogue which ultimately is life-giving to both parties as each loses herself or himself in the other.

God is in creation. We are called as witnesses to God's work. Communication with another is the issue—dialogue through which God's Spirit can work to make our witness effective, renewing our own sense of identity and esteem.

II.

Next I wish to venture a diagnosis of the world—looking at it externally and internally—in which today's student has grown up.

Externally—everything points to the reality that we live in the end times—a dying society.

1. The threat of nuclear holocaust I shall file by title although I think it is the most significant difference between our age and all other ages of humanity. We have the power to destroy what God has created—this good earth, our island home. We are only beginning to experience what it means to grow up not expecting a future. The silence of death by nuclear holocaust has an ultimate terror which is new.

2. But, we also live in the end time of the rise of a nation—this nation or any other nation. Economically, we are beginning to recognize that no one currency will save the day—will pull us out of recession. Multi-national conglomerates and common markets and intricate new international economic policies mandate the end of the rise of nations. Militarily we have no armed force dominant. We live in a careful balance of super powers which allow certain small wars but cannot entertain any more wars to end war. This balance of military power and the complexity of international economics is far distant from each of us as private citizens, and all seems out of control. We feel victimized and helpless.

3. We live at the end of post-Reformation Christianity—for both Catholics and Protestants. Christen-

dom ended in the West with World War I, or perhaps the French Revolution. But this is more than the end of Christendom. No longer are values of the faith intertwined in institutions and political assumptions and goals. There has been a breakdown of the post Reformation synthesis of Christian values and society. The whole construction of reality which was a post-Reformation heritage is ended. That Protestant/Catholic synthesis combined with the enlightenment and the industrial revolution of the West is over. For me, some pointers are: (a) There is a loss of the Holy. Where does one go for a blessing when the Holy has no place in your reality? (b) There is a loss of reference for values. A sense of right and wrong is still around. Valley Girls' "Grody to the Max" is a definite value judgment. But where is the reference—the measure—by which anything is gross—grody—even a little bit, much less to the max!? Who/What defines right and wrong? We live at the end times with rampant relativism. (c) There is an end of the significance/power of societal institutions. Institutions are corporately agreed upon incarnations of values—but the post Reformation agreement about institutions and what they are has broken down.

Internally—What is the Diagnosis? I am aware that Elizabeth Kubler-Ross is much over-used in looking at the internal response to death and dying, but she does provide categories which I believe help to describe what I sense in today's student.

1. Denial and Bargaining. There are possible elements in the dynamics which turn students on to religious movements and easy-answer Christianity. It is easy to take pot shots at Moonies and occultism of various kinds. It is not so easy to ask young converts to Jesus Christ to think/feel, probe/grow beyond an initial encounter with the Holy Spirit or group experience, which sentimentally uses Christ-talk to give warm feelings. It does seem to me we have a responsibility both to honor the point of contact with the Christian symbols and the living Christ, and to nurture that contact to grow beyond its initial, often self-

Continued on page 22



U.S.-Based Sects in Latin America

In Latin America, as in regions of Christian culture worldwide, religion has acquired a central role in the social upheavals that characterize our age. Must the search for individual salvation exclude social concern, or at least take precedence over it? Or is the question wrongly formulated? Rather, should it be whether all salvation is of its essence social, that we form the people of God only to the extent that we are a human community?

Both Roman Catholics and mainline Protestants are deeply divided on these issues. While nobody speaks seriously of schisms, we have in fact two mutually exclusive understandings of what church means — those with one understanding actively supporting intransigent oligarchies and dictatorships, those with the other not only partisans but agents of radical change. In this context, fundamentalist sects from the Mormons to the Church of the Word have redoubled their missionary efforts, and their numbers are growing rapidly in much of the hemisphere.

Dictators and big business welcome this diversion and support the new religious movements politically and financially. This patronage is strictly pragmatic. The fundamentalist sects defuse pressures for change by teaching

their members to obey constituted authority and avoid involvement in politics. As such, they represent a continuing force to create dissension among the marginalized poor who for the first time in history have started to become aware both of their oppression and of their ability to challenge it.

Source of Recruits

In Central America, specifically, they are proving a source of recruits for right-wing death squads and for the “rural pacification forces” now being promoted in El Salvador and Guatemala by the United States in a replay of the genocidal pacification projects developed in Vietnam. They are also aggressively active in Nicaragua, where Protestantism has grown four-fold to 13% of the population since 1979, the increase being overwhelmingly among fundamentalist sects.

Money and political backing are not the only reasons for the progress of the sects. Objective conditions with deep roots in history also favor them. Until the 19th century, Roman Catholicism had a monopoly in Latin America. Its bishops and higher clergy were named by the Spanish crown (and later by the presidents of the various republics), and it functioned as a department of state, providing health and education principally for the small minority who constituted the ruling class or who were needed as its service sector.

The church was never totally devoid of prophets and pastors who worked to secure justice for the Indians, and later

for those Indians who had been incorporated as a work force into the Spanish culture, the *mestizos* or *ladinos* who are today the dispossessed peasants and slum dwellers. Bishop Bartolomé de las Casas has always had worthy successors, such as Bishops Antonio Valdivieso in Nicaragua and Oscar Romero in El Salvador, and Dom Helder Camara in Brazil. But they were a tiny minority. The intellectual and emotional incorporation of society into the institution, and the accompanying practices that characterized Western Europe were never transferred to Latin America. The people are highly religious but not very “Catholic”. Their religiosity lacks the communal organization and discipline, the systematic practice and the historical roots that typify Catholicism.

With the growth of German, English and U.S. presence and influence in Latin America after the elimination of Spain in the first half of the 19th century, Protestant preachers arrived not only to serve the foreign communities but to evangelize the masses, claiming with considerable justification that Roman Catholicism had not done its job. By this time, the Roman Catholic institution had come to identify with the oligarchies. As successors to the Spanish crown, they had devolved the *patronato*, the right to name bishops and higher clergy.

Protestantism, for its part, depended for survival and expansion on the business interests with which it had entered the region, and it soon identified with those interests. Presbyterian liberation theologian Rubem Alves of Brazil points

Gary MacEoin, a lawyer with advanced study in ancient and modern languages, political science and theology, has published several books on issues of world development and neocolonialism. As a foreign correspondent, he has reported from every country in the Americas, and from Asia, Africa and Europe.

by Gary MacEoin

out that Protestantism quickly followed Catholicism in interpreting its theology to support the oppressor against the oppressed.

Although, as noted above, a new model of church committed to a preferential option for the poor has arisen since the 1960s among both Catholics and mainline Protestants, the ensuing conflict between these progressive sectors and the earlier mentality that still dominates the top leadership is being fought out principally within the confines of the institution. Vast numbers of the most deprived elements in society, most of them nominally Catholic, are still not effectively reached by either traditionalists or progressives. They are the groups, Indian as well as mestizo, who offer the easiest harvest for the fundamentalist sects.

Growth Among Poor

The experience of the Mormons is significant. They began large-scale missionizing in Latin America about 25 years ago. As a middle-class church that cares for both the spiritual and material needs of its members, it expected that the principal response would be in the middle and upper classes. It found instead that the interest was greatest among the poor, that segment of society that was least reached by the existing Christian denominations. In addition, dictators faced with growing popular resistance approved its teaching that its members are to be "subject to kings, presidents, rulers and magistrates," wherever they live; and that they should

avoid politics and concentrate their energies on expanding the church's membership and influence.

The blood bath that followed General Pinochet's overthrow of the elected government of Salvador Allende in Chile in 1973 pitted a major part of the Catholic Church in Chile, including Cardinal Raúl Silva of Santiago, against the dictator; and vigorous denunciation came from Catholic and Protestant leaders around the world. The situation was ideal for an alliance between Pinochet and the Mormons. The regime would provide favorable conditions for Mormon missionary efforts. The Mormons would do two things in return. They would urge the followers of Allende to "turn to the Gospel" and give up their "political communistic opinions." And the leadership back in the United States would spread the word that religion was alive and well in Chile. Benefiting from this symbiosis, the Mormons increased their membership in Chile in less than a decade from 20,000 to 120,000, an expansion that resulted in the opening of a Temple of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints in Santiago in September, 1983.

Pinochet was by no means the first to recognize the possibility of manipulating religion in the struggle for "the minds and hearts" of Latin America. Several years earlier, in 1969, Nelson Rockefeller reported to President Nixon on the threat to U.S. interests caused by the switch of dynamic elements in the church to support the oppressed in their efforts to improve their condition. The Nixon

administration lost no time in initiating strategies to neutralize this progressive movement. In 1975, for example, a congressional investigation established that in the late 1960s the CIA had funneled several million dollars into a research institute in Chile headed by Jesuit Roger Vekemans for his campaign against the Theology of Liberation, the ideological justification for the progressive church's preferential option for the poor.

When Allende came to power in Chile in 1970, Vekemans moved to Bogotá, Colombia, where he joined forces with Alfonso López Trujillo, who in 1972 became secretary general of the Latin American Bishops' Conference (CELAM) and who was made a cardinal in 1983.



Since that time Vekemans and López Trujillo have pursued a vicious campaign to have Rome declare the Theology of Liberation heretical. One source of their lavish funding, a funding that permits López Trujillo to maintain luxury apartments in Medellín, Bogotá and Rome, is the DeRance Foundation of Milwaukee. The nation's wealthiest religious foundation, with assets estimated at not less than \$160 million, it has been a major funder of international efforts to discredit progressive leaders and thinking in the church in Latin America. It also served as the conduit to launder CIA money for Vekeman's campaign to prevent Allende's election.

Vekemans now heads DeRance's affiliate, the Institute of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, in Bogotá. Last November he joined other DeRance proteges and supporters in California to plan a 24-hour-a-day Catholic Cable Network. Programs already in production in English and Spanish include a news magazine with general and religious information similar to the 700 Club.

The DeRance project can be expected to perform the same two major functions in relation to Latin America as the 700 Club. This extremely influential TV program follows the Reagan-Kirkpatrick line, ignoring the longstanding social injustices and presenting the conflict in El Salvador, Guatemala, and elsewhere in Latin America as caused exclusively by outside communist agitators. The United States is presented as the beleaguered defender of Christianity against an international conspiracy of godless communists.

A substantial proportion of the many millions of dollars that result from the hard-sell appeals for funds for the Lord's work made by the 700 Club and similar simplistic programs is funneled into support of the proselytizing campaigns in Latin America. The Christian Church of the Word (associated with Global Reach, Eureka, Cal.) is a favored bene-

ficiary of the 700 Club. Its star convert was General Efraín Ríos Montt who seized power in Guatemala in a military coup in March 1982, and until his ouster by his Minister of Defense in August 1983, officiated at mass "conversions" and in weekly TV broadcasts explaining God's plan for Guatemala, a plan that included mass extermination of Indians.

Technically, the Unification Church of Sun Myung Moon should not be called fundamentalist. It is, according to a formal statement by the bishops of Honduras who analyzed its teachings, "a truly anti-Christian church." A U.S. congressional report described it as a strictly disciplined international political party with financial enterprises and other businesses. With assets estimated at over \$1 billion, it controls a bank and an insurance company in the United States; the daily *News World* and its Spanish edition *Noticias del Mundo*, in New York; and the daily *Washington Times*, competing with the liberal *Washington Post*, in the nation's capital. In Moon's native South Korea, it owns a pharmaceutical company and an arms factory.

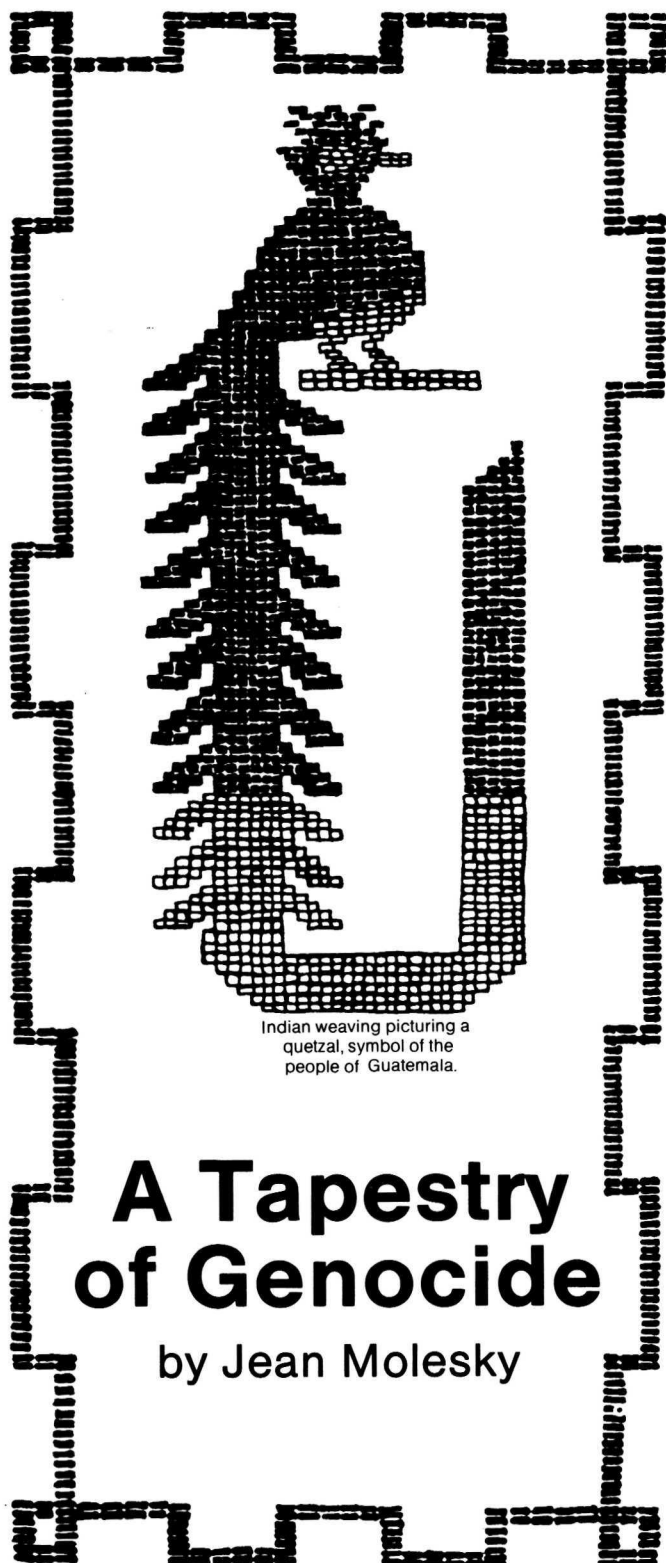
An August 1983 report in the *Washington Post* said that the Unification Church was investing millions of dollars in an anti-communist campaign in Latin America. In Uruguay, Moon obtained in August 1983 a decree from his friend, the president, General Gregorio Álvarez, granting a 9-year tax exemption to his \$25 million investment in a luxury hotel complex. While supporting political and economic organizations opposing social progress in Guatemala, El Salvador and Panama, he has been most active in Honduras. Moon's "apostle," Colonel Bo Hi Park (founder and ex-director of the Korean CIA), after long discussions with President Roberto Suazo Córdoba and other Honduran military and business leaders, founded in 1983 the Conference of Associations for the Unity of American Societies (CAUSA). Its president is General Gustavo Álvarez

Martínez, head of Honduran armed forces and today the effective dictator of Honduras, thanks to a constitutional amendment making him independent of the president. (*Álvarez recently ousted.*—Eds.)

An ecumenical team from the World Council of Churches, the National Council of Churches (U.S.), and the Latin American Council of Churches, reported in October, 1983, on the heightened activity in Honduras of many sects, nearly all from the United States. It noted the "amazing freedom" allowed them by the Honduran government, in spite of the fact that they use "very aggressive methods of proselytizing" in their efforts "to exert greater influence on the country's religious and social life."

The sects are similarly active in southern Mexico, where Central America's social unrest is spilling over massively. Speaking in the presence of Mexico's president, Miguel de la Madrid, in the same month of October, Governor Pedro Joaquín Coldwell protested the proliferation of religious sects and other foreign institutions. This "neocolonial avalanche," he said, hid new forms of domination under a cloak of social assistance.

Christian missiologists in the post-colonial era have radically rethought the long-accepted symbiosis of Christian missions and imperial powers. They now generally agree that the identification of Christianity with political and economic imperialism reduced the Gospel to an instrument of conquest, a destroyer of societies and cultures, often an ally in a process of ethnocide and genocide. Ignoring this lesson, the fundamentalist sects proclaim a message dressed in the style and assumptions of the U.S. way of life. Those least equipped to survive the neocolonial eruption are Latin America's 40 million Indians speaking some 600 languages, many of them in Mexico and Central America. No benefits for U.S. interests can justify such ethnocide. ■



Indian weaving picturing a quetzal, symbol of the people of Guatemala.

A Tapestry of Genocide

by Jean Molesky

“I want the people of the world to know the life and suffering of my people. I am a witness and I talk on behalf of my people.”

These words are from a 26-year old Mayan woman from the northwest region of Guatemala, whose three brothers have been assassinated in the last two years. She has sought refuge in the United States.

Domitila Canec was a social worker and teacher of literacy, Mayan culture and catechetics in her village of 13,000 and coordinator of a Catholic radio program in her native language, Cakchiquel. Now, one year in exile in California, she works in an assembly plant, writes poetry and is an active spokesperson for the dignity, culture and suffering of her Indian people. She is one of more than 200,000 Central American refugees in the United States.

When asked why she came to this country, she clasped her thin, brown hands in her lap, and replied intensely:

“Well, in March, in 1981, you could feel the repression in Guatemala spreading like fire. The military massacred 50 to 100 people daily. Where I worked, in Quiche, you could see dead bodies every day. My older brother was seized and never returned. I suspected that at any moment they would seize me because I had worked very closely with the people. Many of my friends and catechists had been killed. Over one year’s time, about 100 teachers were killed. I felt if I stayed where I was and continued my work, I

Jean Molesky is an instructor of English as a Second Language among refugees and active in Latin American Solidarity work in California.

was going to die.

"Today the Indian is accused of being a communist, but we do not imitate other cultures. We have respect for all life. We don't even needlessly kill an animal, mistreat a dog or a cat. My father didn't know any other system. He just said, 'On the other side of the lake, there are other people.' Within ourselves we have a strong consciousness of being Indian. We are not moved, like others, to adapt because this system is better than that one. The land is ours. We only want the right to live."

Domitila's words reflect the reality that the Mayan people, who comprise some 60% of Guatemala, have a strong sense of continuity with their past. It is their unique view of the world and their place in it which gives them the ability to keep up the struggle against the dominant cultures. They feel that outsiders will come and they will go away. Their gentle demeanor and easy-going manner obscures the tenacious, sometimes violent struggle they have waged to maintain the integrity of their culture. In the 1980's, they are struck not only with a blow to their dignity, but to their very survival.

The discovery of rich reserves of oil in the late 1950s in the northwest and the wooing of oil companies by the Guatemalan government in the 1970s has proceeded alongside the violent persecution of the Indian people. By the late '70s, seven foreign oil companies had been granted contracts and concessions, and in 1977 the first commercially exploitable well was spudded in Rubelsanto. Six years later in the same area, it is rare to find an Indian family who has not had at least one member disappear, been killed, or had lands burned.

During the 16-month regime of Efraín Ríos Montt, more than 6,000 people were killed and over 100 Indian villages destroyed. Oscar Humberto Mejía Victores, who served as Defense Minister under Ríos Montt and acted as his close advisor, took power in a coup last August.

While Defense Minister he was directly involved in planning and directing Ríos Montt's counterinsurgency program that resulted in thousands of deaths and destruction of villages, using "scorched earth" tactics. Now, 1 million are refugees in their own country; 200,000 in the exterior. Frequently villages are surrounded by the military and the Mayans are held hostage in their own village.

"Let me tell you about my people," Domitila said. "As Indians our inheritance is to be religious and to respect the land. Our whole life springs from the land. In the morning the Indian opens the land to plant, first asking God for permission. Then the Indian kneels and begs the God of land, then of heaven to bless his or her hand. Only then can work begin."

Domitila's bright huipil, hand-embroidered with birds, flowers and stars, reflected her culture. In her dress was evidence of centuries of Mayan weaving, incorporating symbols of astronomy, mathematics and mythology.

"From the time we're young, we're taught to respect things. For example, we couldn't throw corn on the road because it could feel it was being treated badly. It is disrespect to both the road and to the corn. Any violation of nature is a sin. On Good Friday, people in my village don't even grind corn to make tortillas. Nothing on that day is to be mistreated—not the rock or the corn."

"When I was young we were very poor, so we all slept together in one room. One night as I was jumping over my baby brother to get to my place in bed, my mother reprimanded me. 'Your brother has life and you must respect him.' We can not even walk over the clothes of another person. It would be a violation of that person. Imagine what the tortures and massacres in Guatemala today do to the soul of my people."

Domitila, a *campesina*, was one of 15 children, though only seven survived infancy. She spent her first years as

other young Guatemalan Indians—carrying firewood, planting beans and corn, learning weaving and household chores. Her father made 25¢ a day, so all the children worked to survive. At 11, she began her three years of primary school. When she finished she begged her father to continue her education at a nearby school. She struggled a great deal with him over this decision, because after all, she was a woman of 14 years. At that age she was ready for marriage. She promised not to marry in the near future and forfeited the piece of land which was her dowry. She continued for six more years, and was the first Indian woman in her village of 13,000 to become a teacher.

Confronting the prejudice that the Indian is "stupid and ignorant," she was not able to find a job. Instead she did field work as an interpreter in a clinic, teaching classes on nutrition and women's health. Still committed to her vocation as a teacher, she approached a Catholic priest with whom she later worked for six years. They traveled around to different villages offering courses on Mayan culture, literacy in Spanish and Cakchiquel, and pedagogy. Sunday mornings, she addressed social problems from a Christian viewpoint on the radio.

"It was during this period that I understood way down deep, our Christianity has a lot to do with the Mayan religion. When the Europeans came to Guatemala, they met a strong culture and colonized it with the Christian faith. It appears we accepted the faith, but not really so. We already had the faith. It was a way of life for my people. It's like we just changed clothes and put on a mask. Our faith is profound within us."

The tapestry of Mayan lives, dating back to 1500 B.C., is woven on an ancient cosmic loom. Their inheritance is their dignity woven through the centuries in the warp of a religious mythology and the woof of life amidst Creation itself.

A Guatemalan priest and friend of

Domitila, is also in exile in California. He explained that “many people have the misconception that the Mayans are polytheistic, but that’s a misunderstanding of our religious mythology. For the Mayan, there is one God, one Spirit, with different manifestations, different relationships to life.

“There are many parallels in belief and ritual which made Catholicism easily acceptable among the Mayans,” he said. “For example, in Mayan mythology all is created by God, called ‘Heart of Heaven,’ but there was a creature, semi-God and semi-Creator who wanted to be bigger, brighter, higher than the sun. From that creature of evil comes the seven shames. I think they may parallel the seven capital sins.”

“There is also one to come who will rescue and save the people — Junajpu. He is like a Christ figure. He is both a person and a process. In the human-divine encounter, the individual and the whole people become king, that is one with God. Today this process is imaged in the Quetzal, our national bird and symbol of freedom.”

But the marriage of Spanish Catholicism and Mayan spirituality has hardly

been a love affair. In 1524, the Spanish invaded Mayan territory. Bishop Bartolome de las Casas, an advocate for and defender of the Indians, accused the Spanish of killing 4 million indigenous people between 1524 and 1540. Two-thirds of the Indian population was wiped out between 1519 and 1610—by the sword, from forced labor or European diseases against which they had no immunity.

The Spanish master and Catholic priest replaced the Mayan noble and priest. At the same time, the Spaniards were abusing and exploiting the Indians, forcing them into servitude. The Indian was forced to work on stolen lands, harvesting coffee, beans and corn for the Spanish landlord.

Though the Spanish dug deep into the economic and political structures, the Indian village head and his informal council of elders still made the decisions and used the old language. The traditional rites and festivities continued and the old spirits exercised their power and charms behind the panoply of new saints and saviors, and still do today.

After an expulsion of Catholic clergy in the late 1800s, an invitation was extended by the church to missionaries from various countries. Most began their work among the mountain indigenous people. In 1968, after the Catholic Bishops’ Conference in Medellin, many in the church opted for the poor. Priests worked with the Indians to develop *Comunidades de Base*, agriculture cooperatives, and literacy classes in native languages as well as in Spanish. The Indian people, growing in consciousness of their oppression, began demanding a just wage.

To the Indians, Rios Montt, continued the saga of the Spanish conquistador, only wearing a different mask—that of a born again Christian. Indians now began to be told that they must be Christians, “not like the Catholics, who were communists.”

The repression continues under the military dictatorship of Mejia Victores,

but now in a more sophisticated fashion. His 30 years in the Guatemalan Army is now being used to militarize Guatemala. Instead of intervening through religious fundamentalism, as Rios Montt, he uses the schools to infiltrate the country. Young boys are encouraged to join elite clubs which instill a military consciousness. Children are taught to spy and inform on family members. Occasionally villages will be invaded by his computerized *Operation Octopus* in which soldiers surround a village and every 10 hours enter homes, search and often take one family member at random.

Domitila continued. “People in the United States think, ‘How good the government is to give out food.’ But the people are starving because the government has burned fields, the military has encircled the villages like concentration camps. Young men between the ages of 18-38 are forced to join the Civilian Service. Women are forced to wash the clothing of the soldiers and to feed them. It’s like a person who enters a trap and dies just for a piece of bread. The real truth is that they don’t want the people to be aware of what is going on. They tell us it is a sin. The other sin is to be Indian.”

Behind Domitila, hung a turquoise banner she had put together in memory of her family. Photos of her sister weaving on a traditional loom and of her three assassinated brothers were carefully placed among pinecones, wheat sheaves, flowers and an ear of corn. She had glued the words “Weaving the Life” to the cloth.

“For the Indian, the most fundamental thing is life. We can tolerate being robbed or being poor, but when they start taking away life . . .” She wiped her face, catching some of the tears; others dropped on the embroidered flowers of her huipil.

Then Domitila raised her head, with Mayan pride. “I am a witness. I talk for all my people. We are a raped people. But we must continue to restore our culture, our worth and dignity as persons.”



The Kissinger Report: Rewriting History

by David F. Ross

An Episcopal priest who was a classmate of Henry Kissinger's at Harvard analyzes the report on Central America issued by his fellow alumnus.

The Kissinger commission report pleads both a practical and a moral vindication for the Reagan policy in Central America. The case is stated at the beginning.

The crisis in Central America makes a particularly urgent claim on the United States for several reasons. First, Central America is our near neighbor. Because of this, it critically involves our own security interests. But more than that, what happens on our doorstep calls to our conscience.

It is reiterated at the end.

This is one of those instances in which the requirements of national interest and the commands of conscience coincide.

Some who have observed previous virtuoso performances by the adept Dr. Kissinger may suspect an element of hypocrisy in this evaluation of the strategic importance of Central America to the United States; some may feel similar reservations concerning his pronouncements on conscience. To those of us who look hopefully for signs of order in the universe, it is comforting to discover that the report is consistent: there is no more truth in its moral than in its empirical dimension.

The Kissinger position on the strategic importance of Central America was suc-

cinctly stated in 1969, in a conversation with Gabriel Valdéz, Foreign Minister of Chile in the Frei administration.

Kissinger: You come here speaking of Latin America, but this is not important. Nothing important can come from the South. History has never been produced in the South . . . What happens in the South is of no importance. You're wasting your time.

Valdéz: Mr. Kissinger, you know nothing of the South.

Kissinger: No, and I don't care.*

Why does he now tell us that our interest in this region is vital and urgent? The most obvious reason is that Kissinger, when functioning as a presidential advisor, had used his brilliance not to enlighten presidents but to provide rationalizations for an outdated Euro-Caucasian worldview. This is not, however, the reason offered in the report.

The conditions that invite revolution . . . have been exploited by hostile outside forces — specifically, by Cuba, backed by the Soviet Union and now operating through Nicaragua . . . The intrusion of aggressive outside powers exploiting local grievances to expand their own political influence and military control is a serious threat to the United States.

This, then, is one of the legs on which the Kissinger report — and Reagan's policy — must stand or fall. Are the

forces we are attempting to suppress or overthrow in Central America indigenous, or are they Bolsheviks in disguise? If the report is to be taken seriously as a background study for policy formation, it must buttress this allegation of Soviet surrogates; if it neglects to do so, it is exposed as nothing more than the familiar Kissinger brand of erudite sophistry.

The charge of a Soviet-Cuban-Nicaraguan conspiracy to convert Central America into a Soviet military outpost is made in the Kissinger report with appropriate emphasis.

Soviet and Cuban proxies . . . have become endemic . . . The Soviet and Cuban threat is real. No nation is immune . . . In 1978 . . . Castro's Soviet patrons . . . were coming around to his view that the time for guerrilla war in Central America had arrived. External financing [to reach development goals] may be available if outside aggression is eliminated.

Corroborative detail, however, is remarkably sparse in a 127-page report of which this is the major thrust. Only two specific allegations are made. One is that the El Salvadoran revolutionaries have received training assistance and arms supplies from and through Nicaragua. This is undoubtedly true, but it is scarcely prudent for an official of the U.S. government to give currency to the idea that such logistical support constitutes "outside aggression." The other is that in 1982, the Soviet Union, Eastern Euro-

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*Quoted from *The Price of Power: Kissinger in the Nixon White House* by Seymour Hersh.

pean countries, and Cuba gave a total of 7,500 university scholarships to Central American students, while the United States gave only 391. Lest the reader overlook the aggressive implications of this, it is described as an "educational strategy" involving the "targeting of students from lower income families."

Decisive testimony is not lacking, however, to the point that the Soviet threat to Central America is a pretext rather than a justification for U.S. intervention.

The original peace initiatives of Nicaragua have given little cause for optimism. . . . The latest of the Sandinistas' formal proposals . . . would bind the parties to refrain from sending arms from one country to another in the region, and otherwise to end intervention, "overt or covert," in the internal affairs of other nations of the region. Significantly, these Sandinista proposals would prohibit exercises and maneuvers of the type United States and Honduran forces have carried out.

Call To Conscience

The classic statement of Kissinger's position on conscience was made when he was Secretary of State, in 1975: "I hold the strong view that human rights are not appropriate for discussion in a foreign policy context."

Why, then, is he now invoking conscience as the other half of the foundation on which his recommendations rest? Again, there is an obvious answer — he has confused conscience with something else, perhaps noblesse oblige. Here too, however, the report gives another reason. By following a policy of benign neglect, we have allowed the present crisis to develop.

When our neighbors are in trouble, we cannot close our eyes and still be true to ourselves. For most of the first 200 years of its

history . . . the United States focused its attention only intermittently on the South. . . . The 1980's [sic] must be the decade in which the United States recognizes that its relationships with Mexico and Central and South America rank in importance with its ties to Europe and Asia.

But has the policy of the United States toward Central America been either benign or neglectful? If in fact we have persistently intervened in Central American affairs, then the present crisis may indeed call upon us to examine our conscience, but the result of such an examination could well lead to a resolve quite different from that which the Kissinger report promotes.

Kissinger's evidence that the sins of the United States against Central America have been sins of omission is, of necessity, largely negative. In Chapter 2, of the report for example, the "chaotic" history of the Central American nations is traced from independence to the present. To omit from such an account the long list of U.S. presidents, armed forces, business tycoons, and adventurers who have stirred up and capitalized on that sad reign of chaos is as impossible as to write the history of bread without mentioning yeast — yet Kissinger has almost

done it. He slips only once — in 1954 "the United States helped bring about the fall of the Arbenz government."

That U.S. intentions have been benign cannot, of course, be established by omitting facts — for this purpose, facts must be distorted. The Monroe Doctrine, a unilateral declaration of U.S. hegemony in the Western Hemisphere, is described, for example, as expressing

the vision of a hemisphere united by a core of common commitment to independence and liberty, insulated from other quarrels, free to work out its own destiny in its own way, yet ready to play as constructive a role in world affairs as its resources might permit.

Certainly the most dramatic distortion, or rather outright denial, of the facts, is found in a discussion of the U.S. role in Nicaragua.

The ability of Somoza and later his sons to portray themselves as friends and even spokesmen of the United States began with the use they were able to make of the legacy of U.S. military occupation, thereby creating an identity between the United States and dictatorship in Central America that lingers, independent of the facts, to this day.

Central America						
	Costa Rica	El Salvador	Guatemala	Honduras	Nicaragua	Panama
Percent of school-age population in school	55	47	33	48	54	68
Literacy rate	93	65	50	60	66	85
Population per physician	1,500	3,160	2,540	3,180	2,060	1,130
Infant mortality (per 1,000 live births)	24	53	72	90	90	34
Percent of population with safe water	81	48	42	55	46	83

Source: World Military and Social Expenditures/N.Y. Times

The truth of the matter is so widely known and well documented that no one of less stature than a Kissinger or Goebbels would dare deny it: We put the Somoza dynasty in power and sustained it there until its collapse was imminent.

Because these small nations, our near neighbors, are in trouble, and because we, as a great power, can make a difference, we have both an opportunity and a responsibility to act. We must not, however, exceed the limits of protection. Big brothers can, as Kissinger disarmingly acknowledges, become tyrants. This is not, he assures us, the aspiration of the United States.

The issue is not what particular system a nation might choose when it votes. The issue is rather that nations should choose for themselves, free of outside pressure, force or threat. There is room in the hemisphere for differing forms of governance and different political economies. Authentically indigenous changes, and even indigenous revolutions, are not incompatible with international harmony in the Americas. They are not incompatible even with the mutual security of the members of the inter-American system — if they are truly indigenous. The United States can have no quarrel with democratic decisions, as long as they are not the result of foreign pressure and external machinations.

This is a profoundly reassuring statement. Regardless of whether the civil war in El Salvador is a manifestation of Soviet foreign policy, regardless of the sins we have committed in Central America in the past, such a statement would point us in a promising direction for the future. It would, that is, if it represented the true visage of our foreign policy leadership, and not merely an image contrived for public-relations effect.

Which is it? Well, here is Kissinger commenting in 1970 on the last free

election in Chile: “I don’t see why we need to stand by and watch a country go Communist due to the irresponsibility of its own people.”

Choose Life

And where does that leave us as we watch Reagan and his faithful guide Kissinger galloping off to new adventures? There is a way along which conscience and national interest will guide us if we can rid our eyes of the scales of self-righteousness and open them to the righteousness of God. The first requirement, as always, is penitence. We did not create poverty and injustice in Central America, but we share the burden of guilt as the receiver of stolen goods shares that of the thief. The meager land from which the people of Central America must wrest their living has been progressively taken from them, mostly in the present century, to produce cash crops for the U.S. market — originally bananas, most recently beef for fast-food hamburgers. Whether the thieves have been U.S. corporations or their local confederates, every act of intervention by the Government of the United States, whether military, political, or economic, has been to assist the thieves and repress their victims.

By now, the game has very nearly been played out. You cannot take more and more from people who have less and less without eventually reaching the point where those people have nothing to lose, and no choice but to die or fight back. That point has been passed in Nicaragua, has been reached in El Salvador and Guatemala, and is not far off in Honduras. We cannot prevent this by means of arms, or cosmetic elections, or arcane distinctions between authoritarian and totalitarian regimes. We can only prolong the agony by such means (as we did in Southeast Asia). The peace-with-honor still open to us is that which is eternally promised if we confess our sins, let the wrath of God be fulfilled, and pray for

the chance to make amends.

As for national interest, we need to recognize that it is threatened not by ideology but by hostility. It was the U.S. embargo, not Marxist ideology, that drove Cuba into dependency upon the Soviet Union. The most rigorously Marxist political leader in the world, Enver Hoxha of Albania, is no friend of the Soviets; Indira Gandhi of India, a devoted capitalist, is. Non-communist Syria threatens our troops with Soviet missiles, while we strengthen communist China as a means of neutralizing the Soviet threat.

When Congress was agonizing over an economic aid bill for Nicaragua following the Sandinista victory, the House added provisions requiring that 60% of the aid go to private business, and that none go to projects using Cuban personnel. This effectively left those fields where popular support is to be gained (such as health and education) to the Cubans. We have, in short, nothing to fear from a Leftist orientation among Latin Americans, but much to fear from our own invincible ignorance and perverse determination to drive them into enmity and deliver them into the hands of our rivals.

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Letters . . . Continued from page 3

misunderstanding that surrounds the word *socialism*. He strips the word of any identity with Marxism, communism and Stalinism and presents us with a respectable and very acceptable foundation for true socialism. And his accusation that in the past 40 years, capitalism has not presented the world with anything new in the political or economic organization of society should prod us to "think about this."

Charles D. Corwin
Colonial Beach, Va.

'Fastidious Clarifications'

That Jacques Ellul found some "new way" that does not belong to capitalism, communism or the Third World is to fudge on the fact that in Walesa's case his struggle came from a communist camp. It also ignores those with spiritual courage from the capitalist side and the Third World. A solidarity movement can happen wherever citizens understand there is a need for cooperation and it is not forthcoming. It is important to note

that the bourgeoisie who claim Walesa as their champion are also against his socialism.

Where national concern puts corporate profit before its people, socialism comes from the right. The factions within the United States who accept no human face wish to replace Hitler on the world economic scene. In the United States socialism is only viewed as coming from the left. Our policy forces us to be anti-communist, which is how Nazi Germany handled not sharing its industrial advantage with the world, and enabled building an arsenal to fight anyone who opposed it.

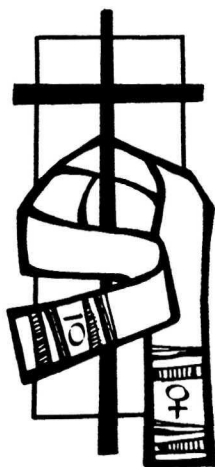
Our citizens are permitted the advantage of national health care without a job as in other industrial countries. Overseas we do allow the state to do this humane socialism because western corporations then can avoid a traditional labor/management cost. When American workers have no job, no health care and still support corporate America's interpretation of a competitive market place their orientation is Darwinian slavery. Of course those who do not favor humani-

tarian state-aid do not believe in Darwinian theory.

To say "absolutely nothing" has been accomplished in the capitalist world is to deny an effort nobly made to turn this country toward a Christian direction. Of course 40 years of condemning liberal policies and the indictments of all those who express them as communist has done its damage. A fastidious clarification must be made. The superiority of the powerful can only be maintained if the Lech Walesas, the Martin Luther Kings or the Mohandas Gandhis go unheeded. When unions no longer defend workers against manipulation (government or management) they have joined the powerful. When leaders no longer work for the real needs of the people they should not claim their support of democracy or Christianity. There is no problem in choosing a Marxist economy with a Roman Catholic face, or finding trade between Hebrew and Moslem traders. It happens. The truly authentic Christian is a creator of non-violent solutions.

Gray Anderson
Bloomington, Ind.

Special May WITNESS, Video Film to Mark 10th Anniversary Event



A special edition of THE WITNESS commemorating the 10th anniversary of the "irregular ordinations" of the 11 Episcopal women priests in Philadelphia will be published in May. All present subscribers will receive this bonus issue, and it also will be distributed during the week of 10th anniversary celebrations in Washington, D.C., culminating in a Eucharist at Washington Cathedral May 26 at 2 p.m.

Among events planned, in addition to the Liturgy, are a conference celebrating women, lay and ordained, at Villa Cortona in Bethesda, Md. May 23-25; the annual meeting of the Episcopal Women's Caucus beginning at 10 a.m. May 26, in Hearst Hall (near the Cathedral), Washington, D.C. and an open party hosted by the Rev. George Regas, rector of All Saints, Pasadena, May 25 at 8 p.m. in Hearst Hall.

The Episcopal Church Publishing

Company will sponsor a half hour video program entitled, "Women on the Altar," to be shown at a wine and cheese party May 25 from 5 to 7 p.m., place to be announced. The docudrama film will present archival footage of the '74 ordinations and interviews with key participants.

Issues to be included are:

- The function of power and authority in the church
- How to organize around an issue effectively
- The functions of class and economics (including an analysis of the usefulness of sexism and racism in keeping the unorganized powerless)
- What has been accomplished and what is yet to be done.

For further information on the above, write or call THE WITNESS, P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002 (215) 643-7067.

Values . . .

Continued from page 11



serving, position—whether that self service is denying certain ugly realities or bargaining for time with God before an impending Doomsday.

2. Anger. It is justifiable. If there is any truth in my earlier external diagnosis—that we live in the end times of World-Nation-functional Christian faith—then students are justifiably angry. It is sane to be angry at times, like when you're dying.

Sane, focused anger produces fight from within. Adrenaline flows, heroes are made; battles are won, shackles are thrown off. Anger can be a very positive response.

But unfocused anger can simply become rage which radiates all around. Undifferentiated anger, unfounded rage spills over into every walk of life. We are saturated with violence everywhere. Read your local newspaper. Headlines, movie titles, games, rock groups—all give ample evidence that we live in a sea of unfocused rage, anger, and violence.

3. Depression (anger repressed). Ennui is a lack of caring for self or others or creation. A boredom or tedium, a weariness or dissatisfaction with life that signs up for courses without rhyme or reason and just as easily drops them, which may or may not follow through on stated commitments, which neglects personal appearance, common decency, and simply doesn't give a damn about anything—ennui is all around us.

Behind the depression is the repressed, unfocused rage which may from time to time erupt but which most probably remains undercover in a collective laid-back cool which is extolled as a virtue.

4. Fear (Kubler-Ross doesn't name fear as a stage, but in the face of dying, people are afraid.) Internally, I think the narcissism of today's student, the withdrawal into self, is the result of fear. Fear is a deeper emotion than anger, manifesting itself in many forms of self-isolating behavior. When all around is unsure, to withdraw into a private world isolated by headphones from the world's noises is safe. Withdrawal can be into a private fantasy about the quest—whether through Tolkein or a game of Mazes and Monsters where both fear and anger are lived out in fantasy.

The internal diagnosis is one with elements of denial and bargaining, anger and depression and a deep underlying, self isolating fear.

Where is the wellspring of spiritual values in today's student?

It is as if they have grown up in the world of Jeremiah:

My people have committed two evils:
they have forsaken me,
the fountain of living waters,
and hewed out cisterns for themselves,
broken cisterns, that can hold no water.
(Jer. 2:13)

III.

Where is the wellspring? Of spiritual values? It is where the Christian gospel always has said it was. It is in that death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, which we have long proclaimed. In thinking about the Paschal Mystery of Christ, the death and resurrection which gives new life, we have perhaps too narrowly focused on this as an event within the individual believer and not seen it in its more cosmic implication.

What if our society is in a tomb? Cannot God strike that rock which closes the tomb and again bring forth living water? What if all is dark, and Jerusalem is surrounded? Cannot Isaiah proclaim a hopeful song?

Behold, God is my salvation;
I will trust and will not be afraid . . .
Shout and sing for joy, O inhabitants of Zion,
for great in your midst is the Holy One of
Israel.

(Isa. 12:2-6)

From death God raises new life. That is the wellspring.

Today's student knows the death. The hope of new life is the message to which we witness.

In entering the dialogue about life rising from death, I would note three phases—all of which I believe to be the great values of today's students.

First, there is the value of courage. To have the courage to persevere with an education in these days is a magnanimous act. It can be Stoic; it can be self serving, but let us honor in our students their courage to keep on living. Better to seek a career than to drop out. Their courage ultimately is sacred. It is rooted in some deep knowledge within the species that to persevere is necessary if life is to have meaning. It is the struggle of Jacob who will not let go of the angel until blessed.

Second, let us honor the honesty in our students who can say that our old world is dying and that it hurts, that it is frightening, and that it is enraging. Let us not deny their dealing with the death and dying of a culture. Let us honor their struggle and listen with them for the sound of living waters that might



emerge from these cold stones. Let us dare feel with them, in our own lives, the pain and fear and anger of living among the dying. When we are able to do so, I expect we will experience new levels of communication which will bring us both new life.

Third, let us dare embrace with them a new world, a new vision of life—not a world of self isolated fear, but the world of micro-chips, which can help connect us, the world of interdependent world states, the world of international business and agriculture, the world of negotiation and careful compromise which can defuse the threat of nuclear genocide.

Let us not only embrace a new and strange and different world but let us help them to hear with us the biblical promise—“Behold I make all things new.” (Rev. 21:5)

To discover wellsprings is to go deep. More than one church in Europe rediscovered their wellsprings during excavation after the bombing ended. Thus, All Hallows, Towergate, uncovered a Saxon Arch of its original worshipers. St. Clement’s, Rome, now is excavated below its present active church building to a fourth religious level—a Mithraic Temple.

There is certainly a sense in which we all prefer to live on the surface of life. But today’s student, as well as we ourselves, will only discover our wellsprings if we dare go deep enough.

Deep into Sheol—to the place of departed spirits. Deep into the death and dying of an era, a nation, a religious synthesis—all of which have served us well but which now are dying.

With our students let us have the courage, the honesty to look into this deep, this watery chaos, and discover the Spirit of God hovering—the One who makes all things new, who from death raises up new life.

Monica Furlong wrote the following twenty years ago:

I cannot imagine a more enjoyable time to be a Christian, except possibly in the first few centuries of the Church. For while the great holocaust is sweeping away much that is beautiful and all that is safe and comfortable and unquestioned, it is relieving us of the mounds of Christian bric-a-brac as well, and the liberation is unspeakable. Stripped of our nonsense we may almost be like the early Christians painting their primitive symbols on the walls of the catacombs—the fish, the grapes, the loaves of bread, the cross, the monogram of Christ—confident that in having done so they had described the necessities of life.

(Monica Furlong, *The Manchester Guardian*, January 17, 1963.)

Where is the wellspring of spiritual values in today’s student?

It is in the watery chaos of this age, a chaos over which the Spirit of God hovers to create light and life.

It is in the darkness of the tomb awaiting a dying age—a dying nationalism, a dying religious synthesis. And from that death and dying God will raise up a new body, a new world, and give it light and life.

Our ministry, I am suggesting, is one of sitting with a grief-stricken generation who has the courage to continue in the face of death and who has the possibility of embracing, even forming with God, the new age yet to be raised up. ■

(The above article is reprinted with permission from *Plumblin*, Volume 11, Issue 2.)

Two More Children

two more children, god,
rained upon us,
dropped from the sky last night.
their mom’s in the hospital.
no place to go.
i have no fondness for child-rearing, god.
and you already gave us chrissy and tony.
we kept them when their mother didn’t come back.
four is a few too many, god,
for an orderly person like me
who likes her house clean, and her peace and quiet.
my lover has a gift for this, god,
a calling.
says she wants five or six or seven
including a baby, please.
me, i never wanted this.
me, a mother?
can’t fathom it.
so traditional.
so stereotyped.
i’m a liberated woman, a radical christian.
i’m called to change systems,
speak prophetic words
confront the powers and principalities.
but children, god?
in my home?
their needs so immediate —
seven-year-old charles crying in bed last night
“i want my mother”
and i creep in to hold him close
and whisper words of assurance.
i’m not cut out for this one-on-one stuff, god.
too demanding.
too consuming.
i want to fight dragons
and you give me children.

— Patricia Broughton

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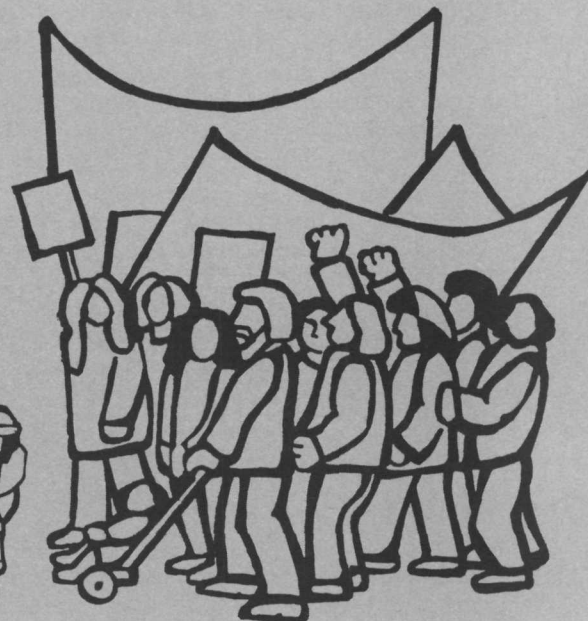
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THE an ecumenical journal of social concern WITNESS

VOLUME • 62
NUMBER • 6
JUNE 1984



Jean Dementi and Friend

What message did this Alaskan woman priest deliver to the Pope? See page 12.

Letters

St. Constantine, Yea

It's time somebody stuck up for St. Constantine. That's right, *Saint* Constantine, the ancient Roman Emperor who embraced Christianity. The "Constantinian Arrangement and its derivations," as William Stringfellow wrote in the February issue of *THE WITNESS*, is blamed for just about every wrong in Christian history since the reign of the Peer-of-Apostles, as the Orthodox call him to this day.

I really do have enormous respect for Stringfellow, but this carping at Constantine isn't fair. Consider the circumstances of the time: After centuries of intermittent persecution, the new young ruler announces his intention to fashion his rule with reference to Christian principles. What *is* the faithful response of the church? Polite refusal?

There is no question that the Constantinian Arrangement frequently disfigured the church beyond recognition. As is often said, the embrace of Caesar can easily break the back of Christ's Bride. But the crusades and the inquisitions, the corrupt popes and servile theologians and conquistadores are not the whole story of this Arrangement. There were also Bartolomeo de las Casas, St. Hugh of Lincoln, St. Elizabeth of Hungary, St. Philip of Moscow, St. Margaret of Scotland, St. Maximus the Confessor and many others whose voices and deeds represent the holy side of the Arrangement.

And there was St. Constantine himself. Now, some attorneys may wish to prosecute him, before the Throne of Judgment, for seducing the church into apostasy. But in his defense will testify countless widows and orphans whose lot he improved, slaves whose rights he advanced, and gladiators whose killing he forbade. It is for God to judge his motives.

And where would Christianity be today without his contribution? Very possibly where Mithraism is. In other words, extinct. In every great missionary advance, imperial power has provided the conditions necessary in the crucial initial stages: in the ancient Roman Empire; in Armenia and Georgia; in Western and Northern Europe; in Asia, Africa, and in the Western Hemisphere. And when the empire has fulfilled this role, it has always disappeared — leaving the church firmly rooted among God's people.

Finally I would like to address a few questions to William Stringfellow:

1) What do you mean by "just war sophistry"? Do you mean that the classic qualifications for a just war are abject casuistry, not deserving of serious consideration? Do you mean that no war can ever be justified from a Christian point of view? That, for example, the armed resistance of Guatemalan Indians, in the attempt to prevent the torture of their children, is unjust? Or is your reference only to nuclear war?

2) What about Nicaragua? Is the Sandinista attempt to fashion a new society with reference to Christian principles *not* the latest derivation of the Constantinian Arrangement? Is not Sandinismo a new Constantine? Or do you approve of this aspect of the "ambivalent, and poignant, behavior of Pope John Paul II," agreeing with him that the Nicaraguan priests have no business in the Government of National Reconstruction?

St. Constantine symbolized the appropriateness of political activity on the part of the church. Modern political theologians and Christian revolutionaries have this in common with him, surprising and outrageous as it may seem. For he represents the willingness of the church to run the risk of being *in* the world in

order to transform the world, rather than keeping aloof from the world in order to preserve her purity.

The Rev. William J. Teska
Minneapolis, Minn.

Stringfellow Responds

I have no elaborate quarrel with the remarks of William Teska regarding Constantine. I think that I appreciate the historic circumstances which occasioned the Constantinian Arrangement. That does not alter the basic truth that the Arrangement represents a reversal of the Apostolic precedent for the church's stance with respect to the established order of society and to the ruling authorities.

To put it another way, I have less trouble with Constantine than I do with Adolph Hitler, who received solemn sanction from the established church in Germany in 1934; or, as supercilious as he may be, with Ronald Reagan.

With regard to the various questions addressed to me:

1) I do not believe that war can ever be "justified" from a biblical perspective.

2) I do not believe that there can be a "Christian nation" or a "Christian society" as such, as benign as the aspirations for such may sometimes be. The only Christian nation in history is the society of the Church of Christ. That is why the church, where faithful, stands over against the secular order in unremitting tension.

William Stringfellow
Block Island, R.I.

Kudos From a Spofford

I would like to take this opportunity to send in my subscription renewal and also to congratulate you and *THE WITNESS* on your 10th anniversary.

I am Bill Spofford, Sr.'s daughter and

I can't tell you what a boost your magazine gives me. You have done an excellent job and have continued in the tradition of my late father. The magazine is very readable, informative and dynamic. It brings your readers hope and reassurance in a very mixed-up world.

**Suzanne Spofford Rester
Charleston, S.C.**

(We are most appreciative of the kudos from Suzanne Spofford Rester as we continue to publish "in the tradition" of her courageous father, former editor William B. Spofford, Sr. That tradition is one of social concern and advocacy, which has animated THE WITNESS since its beginnings in the World War I era. After Bill Spofford's death in 1972, the magazine ceased publishing for a while. But THE WITNESS (redivivus) rolled off the press again in 1974 under Editor Robert L. DeWitt, with the announcement of the "irregular" ordinations of the first Episcopalian women priests. Therefore, depending on how one reckons, this year we are either 67 or 10 years old! — Eds.)

Isogesis, Exogesis?

Concerning "Joseph a Tax Resister?" by Abbie Jane Wells, (March WITNESS), I think a mention of isogesis and exogesis may be in order. The first, most readers will recall, is the practice of using scripture to prove one's point, whereas the latter is the unbiased search for the truth contained in scripture.

Both Matthew and Luke have accounts of Joseph and Mary being in Bethlehem at the time of Jesus' birth. Luke tells of them going to Bethlehem because of the census. Some scholars debate that this may have been a device to have Jesus born in Bethlehem, but the fact remains that whether living there, as in Matthew,

or temporarily there, as in Luke, Joseph could hardly have avoided the census. There is no evidence that he even desired to avoid it. There is more evidence that he willingly complied with it.

The purpose of a census, in large part, is to register the populace for purposes of conscription and taxation. Josephus and other historians support the actuality of that census. On the other hand, the massacre of the infants of Bethlehem by Herod, the flight into and the return from Egypt are reported only by Matthew and are difficult, if not impossible, to confirm. It is also significant to note that none of these events are mentioned by Mark or John.

Joseph, as Ms. Wells suggests, may have been a tax resister but this can hardly be proven or even hinted at by the Gospels. If anything, the indication is to the contrary.

I do not wish to cast aspersions on Ms. Wells' convictions, but I would like to suggest that nearly anything can be acrobatically proven or suggested by use of the scriptures. For example, just as taxes can be shown to be unjust when spent on weapons, tax evasion can be seen as unjust when poverty programs are not supplemented by able individuals. Perhaps it may be more prudent to approach the Word as a voice rather than as a tool.

**William Hodges
Lexington, Ky.**

Ms. Wells Responds

There is isogesis and there is exegesis, William Hodges writes, and then, I would add, in between these two lay all the varieties of "I wonder if's" of all human minds, which make no claim or pretense to be either. And no doubt the Greeks had a word for this, too. Whether a person approaches the Word as a voice

or as a tool, each does it through his or her own mind. The Voice is heard in as many different ways as there are minds to receive it. And so we each flesh out the words of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, about Joseph or Mary or Jesus, in our various ways, whether to prove a point or as a search for the truth or just as an "I wonder if . . .?"

As for "taxes being unjust when spent on weapons and tax evasion being just as unjust when poverty programs are unsupplemented by individuals," as Hodges puts it, I can only echo a friend's sentiment, "And when we have tax structures that really support poverty programs, that'll be the day!" But until that day tax resisters may choose to skip the middle man and administer their tax dollars themselves — funneling them into poverty programs of their choice while keeping them out of all the weapons programs they choose not to support.

The massacre of the infants of Bethlehem and the flight into Egypt, only reported by Matthew, furnishes me with a number of "I wonder if's" — one of which is: I wonder if God warned all the fathers of sons under two as God warned Joseph? And if they had all fled as Joseph did, would there have been any boy babies left in Bethlehem for Herod's soldiers to slaughter? I am not trying to re-write history nor the New Testament, but if I am to believe that God has concern for all God's children, then I am led to believe that God had as much concern for all the boy babies in Bethlehem as God did for Jesus. Of course, this is impossible to confirm! But this is one of the many "I wonder if" questions I intend to ask God about face-to-face.

And I can hardly wait to get a firsthand account from Joseph himself about all the things he was involved with that

Continued on page 14

'No' to Constitutional Convention

by H. Coleman McGehee, Jr.

Should a convention be called to rewrite the United States Constitution? That question, now before the Michigan Legislature, has national implications.

As *THE WITNESS* goes to press, the State Senate has passed and the House is considering a proposal that the State of Michigan petition the U.S. Congress to convene such a Convention, ostensibly to propose the adoption of an amendment to require a federal balanced budget.

If 34 states pass this resolution, Congress is obligated under Article V of the Constitution to convene a convention. Since 32 states have already approved the resolution, national attention now centers on the Michigan Legislature.

Opponents, which include churches, the Jewish Community Council, the American Civil Liberties Union, Common Cause, and the State AFL-CIO, maintain that it is gambling with the integrity of the U.S. Constitution to seek an amendment by convention, rather than the usual, tested, and more careful procedure of an amendment proposed to the

states by two-thirds of Congress and subsequent ratification by three-fourths of the states. Other than the 1787 founding convention at which the Constitution was drafted, this nation has not experienced a Constitutional Convention. There are no procedures — constitutional, statutory, judicial or otherwise — to prevent a convention from becoming a “runaway convention” in which one or several amendments other than the so-called balanced budget amendment might be proposed for inclusion in the Constitution. There is nothing, apparently, that would prevent a convention from utilizing this opportunity to propose amendments, for example, dealing with gun control, organized prayers in the public schools, aid to parochial education, or any other such subject.

Those supporting a Constitutional Convention concede the possibility of a “runaway convention,” but argue that opposition to the resolution is a “smoke screen” for opposition to the whole notion of a mandated federal balanced budget.

Important questions must be answered before any convention is convened to rewrite the U.S. Constitution:

- Who would be eligible to serve as a delegate, and must delegates be elected?

- Would the chosen delegates be committed to cast a vote one way or the other on a proposed amendment?

- May Congress prescribe any rules for the convention or limit its amending powers in any way?

The answer to these questions is unknown, and it is not even clear who would have the authority to answer them: the President, the Congress, the states, the courts, the convention?

Those advocating a balanced budget have alternative, and less dangerous, methods available to them. The President can propose a balanced budget. He has, as everyone knows, proposed unbalanced budgets because of his heavy emphasis on spending for the arms race, and Congress may adopt a balanced budget, or Congress may propose a constitutional amendment to the states.

Let us hope that the State of Michigan plays no part in this irresponsible method of securing a balanced budget, and that the attempt to get 34 states to make possible the convening of a Constitutional Convention will fail.

The Rt. Rev. H. Coleman McGehee, Jr., is Bishop of Michigan and Chair of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company.

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Credits Cover photo and photos pp. 12, 14, Jimmy Bedford; graphic p. 6, *Center Peace Newsletter*, Center for Law and Pacifism; graphic p. 7, Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy; graphics pp. 8, 10, *CPF*; photo p. 13, Episcopal Diocese of Alaska; graphic p. 18, Institute of Women Today; graphic p. 21, Pacem in Terris Center, Los Angeles.

THE WITNESS is published monthly. Editorial office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002. Phone (215)643-7067. Subscription rates \$12 per year. \$1 per copy. THE WITNESS is indexed in the American Theological Library Association's *Religion Index One: Periodicals*. Copyright 1984 by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Printed in U.S.A. ISSN 0197-8896.

Prison Ministry Needs



Then the King will say to those on his right hand, "Come, you whom my father has blessed, take for your heritage the kingdom prepared for you since the foundation of the world. For I was hungry and you gave me food; I was thirsty and you gave me drink; I was a stranger and you made me welcome; naked and you clothed me, sick and you visited me, in prison and you came to see me." (Matt. 25: 34-36)

The early church saw the care of prisoners as an important part of its pastoral ministry. In Jesus' account of his own ministry (*Luke 4:18*) and that of his followers (*Matthew 25:34-36*), we find specific reference to attending to prisoners.

As American Christians we are diligent in our responses to the calls to ministry in *Matthew 25*. We set up soup kitchens and food cupboards for the hungry; we arrange newcomers' gatherings to welcome strangers. We fall down, however, in our care of the prisoner.

How do we explain our indifference, our neglect?

Partly because of our fear. Police, the press and politicians have indoctrinated us that persons held in jails are a particularly dangerous breed, a violent threat to society. Ghastly crimes are reported in the media and exploited to incite our demand for retaliation. Our response to this indoctrination is to shut away those who are accused or convicted of crimes. We are afraid of them: too afraid to risk care, too afraid to question press reports or learn the truth.

And partly we neglect prison ministry because of our hatred. We identify prisoners as despicable, beyond the pale, unlike "good" people (such as ourselves). Prisoners represent all those feared and untamed parts of ourselves that we bury deep, and then deny. They are our projected self-hatred. They become for us a scapegoat, "pierced for our faults,

crushed for our sins," and yet the punishment we heap upon them does not alleviate our fear or bring us peace, for our own inner violence continues to stir restlessly.

And then we neglect ministry with the imprisoned because of our ignorance and misunderstanding. Most of us know little about our judicial and "correctional" systems. The truth about our imprisoned sisters and brothers lies hidden behind thick walls, behind security devices and surveillance, behind official reports created to assure that all is well. Up-risings and prison violence are hastily translated into symptoms of the violent nature of specific individuals, before the public has an opportunity to identify and question the violent nature of the institutions themselves.

Jail and prison ministries, if considered at all, are viewed by most American Christians as complicated, dangerous undertakings best left to trained professionals, such as chaplains. Yet chaplains themselves rarely have specialized training. Few seminaries offer coursework relating to ministries in the criminal justice system. (A refreshing exception and a sign of hope is Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, which devotes a full semester of first-year ministry studies in this area.) Clinical Pastoral Education programs in jails and prisons are scarce. Professional writings on jail and prison ministries are nearly non-existent and when they appear tend to be simplistic, rarely acknowledging the complex forces at work in the justice "system" and in prisoners' minds and souls.

Finally, jail and prison chaplains tend to be marginalized among the clergy. Active and involved support from their

The Rev. Caroline F. Malseed is Assistant Rector of St. Elizabeth's Church in Ridge-wood, N.J. She was the Community Co-ordinator of Rochester Interfaith Jail Ministry, Inc., Rochester, N.Y. for three years.

New Approach

by Caroline F. Malseed

denominations rarely emerges, and they often become lonely individuals facing mountainous problems in a hostile institution.

A few voluntary, primarily lay agencies exist to serve prisoners — to visit, to assist, to advocate for prisoners and their concerns. These agencies tend to be among the social service agencies which scrap for the few surplus dollars of a strained economy. Usually they are under-funded, under-staffed, and face attempts by “corrections” administrations to discredit them or deny their efficacy. However, they continue to be more lights of hope, bringing flesh to the call to “visit the imprisoned.”

For the present, then, the U.S. church response to Christ’s call to serve prisoners is weak, scattered, and inadequate to the massiveness of need. As this is written, the number of prisoners in our institutions approaches 700,000 and increases daily. But our approaches to ministries in jails and prisons frequently depend on pietistic theologies that were discarded generations ago in other fields of Christian mission and ministry.

Traditionally, jail and prison ministries focus on the prisoner as the object of ministry — an individual who is to be changed, first inwardly, then in outward behavior, as a result of exposure to the Gospel. Prisoners too often have suffered literally as a “captive audience” the harangues of would-be evangelists who are convinced that the prisoner’s poor estate is a result of his or her unsaved condition. Imprisonment stands as a sign of warning or a punishment visited by a vengeful God, too long provoked by this recalcitrant individual.

Therefore, conversion of prisoners often becomes the primary agenda. The minister assumes the posture of having experienced rebirth in the Lord, and sets out to bring the prisoner, too, to this higher spiritual estate. In this view, the purpose of ministry is not acts of compassion or liberation to improve tangibly the prisoner’s situation, but rather to accept the situation (presumably ordained by God) and change the person. The minister thus becomes a peculiar kind of anti-Moses, justifying the prisoner’s slavery under the Pharaohs of our criminal

justice system, rather than trying to lead the oppressed to freedom and the discovery of the God who acts to save the poor.

Often, too, those in prison ministries adopt the language and agenda of the institutions in which they serve and take as part of their task the “rehabilitation” of prisoners, assuming the guilt of the persons concerned (whether they have been convicted or not) and hoping to accomplish the task of making these persons acceptable to society — on society’s terms. The minister may see “rehabilitation” as a sign of salvation, or may even fail to distinguish between the two terms. Jesus, who lived his life among the poor and outlaws and who died as a convicted criminal, might have been shocked by this approach to ministry done in his name.

Both traditional agendas of conversion and rehabilitation betray a lack of acceptance — an inability to love persons with their existing strengths and existing brokennesses. Ministry becomes a venture in the changing of persons to the norms held by the minister. The prisoner is not a



unique, sacrosanct individual but a pawn to be moved and manipulated in directions defined by another.

The traditional approaches also reveal a lack of distinction between sin and crime. Crimes are offenses against the laws of a government, to be dealt with according to the laws of that state. Sin, however, is a state of alienation from God in which all persons share, and which we seek to bridge through repentance and acceptance of our redemption in Christ.

While a crime may or may not be a sin (consider, for example, the cases of those who break laws in ignorance or in gestures of civil disobedience), many jail and prison ministers have chosen to view accused or convicted persons as examples of spectacular sinners, obviously in more dire need of salvation than their free peers. The logic of this approach can certainly be questioned. I propose that any theology behind ministry with the incarcerated which hopes to be faithful to Jesus Christ, must begin by viewing all persons equally as broken and in need of reconciliation with God — prisoners to the same degree as other individuals, no more, no less. Ministers who serve in jails and prisons also should see their role as helping persons to grow in relationship to God and in faithful relationships with others, but not, necessarily, to engaging in the social-psychological tasks of “rehabilitation.”

In the 16th chapter of Acts, Luke recounts a fascinating tale of an encounter between Paul and Silas and the magistrates of Philippi. Jailed for freeing a slave girl of a fortune-telling spirit (and thus reducing her value to her owners drastically), Paul and Silas prayed and sang hymns during their night of imprisonment. Suddenly an earthquake broke the prison open, but the prisoners remained. The jailer, assuming his charges had fled, prepared to commit suicide, but Paul dissuaded him with assurance that no one had escaped. Stunned by the power of his prisoners’ faith, the jailer



and his household were converted to Christianity. (Here is where most lectionaries end the tale — but the story is far from ended!)

The next day the magistrates sent word that Paul and Silas should be released, but Paul did a remarkable thing. Outraged, he confronted the magistrates with the violation of civil rights that they had visited upon Silas and himself!

“What!” Paul replied, “They flog Roman citizens in public and without trial, and throw us into prison, and then think they can push us out on the quiet? Oh, no! They must come and escort us out themselves.” (*Acts 16:37-38*)

Thus, at least according to Luke, Paul saw the defense of civil rights and the demand for just proceedings as within the calling of the faithful Christian.

This story challenges our traditional jail and prison ministries, and opens new possibilities for us on two levels. First, we notice that the *jailer* (not the presumably unconverted prisoners) is the one who needs and seeks conversion. Consider his task — the job of locking up human beings, of punishing them, but also being responsible for their minimal welfare, their feeding, sanitation, clothing. Consider the mixed responses demanded of him toward his charges, and the need for a faith that would lift him above his trying tasks.

It might well be that those engaged in jail and prison ministries today should focus efforts on the “conversion” of guards, administrators and other personnel, remembering how they may be oppressed by the nature of their work, how they too are enslaved by Pharaoh, but how they also have the power to work to redeem their situation with new or renewed Christian vision.

Of course, liberation is a key theme in recent theologies and approaches to ministry. Vital to this theme are the concepts of oppressed peoples and their rights to self-determination. At a conference held with Paolo Freire at Cornell University in 1981, a seminar of persons working in various jail and prison ministries and advocacy groups pondered what words like “liberation” and “empowerment” can mean for that most controlled group in our society, prisoners. We were aware that prisoners who attempt to exercise self-determination, much less organize others for strategic collective action, are likely to be identified swiftly by security-conscious prison officials, and to suffer harsh reprisals. Encouraging prisoners to initiate such courses of action, even such apparently innocent gestures as circulating petitions, could prove to be ill-considered and dangerous.

With this awareness in mind, those in jail and prison ministries who take liber-

ation as a base must take the risks of advocacy upon themselves, as much as possible sheltering the identities of prisoners who report injustice or wrongdoing. Such ministers must, therefore, be prepared to hear, believe, and address accounts of injustice.

Hearing and believing are themselves radical acts in the present state of ministry. Prisoners tend to be the least-believed persons in our society, their experiences of injustice routinely discounted. Jail and prison staffs are quick to provide "documentation" discrediting complaints. Yet, the history of incarceration in the United States has been and continues to be bloody, as evidenced by investigations after uprisings at Attica and Ossining, in Texas and Oklahoma, and throughout the country. To be liberators, those who might minister must listen to, and trust, the cries of the imprisoned. We do not have to be prisoners, or ex-offenders, or intimately connected to prisoners ourselves in order to do this. Moses was not

a slave in bondage, but a former member of Pharaoh's court. Any slave who had attempted to liberate the Hebrew people would have been put to death. But Moses was in a position to be able to lead. It remains to God's people outside prison walls to proclaim, "Let my people go," and to struggle for the liberation of captives.

We have allowed prisoners to become severed from the body of Christ. We cannot see them in our churches, of course, and members of congregations who have loved ones in prison are more likely to hide the fact than to call for our prayers and assistance. We do not visit prisoners routinely, as we do the sick; we avoid correspondence with them, so they will not learn our home addresses; rarely do we even pray for them, much less seek to minister with them. Yet without our imprisoned sisters and brothers, as a church we are as incomplete as if we had deliberately amputated one of our own limbs.

Our first response to this situation should be a literal turning around so that we may look and see these thousands whom we have neglected. We will have to search them out, for they are deliberately hidden from us — but those who have eyes to see, will see. In our congregations we could begin to study our justice system, our institutions, and their impact on our brothers and sisters within them. We could consider that the reason many of us have never been arrested has more to do with our race and economic status than our innocence of crime. We could repent, turn around, be reconciled to one another.

And, as congregations, we could "reach in" to those in prison, and to their families. Visiting and correspondence programs, sharing study and worship groups with prisoners (making arrangements through chaplains), support ministries for families of prisoners are all possibilities. However, true ministry cannot be carried out in a posture of

moral or spiritual superiority, but only in humility and the willingness to recognize Christ in the one we serve.

We need to develop a spirit of compassion: an awareness and sharing of the sufferings of those in prison, seeing in them Christ the prisoner — Christ, accused, convicted, condemned. Meeting those we fear, we lose our fear; caring for the condemned, we learn to love that which we condemn in ourselves; striving for justice for others, we gain new justice for ourselves.

As the church we have much to learn about ministry with those in prison. Our prayers, studies and reflections in this area are in fledgling form. We need to gather together to learn from Scripture, from sacrament, and from each other in order to become faithful visitors, advocates, liberators to the captives. It is time to re-examine our approaches. It is time to begin again.

Resources

Crime and Community in Biblical Perspective (Valley Forge, Pa.: Judson Press, 1980) An adult/older youth curriculum, with a leader's guide. Judicial Process Commission, 121 North Fitzhugh Street, Rochester, N.Y. 14614.

Researching Your Local Jail: A Citizen's Guide for Action (Syracuse, N.Y.: 1981) Research tools for concerned citizens investigating local institutions. Safer Society Press, 3049 East Genesee Street, Syracuse, N.Y. 13224.

Overcrowded Time: Why Prisons Are So Crowded and What Can Be Done. Booklet produced and available from: Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, Office of Communications, 250 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017.

Books

Marie Buckley, *Breaking Into Prison: A Citizen's Guide to Volunteer Action* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1974)

Harold DeWolf, *What Americans Should Do About Crime* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976) ■

PVS Seeks Workers

Prisoner Visitation and Support (PVS) is a nationwide, interfaith assistance program for Federal and military prisoners. It is sponsored by 35 groups, including the Episcopal Peace Fellowship. PVS seeks to meet the needs of prisoners through an alternative ministry that is separate from official prison structures.

The focus of PVS's visitors is on those prisoners with an acute need for human contact: those serving long sentences, those in solitary confinement, those without visits, etc. Founded in 1968, PVS initially visited conscientious objectors, but later expanded its work to include war resisters and others wanting visits.

PVS is expanding its visitor network and is seeking additional people for this work. Write to PVS, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102 or call (215) 241-7117.

Sexual Abuse of Women in Prison

by Margaret Traxler

“We are human beings, we desire respect for our bodies. If we resist an officer, we could be sentenced up to five or ten years. So we must stand still and be attacked willingly and submissively.”

So wrote a young woman in Cook County Jail, Chicago, appealing to her Black Muslim minister to intervene on behalf of women who were suffering sexual abuse from male guards.

Her plight is all too clear to any advocate for women in prisons. Some men suffer paralysis of the moral psyche once they are placed in charge of incarcerated women. And the problem is exacerbated when men take advantage of women grieving over the loss of their children. Once behind bars, many of these women become passive, internalizing their grief. Feeling guilty that they have abandoned their children, the mothers try to accrue “good time.” This means that they can reduce their sentences — sometimes up to half — with “good behavior.” But not if a guard reports them. Even when they fall prey to sexual abuse they tend to become submissive and keep silent in a dim purgatory of waiting for release.

Further, since one out of five women in prison has suffered incest herself, this increases apprehension about young daughters left in strange homes, or with semi-hostile relatives who resent the criminal record of the imprisoned mother.

Margaret Ellen Traxler is a Notre Dame nun who is director of the Institute of Women Today, headquartered in Chicago. The Institute is celebrating its 10th year of service to women who are in jail and prison.

Should men, then, be hired to guard women in prison? I would say they should not, but if they are, they themselves should be guarded! No man should be allowed in the sleeping quarters or day rooms unless accompanied by a woman guard. In one federal prison, a male guard who made rounds at 2 a.m. was sexually abusing the women, who reported him through one of the chaplains. When the account was finally sent to the Bureau of Prisons in Washington, D.C., the charge had been trivialized to “he shined his flashlight in the faces of sleeping women.”

In a prison in the Midwest, as many as 26 male guards and other staff were fired when a sex scandal was revealed. On another occasion in this same prison, 14 staff and guards were terminated. At another prison for women, a warden who was alert and professionally exemplary told me that she would have to have a photograph or a tape recording before

she could accuse two male guards whose conduct I brought to her attention.

She explained that Civil Service jobs are so protected that little could be done about workers who abused women and that the union of guards protected the rest. In one particular scandal, the male guards were revealed as having a sex ring. The guards themselves were given “medical retirement” and the warden, although innocent, was asked to resign.

What is needed is extreme sensitivity in personnel placement. Even when this is understood and monitored, women prisoners are sexually vulnerable. The surprisingly high rate of pregnancy among women in prison reveals the need for protection.

In no way is this meant to denigrate the gravity of sexual rape of men behind bars. *All* rape is violent. It is reprehensible that either women or men must be placed in an environment of violence “for the good of society.” However,



when women prisoners become prey to male guards and staff, they cannot resist lest they be ticketed or reported as being insolent or insubordinate. It happens every day. On a prison visit, I overheard a male guard call to a woman across the study area, "Get your ass over here," whereupon I stood up from behind a study carrel, and the man hastily disappeared.

"Thank you," said the young woman. "He takes me every time he finds me alone. Sometimes he pretends I broke a rule and orders me out of line into a secluded corner."

Another flagrant abuse is the strip search, supposedly forbidden today in Illinois. It was introduced in 1952 for women only and could be applied even though they were arrested for minor traffic offenses. It was declared unconstitutional by a United States District Court in 1982, but at the end of 1983, the practice was invoked in the women's division at Cook County Jail. A former male employee admitted, when the case was being examined in the courts, "In the district stations, all the men ran to the closed-circuit TV screens so as not to miss the show."

In the history of strip-search, there was submitted into court record only one analytical survey taken over a 35-day period from June to July, 1965. This took place in Chicago, and of the 1,800 women who had been searched, nine items had been discovered. Not one was a firearm. The U.S. District Court decided unanimously that strip searching of women, while excluding men, was unconstitutional. The court found that it violated equal protection under the Fourth Amendment. The practice must now be abrogated in all states.

Paula Kassell, an editor of *New Directions for Women* asked a cogent question related to these issues. Noting that a California judge and the New Jersey Civil Service recently ruled that

female jail guards must be allowed to watch male prisoners when they take showers or are attending to other bodily needs, Kassell asked, "Must this go on?" She reports that in New Jersey, the ruling includes touching inmates' private parts in the search efforts. Kassell sees this as a serious violation of the Constitutional right to privacy. Wrote Kassell, "Even though women's job opportunities and promotions are involved, let no one imagine that women's cause will be served by allowing opposite sexes to observe showers or conduct strip-searches."

Violation of privacy breaks down the morale of both men and women in prison. A nurse at a large prison said that she worked for three years to get permission for an inmate, Jack, to have the privilege of a private shower. Jack had an ileostomy and carried the bag for wastes at his side at all times. Men in the general shower laughed and teased him. As a result, Jack refused to take regular showers and the nurse tried in vain to obtain necessary permissions for a private bath.

I know of no prisons where there are private showers. In some, the showers

lead onto a corridor where male guards are free to walk. In one, the shower entry faces a glass booth which is open on three sides for all to observe. Linda, a resident at one state prison, said that she was offered an extra hour in the recreation yard if she would take a shower while Bill, the male guard, watched from the observation booth. Further, she was offered an extra hour for each woman inmate she could coax to do the same while Bill was on duty. To refuse, Linda would invoke Bill's resentment and possible retaliation.

On one occasion I was a silent and accidental observer of an encounter between a superintendent of a women's section and two young men dressed in white jackets who came to the women's door. They were pushing a medical cart. "We're going to do pap tests on the women," they announced.

"Just who are you and who sent you?" demanded the woman superintendent. "We're from the infirmary and we were sent to take pap smears," they answered and moved the cart forward.

The superintendent moved in front of the cart and demanded that they head back where they came from. "No one touches my women!" she replied in no uncertain terms. The two young men turned and went back to the infirmary.

Even licensed physicians can be a threat. One federal prison for women had one such. The inmates called him Dr. Goldfinger. When I inquired about this nickname, the reason was accompanied with gentle laughter. They explained, "Even when we have only a throat infection or a broken heel, Dr. Goldfinger wants to begin with a vaginal examination."

Thus corrections officials have a special obligation to guard women and secure their bodily safety. Meanwhile, the current model for incarceration of women makes us ask, "Who will guard the men who are guarding the women?" ■

Reflection

It is but a small matter
that inside Diane Roberts
inside DC Jail
a baby died
Diane Roberts said it mattered
said for five days bleeding
please it matters
but the ones who wield the power
shrewd mimes of Herod's curse
said it really didn't matter

We claim
an article of faith we say
a sparrow's gentle fall is marked
so I would think
this little death
small matter though it is
might break the very heart of God

—Helen Woodson



The Rev. Jean Dementi, priest-in-charge of St. Jude's, North Pole, meets the Pope.

Jimmy Bedford

Woman Priest, St. Jude, and the Pope

by Mary Lou Suhor

The Rev. Jean Aubrey Dementi, terminally ill with cancer, knew exactly what she wanted to say if she met the Pope during his recent visit to Alaska. It had nothing to do with a physical cure, longed for by many of the 200 sick and disabled children and adults with whom she waited. Her concern was for the health of the church.

The Episcopal woman priest, who at 64 has served as a nurse and missionary for more than a generation in Alaska, described how she felt before the event. "I wasn't going there to plead or complain, just to proclaim by my presence and words that there are women priests in the church. I knew that if I did meet the Pope, it would be very brief, so I had handwritten a message on a file card. It said, *'Your Holiness, we women priests*

bring a new dimension of wholeness to Our Lord's ministry.'"

Even though it was a long shot that she would meet John Paul II at the upper room set aside at the Fairbanks airport, her parishioners back at St. Jude's, North Pole, Alaska, remained hopeful. Wasn't their church named for the patron saint of hopeless cases?

Then the moment came. The Pope entered amid an onslaught of security agents, reporters and photographers, Dementi told THE WITNESS.

"The Pope made his way through the young, the aged, the handicapped in the room. There were more than 50 children in wheelchairs in front, then a second line of adults behind them," she said. "He was reaching out to them, in his loving way."

*"Your holiness,
we women priests
bring a new dimension
of wholeness
to Our Lord's ministry."*

As he neared Jean, he extended his hand.

"I had my clergy collar on, and he looked a bit startled. But he put his other hand on my arm and I put my arm on his, then he moved toward the others. It was over in a moment — too brief for words — but as he drew away I slipped the message into his hand. I think he tucked it into his sash.

"I wish I could tell you that when he saw me he said, 'My dear sister, let me embrace you. I've been looking forward to meeting a woman priest. Tell me what it's like.' As it turned out, I doubt whether the cause of women's ordination in the Catholic church was advanced very much."

But Dementi's friends do not write off the encounter that easily. They point out

that the fleeting moment was frozen by Photographer Jimmy Bedford. And Jean Dementi and Pope John Paul ran in full color the next day on the front page of the Fairbanks *Daily News-Miner*.

A woman reporter for an Anchorage paper, noting Jean's collar, had also asked who she was and whether it was special to be blessed by the Pope. "I said yes, because of who he is and the millions he represents," said Jean, "but as a priest, I bless people, too, and I don't think the blessing is any different."

Mary Eunice Oliver of San Diego, a close friend of Dementi's, was overwhelmed. She saw the Bedford photo as depicting "a two-way grace." On the right, she sees her priest-friend receiving "last rites" from the Pope, "whom God brought around the world for that — only the top for Jean," and on the left, she sees "the Pope being empowered to ordain women."

It was Oliver who had first informed THE WITNESS of the "ecumenical circumstances" by which Jean Dementi had been invited to that upper room.

Paula Long, a parishioner from St. Jude's, had gone to the airport some time ago to meet Jean. There, Long, a former Catholic, found an envelope containing \$14,000 in checks in the parking lot. They had been donated toward expenses of the Pope's visit, and distraught Catholic officials had already alerted airport security. "You can bet they were all pleading for help from St. Jude," Dementi laughed.

Long called diocesan headquarters to report what she had found, and officials were jubilant. At the same time, she asked if her parish priest could be included in the celebration for the Pope. They told her there would be no Mass; the Pope would only be visiting with the sick and handicapped.

"When Paula explained that I had terminal cancer, she was assured I would be included," Dementi said. "That's how I came to be in that upper

room; otherwise I would have been standing in the rain in 31 degree weather with the others who wanted to see the Pope."

Dementi also noted that the stole presented to the Pope by the Catholic diocese was "handmade by an Episcopalian, Delores Carroll Sloan, from Ft. Yukon. She handbeaded forget-me-nots, the Alaskan state flower, on moose-skin, and the Pope wore it for the paraliturgy. I was also pleased that Sister Eileen Brown read the first lesson in the paraliturgy, but I don't see that, short of a miracle, there will be a Catholic woman ordained in this generation," Dementi said.

Nevertheless, ecumenical relationships are excellent in her area, Dementi affirmed. "Bishop Robert Whelan, the Catholic bishop, saw me during the Papal visit and gave me a big hug. He and three Catholic clergy came to the dedication of my church. I am accepted here. Catholic women see me and their eyes light up. A lot of Catholic women wish things were different."

For Dementi, the most memorable part of the day came "simply in being among the 200-plus people, ranging from 2 months to 104-years-old, who



Paula Long
She found \$14,000



Jean Dementi on a recent visit to St. Mark's Mission, Nenana, Alaska, where she served 33 years ago.

waited from 7 a.m. to 1 p.m. to see the Pope."

"This was one of the most beautiful experiences of my life," she said. "Doctors, nurses, therapists and aides were there to minister to the crowd, and the atmosphere was so calm, loving, and peaceful. I thought, why can't all that love and acceptance be there after we leave through these doors and re-enter the outside world."

It was this concern for the halt and the lame that brought Jean Aubrey from Southern California to Alaska more than 33 years ago. Forsaking sunshine for snow, she has served in both urban and rural areas, and early on gained a reputation as "the missionary who could pull teeth." In Ft. Yukon, she was superintendent of a hospital which she ran for two years without a doctor. Her nursing abilities were particularly tested in Shageluk, when at one time more than 90% of the village contracted measles. There were no deaths, a tribute to her skills and dedication.

In Shageluk Jean Aubrey married Jim Dementi, and the couple moved to An-

chorage where she served as a public health nurse. In 1972, Jean became the first woman in Alaska to be ordained a deacon in the Episcopal Church. She was also the first female candidate for diocesan bishop in the Anglican Communion.

Since 1978, she has served as priest in charge of the North Pole congregation of St. Jude's.

The University of Alaska honored Jean Aubrey Dementi with the degree of Doctor of Humanities in 1983. She was the first person from the religious community to be so honored in the university's 61 year history.

This was the woman priest who modestly handed her message to John Paul II on May 2. The Pope had told those assembled that day, "Openness to others begins in the heart." The people of St. Jude's were counting on their patron saint to remind John Paul of that when he took the file card from the woman priest out of his sash.

Or, as Jean Dementi has been known to say, "True miracles are always continued stories. And so it is with this one." ■

Letters . . . Continued from page 3

aren't even hinted at, much less mentioned in the Gospels, which will include "I wonder if Joseph ever got around to getting enrolled for taxes . . .?"

Meanwhile, I will continue to "wonder if" on the down-to-earth level where I live.

**Abbie Jane Wells
Juneau, Alaska**

April Omitted Jesus

I received a copy of the April WITNESS. To what does your magazine witness? The name "Jesus" did not appear once in your entire issue. The most inspiring article was by F. Forrester Church, "Learning God's Yes." Inspiring because it was the only article which remotely speaks of man's relationship to God. It is clear that Mr. Church is confused about God.

I am not a theologian, but I am saved. I know Jesus personally. God guides me in my walk with Him. Your magazine speaks of all the world's problems and the sin of men. But nowhere do you tell the solution. Please consider articles about Jesus.

**Bruce Skaug
Moscow, Idaho**

Finds Index Helpful

Enclosed please find \$2 for the *Author/Title Index, 1974 to 1981*, which is listed in the January issue of THE WITNESS.

We are indeed pleased that it is available. I am sure it will save us time and will be helpful for our users.

**Grace R. Harvey, Assistant
School of Theology Library
University of the South**

Correction

The sentence in Gray Anderson's letter to the editor on page 21 of the May WITNESS should read, "Our citizens are *not* permitted the advantage of national health care without a job as in other industrial countries."

SHORT TAKES

Challenge to Priests

From Edith Hamilton's *The Greek Way*: The tyrants departed from Greece unlamented, and never to be revived again, except for Plato's rulers, who were to be given absolute power only upon the condition that they did not want it, a curious parallel to the attitude prescribed by the early church. A man appointed to the episcopacy was required to say — still is, perhaps, forms live so long once the spirit in them is dead — "I do not want to be a bishop. *Nolo episcopari*." To the fathers of the church, as to Plato, no one who desired power was fit to wield it.

(Let every priest now sincerely say these words each day, *Nolo Episcopari*.)

— Grant Gallup/*The Integer*

Why Church the City

1. Two thirds of our people live in cities.
2. The moral conditions in the country reflect the moral conditions of the cities.
3. Megacities contain 40 percent of minorities, and the majority of the poor, old and single.
4. The corporateness of the city can mean interdependence, togetherness and co-operation, in and for all of which the church can grow.
5. Cities constantly change. Impermanence promotes insecurity. The church can offer security and service.

— JSAC Grapevine

Classroom Optimism

A teacher in Seattle retells the following conversation she had with her students. "How many of you," she asked, "think there might someday be a nuclear war?" Hands were raised by every child but one. Speaking to the one exception, she asked, "And Sally, why aren't you expecting that?"

"Well, Mommy and Daddy are working for disarmament and I think they are going to win."

— Reflection Guide/
The Challenge of Peace
Pax Christi - USA

The Masks of God

Martin Luther's theology of work included the notion that each occupation and profession was really a "mask" behind which God met various human needs. We were reminded of this by a story which is making the rounds.

A certain priest, stranded on the steps of his church as a swollen river overflowed its banks and flooded the town, refused in turn the offers of help by a passer-by in a row boat, a coast guard cutter and finally, as he clung to the steeple tower, a helicopter whose pilot offered to hoist him to safety. The priest turned down each offer of help with "Don't be concerned, God will provide." The priest drowned. Arriving in heaven he angrily pounded on its gates and demanded of St. Peter that he see God immediately. "God betrayed me, He let me down," he shouted at St. Peter. St. Peter responded, "How can you say God let you down? Didn't He send you a row-boat, a coast guard cutter and even a helicopter?"

—Initiatives 10/83
National Center for the Laity
Chicago, Ill.

Nestle Boycott Over

Grassroots activists celebrated recently when their 6½ year worldwide boycott of Nestle products ended after the company agreed to comply in virtually every detail with the World Health Organization's infant formula sales code.

The agreement hinged on Nestle's acceptance of four disputed points: 1) Nestle agreed to curtail its promotional supplies of free infant formula to hospitals or health care centers in developing countries; 2) It promised to stop providing material favors to doctors in exchange for promoting the formula; 3) It agreed to place warning labels on its packages; and 4) It agreed to include warnings of the hazards of infant formula feeding in its promotional literature.

— INFACT Newsletter

Welcome Gays, Lesbians

The rector, wardens and vestry of San Francisco's oldest Episcopal Church — Trinity — gave official recognition to a gay ministry within its membership recently.

Called *Nostris* (from the Latin: "our kind"), the organization exists to publicly acknowledge and welcome the participation of gays and lesbians in all facets of parish life. The resolution also encourages the group to expand its ministry to the city-wide community and to be as inclusive of lifestyles as possible.

A recent poll in the parish with 138 responding showed 42.75% labeling themselves as a member of a sexual minority.

And 69% of the total number were between the ages of 30 and 39. Of 110 who are newcomers to Trinity since 1981, 45.45% are gay or lesbian.

—The Rev. Robert Crome, Rector
Trinity Episcopal Church

Blacks in Vietnam

Perhaps a more tragic recognition of reality took place when it became clear to me that the war was doing far more than devastating the hopes of the poor at home. It was sending their sons and their brothers and their husbands to fight and to die and in extraordinarily higher proportions relative to the rest of the population.

We were taking the Black young men who had been crippled by our society and sending them 8000 miles away to guarantee liberties in Southeast Asia which they had not found in southwest Georgia and East Harlem. And so we have been repeatedly faced with the cruel irony of watching Negro and White boys on TV screens as they kill and die together for a nation that has been unable to seat them together in the same schools. We watch them in brutal solidarity burning the huts of a poor village, but we realize that they would never live on the same block in Detroit. I could not be silent in the face of such cruel manipulation of the poor.

—Martin Luther King, 1967
Quoted in *Indochina Newsletter*

Cueto, Guerra Begin Prison Terms

Five Hispanic activists, including Maria Cueto and Steven Guerra who have strong ties with the Episcopal Church, began serving a three year sentence April 10 for "criminal contempt" of a Federal Grand Jury.

Cueto, of Los Angeles, was formerly director of the National Commission for Hispanic Affairs of the Episcopal Church, and Guerra, of Oakland, Cal., is a member of the Board of Directors of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company, publishers of THE WITNESS magazine.

The five have never been accused of a crime other than refusing to testify before the Grand Jury, a refusal which they consider to be an act of conscience. Such use of the Grand Jury process to intimidate political activists has been called "American style political internment" by Michael Deutsch in a major article to be published this Fall in the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*. Defense attorneys for the five believe that First and Fifth Amendment rights are being circumvented by an increasing use of the Grand Jury by the Government, which is being allowed to usurp its subpoena power.

Others incarcerated April 10 were Andres Rosado of New York City, Julio Rosado of Brooklyn, and Ricardo Romero of Denver, Col.

"We consider the imprisonment of Maria Cueto and Steven Guerra and the others to be a grave injustice," said the Rev. Barbara C. Harris, executive director of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. "The use of the Federal Grand Jury in this case has served not to further the pursuit of justice but rather to suppress the freedom of dissent guaranteed by the Constitution." Harris added that the Episcopal Church Publishing Com-

pany is evaluating the deeper implications of the case, as well as its implications for other church-related groups and their freedom to advocate dissident points of view and policies. She also criticized the Federal Bureau of Investigation for its attempt to link the five to the FALN, and noted that trial judge Charles P. Sifton had refused to allow the Government to present such testimony in court.

Maria Cueto spent 10 months in prison in 1977 for the same "crime," refusing to testify before a similar Grand Jury investigating alleged terrorist activities of the FALN, a group supporting independence for Puerto Rico. Although she denied being an FALN supporter or having any knowledge of the organization, she believed the Government was using the Grand Jury process to intimidate activists who espoused independence for Puerto Rico. In addition, she argued in 1977 that cooperation with a Grand Jury would endanger the trust which she as a lay minister of the church had established with grass roots Hispanic groups. At the trial of the five last year in New York, four Episcopal bishops were among those testifying on behalf of Cueto and Guerra, and numerous other Episcopal clergy and laity sent letters of support.

The Rev. Richard W. Gillett, of Los Angeles, contributing editor of THE WITNESS, describes in an accompanying article Maria Cueto's last days at home and her early days of incarceration. All five of the Hispanics were assigned to prisons at a great distance from their homes, and efforts to get them nearer were unsuccessful except for Cueto, first assigned to West Virginia but reassigned to Pleasanton, Cal.

Supporters of the activists were asked

to write to The Hon. Norman Carlson to have the others moved closer to their families. (The Hon. Norman Carlson, Director, Federal Bureau of Prisons, Dept. of Justice, 320 First St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20534.)

Current addresses of the five are listed below, for those who would like to send messages of support:

Maria Cueto 15884-053
Federal Correctional Institution
Unit 1
Box 1000
Pleasanton, CA 94566

Steven Guerra 15888-053
Federal Correctional Institute
Raybrook, NY 12977

Julio Rosado 19793-053
Federal Correctional Institute
Ashland, KY 41101

Andres Rosado 19794-053
Federal Correctional Institute
Texarkana, TX 75501

Ricardo Romero 16208-053
P.O. Box 1010
Bastrop Federal Prison
Bastrop, TX 78602

Resource

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.

Rental, \$65, First Run Features, 144 Bleecker St., New York City (212) 673-6881. ■

The Surrender

by Richard W. Gillett

There was nothing extraordinary about the way Maria Cueto, former church worker and now “convicted criminal,” began the service of her three-year prison term April 10. The procedure was simple: Go down to the U.S. District Court House, Los Angeles, and surrender as ordered. “It was over in a minute,” said the Rev. Bryan Jones who, along with two others, accompanied her. “She just walked through the door and that was it.”

A couple of hours before, I had dropped by Maria’s house to say goodbye. Her bag was packed, and several boxes cluttered the living room floor for shipment to her parents in Arizona. She was on the phone to Nancy, the wife of Steven Guerra, who was also to surrender that day, clear across the continent in New York City. Maria was remarkably chipper. There was a quality about the scene that vaguely suggested a departure for college.

What Maria appeared to have on her mind as much as anything else that final morning of freedom, was the condition of her aunt, Virginia Ram. Virginia, a former member of the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church, and long-time stalwart advocate for Hispanics, had been suddenly hospitalized with heart problems. Maria, who lived with Virginia, had shouldered the major responsibility for her hospitalization, and was now concerned that she rest and follow her diet.

This rather unreal atmosphere came to an abrupt end for me just three days later when I visited Maria at Sybil Brand Institute for Women, where she was being held pending transfer to the Federal prison at Pleasanton in Northern

California. Maria, whom I’d seen almost every day during the three weeks preceding — and many times over the last two years — was suddenly Maria the dangerous criminal, or so the FBI and prison officials would have one believe.

This woman, whom former Presiding Bishop John Hines and several other bishops and prominent lay leaders of the Episcopal Church had described for the court as a selfless and dedicated worker and advocate for justice, was now, in these few days awaiting transfer, held in maximum security: a “5000,” they called her. But Maria had never been convicted of, or *even been formally charged* with any crime of violence. Simply the word of the FBI that she was dangerous was sufficient to have her held in a cell block in isolation from other prisoners. And strange indeed, was it not, that the jail should have run out of blankets and sheets so that Maria got none during her first two nights? More standard was the prohibition apparently applied to “5000” prisoners against any phone calls, against any reading material, and against any contact with other prisoners.

When Maria appeared for our visit, it was behind solid glass and through an intercom that she spoke. She was dressed in a prison smock, all she had. They had taken her bag from her at the marshall’s office and given it back to Bryan Jones. Also, for the first few hours, she was placed in a cell whose walls and floor were made entirely of rubber.

Maria was, again, in good spirits. She played down her abominable treatment: “I expected it,” she said, and wanted to know how Virginia was.

Our 20-minute visit ended. I left, then

watched as Maria patiently had her hands handcuffed behind her back for the trip back to the cell block (a totally unnecessary gesture, for the prisoners in the visiting booths are still in a “secure” area locked to the outside). That visual image — of this courageous and long-harassed woman worker for the Episcopal Church submitting quietly and without complaint to the degradation — went straight to the heart, where it now lodges, intermingled with the myriad images and descriptions during Holy Week, of another Prisoner.

To those who in good faith might still be puzzled as to how the government could remain so persistent if there were not *something* incriminating in Maria’s and Steven’s past, I would have to say, suspend your suspicions until you know more. Know more about the grand jury process and its abandonments of constitutional protections; know more about the abuses of which the FBI is capable (remember their treatment of Martin Luther King, Jr., or the Black Panthers, not to mention their other “COINTEL-PRO” activities); know more about the current social and economic reality of life in Puerto Rico which so fuels the passion of these five courageous advocates for justice.

Then perhaps this astounding witness for the sake of conscience might help us remember again the trumped-up charges brought against the Messiah; might remind us how our Advocate for the poor and the forgotten had likewise to be put away. Then, possibly, the example of Maria and Steven, and of Andres, Julio and Ricardo, might begin to take on an empowering — *resurrecting* — quality.



Why We Broke the Law

Civil disobedience and non-violent resistance have been mounting steadily in the peace movement, and the Government has been imposing heavier sentences recently as its domestic and foreign policies are being challenged. What motivates people to risk arrest and imprisonment?

Below, an Episcopal priest makes connections between his arrest, his history in the Civil Rights movement and what is happening in Central America. And a Catholic truck dispatcher tells how the writings of Franz Jagerstatter and other pacifists, plus memories of his father, who had a passion for trains, moved him to stop the white train carrying nuclear components.

Affirming Democracy by Charles C. Demeré

We were arrested while kneeling on the cold marble floor of the National Archives. Over 100 had gathered in the rotunda which houses the major symbols of our republic: the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. In the midst of hymns and prayers to affirm our nation's cherished principles of human dignity and liberty, we were ordered to leave. All but six obeyed; we stayed to be arrested.

For each of us it was our first act of civil disobedience — our first arrest. As two policemen dragged me off, I noted a look of consternation on the faces of the tourists who were present but not party to our demonstration; they seemed to ask why we had dared to take this course of action.

I grew up in Georgia, a contemporary of Martin Luther King, Jr. As an Episcopal clergyman I was chairperson of the Georgia Council on Human Relations. My wife and I had lunch with Coretta and Martin in June 1963 at a restaurant that had not yet desegregated. We were served without incident. When I hired a

Black organist for the Christmas Eve service that year, the congregation of our suburban Atlanta church split into two factions. The progressive slate of lay leaders was elected the next month. I won the battle — but lost the war. The effectiveness of my ministry eroded. I resigned a few months later. Subsequently, I marched in Selma. But civil disobedience was not then a live option for me.

During the Vietnam War demonstrations I again marched to express my moral outrage. We took our children out of school one afternoon to deliver protest letters to Congress after the Cambodian bombing. I was still reluctant to defy the law as an expression of dissatisfaction with government policy.

So what led me to submit to arrest? An editorial in *Sojourners* magazine paved the way. As Jim Wallis stated: "God, not Caesar, is the final arbiter of what we owe the government." Non-violent law-breaking can be an act of discipleship and can serve as a witness to the Gospel. As a Christian I am convinced that we are called to be peacemakers, not merely peace-lovers.

On Dec. 2 we were taking part in a 24-hour vigil of prayer and fasting. It began on the steps of the Archives Building

with a service of remembrance. That date marked the third anniversary of the murder of four U.S. churchwomen in El Salvador.

We grieved that our tax dollars pay for weapons of death to that government in spite of their failure to solve the murder of those four women; we grieved, too, for other victims of bloodthirsty death squads and terrorist raids. We grieved that Interior Minister Tomas Borge of Nicaragua was denied a visa to accept speaking invitations at universities in this country. We grieved that our government directed the explosion of a commercial oil storage tank in Nicaragua, endangering the lives of some 23,000 civilians. As Jesus wept for Jerusalem, so I grieved over such policies emanating from Washington.

Why was this demonstration held at the Archives? Because it enshrines the basic documents of our founding as a nation. Our country seems to suffer amnesia; we have forgotten our identity, we have lost sight of our revolutionary roots. We should be sympathetic to other revolutions against oppressive rule; instead we stifle the urge of self-determination. We expect Nicaragua to have a national election four years after their revolution; yet it took us eight years to have our own.

The Rev. Charles C. Demeré is an Episcopal priest and free-lance writer who resides in Washington, D.C. He describes himself as an ombudsman for Central America.

At the vigil our ecumenical group peaceably entered the rotunda of the Archives primarily as a positive protest: to affirm the principles of our democracy. For this we were arrested. It was an awkward experience, teeming with uncertainty. Of course, we were apprehensive. We were handcuffed, photographed and finger-printed. It was tedious to go through the laborious process, answering questions while an officer filled out forms which he had never seen. We were denied freedom of movement for three hours there in the building where we were arrested by federal authorities, then turned over to metropolitan police for incarceration for seven more hours and finally given a citation release at 11:30 p.m. We were decently treated, but were at their mercy. As one police officer remarked, "When you're arrested, you're not a customer." We reported to Superior Court the next morning at 9 a.m. and waited until 1:45 p.m. when, inexplicably, our charge of unlawful entry was dropped. The ordeal had lasted over 24 hours.

The support of the other demonstrators touched me deeply. The meaning of solidarity came alive for me. When the six of us regrouped for the anticipated arrest, the others paused to express their

prayerful support. They continued the vigil outside on the steps where we had a permit for assembly. As we left in the paddy wagon, our sisters and brothers cheered us on. Groups had been stationed at several exits, not knowing where we would depart. They were shivering in the cold. But there they were: faithful friends. Several came to the police station, but we could only communicate with our lawyer through a glass partition in a cubicle that reminded me of a confessional.

While in jail I extracted my pocket New Testament and found where Paul wrote to the Philippians, himself in chains, "Stand firm in one spirit . . . without being frightened in any way by those who oppose you." (1:27-28)

Even the custody was for me an act of prayer. It was an offering on behalf of our friends in Central America; an opportunity to wage peace, to voice my concern that our nation recall its revolutionary guidelines and turn from its military, economic and political intervention. The protests during the Civil Rights Movement and during the Vietnam War demonstrated the power of public outcry. Today the misguided and militaristic policies of our government should challenge people

of religious and moral mettle to protest in righteous indignation. I do not condemn all military intervention. Defense of life or liberty may warrant it (whose life and whose liberty must be weighed carefully), but not merely for protection of pride or property.

I am appalled, however, by our foreign policy toward our southern neighbors. I have been to Nicaragua where I read the Declaration on July Fourth in the town of Jalapa near the Honduran border. I have met their leaders and talked with mothers whose sons were killed by bullets made in the United States, fired by mercenaries paid by our tax dollars. I have prayed here with refugees from El Salvador who are denied their rights because our government falsely claims that they are not political but economic refugees. I trust that our freedoms of speech and action will not be further eroded, that neither visas nor refugee rights will continue to be denied. I pray that freedom is not fading in our land of liberty.

I have been asked what I was trying to prove by this act of civil disobedience. The best answer may be the inscription on a statue outside the National Archives where we made our witness: "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." ■

Our Train to Hell by John Baranski

When I was a child growing up in Chicago, the hub city for this nation's railway system, my father, something of a railroad buff, often took my younger sister and me to a railroad crossing in our neighborhood to watch the trains come and go. It was a simple and

inexpensive way for him to show us a good time.

He was a truck driver but I remember most his intense interest in and love for trains which flickered with child-like fascination in his eyes as he pointed here and there to engines and cars bearing a multiplicity of imprints — Baltimore & Ohio, Milwaukee Road, Soo Line, Illinois Central, Chicago & Northwestern, Norfolk & Western, Rio Grande, Santa Fe, Great Northern, Burlington.

He loved to watch the yard switchers assembling the trains destined for almost

every point on the American compass, and could spend hours, my sister and I were sure, if we let him, peering through a small hole in one of the many dust-crusted windows of the locomotive roundhouse nearby.

And when he heard the whistle of a steam loco (some of which were still around at the time) or the blast horns of one of the newer diesels I sensed that he dreamed of all the far off places to which those trains were hauling their cargoes of steel, coal, beef, corn, and soybeans, places where I'm sure he thought life

John Baranski belongs to both the Portland Catholic Worker and Agape Communities. He served eight days in prison last year for attempting to obstruct the white train. Baranski defended himself during his trial, and the above is excerpted from his testimony.

might be better, especially for his wife and children whom he loved, for whom he lived, and, finally, for whom he died on the job.

As some of you may recall, it was an uncomplicated time, those years of the 1950s — a time when the world, perhaps uneasily, was for the most part at peace; a time when the trains of Europe were at long last no longer hauling that human cargo Hitler and the Nazis dispatched *ad nauseam* to concentration camps, their gas chambers and crematoria. It was a time for prosperity, for having children. It was a time when the most destructive weapon ever built, the atom bomb, seemingly held earth's aggressors at bay, or as hostages.

My father rarely spoke of the horrors he encountered when entering, I believe he said "Buchenwald" with other liberation forces in the waning days of World War II. It was as if, in retrospect, he could not let stories of those awful images and odors, how the trains he loved so much were used, befall our young ears. And I don't believe he ever mentioned *the bomb*, the kind of holocausts it made for the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. For one did not casually speak of *the bomb*, as one did not casually speak of God, or salary, or taxes in public, or for that matter even among family members. Nor did he ever speak about alternatives to military solutions in times of conflict, hot or cold, though I'm sure he must have considered the question.

War resistance, nonviolence, death trains, and holocausts, Nazi or nuclear, first came to my mind in the late 60s when as a seminary student at Loyola University I was exposed to the lives and writings of Gandhi, Dorothy Day, Thomas Merton, Martin Luther King, Jr., the Berrigans. It was then that I also came across the book, *In Solitary Witness*. The story was about a young Austrian peasant, Franz Jagerstatter, who was executed for refusing to serve in the army of the Third Reich. Jagerstatter, a Cath-

olic himself and father of two daughters, believed that cooperation with Hitler's war was inconsistent with his Christianity.

The book was particularly striking, one might even say prophetic, at the time with U.S. opposition to the war in Vietnam fervently focused on draft resistance. But I could not have known then just how profoundly prophetic it would be for me many years later, especially in light of the circumstances that have led me into this dock.

For the last year or so now my wife Grace and I and others of the Portland Catholic Worker Community have been observing shipments of missile motors for Trident Sub Base in Bangor pass through railyards just three miles from our home. We have vigiled along the tracks and leafletted railroad workers about the significance of these first-strike nuclear weapons components. And we have tried to negotiate with railroad officials in hopes of stopping them.

Yet it wasn't until the white train in question, what we have called "the nuclear train," passed through, that Franz Jagerstatter's life (and death) had its greatest impact on that train and my actions March 22 of this year.

On the evening after our arrest I happened upon an article about such train shipments by Jim Douglass. In it he refers to the Jagerstatter book and a dream it recounts which Jagerstatter had years before his execution. I might add that Douglass's article was written, ironically, some time before we knew the nuclear weapons train was coming to the Bangor base.

Jagerstatter's dream went like this:

"At first I lay awake in my bed until almost midnight, unable to sleep, although I was not sick; I must have fallen asleep anyway. All of a sudden I saw a beautiful shining railroad train that circled around a mountain. Streams of children — and adults as well — rushed toward the train and could

not be held back. I would rather not say how many adults did not join the ride. Then I heard a voice say to me: 'This train is going to hell.'"

To begin with Jagerstatter saw the train as a riddle. But later he was sure that the dream was a revelation, the train a symbol of Germany's widespread cooperation with and financial support of Nazism.

As a Catholic and as a father Jagerstatter clearly and strongly believed cooperation with Nazism would hinder his salvation. And so he refused the Third Reich his body, for which he was beheaded. Shortly before his death he commented in a written statement:

"I would like to call to everyone who is riding on this train: jump out before the train reaches its destination, even if it costs you your life!"

I believe the train in Jagerstatter's dream is a symbol for me too. As Jim Douglass implied in his article, the shining white nuclear weapons train from the Pantex plant in Texas to Trident Sub Base in Bangor, is our train to hell.

And so with roots at a Chicago railroad crossing and in the Jagerstatter dream, and with the blessing of my wife Grace, I, in a manner of speaking, got off the train to hell and sat on the track which leads to Trident Sub Base in Bangor with every intention of willfully stopping the train in question; no, let *me* not fear naming it — the nuclear weapons train.

Of this you the jury must certainly find me guilty. However, let me assure you that if I had not sat there I would have better spent my time digging graves for my daughters.

One thing more. It does not matter what happens to me personally here today. But if in your heart you too want off the train then find me not guilty, for you have every right to render your verdict based on conscience, to speak up also on behalf of the children. ■



Ministering to the 'New Poor'

by Edward M. Berckman

"If searching the Sunday want ads leaves you depressed, you're mentally healthy."

"To get a job you don't have to sell yourself."

"The normal, functioning adult has 500 to 700 skills. You just have to learn to identify them."

To a hesitant, discouraged or frustrated job-hunter, such statements are good news. They bring the relief of "someone knows what I'm going through" and the promise of "there is a better way to do this."

This kind of good news is beginning to be heard in churches, which, for the most

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.

part, have been totally unprepared to offer knowledgeable help to job-hunters. But churches — if they wake up to the opportunity and learn how — can provide a timely, empowering ministry to many unemployed, and unhappily employed individuals.

That's the vision, already tested in several Indianapolis churches, of career consultant Michael Kenney, a Roman Catholic layman and ex-Jesuit priest, whose agency has trained 1,000 people in career management during the last 18 months — 125 of them in church-sponsored programs.

Participants in those workshops first learned to identify their own skills and the kinds of work and work environments they would most enjoy. Then they learned techniques of networking and interviewing as means to locate the job they want.

This kind of training works. At John Knox Presbyterian Church, all 18 persons who took Kenney's full course in May and June 1982 were, 16 months later, still working, said the Rev. Roger Dean, pastor.

The responses to and results of a four-session workshop with Kenney in March 1983 led the Suburban East Ministerial Association to schedule another for November-December.

That was one of a series of workshops held with funding assistance from Lilly Endowment. The grant enabled churches to offer 12 hours of training for \$30 to persons who otherwise couldn't afford it—training which usually costs companies or individuals \$750 to \$4,000.

Participants were primarily blue collar and clerical workers, not Kenney's usual middle management clients.

"This job-hunting approach was originally developed (by Bernard Haldane, John Crystal, Richard Bolles and others) for a middle-class, professional base," Kenney said, "but it's now used with many people at different economic levels with the same degree of success." Kenney's agency recently signed a contract to assist all hourly employees at Indianapolis' Western Electric plant, scheduled to close within a year.

From his experiences in the church-sponsored programs, Kenney gained some insights into the special problems *and* advantages churches have in helping unemployed and unhappily employed persons.

First, the problems.

- The local church is not typically perceived by the unemployed as a place to turn to.

"It is amazing," Kenney said, "how few clients of mine will list or mention their church or its minister as being a support during this painful time."

- Few clergy or lay members are skilled to know what to do. In fact, the normal response to people in trouble can be counterproductive, as the Rev. Manuel Tamayo of Indianapolis' Eastgate Christian Church learned.

"Usually, we are inclined to sympathize with these people. And this is not helpful at all. (It reinforces the individual's sense of hopelessness, Kenney pointed out.)

"Rather, we must assist them in moving from their depression to positive feelings of self-esteem. And this can only be accomplished by providing these individuals with concrete tools."

Tamayo added that he feels every pastor today needs training in the techniques of organized job-hunting.

- Because helping job-seekers learn to find jobs is seldom seen — even by socially-conscious Christians — as a Christian ministry, it has a niche in very few church programs or budgets.

Churches need prodding. Since those

winter workshops, Kenney said, only one group has moved to replicate the model.

And yet, churches have built-in assets for undertaking such a ministry.

1) As a custodian of moral norms, the church's public involvement with this issue reduces the stigma of unemployment.

"But the church must posture itself as concerned," Kenney insists. "Unless you articulate that concern, you'll still have a lot of hidden unemployment in your parish." He told of one pastor who learned that three members of his governing body were unemployed only when they went out of town for a planning weekend.

2) Many people who wouldn't find help elsewhere will come to a church.

The "new poor," people who have no personal or family history of layoffs, "are the least likely to resource government programs," said Kenney. "And they tend not to have the support system that unionized people do. But they're used to turning to the church for support and can do that with more ease."

3) Resources to help job-seekers are already present in most churches.

Typewriters, copying facilities, a telephone are tools to which individuals on a job search may not have access.

What about money? A rotating loan fund at John Knox Presbyterian helped one family save their house. Some who use the fund are able to repay it.

But individual church members can help in other ways, such as offering child care or answering a phone while the job-seeker is out during the day. At John Knox a car was donated to assist those needing transportation.

4) A potential network of contacts already exists within many congregations.

"A common mindset I encounter," Kenney said, "is 'I don't know anyone.' So I say, over and over: Do you belong to a church? If so, there are tons of people you can call.

"Church bases are eminently secure places to make such contacts. You perceive a person not as a hard-nosed, aloof executive but as a pewmate — someone who's helpful, uncritical, with similar values. That reduces one's insecurity."

And 60% of all jobs, Kenney repeatedly tells his clients, are found through contacts.

5) Churches and pastors know how to deal with deaths and divorced people and can use that knowledge with those suffering job loss — if they make the connection.

What unemployed people *don't* need is one more person pressuring them to just "get out and find another job."

"Be conscious," counsels Kenney, "of the seven typical emotional responses which an unemployed person experiences: disbelief, anger, bargaining, depression, acceptance and hope, positive action, and the six weeks slump" (which strikes after the initial period of job search proves futile). The skills to help persons through these stages are likely to be available in or through churches.

Unemployment Kills

Research shows that for every 1% increase in sustained unemployment there will be an additional 37,000 deaths in our society. A 1% increase in unemployment means a 5% increase in suicides, a 7.5% increase in homicides among males between 17 and 24. The nearly 50% unemployment rate amongst minority youth locks a whole generation out of the American Dream, condemning them, while still young, to live the rest of their lives in some twilight zone of worklessness and hopelessness.

Unemployment increases death by heart attack. It increases alcoholism, wife and child abuse, and divorce rates. Unemployment attacks our neighborhoods, causing deterioration in social and physical environments, undermining the community's tax base, and so depriving it of the means to fight back.

—Excerpt From Document
Northwest Interfaith Movement
Philadelphia, Pa.

6) The unemployed can be helped by the most common "stocks in trade" of churches: talk, fellowship, activities.

"The most commonly faced problem for job-seekers," Kenney observes, "is their inability to get *anyone* to talk to them. A core of members who will agree to talk to job-seekers periodically, to simply offer advice and assist in getting them into rooms (to talk) with other people, can be a monumental aid."

Even better would be volunteers trained to conduct helpful, supportive discussions and/or access to others for whom unemployment is (or was) *not* a fate worse than death — perhaps through a job club on the order of Alcoholics Anonymous and similar groups.

Church related group activities and volunteer projects can give the job-seeker something to do, an increased sense of self-worth. "In fact," says Kenney, "any regularly scheduled group activity for those touched by unemployment is immensely helpful."

But all of this touches individuals only. What about the broader problem, the system that produces unacceptably high levels of unemployment, even in times of supposed prosperity? Isn't a ministry to unemployed persons simply a band-aid approach?

Mike Kenney had three answers to that question.

"It is. Helping individuals does *not* hit at the basic need for structural change that would expand the number of job openings. No one's been able to figure that one out yet.

"But these training programs do impact unemployment rates by reducing 'frictional unemployment.' At any one time approximately 3% of all jobs are in turnover, due to attrition, retirements, terminations, etc. Anything that speeds up the process of filling these jobs has quantitative results."

Almost as an afterthought, Kenney added, "There might be a more crucial

problem than unemployment — that's *unhappy* employment.

"Jobs can and do kill people. The unhappily employed we always have with us. And the typical clergy response is to take that on as a psychological problem, give the person coping skills, and never raise the issue of 'maybe you're in the wrong job.' Clergy tend to go with what they know: interpersonal stuff."

What such individuals need instead, he indicated, is assistance in helping them set goals, clarify their desires, interests and skills, and find the job they want.

As a final comment on what churches could do in this area, Kenney spoke of the need for dream-making.

"If the clergy or laity of a congregation spend a great deal of their time discussing how tight the market is out there or asking unemployed people, 'Did you find a job this week?' that's reality confrontation in spades! They know all that.

"If those same helpful people kept deliberately discovering the 'success stories' of the congregation; kept insisting that job searches can be planned and controlled; kept making sure that people got the chance to talk to more people . . . they would be part of the dream-makers."

It is this kind of message and ministry that can be "good news to the unemployed, release to captives of the want ad-resume system and recovering of initiative to the depressed and uninformed job-seekers" — to paraphrase an ancient author.

Resource

Resource persons around the country who offer assistance and training in this self-help job-hunting approach may be located in the "Professional Help" appendix of Richard N. Bolles' *What Color Is Your Parachute?* (Ten Speed Press, Berkeley, Cal.) Each year's edition includes an update of these and other resources. ■

Many Faces of Violence

We recognize that violence has many faces.

There are some countries where the prevailing social order is so brutal, exploiting the poor for the sake of the privileged and trampling on people's human rights, that it must be termed 'violent.'

There are others where a social order that appears relatively benevolent nevertheless exacts a high price in human misery from some sections of the population.

There is the use of armed force by governments, employed or held in threat against other nations or even against their own citizens.

There is the worldwide misdirection of scarce resources to armaments rather than human need.

There is the military action of victims of oppression who despair in achieving justice by any other means.

There is the mindless violence that erupts in some countries with what seems to be increasing frequency, to say nothing of organized crime and terrorism, . . .

<We> call Christian people everywhere

(a) to re-examine as a matter of urgency their own attitude towards, and their complicity with, violence in its many forms;

(b) to take with the utmost seriousness the questions which the teaching of Jesus places against violence in human relationships and the use of armed force . . . ;

(c) to engage themselves in non-violent action for justice and peace and to support others so engaged, recognizing that such action will be controversial and may be personally very costly; . . .

— Lambeth Conference 1978

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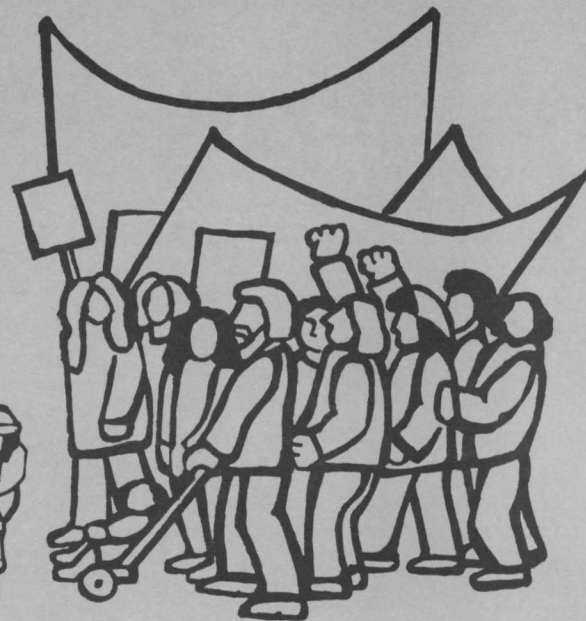


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THE WITNESS

Bus Stations • Judith Moore

VOLUME • 67
NUMBER • 7
JULY 1984

Radical Religious History:

Fragments
of a legacy

Robert L. DeWitt
Gordon Greathouse
Paul Buhle

Letters

WITNESS not Christian

In responding to your recent invitation to become a regular subscriber to THE WITNESS, I have some observations after having read the February and March issues.

My first reaction was that THE WITNESS was a publication of either the National Council of Churches or the World Council of Churches. The copyright is by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. The tradition and history of the Episcopal Church is as much or more biblical than any other denomination. THE WITNESS is so far left, liberal, anti-United States and lacking in biblical truths, I question if you can be Christian.

One thing you liberals are consistent about is that you seldom learn from the lessons of the past and are always having to reinvent the wheel; i.e., "Demystifying the Russian Threat" by Richard W. Gillett in the March issue.

I pray for your enlightenment and a fair opinion of the issues.

Dr. William R. Hooper
Ellensburg, Wash.

Cow, horse different

I am sorry to say that most of your articles I can read in advance. They give no new ideas, and they just reflect the sentimental, confused religious social trend of the Western World which I am constantly meeting from the time I arrived in this beautiful land of America.

Of course such statements sound offensive. But really there is no offense in stating (as a simple vulgar example) that the cow and the horse are different, although they have common elements like a head, a tail, four legs. The desire of your writers to reform the world is so intense that they seem to lose track of the reality we live in. (Last example, the article on Russia in the March WITNESS, where Richard W. Gillett confuses the Russian people with their internationally

minded Communist oppressors!) May our Lord give you Wisdom and Love and Light.

The Rev. Andrei Urusov
Research Center
of Christian Russian Culture
Trail, Ore.

Gillett responds

The letters of William R. Hooper and the Rev. Andrei Urusov, while undoubtedly sincere, must be seen in the context of anticommunist hatred of the Soviet Union that is rising to alarming levels in our nation. People and politicians who are determined to see the U.S.S.R. as "the focus of evil" will not easily be persuaded that history shows that the Russians can and do accept periods of accommodation with other nations.

The United States has signed a number of international treaties with the U.S.S.R. which, in their detail, they have kept about as well as we have. During Khrushchev's time, cultural exchanges flourished; under Brezhnev, detente reigned for several years. Despite Reagan's policies of hatred toward the Soviets, they have offered to negotiate a mutual and verifiable freeze on nuclear weapons, and have pledged not to be the first to use them. Yes, there have been the Korean airliner disaster, the detention of Andrei Sakharov, and the Soviet withdrawal from the Olympics, and other things that rightly have disturbed us over the years. But from their side the Soviets see a recently announced U.S. strategy for global superiority, the revelation of plans to fight and win a protracted nuclear war, the U.S. intention to wear down their economy in order to create an internal crisis, and a clear hands-off policy in allowing numerous organizing efforts by fringe groups in California to embarrass and disrupt them during the Summer Olympic Games (including a publicly announced target by one group to obtain

200 Soviet defections during the games).

One might therefore ask whether, over the last four years, their behavior and their intentions towards us have changed radically? Or has the constant drumbeat of negative propaganda coupled with hostile actions generated from the Reagan White House succeeded in changing our perception as viewers considerably more than the Soviet reality has changed?

Beyond this is the deepest moral issue: our bounden duty to preserve this planet both for ourselves, and for life into the future. *Not* to talk, not to proceed to relate to the Soviet Union and its people as fellow passengers on space ship earth, is, for religious people, a sin against all life: a collective death-wish.

Richard W. Gillett
Los Angeles, Cal.

Perspective needed

In the May issue the editors correctly castigate Democratic party defense of the needs of capital at the expense of the poor. This includes, of course, support for Washington's war against peasants and workers in Central America. Setting aside the war of words about the amount or form of aid to the dictators or *contras*, what Democrat has said (s)he supports the rebels in El Salvador or the popular government in Nicaragua?

We are faced not with "Reaganism" but with a retrenching capitalism. Concerned Christians must do more than question the attacks on the poor. We must join forces with workers, Blacks, Hispanics, women, gays and other oppressed both here and abroad who are moving or ready to move. We ought to come armed with a perspective that calls for independent political action as the principal form of struggle to fight for a workers' and farmers' government in the United States.

Robert Schwartz
Chicago, Ill.

Fan since 5¢ a copy

Congratulations on the 10th anniversary of the reborn WITNESS. I read Bill Spofford's old WITNESS when it was five or ten cents a copy (and a weekly) for many years and had it available each week on the table in the vestibule, and also occasionally wrote articles for him.

I have enjoyed the new WITNESS for much the same reasons. It provides me with information not otherwise available, except perhaps in *Christianity and Crisis*, and it keeps me awake to current and future happenings. Keep it up.

Randolph C. Miller,
Executive Secretary
Religious Education Association
New Haven, Conn.

Advocate needs repair

The special issue of THE WITNESS for the 10th anniversary of women's ordination was excellent. In the article by Susan Pierce, "Courage, Longtime Hallmark of Rector, Ordination Site," she wrote that when Paul Washington was asked about "burnout" he said, "God is inexhaustible. You just have to look up." His whole life in the diocese has been one of looking up. When many of us were discouraged, frustrated, angry, he was a source of inspiration and hope. But now he needs help to renovate his church, which is falling apart; \$1.5 million is needed for restoration and this money must be raised by the end of the year.

I first became aware of the plight of the Church of the Advocate when I read an article in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. Shortly afterwards I learned that WDAS, a local radio station, was forming a group to Save the Advocate.

Recently I attended a press conference at the church. It was moving to hear one person after another get up and testify that Paul Washington and the Advocate had had a profound influence on their

lives. Someone said that the Advocate really lived up to its name because it has been the champion of the poor and oppressed of our society. Many community groups are rallying to the cause and planning to raise money to help the church. Now I can't help asking, "What is the diocese going to do about it?"

I would hope that the more "affluent" churches would feel moved to help save a church that is not only a beautiful historical building but more importantly, a place where so many of God's children have found comfort.

Mary Austin
Philadelphia, Pa.

Seeks aid for video

Many thanks for the special issue of THE WITNESS celebrating the 10th anniversary of women's ordination to the priesthood in the Episcopal Church. It's a splendid issue.

I am producing a video documentary on the ecclesiastical career of the Rev. Betty Bone Schiess, which will explore the series of events that led her to that historic moment in Philadelphia.

I would appreciate hearing from WITNESS readers about any photographs, slides, video tapes, 8 or 16mm film available. Please contact me at 4502 Broad Road, Syracuse, N.Y. 13215, (315) 469-3902. Many thanks for your assistance.

Joseph Agonito
Professor of American History
Onondaga Community College

Sick of 'women's lib'

I gather that THE WITNESS favors, and has favored the ordination of women. I hate to be caught in the position of being opposed to a probably superior publication over a single-issue stand, but this is so fundamental, I must. I am sick

to death of listening to arguments about women's lib. Every time I waste time on an evening of TV, I know in 20 minutes why I am opposed to the very idea of ERA and NOW and women have only themselves to blame.

The Rev. Charles Johnson
Denver, Col.

Tribute appreciated

"A Different Kind of Obit" in the May WITNESS was beautiful — you did a fine job of writing about Jo and we will all treasure it.

Jo's association with THE WITNESS staff and his interest in the publication never lagged, and if he could read your tribute to him it would be one of those times when he would be "moved to tears and pull out his handkerchief and wipe and blow." Love to all in my name and his.

Virginia Shannon
West Port Pt., Mass.

Mountaineer's road map

Here I am, an aged old West Virginia hillbilly, 74 years old. I am just recovering from pneumonia, a very sick old mountaineer.

Now about THE WITNESS. In my estimation it is the very, very best in a battle for freedom and human rights. And your church has some very clear road maps on how to find and locate Jesus Christ. Pray for me, I need it very much.

Emory R. Bays
Charleston, W.V.

Oops!

The Volume Number on the June issue of THE WITNESS should read Vol. 67, not 62.

America's Wailing Wall

A simple, moving memorial in the center of Washington, D.C., witnesses as a sobering corrective to the patriotic and militaristic jingoism coming out of the Administration in recent months. It is the Vietnam War Memorial, to be completed this year with the addition of a sculpture.

The memorial presently consists of slabs of highly polished black granite set into an embankment. The meandering path through Constitution Park seems to come upon it without warning. But as people near it, they grow silent. They talk in whispers, if at all. The black wall looms above, every inch of surface inscribed with more than 58,000 names of those who died or are missing in action.

Every now and then someone gasps or murmurs upon recognizing the name of a relative or friend. Some take pencil rubbings. Many feel compelled to run their fingers across the slab, feeling the inscriptions. As they reach out, they touch their own reflection, looking back from the mirror-like granite.

For a brief period, one is in the midst of those 58,000 men and

women who gave their lives in a war that lasted 16 years. That war also left 300,000 wounded and 75,000 permanently disabled. The first casualties were two advisors killed in 1959. Five years later, there were 20,000 soldiers in Vietnam.

The latter statistics have a familiar ring. They match disturbingly the U.S. troop deployment in Central America. Some 33,000 troops were on land and sea during recent "war games" in Honduras, and the number of advisors in El Salvador keeps growing. Are we being led down a path to face another black wall?

It is a heartbreaking experience for those who stand before the Vietnam memorial to see the smaller, more personal tokens left by friends and relatives — flowers with cards, notes and photographs taped near a name. People gather here in a community of suffering and loss, and for many, there is no peace, no resolution. Surely there is no denying the courage of those who died in Vietnam, but that they died to maintain the delusions of grandeur of a military industrial complex is sad beyond bearing.

In this season of Pentecost, the season of community in the spirit and a time of communication, U.S. Christians would do well to ponder the current dangerous and divisive actions of our government. Echoes of the futile Vietnam war reverberate louder every day in the mountains and jungles of Central America. Reports that napalm and phosphorous bombs were being used against the people of El Salvador prompted one reporter to observe that the U.S. military had a lot left over from Vietnam.

During Pentecost, Christians might reflect how we are linked to people of all nations and cultures. When the divinity of each individual is forgotten, people can be labeled as leftists or rightists, freedom fighters or terrorists, until the Babel becomes so towering that a peasant with a Bible is more dangerous than a soldier armed to the teeth.

We must say no to napalm, mined harbors, death squads and all the other horrors. Otherwise we will stand before yet another wall of names and weep for lives lost because of lessons that were not learned. ■

THE WITNESS

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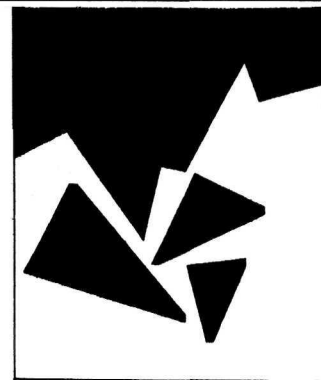


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Credits Cover, Beth Seka; graphic p. 7, *Via Pacis*, Des Moines; graphic p. 10, Margaret Longdon; graphic p. 12, Gregg Williard/LNS; graphic p. 19, Pour/LNS; graphics pp. 20, 21, 22, Lynd Ward.

THE WITNESS is published monthly. Editorial office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002. Phone (215)643-7067. Subscription rates \$12 per year. \$1 per copy. THE WITNESS is indexed in the American Theological Library Association's *Religion Index One: Periodicals*. Copyright 1984 by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Printed in U.S.A. ISSN 0197-8896.

1964-1974:
**Decade of crises
in a stormy see**

by Robert L. DeWitt

The frenetic decade of 1964-74 in the Diocese of Pennsylvania reflected problems in the greater society centering around racism, sexism and peace issues. The Rt. Rev. Robert L. DeWitt, who headed the diocese then, recalled the turbulent period in a lecture (excerpted below) during the bicentennial celebration of the Diocese of Pennsylvania.

DeWitt spoke in the ambience of a historic exhibit of 200 items, including a Church of England prayer book used before and during the American Revolution (with the prayers for the King crossed out); and a Book of Common Prayer edited by Benjamin Franklin.

Some observers have compared the DeWitt years with those of Pennsylvania's first bishop, William White, when "everything was up for grabs." Full text of the address may be obtained from Philadelphia Theological Institute, Remington and Dover Roads, Philadelphia, PA 19151, for \$3.

Recently I came across a box of family photos. With such a discovery, one is in a situation comparable to sitting down near a dish of peanuts — it is almost impossible to stop at one. So I found myself looking at one after another of those pictorial representations of what once was. My parents, brothers and sisters, wife and children all confronted me from both my near and distant past. And I found myself trying to recall what it was like then. What was going on in our common life? What were we thinking of back then? What were the things that moved us? What dismayed us? What lifted our hearts?

Gibson Winter, speaking to us both as individuals and as a community, suggests that if we don't remember what we have been, we don't really know who we are.

What were you doing during the years 1964-74? For all of us those years were an intensive experience in rapid social change, national crises, shifting values, new horizons, challenges to many of the ways we had been both looking at and reacting to events. I would like to focus

on five issues of those years which were central to the Diocese of Pennsylvania: racial strife, the Vietnam tragedy, the institutional life of the diocese, its relationship to the national Episcopal Church, and the ordination of women.

The first day I was on the job as Bishop Coadjutor of the Diocese, several of our clergy were in jail, arrested because they had been involved in demonstrations in that racial powder keg known as Chester, Pa. In the days, months and years that followed, I was to learn the authenticity of the title of the landmark book by Gunnar Myrdal on racism in America, *An American Dilemma*. Race riots more than a decade earlier in Detroit had been for me a baptism into a consciousness of racism. But Philadelphia was to be my confirmation. My instructors were Paul Washington, Layton Zimmer, Mattie Humphrey, Clayton Hewitt, Cecil Moore, Stanley Branche, Jim Woodruff, Barbara Harris, Jesse Anderson — and a host of others, including Frank Rizzo.

When North Philadelphia came apart in a great racial demonstration in 1965, I

asked a Black woman whom I knew what she thought about the riot. "Riot?" she questioned. "That wasn't a riot. That was just a coming-out party!" The gulf between the typical Black and typical White reactions to the unfolding events was enormous. In some respects, unbridgeable. Truly, an American dilemma.

The Girard College situation was perhaps the most vivid, most contentious focus the racial issue had in my years in Philadelphia. Stephen Girard had written a will generations earlier under which a school was established, well-endowed, for the benefit of poor, White, male orphans. And it now found itself situated in the heart of the enormous Black community in North Philadelphia. When Cecil Moore and others of the NAACP began organizing protest demonstrations at Girard College, calling for its being opened up to Blacks, an electric shock went through the whole metropolis. And then, when the Episcopal Diocese supported the picketing, it was seen as adding blasphemy to outrage.

Said many, if not most, of the White community, "Wills are sacred and in-

violable.” Said most of the Black community, “Wills are not sacred, and this one is illegal!” The legal point involved was that a person, dead, may not do through the terms of a will what that person would not be allowed to do if alive. I will always be grateful to Attorney William Coleman for his cardinal role in taking that case to the Supreme Court and getting a favorable ruling. But that was after much agony, alienation and the politicizing of the diocese.

And yet for the diocese there was no moral position to take other than that which it did. The diocese had at that time, as I recall, some 18,000 Black constituents. The issue involved “our” people. And beyond that, deeper than that, was the clear claim of justice, a claim the church could ignore only at the cost of surrendering its vocation, relinquishing its call to be the people of God.

And then came the Black Manifesto, and its demand for reparations for generations of injustice done to Black people by Whites. It was a bold, imaginative effort. And bold and imaginative was the local spokesperson for the Black Manifesto, Muhammed Kenyatta. I will never forget when he intruded into a communion service at Holy Trinity, Rittenhouse Square. After interrupting the service and speaking to the demands of the Manifesto, he strode to the altar and picked up the alms basin. He flung the money on the floor of the sanctuary, dramatizing the sacrilege of a religious offering to God which belied and denied the weighty matters of the Law of God, such as racial justice. That was religious poetry acted out, worthy of a Jeremiah.

Thanks to Kenyatta’s persistence and unlimited imaginativeness, the issue of reparations was kept alive. And finally the diocese faced it squarely at a special diocesan convention. A commission had been appointed to submit a proposal. It called for a serious response to the ethical issue central to the Manifesto.

The Rev. Jesse Anderson, astute, veteran of many conventions, member of the Standing Committee, Rector of the Black congregation of St. Thomas, made a speech. Said he, since the word “reparations” is a stumbling block to so many, I propose we not use that word, but rather substitute another word, hallowed by centuries of usage in the Anglican Book of Common Prayer. That word is “restitution.” And he so moved. And the convention by a wide margin approved the program!

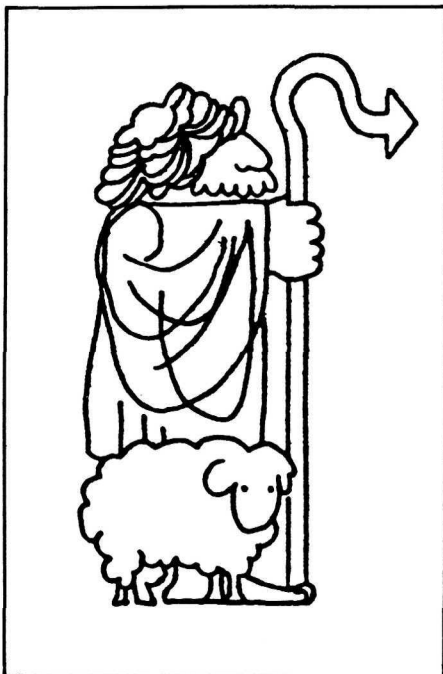
Then the issue of White racism took another, very dramatic turn. Vietnam. And for the diocese it was as though Caesar and Christ came center stage, and had a very earnest conversation. It was a pretty one-sided conversation for quite a while. Caesar had the speaking lines, and in time of armed conflict Caesar is good press.

But David Gracie had come to town. Quiet, dignified, scholarly, devout, he nevertheless came to be caricatured in the press as a man possessed by monomania — the burning of draft cards. The storm that arose over his principled

and conscientious opposition to the war was misplaced outrage over his challenge to a false patriotism. Repeated efforts were made at successive diocesan conventions, and between conventions, to force his resignation. But he was needed. I recall a testimonial dinner given in his honor at the Unitarian Church, near Rittenhouse Square. Hundreds in that ecumenical gathering attested to his leadership. That event was — in effect — a Unitarian contribution to a Trinitarian Episcopal Church, just as Gracie’s ministry was an Episcopal contribution to the whole Philadelphia community.

In the early stages of the opposition to the Vietnam War, almost nobody who was anybody was in the ranks of the dissenters. I still have in my files a clipping which states: “They cast a net of conscience over American youth and gathered in a mixed bag — young people wise and witless, God-inspired and beat, reformers and social renegades. The catch recalled the self-descriptive words written by an abolitionist 100 years before: ‘We are what we are. Babes, sucklings, obscure men, silly women, publicans, sinners, and we shall manage this matter just as might be expected of such persons as we are. It is unbecoming in abler men who stood by and would do nothing, to complain of us because we could do no better.’” Actually these words were written of the young people who engaged in the civil rights struggles of the earlier ’60s. But they apply with equal validity to the participants in the mounting pressure against the war in Vietnam.

But it was hard for the diocese. Hard on the diocese. Hard on the bishop! The thing which convinced me I should not resign at that time was my growing awareness that those beatnik peaceniks were right. They would say the most outrageous and unfounded things about the government’s prosecution of the war, about what was really going on. Time



after time I discounted the protesters' protestations, only to learn not long after that they were correct. The Pentagon Papers later documented this.

Some time later the Freedom of Information Act revealed that FBI files on many people, prominent and obscure, vindicated what people in the peace movement had been alleging. Where the peace activists got their facts I never knew. But I learned where the official so-called facts were coming from. They came from a pool of statements that officialdom wanted people to believe. Sometimes they happened to be true. Often they were tragically false. Someone once stated: When war is declared, the first casualty is truth. I was late in realizing that. But I have been reminded of it often in recent times with reference to Grenada, El Salvador, Nicaragua.

I would like now to turn to the Diocese of Pennsylvania as an institution. The diocese is a rather awesome administrative assignment. In existence for 200 years, it has accumulated myriad committees, commissions, trusts, policies both written and unwritten, and a veritable host of diocesan institutions. Because it is an Episcopal diocese, the bishop has an ex-officio relationship to most of those committees, commissions, institutions. It is no exaggeration to say that a bishop in this diocese could, if he wished, have a full time job simply attending meetings of those institutional entities. In any one given year there can be anywhere from 1500 to 2000 confirmations. Custom calls for the bishop personally to sign each of the confirmation certificates. Is that the most responsible way for him to spend that considerable amount of time?

Administration is necessary to any institution, and thus to the church, too. A bishop is a priest, a deacon, an administrator, a pastor, general utility figure-head. He signs things, he attends things, he has his picture taken. But what is his central task, the focus of his work? I

recall once when David Gracie came into the office and reported that he had been re-reading Tolstoy's *War and Peace*, and had suddenly realized what a bishop's role is. Since I expressed interest, he continued that in one scene in the book a general is on horseback watching the battle, as soldier after soldier runs up to him out of the confusion of the fray and asks where to go, what to do. The general, as confused as the rest, nevertheless draws his sword and with great decisiveness points this way or that. The soldiers salute and charge back into the chaos. The church, too, said Gracie, needs someone who tells us which way to go, even if he doesn't really know either!

It has been said that a bishop's role is to represent God to his people, and to represent his people to God. Bishop Emrich of Michigan, with whom I had served as suffragan, often added that on *issues* the bishop is not called to be representative of the people, but to represent God. This is not arrogance. The same vocation pertains to every Christian. We are not called to be crowd pleasers, but to be faithful. But how does one know what faithfulness requires? St. Augustine said to the gnostics of his time, with whom he was engaged in a great controversy: "Let those be angry with you who do not know with how great toil truth is attained, or how difficult it is to avoid mistakes. Let those be angry with you who do not know what sighs and tears are needed if the real God is to be known — even in the tiniest degree. But for me to be angry with you, is utterly impossible . . ."

I would freely admit — as I have many times before — that being Bishop of the Diocese of Pennsylvania was too big a job for me, alone. How can one person, against many, insist that he or she has the truth? That is why Augustine's words speak to me so eloquently. At the same time, I would also say that with the staff help I had during my years as diocesan,

there are very, very few things which, given a chance, I would do differently. What a staff! — Charlie Ritchie, Jack McCarty, Al Vail, Sue Hiatt, Dave Gracie, Jim Woodruff, Jack Hardwick, Layton Zimmer, and many others. I shudder to think of my days in Philadelphia without them.

I spent untold hours with the staff discussing issues, comparing points of view, assessing possibilities, striving for consensus. I recall no decision arrived at this way that I ever regretted.

Another bonus was the presence of the Philadelphia Divinity School and its dean, Ed Harris. On many occasions I appealed to them for theological help on some of the strident issues of the day, and was never disappointed.

One last observation about the diocese as an institution has to do with the meaning of democratic processes in the life of an absolute monarchy. For not the bishop, but God, is the ruler of a diocese. And God's edicts and statutes are not subject to democratic review. I think this theological point is fundamental. At the same time it is true also that our *perceptions* of the will of God are debatable, and profit by debate; and that the courses of action which may follow from those perceptions of the will of God are also debatable, and profit from debate. This is the basis of the legitimacy of democratic processes in the life of a diocese. But as with any democratic institution it puts a heavy premium on education. For a diocese, it calls for people's being educated in the faith, schooled in the church's theological assumptions. Jack Hardwick held the responsibility for much of the educational concern of the diocese, and many hours we spent discussing this problem. In a time of racial struggle, in a time of war, the voice of a majority of the people is not necessarily the Word of God. Too tragically often the voice of the majority is an expression of prejudice, chauvinism,

Continued on page 23

Celebrations to mark women priests' 10th year



How do you celebrate the 10th anniversary of the "irregular ordinations" of women to the priesthood — that event which a decade ago on July 29 challenged the patriarchy and changed the face of the Episcopal Church? Well, it depends.

The institutional church will ignore it. Many in the Episcopal hierarchy question the "appropriateness" of celebrating the July ordinations, to the point that in some areas, plans to celebrate have been quietly smothered.

Nevertheless, announcements of public and private celebrations have been popping up across the country, and the event in Philadelphia, site of the first ordinations, promises to carry on in the iconoclastic tradition of a decade ago. At the service of thanksgiving scheduled July 29 at the Church of the Advocate, a call will be issued for the election and ordination of women bishops. (See box.)

The Eucharistic service will utilize inclusive language, and celebrants will be the first women who were ordained in Philadelphia and Washington, whoever among them can attend. The service will include lessons from the Feast of Martha and Mary, and the long awaited festive procession, postponed for security reasons 10 years ago, will wind through nearby streets preceding the event. Preaching will be the Rt. Rev. J. Antonio Ramos, one of the four bishops present at the

ordination a decade ago. Bishop Ramos is currently Associate Director for the Caribbean and Latin America, National Council of Churches.

Lay people, clergy and bishops from all over the country are expected to attend. The offering will go toward the Church of the Advocate building fund, since the edifice badly needs renovations.

Syracuse, N.Y., also has big plans to celebrate. The Rev. Betty Bone Schiess of the Philadelphia 11 says of the service to be held at Grace Cathedral, "It will affirm that it takes a lot of blood, sweat and tears to change things for women in the church. Readers and other participants

will be people who were part of the struggle for women's ordination in this diocese."

Schiess credits strong support from an organization of lay women, the Episcopal Society for the Examination of Feminist Issues, for giving her the strength to pursue her call and carry out her vocation. She says of the group, "It was organized in 1968 by women touched by the feminist movement and interested not only in women's ordination but in pushing for systemic change. Since the group was founded they have drafted two resolutions calling for pay equity for women in the church."

Call for wholeness

The following call for the ordination of women bishops in the Episcopal Church will be issued at commemorative services for the 10th anniversary of women's ordination in Philadelphia's Church of the Advocate July 29:

We, the undersigned, are keenly aware of the incomplete and divided nature of the ordained ministry because there are no women bishops in the Episcopal Church.

Therefore, we call upon the Episcopal Church, its laity and clergy alike, to proceed urgently and with dispatch to the election and ordination of women to the episcopate in order to bring whole-

ness to this order of ministry, which exists to "lead, supervise and unite the church."

We pledge ourselves to pray and work diligently for the prompt accomplishment of this healing and fulfilling action, so that the whole world "may see and know that things which were cast down are being raised up . . . and that all things are being brought to their perfection by him through whom all things were made, Jesus Christ our Lord."

(Readers wishing to add their names to the above should drop a postcard to **THE WITNESS**, Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002.)

The day before the anniversary service, a symposium of clergy and laywomen from the Diocese of Central New York will take place at the Cathedral in Syracuse. "We'll brainstorm about the future of the diocese," Schiess said. "On the agenda are problems regarding racism, sexism, and diocesan pay equity and personnel policies. The laywomen have decided to move ahead for change. If this happened in every diocese, things might change."

Dr. Charles Willie, Harvard professor and long-time supporter of Schiess, will preach at the Syracuse service, as he did at the ordination 10 years ago in Philadelphia. Willie resigned his post as president of the House of Deputies after the Philadelphia ordinations to protest the church's attitude towards women. The Syracuse service will be sponsored by the rector, wardens and parishioners of Grace Church and by members of the Episcopal Society for the Examination of Feminist Issues.

Other smaller but no less significant celebrations will take place in parishes and gatherings around the country, from Los Angeles to Washington, D.C., and Boston.

The Philadelphia service is scheduled at 4 p.m. at the Advocate, and a press conference will follow.

The Syracuse service on July 29 at the Cathedral is scheduled for 3 p.m., according to the Rev. Judith Upham, rector.

Other groups across the country are celebrating the anniversary by sponsoring a one-woman play, "Solo Flight," based on the life of Jeannette Piccard, noted balloonist who was ordained in 1974 at 79 years of age. The play, written by Phyllis Poullette is a warm tribute to Piccard, who died in 1981. "Solo Flight" is being performed in the Midwest by Molly Culligan, and in the East by Roberta Nobleman. Culligan can be reached at 475 Laurel Ave., St. Paul, MN 55102 (612-291-0195), and Nobleman at 110 Beacon St., Dumont, N.J. 07628 (201-384-6181). ■



Passover

*Ten years so far
in the wilderness,
ten summers and hundreds
of spring storms since
we few ventured out
into the vast heartland.*

*How quickly it happened,
only a few days' notice
for some of us:*

Pack nothing.
Bring only
your determination
to serve and
your willingness
to be free.

Don't wait for the bread to rise.
Take nourishment for the journey,
but eat standing, be ready
to move at a moment's notice.

Do not hesitate to leave
your old ways behind —

—
Alla Bozarth-Campbell was one of
the first women priests to be
ordained in Philadelphia in 1974.
She reflects on the past decade in
the poem/prayer above.

fear, silence, submission.

Only surrender to the need
of the time — to love
justice and walk humbly
with your God.

Do not take time
to explain to the neighbors.
Tell only a few trusted
friends and family members.

Then begin quickly,
before you have time
to sink back into
the old slavery.

Set out in the dark.
I will send fire
to warm and encourage you.
I will be with you in the fire
and I will be with you in the cloud.

You will learn to eat new food
and find refuge in new places.
I will give you dreams in the desert
to guide you safely home to that place
you have not yet seen.

The stories you tell
one another around your fires
in the dark will make you
strong and wise.

remembered

by Alla Bozarth-Campbell

Outsiders will attack you,
and some who follow you,
and at times you will weary
and turn on each other
from fear and fatigue and
blind forgetfulness.

You have been preparing
for this for hundreds of years.
I am sending you into the wilderness
to make a way and to learn my ways
more deeply.

Those who fight you will teach you.
Those who fear you will strengthen you.
Those who follow you may forget you.
Only be faithful.
This alone matters.

Some of you will die in the desert,
for the way is longer than anyone
imagined.
Some of you will give birth.

Some will join other tribes
along the way, and some
will simply stop and create
new families in a welcoming oasis.

Some of you will be so changed
by weathers and wanderings
that even your closest friends
will have to learn your features

as though for the first time.
Some of you will not change at all.

Some will be abandoned
by your dearest loves
and misunderstood by those
who have known you since birth
and feel abandoned by you.

Some will find new friendship
in unlikely faces, and old friends
as faithful and true
as the pillar of God's flame.

Wear protection.
Your flesh will be torn
as you make a path
with your bodies
through sharp tangles.
Wear protection.

Others who follow may deride
or forget the fools who first bled
where thorns once were, carrying them
away in their own flesh.

Such urgency as you now bear
may embarrass your children
who will know little of these times.

Sing songs as you go,
and hold close together.
You may at times grow
confused and lose your way.

Continue to call each other
by the names I've given you,
to help remember who you are.
You will get where you are going
by remembering who you are.

Touch each other
and keep telling the stories
of old bondage and of how
I delivered you.

Tell your children lest they forget
and fall into danger — remind them
even they were not born in freedom,
but under a bondage they no longer
remember, which is still with them,
if unseen.

Or they were born
in the open desert
where no signposts are.

Make maps as you go,
remembering the way back
from before you were born.

So long ago you fell
into slavery, slipped
into it unawares,
out of hunger and need.

You left your famished country
for freedom and food in a new land,
but you fell unconscious and passive,
and slavery overtook you as you fell
asleep in the ease of your life.

You no longer told stories
of home to remember
who you were.

Do not let your children sleep
through the journey's hardship.
Keep them awake and walking
on their own feet so that you both
remain strong and on course.

So you will be only
the first of many waves
of deliverance on these
desert seas.

It is the first of many
beginnings — your Paschaltide.
Remain true to this mystery.

Pass on the whole story.
I spared you all
by calling you forth
from your chains.

Do not go back.

I am with you now
and I am waiting for you.



Bus stations:

Crossroads of poverty

by Judith C. Moore

Bus passengers are scraping the bottom of the U.S. economy's barrel. They are the elderly; the young, suddenly bankrupt families; the emotionally disturbed; people of color; Vietnam veterans; young enlisted servicemen. But more and more, they are difficult to distinguish from the homeless street people who wander in from the depressed, "tenderloin" areas of big cities.

Early this spring, I spent 10 days in San Diego, one of the fastest growing cities in the United States, to do a story about bus travelers. During that time, I visited the terminal during each of a day's 24 hours. I heard some cheerful stories, but not many.

San Diego's 50-year-old Greyhound terminal stands under the long shadows of new glass-front bank towers. The city's dispossessed huddle on patches of grass at the base of these 20 and 30-story giants. They panhandle, chat with and comfort one another, tipple wine and share food wrested from streetside garbage cans. At noon each day I heard a blue-suited preacher offer these people salvation. "Repent," was the crux of his message, his voice carrying on soft sea breezes.

At night, the street people ramble in and out of the bus depot. Sitting sprawled or upright on benches and chairs, leaning and slumping against walls, chain-smoking and bumming cigarettes, staring: everyone, then, looks dazed, tired, and confused — passengers and street people

alike.

Blue-uniformed Greyhound employees walk between benches with push brooms, sweeping up cigarette butts, paper cups, an odd sock, newspaper. The Pinkerton guard moves around the room's edges, watching for trouble. At 4 a.m., the depot seems more like the open ward of a mental institution than a waiting room, with exhausted bus travelers holding heads in hands, street people mumbling, and an extravagantly-dressed prostitute striding through on four-inch heels, her bosom bared in a red blouse. A tall, thin Mexican woman, her arms scrolled with amateur tattoos, fights off the attentions of an obviously non-Marine who had draped his narrow shoulders in a green Marine overcoat.

Early in the morning, families — father, mother, infants and toddlers — began to stumble off buses from north and east. Fathers toted diaper bags and styrofoam coolers stuffed with food. Mothers carried babies. I asked the dayshift guard why so many young families were arriving. "They come here looking for work," he answered. "We see lots of them."

I talked with Ron, a bearded, long-haired 26-year-old father. I held his freshly-diapered and fretful daughter while his wife stood in line to buy milk. "We rode two days and three nights," Ron said. Around his feet were stacked green plastic bags packed with everything they owned. They came on the bus, "because the loan company took back the car." Yes, Ron had come to find work, construction work, and they had chosen San Diego because, "We figured at least

nobody could freeze us out by turning off the utilities when winter came." His hands shook when he stuck his daughter's pacifier back into her mouth.

I visited with 29-year-old Aldo, a Black man born in Georgia and raised in an orphanage after his mother died in childbirth when he was nine. His teachers thought he was retarded, Aldo said. "All it was was I was broke up." No one taught him to read or write. For the past seven years he had worked in a Manhattan sweat shop, sewing on raincoat collars and sweeping and cleaning toilets. When the boss died, he told me, the boss's wife took over and fired Aldo. So Aldo, who said he liked to travel, took his savings and came to California by bus.

He said he had been in Los Angeles for five days and didn't much like it. So he thought he'd hang around San Diego and then head back to Manhattan. "I miss that city," he said, "like she was my baby."

Aldo was handsome, strong and friendly, and although he could not read or write, was marvelously, melodiously articulate. In the course of our conversation I asked him if he had ever been married. His brow furrowed. "No," he said. "I'd like to be married. But I can't. I don't have nothing to offer a woman." He got lonesome, he told me, and often considered getting a dog. During the last two days in L.A., he said, "a brown mutt-dog followed me around. When I said goodbye to him" Aldo gazed at me with raised eyebrows, "he looked like I'd kicked him. I'd have liked to bring him along."

Judith Moore is a free-lance journalist based in Berkeley, Cal.

It was the day that Gary Hart had swept New Hampshire and I asked Aldo who he would like to see for president. "Ain't nobody," Aldo said, "ever raped a woman so bad as Reagan he raped this country. I don't have any more hopes. I just have dreams."

Bus passenger luggage is made from cardboard cartons laced with twine, from green heavy-ply garbage bags, from paper shopping bags. Older travelers carry 30- or 40-year-old battered suitcases and I saw two elderly women dragging suitcases by ropes attached to handles. Often, as in the case of Ron and his family, everything they own is with them.

The depot's steel lockers cost 75¢ for 24 hours. Street people store belongings in them as do recent arrivals looking for work. In the economy of these men and women the 75¢ per day represents a large chunk of money, and I would see them, at attention by their lockers, waiting for the very minute the time was up before inserting another three quarters.

Very few passengers have friends or family waiting when they arrive. Downtown parking is expensive. Buses are often late. When men and women get off buses they go to the pay phones and call someone to come pick them up.

Bud, 22, had just hauled his suitcase and a box tied with clothesline from the pay phone to the bench and taken out his brown leatherette Bible when I sat down next to him. The San Diegan had arrived from "up North" and was waiting for his sister. When I asked where he'd been, he said, "I've been trying to be born again. But it's awful hard work." What he meant, he continued, was that he had just that afternoon returned from two months in a drug rehabilitation facility.

Bud grew up in a part of San Diego where poor Whites had migrated before and during World War II. His parents broke up when he was 9, and when he was 10 he started smoking marijuana. He graduated, he told me, to alcohol, then to

cocaine and crystal methedrine, "speed." "Praise the Lord," he said, "I never stuck a needle in myself and I never got busted."

For the first time in 10 years Bud was "all clean," he said. "No booze, no dope, no cigarettes." And he felt scared, scared he couldn't *stay* clean and scared to see his old friends. "Out there on the streets," he pointed toward the depot's entrance, "is a mean hungry army, people turned to wolves that will eat you alive."

Bud's round face was freckled and his wide green eyes regarded me with almost grave interest. He told me he had gained weight at the rehab center. His plaid flannel shirt pulled across his belly.

He said he had been studying the Bible. "Los Angeles reminds me of Sodom and Gomorrah." Except, he said, "Sodom and Gomorrah were two cities. Twin cities, like St. Paul and Minneapolis. We're in the last days," he said. He felt *sure* of that. "I want to get myself straight before the end."

What were his hopes?

"I'd like to get a big fishing boat and make a home on it for people to get away from the rat race." And he took my hand in his, which was sweating, looked into my eyes and said, "Thank you for talking with me."

Lois told me she was 48. The elderly leathery man, carrying a paper sack on top of which I could see a folded bathrobe, took a seat on the other side of Lois and laughed, saying, "Not hardly she ain't." Lois, at five foot two, weighed at least 200 pounds and wore her dyed auburn hair in a pompadour held in place with bobby pins and hair spray. Her left eye had been blackened and a fist-size bruise on her cheek had turned greenish-blue. Dark red lipstick outlined her mouth and she was entirely without teeth.

After asking if I had a cigarette, she explained she had come from a nearby rural town to stay at her mother's in San Diego. Her boyfriend, she said, had smashed her dentures with a rock. In

retaliation she had poured a cup of sugar into the gas tank of his pickup truck.

Lois had not had any teeth since she was 23. A dentist pulled them all, she told me, also addressing the elderly man, who as Lois talked, continued to laugh and to shake his head. "The dentist," she said, "he gave me false teeth but they never did stay in right. I shoulda sued him. I think most of my teeth weren't spoiled." She had gotten dentures twice from welfare, but they never fit.

Drawing her heavy-bosomed frame up straight, Lois told us she worked as a country-and-western singer. The elderly man cackled. "Sure as . . .," he said, "you never been no singer except to yourself." Lois cursed him loudly and stood, hefting up her scratched suitcase, and walked away hunched and waddling on swollen feet in terrycloth scuff slippers, her gait almost graceful.

Stories about men and women who are usually voiceless in this society abound in the bus depot. Everywhere I went with my tape recorder and notebook, I was always keenly aware of my own dependence "on the kindness of strangers." Charity exists between us and a terrible nakedness. After we talked, these strangers almost always thanked *me*. Yet, it was they who had often poured out the essence of their lives.

Skip church one Sunday. Go to your Trailways or Greyhound bus terminal. Wander. Watch the long lines form. Look at passengers, stiffened by hours in cramped postures, limp into the bright-lit depot. Help someone carry his or her luggage. Sit down on a bench and visit with a young mother or father. Stand at a lunch counter. Drink coffee and ask the person next to you, "How far did you come today?"

The travelers will give you the Gospel in their own words. You will hear God's voice in the stories of God's people. You will be anguished. You will also, peculiarly, be inspired. ■

Historical turbulence of Scudder, Spofford years

Earlier in this issue, former *WITNESS* editor Robert L. DeWitt reflected upon the stormy political decade of 1964-74 during his tenure as Bishop of Pennsylvania. The following pages reveal the turbulent history lived by the *WITNESS* editor who preceded him, the Rev. William B. Spofford, who was harassed during the '50s by the House Un-American Activities Committee for his political activism. Equally as prominent during the three decades covered, beginning with 1920, was the noted Episcopal laywoman Vida Scudder, who organized the Church League for Industrial Democracy.

Radical Christian history, recalling how Christians dealt with the relation between faith and politics in their lives, is frequently missing from library shelves. The following segment by Gordon Greathouse is taken from the study guide, *Which Side Are We On: Christian Commitment for the '80s*. (See back cover.)

BEGINNINGS

The Church League for Industrial Democracy (CLID) came into being shortly after a group met in May, 1919, in New York City under the leadership of Vida Scudder — a prominent Episcopal churchwoman who had been active in the Socialist Party as well.

A writer and somewhat of a mystic, Vida Scudder was deeply concerned over the claims of the social gospel, and possessed an unusual organizing ability. As a professor at Wellesley College, she had a wide network of friendships and was alert to the fact that a specifically socialist organization could no longer gain a wide following in the middle class.

Vida Scudder felt that church social action organizations had to be based in the middle class to be realistic and her greatest fear in the years following the first World War was that the middle class would support anti-left repression. Thus, when the group

met in New York City, she effectively argued for forming an organization with broad middle class support by uniting liberals and socialists who would work for civil liberties and industrial reform without explicitly favoring socialism.

CLID's watchword was "industrial democracy," which meant that democratic principles should be extended to the workplace. CLID held that, unlike the U.S. government which is supposed to be of, by, and for the people, the industrial system is of, by and for its owners. Thus, CLID chose to respond to the new developments of an "un-Christian industrial and economic system" in order to create a more Christian society that "substitutes fraternal cooperation for mastery in industry and life."

By selecting the phrase "industrial democracy" CLID members also accepted the viewpoint that the conflict between labor and capital was the central issue of social concern. Although not blind to racism and sexism, they felt that these could not be overcome until the competitive economic system was transformed. For them, once the possibility that some can advance by dividing and exploiting others

Gordon Greathouse is a Methodist minister. Former director of Church Research and Information Projects (CRIPS) New York City, he is now working in Brazil.

was eliminated, racism and sexism would fade away.

Throughout the summer of 1919, meetings were held in several eastern cities in order to form a



Vida Scudder

national organization. In October, when the Episcopal General Convention met in Detroit, CLID emerged as a visible movement by holding public forums in the evening at which prominent labor leaders and social activists spoke. These activities continued throughout CLID's history. At some Conventions, they were expanded to having social activists give sermons in local churches. The purpose of these forums was to raise delegates' consciousness about social issues, and sometimes they were regarded as more interesting than the Convention itself.

ACTIVITIES OF THE 1920s

During the 1920s, CLID focused its activities in three areas: (1) civil liberties, (2) church education, and (3) corporate responsibility. In its first year of activity, CLID took up the fight against government and church repression of Episcopal teachers and ministers who "incurred persecution through advocacy of social change." The defense of civil liberties continued to be an important concern of CLID members,

and one of its Presidents, Bishop Edward L. Parsons of California, was later a national Vice President of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Educating church members about labor issues was always a central purpose of CLID. From its first meeting, many voiced the concern that seminary curricula acquaint students with social and industrial problems in order that they could "know, preach and practice the social gospel." Thus, efforts were continually made to have CLID organizers speak to seminary communities. By 1921, two-thirds of the Episcopal Theological School and Berkeley Divinity School faculties had become members. In 1926, a "Students in Industry Project" was set up in which seminarians took industrial jobs during the summer and met together on weekends with social gospel leaders, businessmen, and labor organizers to discuss how their experiences related to their faith and to church programs. This project continued into the 1930s in a modified form.

In an effort to educate church membership, CLID speakers led discussion groups at summer church conferences and spoke to university and church meetings. Joint conferences were held with the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order in several cities. Its field representatives worked closely with Y.M.C.A. groups and often were invited into pulpits in order to inform local churches about social problems.

In 1924, the Rev. William Spofford, a former Secretary of the Church Socialist League, became Executive Secretary of CLID. At this point its activities were greatly expanded, especially in the Midwest. His contact with all types of political and labor groups, along with his ability to interpret economic issues to church audiences, made him an invaluable leader. Under his direction, CLID membership passed the 1,000 mark and *The Clipsheet*, a quarterly publication, was started to keep members informed about League activities. At the same time, William Spofford was the Managing Editor of *The Witness* magazine which often carried news and advertisements about CLID and provided a current social analysis for a broader audience. Spofford was also very active in developing and promoting employer conferences, student workshops, and church-labor leader meetings.

The third area of CLID's activities during the 1920s was corporate responsibility. During this decade, the middle class by and large had a satisfactory standard of living. Those with social consciousness wanted to be assured that their life style was not the result of exploiting the working class. Thus, many church members read Vida Scudder's pamphlet *Christians and Investments* and tried to invest in "responsible" corporations.

During this period, hope still lingered that if corporate and labor leaders could just understand each other, industrial disputes could be avoided. Thus, a couple of conferences were called to get both sides together, but this idea was soon dropped.

Most members of CLID were sympathetic with labor, feeling that justice was on its side, particularly in the railroad, textile, and coal industries. One of the first attempts to assist labor was by providing food money for striking coal miners so they would not be starved into submission. This action brought the praise of seven Anglican bishops whose letter of appreciation arrived in time to be read at the 1922 General Convention.

In later years, CLID leaders played fact-finding and mediating roles in such labor disputes as the Patterson Silkworkers Strike (1925) and the Passaic Textile Strike (1926). For a period in the early '20s, they took out ads in major newspapers setting forth their position about industrial disputes. These and other activities won them the respect of many labor leaders and their members were frequently invited to labor meetings. A number of union newspapers praised the League for its concern about social justice and for its support of labor.

These efforts did not occur without resistance. From the very beginning, publications such as the *Manufacturers Record* of Baltimore carried articles criticizing the League. In 1925, opponents of CLID submitted a memorial to the House of Bishops to condemn the League as well as the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Civil Liberties Union. When this failed, they brought a resolution against "Politics in the Church" to the 1928 General Convention, but it also failed.

The stock market crash in 1929 created an entirely new atmosphere. During the "Roaring '20s" many members of the middle class naively believed that

prosperity would remain forever and its benefits would gradually pervade society. The working class was not so easily deluded since the 1920s for them were "The Lean Years." Nevertheless, the Great Depression once again made capitalism the central issue, and capitalist defense of its privilege through fascism became a chief danger.

1930s AND THE GREAT DEPRESSION

The Depression also gave rise to three important people's movements: The Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, and the United Front against Fascism. Each of these movements joined together liberals and radicals in the struggle for economic justice and democratic rights. In later years, participation in these coalitions became the focus for bitter criticism and persecution, but at the time, they were the avenues for meaningful activity for socially-concerned Christians.

During these years, CLID's activities were greatly expanded and its membership grew. Its struggle for economic justice and democratic rights throughout the previous decade were now regarded with pride by Episcopalians. Soon it had a dozen chapters in the East, Midwest and West and more than 3,000 members spread across the country. Its activities now took on a new form and intensity.

Throughout the '30s, an important part of CLID's program continued to be educational activities. The summer intern jobs were expanded and drew together students from nearly a dozen seminaries. As seminary students took various types of jobs in Cincinnati, they were able to come together and share their reflections on how religious values might be applied to the workplace. In 1931, a School for Social Ethics, a mini-university, was started at Wellesley College where prominent church leaders taught summer courses throughout the '30s.

In addition, CLID continued to play an important role at Episcopal Summer Conferences as well as at General Conventions. Some chapters developed public seminars while others participated in Conferences for Seminary Students. Literature and study programs were developed for all members who were interested and at some points CLID cooperated with organizations such as the People's Institute of Applied Religion in leadership training programs. In



William Spofford

all these and other activities, their primary concern was helping Christians live out their faith by engaging in activities for social justice.

By the beginning of the 1930s, CLID had dropped its discussion about corporate responsibility. As unemployment grew and working conditions deteriorated, its activity in investigating labor conditions and supporting strikers took on a new importance. In 1931, CLID joined with other groups to provide relief funds for striking textile workers in Danville, Virginia and in the following year they sent 21 members of the clergy to investigate working conditions in the Kentucky coal fields.

By the second half of the 1930s resistance to the Depression had reached a higher level. Industrial and tenant farmer unions were rapidly gaining strength and the United Front had a broad base of support.

CLID, too, was developing with and responding to these advances. Strike volunteers were organized to join picket lines and teams were sent across the country to preach the social gospel.

Throughout this period, CLID took an anti-capitalist position and presented a positive view of socialism. Nevertheless, its primary concern was to develop support around particular issues rather than raise consciousness about how these were caused by capitalism or how socialism might eliminate the problem.

Few, if any, of CLID's leaders were members of the Socialist or Communist parties, but they had no qualms about cooperating with anyone who was honestly working for social justice. The issue was support for a particular cause rather than party affiliation. This was a cause of much persecution during the McCarthy Era, with its sweeping denunciation of "fellow travelers."

Many of CLID's activities in the second half of the 1930s were done in cooperation with other organizations in the United Christian Council for Democracy (UCCD). UCCD was a federation of left Christian groups which came together in 1936 under the leadership of Reinhold Niebuhr. While each organization maintained its own orientation, all rejected the "profit-seeking economy and the capitalistic way of life." CLID was a member of UCCD together with the Fellowship of Socialist Christians led by Reinhold Niebuhr, the Methodist Federation for Social Service led by Harry F. Ward, the Rauschenbusch Fellowship for Baptists, the Reformed Council for Social Reconstruction, as well as other groups of Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Evangelicals. In the years immediately after World War II, CLID held annual meetings with these other organizations in order to share perspectives. While the Council was never more than a federation, it did make important contributions in civil liberties and labor relations by bringing progressive Christians together.

STRUGGLES AGAINST RACISM & FASCISM

During this period, CLID was active in three areas. CLID's primary focus continued to be support for labor struggles. In this period that meant assisting sharecroppers in southern states to organize themselves into the Southern Tenant Farmers Union (STFU). STFU developed under the leadership of the Socialist Party and CLID helped by raising funds and sending field workers. In 1936, for example, funds were sent to help Arkansas sharecroppers who had lost their land, and a field worker was sent to the Delta Cooperative Farm in Mississippi.

Supporting labor struggles also meant aiding the development of industrial unions through the CIO. CLID understood the need for organizing the unorganized as well as joining workers together in industrial rather than trade unions. Thus, CIO organizers

were frequently asked to speak to church groups and were regarded as a leading force in the working class.

A second area of CLID's activities in the second half of the 1930s was the struggle against foreign and domestic fascism. Fascism arose in Italy in the early 1920s, and it gained strength in Europe and the United States as capitalists backed it to protect their interests and stifle domestic protest. CLID realized that unless people were organized to stop it, fascism would continue to grow and eliminate democracy. Thus, they saw the Spanish Civil War as a crucial conflict between fascism and democracy, and supported the loyalist cause. They sent funds for orphans through the friends of Spanish Democracy and tried to educate congregations through articles in church publications and pamphlets.

A third area CLID became involved in during this period was the struggle against racism. Although their activities in this area were greatly expanded in the post-war years, during this period they saw reactionaries using racism to divide and weaken the labor movement. Thus, they issued a number of pamphlets to raise members' awareness, and endorsed programs to eliminate racial discrimination in government and to combat lynching.

As CLID became more active in all these fields, it again became the focus of attacks by conservatives. At the 1937 General Convention, Merwin K. Hart led the Church Layman's Association in an attack on CLID for being a Marxist organization. With support from Bishop Manning, they were able to get a resolution passed in the House of Deputies to bar CLID from future Conventions. This resolution was overwhelmingly defeated by the House of Bishops but the fight arose again at the 1940 Convention with the same result. Similar attacks were mounted in Congress — in 1938 by the Dies Committee and again in the 1950s by Senator Joseph McCarthy's redbaiting.

In the 1940s, CLID expanded its activities to include support for relief projects in China and the Soviet Union. With the end of World War II, a new and broader program was drawn up that included on the domestic front a call for full employment and a guaranteed annual income along with opposition to the closed shop, the poll-tax, and legislation that deprived women of equal rights. On the international front, they called for support of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference and "people's movements in lib-

erated countries," and opposed any relations with Franco's regime in Spain.

ELSA, EXPANSION AND REPRESSION

In order to reflect this broader program, the name was changed to the Episcopal League for Social Action (ELSA) in 1946. This expanded emphasis, however, was built on a weak foundation. In the post-war years, the term "industrial democracy" lost its power to draw people together in common cause. As industry boomed with European reconstruction and the production of long-awaited consumer products, most members of the middle class lost interest in industrial issues. At the same time, William Spofford, who had led CLID for the last 20 years, was no longer able to continue his activities as both Managing Editor of *The Witness* and Executive Secretary of CLID. Thus, for the next two years his son (now Bishop) William Spofford, Jr. carried on these activities with ELSA. He in turn was succeeded by three other Executive Secretaries.

In the early 1950s ELSA succumbed to the repressive atmosphere of the McCarthy period. As church radicals were attacked within the church and without, many shied away from organizations such as ELSA. In addition, without a unifying issue such as industrial democracy, many joined other organizations to further their social concerns. Finally, without a unifying leader it was no longer possible to maintain an active organization, and ELSA slipped into oblivion. Thus, in effect, ended the three decades of the turbulent life of CLID.

Whether a movement in the Episcopal Church will soon emerge which will bring together these different concerns and commitments, grounded in a cogent analysis of the present-day systems and structures of injustice, is yet to be seen. That possibility is dependent in large measure on whether the church is willing to build upon and learn from its own history.

However, we must be careful not to canonize our history. Throughout the last 200 years we see the same forces to be resisted — sexism, racism and imperialism — but their structures and forms have changed through time. Our analysis and strategies must change as well. By recovering the vitality of our tradition, we can work and dream in our own time.





Radical religious history: fragments of a legacy

by Paul Buhle

I visited with Willard and Ruth Adlard MacLennan Uphaus to tape them for my Oral History of the American Left archive just a few months before Willard's death at age 91. Willard was already a legendary figure in Protestant radicalism; he epitomized one era of religious commitment and looked forward to the next. His 1983 talk at the World Fellowship Center had been entitled, "Integrating Mysticism and Social Revolution."

We had discussed the subject excited-

Paul Buhle, who directs the Oral History of the American Left at Tamiment Library, New York University, is seeking to interview other "religious radicals" active during the 1920s-50s. All tapes will be available (depending upon the wishes of the interviewee) for listening at Tamiment.

ly, ruminating over the legacies of the Gnostics, Cabbalists, Sufis, Tantric Buddhists, Hopi seers and their meaning for the Radical Reformation's current heirs. We had been profoundly moved by liberation theology and its poet-philosophers' aim to recuperate pre-Columbian culture, to grasp at truths long relegated to the margins of Western history.

All but a few of my other American Left respondents would call themselves atheists — aging Jews, Finns, Hungarians, Poles and Italians. They broke from religion in their youth, or came from parents who had already made the break. Yet they devoted every available energy to a vision of a cooperative society just as "spiritual" and hardly less other-worldly than the Radical Reformation's earthly

millennium. They organized the unions, initiated protests against racism, led the battles for Social Security and against the Cold War. What had brought Willard and Ruth among them, decades before liberation theology pointed toward a reconciliation of radical faiths?

Willard had felt close to his German-American grandfather and the Reformation energy the old man had passed on. For one historical moment still reverberating today, Protestantism had expressed an almost primal thirst for communalism, for the oneness of humankind, nature and the cosmos. Willard recognized the lingering traces in his own life's mission, keeping alive the dissenting voice of socialist Christians.

Two distinct traditions can be identi-



fied in American Protestant radicalism, both intertwined in Willard Uphaus.

One stems directly from the memories of the Radical Reformation sustained by the French Camisards, the German followers of Jakob Böhme and scattered others. Many European sects viewed North America as a last hope for heaven on earth.

A single, remarkable example may stand for the others. German-American Pietists led by Johann Conrad Beissel founded the colony of Ephrata outside Philadelphia in the 1730s, a settlement which soon supported the most prolific book-publishing center and the most creative writers of new hymns in the future U.S. territories. The aging John Greenleaf Whittier, Poet Laureate of post-Civil War America, rightly saw them as the neglected alternative to a materialist destiny. Perhaps we can understand their contribution better today than at any other time in U.S. history.

The second, less mystical and more practical tradition flourished among ministers within mainstream denominations. They played some role in preparing the ground for the American Revolution, but their modern presence gained force around the sorely oppressed — mill workers, Black slaves and free Blacks — who so badly needed a redemptive message.

For example, at Pawtucket, R.I., the site of the first “family system” textile mills in the Americas (and the site of the first labor strike involving women workers) a Baptist minister in the 1820s took this characteristic text: “Do not rich men oppress you? Woe to ye rich men, weep and howl for the miseries that shall come upon you.”

The local millowners turned him out of the church, a common result of such outspokenness. And yet, in the abolitionist press, *Black and White*, and in the populist, labor and socialist press to follow, a religious voice was almost always heard. Many ministers established “Free” churches, or abandoned pulpit altogether to become editors, circuit-riding lecturers, organizers.

Thousands of them rallied to the banner of railroad unionist-turned-socialist, Eugene V. Debs. From his first government persecution in 1894, Debs was depicted popularly as a Christ-like figure suffering for the common people. (A poem published on his imprisonment for leading the Pullman Strike read in part: “A beam of light fell o’er him like a glory ’round the shriven/And he walked the dusty pavement as it were the pass to heaven.”) In 1920, his last presidential campaign, nearly a million Americans voted for the jailed anti-war martyr. Oral memories of oldtimers recollect sobbing in the streets of blue-collar neighborhoods across America when Debs died in 1926.

One of Debs’ personal friends and literary executor to Walt Whitman,

Horace Trauble, embodied the more mystic aspect of Christian Socialism. Traubel, editor of the Unitarian magazine, *The Conservator*, ceaselessly preached the gospel of socialism as the essential Good News and the Socialist Party as the bearer of the mission.

Traubel died in 1919, and the mystic confidence in American cooperative destiny lay mortally wounded. So much of Anglo-Saxon America had turned to Billy Sunday, the Ku Klux Klan, anti-unionism and xenophobia.

The Bishop Brown incident of the 1920s marked a sea change in Christian radicalism. William Montgomery Brown of Galion, Ohio, retired Episcopal bishop of Arkansas, author of prominent apologies for the faith, had turned political with a tract on Black rights. He went over to the Left with both feet in his 1915 *Communism and Christianity*, a much-translated and reprinted personal appeal for the new “religion” of revolution. He sold hundreds of thousands of copies of such books and became a *cause celebre* — too much so. In May 1924, he was declared a heretic and stripped of his office. Today the site of his Brownella College in Galion is an official state museum.

For decades, foreign-born radicals in the United States had been anti-clerical because of their experience with reactionary views of their respective clergies, and because “scientific socialism” offered believers the doctrinal basis for an alternative faith in the destiny of humankind. They rarely acknowledged the extent to which their own workers’ songs, theater and iconographics had borrowed directly upon Judeo-Christian themes, and how many uneducated activists in their ranks quietly held to their own personal versions of religion.

At any rate, the eclipse of Protestant radicalism and the triumph of the militantly atheist Russian Revolution gave cause for a new level of intolerance, particularly within the assembling Com-

munist Party. Ideology had less influence at the local level, where especially by the later 1930s many pro-labor priests and ministers could be found, and many more church members among the CIO unionists.

Communist seekers of social justice in the '30s often found themselves unable to reach constituencies of all kinds — Protestant, Catholic, Jewish — with a tone and language that would have been effective. Militant church people, often playing important practical roles, found themselves locked out of intellectual dialogue. This cost a generation of radicals dearly.

The smaller Socialist Party, led by former Methodist minister Norman Thomas, symbolized for many the renaissance of conscience among middle-class Protestant denominations. It recruited freely from the YMCA and YWCA, activist church youth organizations and college campuses. A handful of popularists such as Kirby Page, editor of the influential religious-radical *World Tomorrow* magazine, reached far into this constituency. Ruth MacLennan Uphaus recalled to me her use of Page's meditations as she grew from Ohio public school teacher to Socialist Party militant and Farmer-Labor Party candidate for Congress. And yet the latter-day Socialist Party had little in common with the natural Protestant constituency, the Southern Whites and Blacks then streaming into factories, north and south. The socialists, for all their sincerity and dedication, remained a missionary sect.

At the margins of radicalism, other religious personalities shone: A. J. Muste, who passed through Marxism to found the Fellowship for Reconciliation; Dorothy Day, Peter Maurin and their followers in the Catholic Worker milieu; and militant southern activists in labor, religion and culture — Don West, James Dombrowski and Claude Williams. Of all the Christian radicals in the 1930s, perhaps only Williams developed a full-blown,

practical theology. Other Christian radicals from Bishop Brown's day onward had been essentially reacting to Marxist hegemony over the Left.

A hell-fire Presbyterian minister in Tennessee, Williams enrolled in contemporary religion at Vanderbilt and took up the task of integrating religion with modern problems. Over the next few years, Claude and his wife Joyce worked with miners resisting layoffs until cashiered by his Presbytery. He went on to lead the unemployed, organize sharecroppers, direct Commonwealth College and multitudes of other activities. In the late '30s, he and his wife were active in the Southern Tenant Farmers Union.

Largely as a result of their association with the STFU, Claude and Joyce Williams established a People's Institute for Applied Religion to train religious leaders as activists. In effect, Williams re-interpreted the Bible in terms familiar to the Radical Reformation or to Black

emancipation movements. Much like the old IWW, which taught semi-literate workers their power through a chart describing the industrial government of a social order, Williams devised charts which described the betrayal of God's Word and the regathering of the righteous forces.

Williams recognized the danger of a domestic fascism preying upon people's frustration and confusion. He insisted that "in this mass religious movement there is one of the most terrific democratic dynamics in America." The poor in the South, "by a penetrating instinct and an unsophisticated realism sense the emptiness, the sham, artificiality and hypocrisy of our formal religious services . . . Herein is heard the present-day Macedonian Call."

For the rest of his life, Williams paid for the insight. Hounded from place to place, threatened with KKK terror and government harassment, he was eventually removed from his pastorate and





convicted of heresy — the only such case in 20th century Presbyterianism. Toward the end he could still be found holding Bible classes in Fungo Hollow, Tenn. — classes which resembled the communal reinterpretation of Scripture held by Ernesto Cardenal among the campesinos in Nicaragua.

Willard Uphaus looks back to association with Claude Williams as one of the most stirring and transforming moments in his life.

Uphaus emerged from a rural Indiana background and rose to prominence as a religious leader of the CIO while Williams grew to fame in the South. Willard recalled attempts the two men made to probe the other's faith, Williams having (as Uphaus said), "to rub my Yale nose" in the reality of southern poverty and hope; Uphaus helping to bring Williams back to a transcendental element he had almost lost in his practical struggles.

In the next generation, Martin Luther King, Jr., placed Christian commitment back toward the center of radicalism as it had not been since abolitionist days. By the 1920s, the curiously tangled theological doctrines of Marcus Garvey and his "Back to Africa" movement had

stirred race pride and a boldness never seen before in urban Black America. During the 1930s Father Divine, rallying huge forces for survival of Blacks through the Depression, emerged briefly as a major social figure with strong radical connections.

But King possessed an intellectual sophistication which none of his spiritual predecessors, and indeed, few of the trained Marxists, approached. Like Marx, King drank deeply from the well of Hegel's philosophical discourse. "A final victory is an accumulation of many short term encounters," King reasoned, and the failure to appreciate the up and down waves "underestimates the value of confrontation and dissolves the confidence born of a partial victory by which new efforts are powered."

About Rosa Parks, who ignited the bus boycott that brought the militant Civil Rights movement to national and international attention by refusing to move to a segregated area, King wrote:

She was anchored to that seat by the accumulated indignities of days gone by and the boundless aspirations of generations yet unborn. She was victim of both the forces of history and the forces of destiny. She had been traced down by the Zeitgeist — the spirit of the time.

At almost the same historical moment that King took leadership of the unfolding political movement, the Krushchev revelations about Stalin and the Hungarian workers' uprising against the Russians shook the old Marxist self-confidence to the core. Marxists everywhere, including the United States, were about to undergo the kind of wrenching doubts earlier radical Christians had suffered, and not a few became agnostic or atheistic toward *their* familiar Marxist faith.

The final decade of King's life saw Vatican II, the stirrings of liberation theology, and growing Protestant opposition

to American Third World policies, especially the Vietnam War. The stage had been set for a synthesis previously unimaginable.

As we watch the unfolding events — in the Christian martyrdom of Latin America, the rousing of U.S. Catholic bishops against nuclear arms, the increasing engagement of local religious figures and laypersons on issues of deindustrialization, impoverished families, unemployed or disabled workers and political refugees — the significance of the fragmented history comes better into view.

On the mystic-spiritual side, popular literature such as Elaine Pagels' *Gnostic Gospels*, feminist history and anthropology, and the poetic expressions of Sandinista leader Ernesto Cardenal have inspired the widespread sense of timeless nature-religion which elements of Christianity have absorbed and now return to light. We may be sure that the Shakers and Ephratans would find sisters and brothers here.

On the other side, material aspirations of Christians and radicals of all kinds for a cooperative society seem more in tune than at any time since the dawn of so-called "scientific socialism." One believes that the mill village rebel preachers, the Black spiritual community leaders, circuit-riding socialists and militant labor priests knew the day would finally come.

"The traditional Marxist and Freudian critique of religion are simply irrelevant in the face of its role against the nuclear state," concludes Marxist-Freudian Joel Kovell. "The Enlightenment and its traditions," he goes on to say, "are unable to comprehend the life-saving value inherent in the appropriation of the sacred. If the current age is survived, this rapprochement of religion with emancipatory practice will stand as one of its major features."

One can only add that our friend, Willard Uphaus, had the rare privilege of self-consciously living out the vigorous dialectic in our amazing age. ■

1964-74 . . . *Continued from page 8*
group egoism and vindictiveness. That voice needs constantly to be tutored in the wholeness and the holiness of the will of God.

One of my privileges during most of my years as diocesan bishop was to serve on the Executive Council of the National Church. That this happened to coincide with John Hines' being Presiding Bishop was the working of a peculiarly beneficent Providence. Sitting on the Executive Council and engaging in its deliberations and debates was of great help to me in gaining perspective on the issues confronting the Diocese of Pennsylvania, for they were the same issues.

Perhaps most helpful to me and to the diocese was the clear and strong position taken by the national church under Bishop Hines' leadership on the whole issue of racial justice. That he gave it precedence over more customary things such as canons and liturgy and other more churchly matters was leadership in and of itself. It sent an important message to the dioceses, ours included.

The ordination of women to the priesthood occurred on July 29, 1974, after I had resigned as bishop. This culmination of a long effort by many, many women was not a part of my ministry in the diocese. I do like to think of it, however, as a part of my ministry as a bishop.

My interest in the ordination of women was undoubtedly formed and informed mostly by Suzanne Hiatt, one time suburban missionary for the diocese. Few women had given more thought and study, concern and enterprise to the issue than had she. As to bishops, including this one, she was several light years ahead in her perception of what could and should be. She was also something of an unofficial bishop to scores of women who shared her aspiration for ordination.

Having known Sue Hiatt, I also came to know many of the other women as-

pirants who were bitterly frustrated at being kept in an ambiguous, "ladies-in-waiting" role. I saw their hopes dashed at two consecutive General Conventions where the issue was a canonical change which would clearly warrant the ordination of women. I was now familiar with the theological and ecclesiastical objections to such ordinations. But I came to feel that the theological question was settled in my mind, and in the mind of the church as well. Test votes in the House of Bishops had indicated a clear majority in favor of the ordination of women. It was obvious that a majority of deputies to General Convention also were in favor, though the technicalities of counting votes in the House of Deputies had effectively frustrated this evident will of the convention.

Ten years earlier, in 1964, the House of Bishops had issued a position paper on "Christian Obedience." It said, in part: "The church recognizes the right of any person to urge the repeal of unjust laws by all lawful means, including participation in peaceful demonstrations. If and when the means of legal recourse have been exhausted, or are demonstrably inadequate, the church recognizes the right of all persons, for reasons of informed conscience, to disobey such laws . . ." The irony of this is that the paper just quoted was occasioned by the concern over racial justice, not the rights of women. And a further irony is that the unjust laws it had in mind were civil laws, not ecclesiastical canons. But Christian obedience toward one is the same as toward the other, and sees no distinction.

My personal estimate is that eventually the 1974 ordination will have made a considerable contribution to what I feel will be the ultimate and inevitable coming about of the Roman Catholic Church on the question of the ordination of women. That would perhaps be justification enough. But meanwhile the ordained ministry of the Episcopal Church has

been enriched by scores and scores of talented, well-trained women.

Looking back from the vantage point of today to the 10 years' tenure of the 12th Bishop of Pennsylvania, what conclusions can be drawn? The regnant issues are still with us. Those years did not settle the question of racial justice either within the diocese, or in the communities which lie within its jurisdiction. As to war, Vietnam has given place to Latin America and the Middle East — and to the overarching threat of nuclear war. The fact of women having access to the ordained ministry of the Episcopal Church leaves untouched the larger questions of abortion rights, the ERA, and the role of women generally in a stubbornly male-dominated society. I even dare to guess that the administrative life of the diocese is in many respects still refractory and unmanageable.

So to what end do bishops and others raise issues which will not be settled, and tackle problems which outlive what at the time seem to be the solutions? I think there are two responses. The first is the matter of faithfulness. God is the saviour of the world. We are not called to save the world, but simply to be as faithful as we can to what we understand God's will to be, in the time and at the place we find ourselves. In this world our model is a crucified Lord. We are not required to be successful, but to be faithful. Faithful to a Kingdom which is not of this world, but which does undergird this world, envelopes it, permeates it, and will outlast it.

And this would be my second point — that in our attempts to be faithful we will ever and again see signs of that Kingdom. We will, as it were, see Satan falling from heaven. Not victory — that is for God alone — but signs of encouragement which serve as intimations of that Kingdom we serve, and to which we belong. I saw many signs of that Kingdom during my ten years as Bishop of Pennsylvania. What Christian could ask for more? ■

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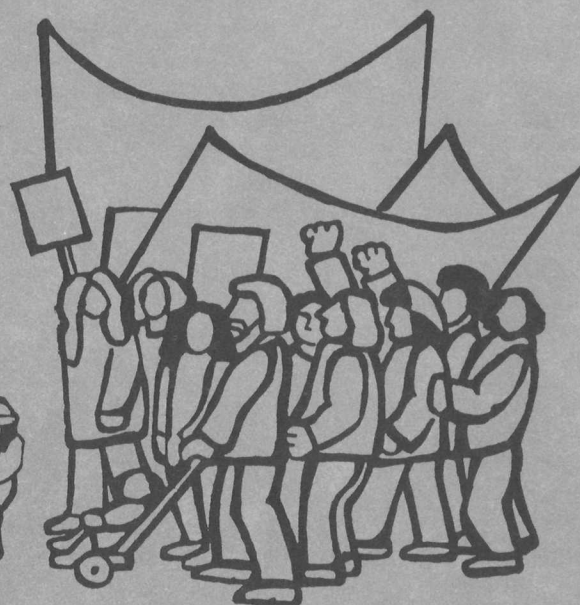
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THE WITNESS

VOLUME • 67
NUMBER • 8
AUGUST 1984

Ecumenism in China • Louie Crew

Li Tim-Oi's Saga • Monique McClellan



**Weep no more,
Our Lady**
Grant Gallup

Letters

Adds resource

I wanted to commend THE WITNESS for each of the articles published in the June issue. They offered perspectives on prisons and the law not found in many other journals. Also, I wanted to add to Caroline Malseed's fine list of resources that she recommended to the readers.

I was fortunate during my student days at Boston College to have as a teacher, Ben Alper. He and his wife, Ethel, have long been advocates for prison reform, alternatives to incarceration and community justice programs. Ben is the author of two works which I would highly recommend to everyone: *Prisons: Inside & Out* (Basic Books) and *Beyond the Courtroom: Programs in Community Justice & Conflict Resolution* (Lexington Books). Among Ben's previous positions are the first chief of the Section on Crime and Criminal Justice at the UN.

Gene Roman
Peace & Justice Ministry
Baltimore, Md.

Prison issue to board

I was grateful to see such excellent reporting on the subject of prison ministry in the June WITNESS. I am distributing this issue to members of our Board of Directors who are not subscribers.

The Rev. James Markunas
San Francisco Jail Chaplaincy

Jesus not omitted

I would ask Bruce Skaug, who complained in June Letters to the Editor that the April WITNESS made no mention of Jesus, to prayerfully consider Jesus' words as recorded in *Matthew 25: 34-40*.

When a publication concerns itself with the establishment of justice, the

alleviation of suffering, the elimination of poverty — as the WITNESS has — that publication concerns itself with the work of Jesus, whether he is mentioned or not.

Robert Lynn Kazmayer
Bronxville, N.Y.

Confusion justified

It is a shame that Bruce Skaug must see the name of Jesus to know his presence. It is almost incomprehensible to picture him poring over the April WITNESS line by line to find the name; and you can almost feel his joy when he finds it absent. If he had looked more closely, he might have found the picture of the Lord being forcibly removed from the railroad tracks, or the story about His constant presence in the ministry of the Seamen's Institute, to name just two of the places where Jesus is obvious in the April issue.

He thinks that Dr. Church is confused about God. Of course he is. I am, and so is Mr. Skaug. How can we be anything but confused in the face of overwhelming, transcendent mystery? What concerns me is that Mr. Skaug doesn't know that he is confused, which can lead to all sorts of problems.

The Rev. Rodgers T. Wood
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Church to save souls

Does the saving of a person's soul have anything to do with religion? Can the fruitless task of decrying the present administration's foreign policy accomplish this? Can the illusionary goal of redistributing of the world's wealth save a soul? Can the pandering to perversion and abnormal sexual behavior bring a person to the Lord? I think not.

I believe your readers are entitled to a lot more in substantial, spiritual content before you can take pride in your parading

the name of the Episcopal Church on your masthead. The church is in the business of saving souls — not to be the mouthpiece of radical, social upheaval.

Donald L. Adams
Albuquerque, N.M.

Finds time for poor

I have been enjoying your magazine very much over the past year. It is very refreshing; yet still finds the time to take up the cross of the oppressed and suppressed in this world. I sometimes think that the Episcopal Church loses sight of the plight of the poor, and forgets Jesus' admonition to "feed my sheep." Keep tackling the hard areas of Christian living. There are people out here who are listening and acting on these issues.

G.W. Bess
Albuquerque, N.M.

Witness indispensable

For those of us who read the Bible with several newspapers, magazines and the 6:00 news close at hand, THE WITNESS magazine is absolutely indispensable!

I feel strongly that you and I, and all who are joined by the common thread of THE WITNESS, are involved in an important ministry together. I pray that we all grow more courageous and hopeful as we face the '80s with the "foolish" enthusiasm of Christ!

Dixie Logan
Ann Arbor, Mich.

Letters to come

A selection of letters sent in response to the special issue of THE WITNESS commemorating the 10th anniversary of Episcopal women priests will appear in the September issue. — Eds.

Open Letter:

Liberation theology & contemplation

I am interested in making the connection, on a practical working level, between contemplation and social action. By social action I mean the struggle for peace and justice; by contemplation I mean access to Source. I hesitate to say why this connection should be made because I don't want to represent Source as a technique, or imply that the gesture of touching Source will make us invincible, give us solace, or even prove us right. It is true that contemplation can help us deal with stress; it can clarify the mind and deepen the intuition; it can purify the emotions; it can help us to be more alert, more energetic, more responsive to change; it can heal. But it can only accomplish these things at the price of a certain degree of creative suffering. Contemplation is one of the few situations — outside of profound personal love and the presence of death — which can bring us face-to-face with our own depths; but unlike crisis situations, or upheavals in our personal lives, it can be practiced. It can be learned.

In my own life — I've been doing solidarity work with Central American revolutions for over two years now — I've found that the more my political commitments deepen, the more I'm drawn to contemplation, because political work has faced me with my own tendencies toward panic, despair, self-righteousness and obsessive speed, and made it necessary for me to deal with them.

What I would like to see is a mutual exchange between those of us committed to a contemplative path and those of us working for peace and social justice; even better, I would like to see us as the same group. Political activists need ac-

cess to contemplative techniques and support in their practice; contemplatives need to know the world and the struggles of the world as their proper field.

In terms of the liberation theology movement, I believe that such a synthesis is about to take place, in a deeper way than ever before. Such figures as Thomas Merton, Dom Helder Camara, and Ernesto Cardenal have planted seeds of a comprehensive liberation spirituality; it is up to us, in the decade of the '80s, to transplant these seeds into the soil of North America, to nurture them in our own spiritual and political climate.

A contemplative theology of liberation shouldn't be too hard to work out, especially since our most instructive example is the life of Jesus, who spent half his ministry as a popular leader — healing, moving crowds — and the other half as a contemplative — fasting, tempted, transfigured. But we will still have to work to overcome certain prejudices that stand in our way. One is that contemplative spirituality is necessarily opposed to history. The truth is that they are complementary: contemplation opens us to the real depth of the historical moment, to the "ground of being" underlying history itself, and so makes it possible for us to experience historical pasts and potential futures as real and concrete, every bit as real and concrete as the present moment. Contemplation and history are like the vertical and horizontal beams of the Cross.

Another prejudice to be overcome is that contemplation is opposed to rational analysis and labor. Once again, the truth is that the three are complementary. Contemplation teaches us how to clear

Continued on page 23

The Speech of Birds

I have an intuition of
Harry Truman shaking hands
with countless thousands
of radioactive Japanese,
kissing deformed babies.
To each one he is saying:
"I'm sorry. It was something we felt . . ."
but they look away and
move on.
"Listen," Harry is saying.
But they do not listen.
They move on: restless, waiting,
endless.
Something has made them deaf.

At Gettysburg, in the tour bus,
the good folk say:
thank God
the bombs are being built. This will
protect our children.
Harry tries to speak to them. Something
has made him speechless. Outside
the vultures circle
in a descending gyre,
some of them old enough to remember
(for buzzards live long)
but most anticipating.
Harry eyes them with suspicion.
It is more than a century passed
in their downward spiral and
they are precise, artistic and
businesslike.

—William Hodges

THE WITNESS

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Give me your poor, unless . . .

The flow of immigrants north into the United States from Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean has become a flood. An estimated 2 million persons entered the United States illegally last year. They were fleeing desperate poverty in Mexico and Haiti, and war and brutal repression as well as poverty in Central America. In the case of El Salvador, an estimated 600,000 have fled from war and political persecution. Of these, over 300,000 persons have settled in the Los Angeles area alone.

There is a second cause of the recent sharp rise in immigration. The global recession, rippling outward from its progenitor, the United States, became a depression in other countries. There is a correlation between the recent downward swing of the American economy, and the rate at which people from south of the border migrate here. "If the United States catches a cold, we catch pneumonia," the saying has it in Latin America. Unemployment in the United States is scandalous enough, reaching a high last year of 10%. But while reportedly dropping here to 7% range, unemployment in Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean now ranges from 25 to 40% and is not declining. Add to that, Mexico's devaluation of the peso, three times since 1980, and you get in sheer human terms, a vast human and social tragedy.

Another dimension to this story is that the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, with increased personnel and expanded authority given it by the

Reagan administration, has been rounding up record numbers of people. If you happen to be Salvadoran and apprehended without documents, say in Los Angeles or at the border, you may be sent back to your death. In much the same way Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe were rounded up and put on death trains to Auschwitz or Buchenwald, so upon your capture you may be put aboard a TACA (Salvadoran Airlines) flight at Los Angeles Airport. Then you may be met at San Salvador's International Airport and turned over to the National Guard or Treasury Police — many of whom are death squad members, skilled in the ways of torture, rape, and murder. Already, in a preliminary correlation made by human rights organizations, about 50 returned Salvadorans have reportedly met their deaths at the hands of these infamous *esquadrões de muerte*. Ironically, the United States is supplying right-wing governments with the military assistance and — say some authoritative reports — with intelligence information systems to enable the death squads to function.

It is in this wider international context of human migration, extreme poverty, and brutal repression that the Simpson-Mazzoli bill, a landmark immigration reform measure, passed the House of Representatives in June. Masquerading as a humane and pragmatic piece of legislation purporting to protect some aliens already here while safeguarding jobs for U.S. citizens and establishing a new guestworker program, it would in-

stead punish undocumented immigrants yet another time. Employers found hiring undocumented workers would, in the House bill, be fined \$1,000 for each alien hired after a first warning by the INS. Also should the bill become law, it would encourage employers to discriminate against all persons of Latino appearance, since they would not want to risk mistakenly hiring an undocumented person. Indeed, even *before* the bill has become law, management at a tuna cannery in Los Angeles fired nine workers suspected of being undocumented aliens, several of whom had seniority of 10 years or more. (After widespread adverse publicity, the cannery rehired them.) In another instance, the personnel director of a Los Angeles plant admitted that since the move to pass Simpson-Mazzoli, "If I have four applicants for the job, I would naturally incline toward the one that's not Latino."

A House-Senate Conference Committee is scheduled to iron out final differences in the Simpson-Mazzoli bill in late summer. Latino groups are making a final push to defeat the bill in conference committee.

"Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses," says the poem inscribed upon the base of the Statue of Liberty, "Your wretched refuse yearning to breathe free." Perhaps it is now time to add a footnote: No "wretched refuse" from Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean, or other similar areas need apply.

(R. W. G. and the editors)

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Credits Cover, Beth Seka; graphic p.8, Jose Venturelli, *One World*; Li Tim-Oi photo p. 12, Peter Williams, courtesy World Council of Churches; graphic p. 15, *China Talk*; graphics pp. 18, 19, H.O.M.E.; Jackson photo p. 22, Donald Cunningham; Soelle, M. L. Suhor.

THE WITNESS is published monthly. Editorial office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002. Phone (215)643-7067. Subscription rates \$12 per year. \$1 per copy. THE WITNESS is indexed in the American Theological Library Association's *Religion Index One: Periodicals*. Copyright 1984 by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Printed in U.S.A. ISSN 0197-8896.



Weep no more, Our Lady

by Grant M. Gallup

A few years ago, a young man who was a member of our parish brought back from his visit to Tanzania the beautiful carved mahogany image of Mary with the infant Jesus that hangs near the entrance of our church. A couple of Sundays after we put it up, a parishioner came to me breathless with the news that the image of the Virgin Mother was weeping. Tears were dripping from the poignant features carved into the wood. For a wild instant I thought, "That's the end of all our financial problems." Our poor little inner city mission will become a shrine. People from all over the midwest will flock here in pilgrimage.

Then the bishop's warden asked me, "Tell me, Father, has that linseed oil dried yet, that I treated the statue with?" He had laid on the oil a few days earlier, to preserve the wood, to keep out insects and moisture. Since the face of the image

was the most heavily carved part, the most deeply incised, it was there that the oil would naturally exude. What we had was a good cry of linseed oil. And there went all my wild fantasies and my Anglican miracle to rival Fatima or Lourdes.

Recently on the south side of Chicago, at St. John of God church, they found their statue of Mary as the Mystic Rose weeping. It's a new wooden statue, that arrived from Italy in mid-May with bright glassy eyes. The newspapers and the television people have been duly informed, and the local episcopal overseer, and some anonymous theologians have been consulted. Apparently no one has as yet invited in a biochemist to test the tears. We are told that someone has, however, laid a few hankies on the face of the image to collect the tears.

Our age is an age of superstition. It is not surprising that the number of newspapers carrying astrological horoscopes has tripled since World War II. School children, seeing my clerical collar, do not ask about religion, but they ask what is

my sign. It is an age of gullibility, with evangelists and hokum preachers captivating the vast wasteland of television. It is an age when piety means the gullible running to see weeping statues.

The Church of St. John of God stands in a neighborhood no longer so full of its faithful supporters as it was a generation ago. The neighborhood has changed, and the new people no longer flock to rosary and novena services there. The news accounts say that thousands from surrounding parishes and from the suburbs have come to see the miracle. We are assured by some of the eyewitnesses that "she is weeping because she wants peace, and the world is full of sinners." A practical looking nun, interviewed on the 6 p.m. TV news, assures us that the phenomenon means we are to return to the commandments and the rosary.

The people who do visit the weeping statue must drive past many neighborhoods, and through this one, where, if they would look into the homes and the

The Rev. Grant M. Gallup is vicar of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Chicago, Ill.

hospitals, the police precincts, and the missions, they could find, not statues weeping, but real women, real Mothers of Sorrow, weeping real tears, of real anguish, over their murdered children. Their sons, on the cross of gang warfare. Their daughters, on the gibbets of heroin and prostitution. If they want to see women weeping for peace, let them go with Secretary of State George Schultz to Nicaragua, or with Ronald Reagan to Ireland. In those lands, there have been weeping Madonnas for generations, weeping over their children engaged in murdering each other in the name of their gods. If statues were given to weeping, all the statues of Ireland would be awash, all the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary hemorrhaging, at the hypocrisy of Ronald Reagan's denunciation of terrorism there, so far away from the harbors of Central America.

Tears in neighborhood

There's plenty of suffering in the world, plenty of tears in the neighborhood of St. John of God, and in our neighborhood here at St. Andrew's, for all the truly pious to venerate. The Psalmist remembers that God has put all the tears into a bottle, and has recorded them in a book. The Bible has a lot about tears and weeping — the people of Bible lands are given to public weeping, a lot more so than the people of the West. It is not shameful for Bible people to weep. The Psalmist says "I water my couch with my tears . . . tears have been my food day and night." The Bible says that God sees the tears of the oppressed, and that there shall be in the coming age no more weeping, and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.

Hagar wept, and Esau. Jacob wept, and Samson's wife. Jonathan and David wept with each other, and David over Jonathan's death. Elijah wept, and in Babylon, the whole people of Israel sat down and wept, when they remembered thee, O Zion. A sorrowful woman washed Jesus' feet with her tears, and Jesus wept

at the grave of Lazarus, his friend, and over the whole city of Jerusalem, whom he would have gathered as a hen gathers her chicks. Peter wept bitterly when he denied the Lord. Jesus, when risen, found the Magdalen weeping at his tomb.

Tears and weeping there are, aplenty, in the Bible, and in human life. Miracles there are in human life as well as in the Bible. But Bible weeping and Bible miracles have to do with human suffering, and human triumph, and with the bringing in of justice and the renewal of the human community and with the strengthening of faith in the faltering, and of hope in the hopeless, and of wiping away the tears from human eyes and the restoration of the vision of a human community.

The first epistle of Peter says we should not be astonished at the occurrence of suffering in the Christian community. If we are reproached because of our name, "Christian," we should consider ourselves blessed. Peter says it is in this way that the spirit of glory rests upon us. In John's Gospel, too, Jesus thanks God in his final prayer of consecration, his "high priestly prayer," that he is about to enter into his hour of glory — his mounting of the cross of suffering. John identifies the suffering of the cross with the glory of the eternal Christ. So suffering has meaning. Human suffering has real meaning — it is lifted up and it is seen by God, and it is felt in the eternally human heart of an eternally human Christ.

Suffering redemptive

Suffering, undeserved suffering, as Dr. Martin Luther King learned from Jesus and from Ghandi, is redemptive. It changes the sufferer by its being offered in union with the suffering of all the righteous in all ages, and it changes, we hope as well, the ones who inflict the suffering. It is hard for us to hear Peter and John and Martin King on the subject of suffering.

What is it that we believe, that we are willing to suffer for? To shed our tears

for? The tears God wants to see are not those of glassy eyes in a painted wooden doll, but the tears of joy at a sinner turned from a life of futility. God will wipe away tears from the eyes of those who weep and mourn now, for a world gone mad, a city gone astray, a church gone awry. The anguish and weeping of a people willing to turn around their lives, and the lives of the community, and the life of the nation: these are the tears that God will collect in the bottle, and record in the book. The miracle to pray for is that Ronald Reagan will shed some tears over the thousands dead in Central America, that George Schultz will break down in weeping for the crimes of a bully nation.

The final mention of the mother of Jesus in the New Testament occurs in the first chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. After the Ascension, she is gathered with the Twelve, and with the other women who have come up from Galilee. She is not weeping, but she is praying with them — praying for the coming of the Spirit. "Why do you stand gazing into heaven?" they were asked, at Bethany, when Jesus left them. He's not in orbit over Palestine. He has been taken "out of our sight," but not out of our midst.

Just as Mary is found in the midst of the believing community, for she is one of us, so Jesus promises to the whole believing community a nearer presence than before. "Why do you stand gazing" into the glass eyes of a wooden doll, for a message from the heavens? We can find Mary, and Jesus, and their tears and laughter, in our human community — not in the clouds and skies, not in a wood and glass image of suffering or of joy, but in our brothers and sisters and mothers and fathers, praying with us, staying in the city with us, until we receive power from the highest, to have a vision of the new heaven, and the new earth, where we shall hear no more the weeping of the oppressed, and where God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes. ■

Public sanctuary: call to an option

by Henry L. Atkins

Those who opt for security and domination do not understand those who opt for freedom and openness. Witness Jesus in the presence of Pilate or the centuries of struggle of Latin Americans against colonial domination.

Christopher Columbus wrote at the end of his first voyage, "God has reserved for the Spanish monarchs, not only all the treasures of the New World but a still greater treasure of inestimable value, in the infinite number of souls destined to be brought over into the bosom of the Christian church." In 1492 there were between 20,000 and 30,000 such souls in Hispaniola, the place from which Columbus was writing; by 1548 people doubted if there were 500 native people left. The native leader in Hispaniola, Hatuey, as the Spanish were preparing to burn him at the stake, was asked by a Franciscan Friar if he wished to repent, to go to heaven. He asked if there were any Spaniards in heaven. The friar told him that only the good ones were there. Hatuey then said, "The best are good for nothing, and I will not go where there is a chance of meeting one of them."

Officially, the church which came with Columbus would not make an option for the Hatueys of Latin America until 1968 in Medellin, Colombia, when the Catholic bishops spoke out for the poor. Even then this decision would be resisted by those both inside and outside of the church.

Those nations that have sought to colonize Latin America, either in the

name of the cross or flag, or both, have always met with resistance and have almost always responded with violence — a violence that seeks to destroy both life and the will to live. A violence which means in El Salvador today that at any given point 75% of the children do not get enough to eat; 50% of the population are unemployed; 8% of the population receives 50% of the national income; 30% of all children die before the age of five from hunger-related disease; 40% of the peasant families have no access to land of any kind; thousands of civilians are murdered each year; thousands are tortured and thousands more have to flee for their lives. This is the present reality of both El Salvador and Guatemala. In Guatemala at one point in 1983, church officials were reporting the killing of some 800 native people a month by the army. The Roman Catholic Bishop's Conference has estimated that as many as 1 million Guatemalans have been made refugees by repression and warfare in that country.

Against this background, the church in

the United States is now located in a critical historical position. One way in which U.S. churches have responded is through the public sanctuary movement. Jim Corbett, whose moral courage gave birth to the movement in this country (see January WITNESS), has stated in relation to the church, "We can take our stand with the oppressed or we can take our stand with organized oppression; we can serve the kingdom of love or we can serve the kingdom of money, but we cannot do both." The sanctuary movement allows the church a means of saying no to U.S. intervention and foreign policy in Central America and an opportunity to stand with our sisters and brothers in that region. No one knows for sure just how many refugees are presently in the United States from El Salvador and Guatemala, but we do know that the figures are in the hundreds of thousands. Some estimate that in the Los Angeles area alone there are nearly 300,000 refugees from El Salvador.

Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees meet the requirements of the Refugee



José Venturelli

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Act of 1980 which accords refugee or asylum status to persons who cannot return to their country of origin because of persecution or fear of persecution due to race, religion, nationality, or membership in a particular social group or political opinion. However, the U.S. State Department and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) have refused to grant these refugees their proper status. Instead, they claim that almost all of the refugees from El Salvador and Guatemala are economical refugees, people coming to the United States mainly to seek employment, and thus can be deported. Refugees by the hundreds are returned monthly to Guatemala and El Salvador where many face torture, imprisonment or death.

In the face of this form of institutional violence by the U.S. government more than 130 churches across the country have opened their doors to these refugees.

The action is a simple one. A church, as a community, makes the decision to take refugees into its midst. The church houses, feeds and provides a place of sanctuary for those who would face torture or death if they were returned to their countries. However, according to the present INS ruling this is against the law and may be punished "by a fine not exceeding \$2,000 or by imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years, or both, for each alien."

On May 6, the people of St. Michael's Chapel, the Episcopal Campus Ministry Center at Rutgers University, voted to become a public sanctuary. As their chaplain, I was overjoyed. The decision involved a process begun in January when I suggested in a Sunday sermon that St. Michael's become a public sanctuary for Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees. I proposed that people interested in this possibility meet with me after the liturgy.

The group that met that first Sunday had many questions and concerns. Most

had never really considered that their faith might lead to being fined or jailed. Many wondered if they were willing to make that option and what it would mean for their families and careers. Some wanted more information about the reality of Central America. Others wondered if we had the resources to provide sanctuary. Still others wondered if a positive decision might not split the congregation.

From the end of January until early May we met almost every week to study, pray, reflect and struggle with the decision before us. We were joined by other people from the university community, especially from the Latin American community, who had heard of what we were doing. These meetings turned into moments of learning, struggle and grace. We also took readings of the larger community to see if there were those who would be willing to support by their actions a positive decision to become a public sanctuary. We were also in contact with other churches that had become public sanctuaries, especially St. Francis House in Madison, Wisc.

At our last meeting, shortly before we made our decision, we viewed a video tape from St. Francis House. After witnessing the powerful experience of the people there we talked about what we should do. One of our brothers from Puerto Rico said that the decision before us was whether we were willing to do what we said we believed. One by one others spoke, describing their fears and hopes. Here we had Christian education at its best as women and men talked about what they had learned during the process and what they now thought housing a Christian meant in the face of this present confrontation regarding refugees from El Salvador and Guatemala. We then counted the ballots and discovered that the vote was overwhelmingly yes.

As our decision became public, support began to materialize. It came from the diocesan office, the Council of Churches, our local Congress person,

Dan Berrigan, other campus ministers, faculty and staff at Rutgers, other churches in our area and the Hispanic community. Two weeks after our decision I was in Managua, Nicaragua in the barrio of El Riguero attending mass in the church of St. Mary of the Angels where the Rev. Uriel Molina, a strong supporter of the Sandinista Popular Revolution, is pastor. I was leading a group of church people in higher education on a visit to the churches in Nicaragua. At the end of the Mass, which was attended by hundreds of people from the barrio, Molina offered a prayer of thanksgiving for those churches in the United States that had become public sanctuaries. He spoke of these churches as being servants of life rather than death, of being the church of the resurrection.

Gustavo Gutierrez has said that "The glory of God is that the poor live." My guess is that the soul of Hatuey is filled with joy at this possibility and would want to meet those who have opted for public sanctuary. ■

Los Refugiados: A Salvadoran Love Story

The night they swam the Rio Suchiote
rings of moonlight spun in mud pools.
They watched the banks for ticks of light,
hushed for the border's
sinister sounds . . . the human voice.
When search beams cracked open,
a mantle of light fell
over the swimmer's shoulders.
Jose's voice trembled and broke,
"Corre! Compa, corre!"
A fish tearing the line, he pulled the light
to his own thrashing body
to save hers.
Her final memory was Jose walking
deeper into that thick mesh of light.

In Mexicali she gave away
her Papa's life savings.
Forty years of field work
rolled like sweat
into a "coyote's" Judas palm.
The price of safety, these betrayals.
Who watches such acts in the world?

— Renny Golden

That God might remember the good times . . .

by Edward P. Ross

Sometimes you hear some funny things in church.

Consider the reading from Exodus 32:2-11, 13-14, that comes up once every three years in the lectionary of both the Roman and Reformed tradition. I'm not sure how often it is read in the fundamentalist churches of the Anabaptist tradition, but when it does it must make for some interesting theological speculations.

According to that passage from Exodus (and I'm using my own free and somewhat modernized translation), God saw Moses as a pretty dependable guy; but what God thought of the Jewish people (and their golden calf) was virtually unprintable — even for a translator like me. So God had a serious God-to-man talk with Moses, telling him that his people would have to be destroyed.

"Leave me alone," God said, "so I can work up a really good hate."

Then, perhaps to reassure Moses that nothing personal was meant, God said that after these people were wiped out, a new one would be created, more worthy of a leader like Moses.

Now that's a good one — a God who gets mad, just like me. But it gets even funnier. Exodus also portrays a God who can be reasoned out of anger. For Moses, using arguments that apparently God hadn't thought of, convinced God to give

the Jewish people another chance. He didn't use any sacrificial lambs or hard-driven bargains. Moses just looked up at God in the cloud, and yelled:

"Look, Lord, don't destroy all that you have built up. These people come from good stock. Remember Abraham? He was a great guy. And Isaac? Remember Isaac? Those were good days you had together. And don't forget, you gave them your word, your sacred word, that you would look after their kids. You can't go back on a promise! So those kids made a few mistakes. Who's perfect?"

Then, in a line our lectionary-builders skipped (verse 12), Moses made a subtler point. In that verse he reminded God of what the Egyptians would say if they found out God had taken all those Hebrew slaves out of Egypt, only to issue an enormous recall campaign on the Sinai. Now that's a telling argument and I can't see why it was left out of our liturgy. It is the sort of thing we all say to our children — and then feel a little guilty about the next day: "What will the neighbors think?" It might not be the sort of high-toned stuff you expect to use effectively on a burning bush, but it worked. God was talked out of vengeance.

For the more sophisticated theologians among us, for those used to thinking of God as an "Uncaused First Cause" or in more modern terms as "Ground of Being" (in any event as all-knowing and all-perfect) this reading from Exodus can bring a smile to the lips. But, except for

the fundamentalists among us, we don't get too excited when we hear readings like this. We know that the Book of Exodus could not have been written by Moses himself; that it does not have the force of an eye-witness account; that it is an elaborate rationalization written in the form of a story and, more importantly, that although it reveals some basic concepts about the nature of God (freedom and covenant) it tells us much more about the sort of people who wrote the story.

What we are reading is not so much a book about God as a book about a relationship with God. "Here we are," it is saying, in its backward look at history, "now let's figure out how we got this way. We know, because of what has been handed down to us orally, that we used to be slaves in Egypt; that we were freed; that we came to this place and took this piece of land and built a nation on it. God helped us do all those things. And we know that grandfather says that there were long periods of backsliding — even idolatry. How could we have kept God on our side? Well, Moses led us out of slavery. And promises . . . promises are powerful things. All of our dealings with one another are based on promises . . . not pieces of paper but the word of one to another. If God had made a promise to us, that would be the most powerful promise of all. I'll bet *that* was it."

Today we smile at the similes (or, more accurately if less consonantly, at the metaphors). We feel perhaps a trifle smug in our urban churches (those of us who are still in any churches at all) as we

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look at the searchings of those nomads settling down in their promised land. But how much more do we really know of God than they did? What right do we have to feel smug? Most theologians write papers in a jargon that only other theologians can pretend to understand.

Not even in those papers can we come close to expressing the inexpressible. In the last analysis we are all still striving to free ourselves from some form of slavery — whether of war or wealth, of racism or sexism — and God is still our hope in that struggle for liberation. We still think

of God in fairly primitive terms, even though we have lost some of the daring that Moses had in his conversations with God. But we hold onto the promises, and we trust, when we fail (as we do periodically) that God will remember the good times. ■

SHORT TAKES

Prophetic church not club

The church's prophetic word must be heard in the public sector, in searing judgment against those actions, both individual and systemic, which continue patterns of oppression based on strength or race or sex or tradition. A church that talks of salvation but does not battle for social justice will be dismissed as phony. A church that shuns controversy for fear of upsetting its membership has ceased to be the church and has become a club. No program of evangelism will save it.

— John Shelby Spong
In The Whirlwind

Stimulus for renewal

The main stimulus for the renewal of Christianity will come from the bottom and from the edge, from those sectors of the Christian world that are on the margins of the modern/liberal consensus. It is coming from those places where Christians are poor, especially Latin America; from areas where they live as small minorities surrounded by non-Christian cultures as they do in Asia; from the churches that live under political despotisms as they do in the Communist world and in parts of South and Central America; from the American churches of blacks and poor whites; from those women who are agonizing together over what it means to be faithful and female in a church that has perpetuated patriarchy for two millennia.

These are disparate peoples; but what they have in common is that they were all dealt in and dealt out, included and excluded from modernity and its religious aura. Their forced removal to its sidelines (or better, its basements, kitchens, slums, and colonies) is what now enables them to offer a version of Christianity that is liberating because it has not been squeezed through the concordat or distorted by the straitened function

Choir strikes back

Dr. Thomas Grissom, pastor of Salem United Methodist Church, Harlem, told this anecdote while preaching at Riverside Church recently:

A certain pastor was having confrontation upon confrontation with his congregation, and after a long series of clashes, it was mutually decided that he should leave. The congregation agreed that the decent thing to do was to let the pastor have his final say in his last sermon.

And so the preacher had the last word with his disgruntled flock, ending his elocution with the assurance that he was not dismayed, because "the same Jesus that sent me here will at the end, come to take me away."

As he concluded, the choir went into a lustily rendered version of "What a Friend We Have in Jesus."

the modern world has assigned religion and theology.

— Harvey Cox
Religion in the Secular City

Washington humor

A friend of mine was recently asked, "What's it like to be living in Washington these days?" He answered with a story: "It's standard procedure in wartime to have a runner who moves among the platoons gathering intelligence. On one occasion this particular runner returned to report to the commander. 'Well how does it look?' he was asked. The runner, an irrepressible optimist, replied enthusiastically, 'We can attack in any direction, sir; we're surrounded.' "

— Larry Rasmussen
Laos Newsletter

Going to work, office?

Stephanie L. Certain, a business consultant, sends along this reflection:

As a writer, I am intimately aware of the power of words, even those words we take for granted, to express subtle nuances of belief and meaning. For example, I have noticed how rarely in a professional environment one hears the word "work" in reference to the task or occupation at hand. Professionals do not go to work in the morning, but to the "office." They ask one another not, "What are you working on?" but, rather, "What's up in your neck of the woods?" They are busy, not with work, but with "projects," "cases," or "clients."

The examples go on and on, and the answer is simple. Professionals don't think of themselves as "workers." Stated simply, to be a professional is preferable — and carries more status — than to be a "worker."

In my experience with employees, the man or woman on the line doesn't often think of the boss as a worker either. A college degree is often the distinction, though position in the organization is more likely to be the dividing line. So, this separation is perceived by both sides and it is reflected in our language. Assembly line workers don't think of themselves as having careers — just jobs. Executives don't have jobs; they have careers or professions. In some ways, the Marxist charge of class distinctions does exist today in the United States, though in a more subtle form.

If we are to dream of a society based on a spirituality of work — and we must not only dream, but strive to make that dream a reality — it seems to me that a start must be made in bridging the distances workers perceive between themselves.

— Quoted in *Initiatives*
National Center for the Laity

*If you thought the Philadelphia 11,
the first Episcopal women priests
in the United States
had a hard time getting ordained, meet . . .*

Li Tim-Oi: the first woman ordained Anglican priest

by Monique McClellan

Imagine China in the winter of 1944. The whole country is at war. Under Mao Tse-Tung the Communists are defending their territory in the north. Assorted war lords and Chiang Kai-Shek's troops are fighting the rapidly advancing Japanese armies — and each other. At the southern tip of the mainland, Hong Kong is already under Japanese occupation. There are only pockets of unoccupied territory. And hundreds of thousands of refugees from all over China, seeking to escape war, form a steady stream of human misery.

Somewhere in the midst of all this death and chaos a small, determined woman in her thirties is headed north — the wrong direction. She has left the Portuguese colony of Macao, just south of Hong Kong, to make her way to Xingxing. This journey, exhausting in the best of times, becomes a perilous expedition in war-time China. Crossing Japanese lines several times under cover of darkness, travelling in sedan chairs, crossing turbulent streams in small boats or trusting

strange guides to take her over steep mountain passes to avoid the Japanese soldiers, she will need one week to reach Xingxing.

The woman is Li Tim-Oi and she is going to her ordination. No obstacle will stop her. Taking shelter wherever it is reasonably safe, she sleeps on the floor in a police station and another time in an outhouse. Her only concern is to meet the bishop who has sent for her and who will be ordaining her. Miraculously, she arrives in Xingxing on the appointed day, as does Ronald Hall, the Anglican bishop of Hong Kong and South China. He, too, had travelled undetected from Chungking.

"We arrived 30 minutes from each other. We were so overwhelmed that both of us had arrived safely. We knelt together and prayed for a long time. We prayed and discussed a lot during the next few days to get God's guidance, and I had to answer many questions — about my vocation and call to God's service — to myself and to the bishop and to the priest of the Xingxing church. And after that I was ordained. I made my way back to Macao."

In the winter of 1944 in the midst of war-torn China, Li Tim-Oi had become

the first woman ever to be ordained a priest anywhere in the worldwide Anglican communion.

Sitting in the Ecumenical Centre in Geneva 40 years later, Li Tim-Oi, now 76 years old, makes nothing of the fact that she has just come from an anniversary celebration in London's Westminster Abbey of her historic ordination. Invited by the Movement for the Ordination of Women, a dozen bishops had gathered, together with 100 deaconesses, women priests from overseas, clergy and other well-wishers, packing more than a thousand people into England's most famous church building.

The turnout astonished the organizers. But, insists Li Tim-Oi, "I am nothing special, just a mere worm." She recalls a moment during her travels in China during the war: "Bishop Hall had ordered protection for me in one of the towns. One day I was cared for by four armed guards. The people there of course were expecting a very important person. They were so surprised when they saw it was only me . . ."

She was then and is now genuinely taken aback by the attention showered on her. And after hearing about her achievements one might well be sur-

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prised on first meeting Li Tim-Oi — a mere slip of a woman, small and thin and plainly dressed. But her handshake is firm and her eyes are bright and she holds herself very straight, not resting her back.

Yet she has carried many burdens. Her ordination in 1944 caused a tempest back in England. What had seemed a natural development during the strained war years in China was not acceptable to the post-war Anglican establishment back at Lambeth Palace in London. And throughout the Anglican communion angry voices demanded to know what had caused Bishop Hall to initiate the unheard-of priesting of a woman?

Born in Hong Kong, Li Tim-Oi was brought up in a Christian family. As a young woman, she attended a service at St. John's Cathedral in Hong Kong where an English deaconess was ordained. Sitting in the front row, she felt directly spoken to when the presiding priest said, "Today we have here an English woman who wants to give her life to the Chinese church. Is there any Chinese woman who would want to give herself to our church?"

Li tried to escape from those words, worried that she was not the right person; but she could never forget them and she began to devote herself to service in the church through teaching. While she was still in her twenties, she studied theology at Union Theological College in Canton, taking the same courses as the male students and graduating with full honors. She was then planning to work as a lay-person in the church.

In 1940 after the outbreak of the Second World War, the Japanese had increased their hold on South China. Macao was the only free enclave in the region, since the Portuguese were not at war with Japan. Priests were increasingly at risk traveling to and from the tiny, mostly Roman Catholic colony. Li Tim-Oi, who had been ordained a deaconess, was asked to serve in Macao in the oldest Protestant missionary church in China.

Li Tim-Oi on a recent visit to the Ecumenical Center in Geneva.



WCC/Peter Williams

Soon refugees began to pour into Macao from Canton. When Hong Kong fell to the Japanese in 1941 another load of Chinese and Eurasians arrived. Li's church grew far beyond its capabilities to function — but she managed to serve the whole community, both Chinese and non-Chinese, preaching both in Cantonese

and English. Once a month the Hong Kong bishop sent a priest from wherever it was safe to travel to Macao for a communion service. But the time came, as Li Tim-Oi says, "when no man priest dared to run the risk of coming to celebrate communion in our isolated colony."

Since Bishop Hall had not been in

Hong Kong during the Japanese invasion, he had avoided internment, and he was working out of Chungking, in China. Again and again refugees had told him of the incredible work Li Tim-Oi was doing in her evergrowing church in overcrowded Macao. And so he wrote her a simple letter: I would like to ordain you a priest if you are willing to risk the voyage to Xingxing.

She read it to her church members and received much encouragement, spiritual and material; and satisfied with their support, she left on her perilous voyage. Returning ordained to Macao, she continued her work, resuming all of her other duties as before and now celebrating communion services as well.

When news of Li Tim-Oi's ordination reached England, it created an uproar in the Anglican Church. Under wartime conditions, word of what Bishop Hall had done did not get to England until six months later, and then only by way of the children's page in a missionary magazine. A July 1944 editorial in *Church Times* condemned Bishop Hall's action in no uncertain terms: "Before committing himself unilaterally to this flagrant breach of the working principles of the Church to which every bishop is supposed to be a permanent guardian, it seems that he neither considered the wider implications of his action, nor consulted wiser heads than his own. He preferred to play a lone hand: not like a civilized leader who is himself subject to constitutional authority, but like a wild man from the woods."

The editorialist for the then-exclusively Anglo-Catholic newspaper concluded, predictably, by calling on the church in China to undo what had been done. Failing that, the Anglican Church everywhere should express its opposition. And the *Church Times* reaction clearly reflected the general attitude of the church hierarchy.

A few days earlier the editor had re-

ceived a confidential letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. William Temple. Temple expressed his regret that Bishop Hall had not merely authorized Deaconess Li to celebrate Holy Communion as an emergency measure only. For ordination, if it were to be regarded as valid and effective, was for life. Temple went on to say that, in agreement with the provinces of the Anglican communion as a whole, he was himself strongly opposed to the ordination of women. The letter ended with the odd confession that he would be immensely comforted "if we could find any shadow of theological ground for the non-ordination of women."

Despite the absence of such theological reasoning, the concerted pressure of the Anglican Church was on Bishop Hall back in Hong Kong. And when the provincial bishops met for the first time after the war in Shanghai in early 1946, Hall was censured for his action. Clearly, he needed to do something. Li Tim-Oi, innocently fulfilling her priestly functions in Macao, received a letter inviting her to Hong Kong "to discuss an urgent matter regarding her vocation."

Now, in 1984, she tries to remember her thoughts as she sat there in Hong Kong, two years after her ordination, listening to the whole story of the uproar she had caused. "I tried to stay very calm. Then I told the bishop that I wanted him to be able to continue with his work, with my strong support. I wanted to work for the church, never mind any title, my work needed no name. I told Bishop Hall how much we needed him to stay. So we agreed, and I continued to serve the church happily for many, many years."

Li Tim-Oi had officially returned her priesthood, as it were. She sits very straight with hands folded as she talks about this. Then a conspiratorial smile and a wink suddenly light up her face: "But you know, although I didn't use the title, my work went on as usual. I celebrated holy communion in other churches on the invitation of the priest there. In my

own church back in China after the war, bread and wine were always sent to be blessed by the archdeacon. But when Bishop Hall once visited me and my church near the Vietnamese border, he told the whole congregation that I was really a priest, and you know, they were all so happy to hear that."

One special occasion remains important from those years. Just before China's Cultural Revolution in the late 1950s, Li Tim-Oi was teaching at her alma mater. On Christmas eve the principal asked her to be the celebrant. She wore the robe, cassock and stole of the Anglican Church and gave communion to the whole college. It turned out to be the last Christmas celebration before the college was closed. The Red Guards first sentenced her to cut wood in the hills. Later she worked together with other pastoral workers in a factory, waxing candy wrappers.

Through the fourteen years of the Cultural Revolution Li Tim-Oi knew that she could help keep the church alive. True to her faith, she was the priest of the first church to reopen in Canton in the early 1970s.

But by then — although the church in China itself is now non-denominational — Li Tim-Oi had gained official recognition as a priest in the rest of the world. In 1971, she was reconfirmed in absentia, after Hong Kong's diocese voted to ordain women to the priesthood. The provincial outpost had again taken the first step in the worldwide Anglican communion in support of Bishop Hall's action.

To the Movement for the Ordination of Women in England Li Tim-Oi's life has become a beacon and at the same time a reminder of their own situation. Although there are now many ordained women in the Anglican communion around the world, deaconesses in England are still waiting. ■

(Reprinted with permission from *One World*, publication of the World Council of Churches, Geneva, April 1984.)

Ecumenism in China

by Li Wenxin and Louie Crew



Today, Protestants in China are united. Denominations have virtually disappeared, even though many current members and most clergy were originally trained in one of the several denominations which still compete in the West.

This unity has greatly pleased some Western observers, among them the Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Runcie. Preaching in Beijing in December 1983, the Archbishop noted that the first missionary arrived in China around the time that the first missionary arrived in England. St. Augustine became the first Archbishop of Canterbury. When the Pope sent St. Augustine in 597, Runcie reminisced, "He gave some very good advice: 'Teach them the essentials, but don't worry too much if their customs are different from ours. Let them follow their own customs.'"

The 102nd Archbishop went on to confess: "Now you know and I know that in the spread of Christianity around the world, that good advice has not always been followed." The Chinese Christian Association which invited the Archbishop has been delighted with his support of their unilateral ecumenism and with his respect for their independence of

all Western Christian hierarchies.

Chinese Christians urged genuine ecumenism as early as 1921, but the Western Christians, who then controlled most of the churches of China, balked. Even after the foreign Christians had departed — all by the time of the creation of the People's Republic in 1949 — religious divisions persisted. The Gang of Four, who ruled during the Cultural Revolution of 1966-76, suppressed all religious activity and most intellectual endeavor. Traumatized, the Protestants united.

The Beijing Christian Association illustrates the unification. In 1979, it combined what had been five different Protestant sects before the Cultural Revolution. Two of its clergy, the Rev. Mr. Yin Jizeng and the Rev. Liu Zhonghe, recently explained to us the results. Yin was trained in the Church of the Brethren tradition (also known as Little Folks Brethren). Liu, 76, was trained at Central Theological Seminary in Nanjing and was ordained an Anglican priest long before the revolution of 1949. With six other male clergy these two minister in two separate churches, and each preaches about twice a month.

New wine skins

Like all other Protestant congregations in China, the Beijing Christian Association Church is both physically and theologically autonomous, not responsible to any higher ecclesiastical authority. It has no bishops or other overseers; and those

elsewhere classified as bishops, such as the five Anglican bishops, exercise no material authority, only spiritual influence over their flocks.

In many ways the evangelical majority exercises the strongest influence on the polity, liturgy, and doctrine of the church united. The hymns sung are often evangelical, as are most sermons. The church does not baptize infants. Converts choose their own form of baptism. No one follows a liturgical calendar nor do the ministers usually vest. Most in the congregation bring their Bibles to follow the texts, and they expect their preacher to cite the text often in sermons, which the congregation prefers to be long. At the Chong Wen Men location, ministers' chairs obscure a plain altar; the pulpit centers the service. The ministers wear a microphone to assure that they will be heard even in the outer reaches of the large room.

The church does practice some diversity. For example, on every third Sunday, Liu holds in the adjoining chapel a service of Holy Communion using an Anglican prayer book. Normally about 20-30 attend, only two or three under 55 or 60 years. Several hundred attend most of the services in the main room.

People at the Holy Communion are friendly with an informality compatible with that of the evangelical majority. Recently, for those who remained after Communion, Liu illustrated and discussed Anglican chant; but one would

Li Wenxin and Louie Crew teach English together in Beijing. Li is a Chinese communist atheist. Crew is a U.S. socialist Episcopalian and has frequently written for THE WITNESS.

not expect to hear anything of that sort in the main services. Nor would one feel welcome to genuflect. Liu rarely makes the sign of the cross in his benediction, and he serves from Baptist-styled individual glass thimbles, not from the common cup, to which people objected on health grounds back in 1958. Liu vests for the Eucharist, but at other times dresses like any other person.

"The idea gets vaguer and vaguer about the different groups," Liu explained.

The Beijing Christian Association meets its material needs, such as clergy salaries and the expenses of operating the building, mainly through revenue from rent derived from church properties. Clergy receive 70-90 yuan (\$35-\$45) per month, or roughly the salaries standard for teachers and many other professionals with similar training. As in the United States, most government workers (here called "cadres") and most farmers receive more money, but few salaries in China are large. Physicians, for example, receive \$50-\$60 per month.

The Beijing congregation, like Christian groups all over China, reports enormous revival. For a long time after the 1949 revolution, the majority of China's religious buildings — Buddhist, Christian, and Muslim alike — were either closed or reopened as schools, hospitals, or during the Cultural Revolution, even as coal bins. By contrast, last Christmas one of the two Beijing congregations had to move to its present large quarters at Chong Wen Men to accommodate the crowds.

Church-going in Beijing is not the dressy, show-off affair which it is in much of America for poor and rich alike. Most wear the grays and blues ubiquitous in China. With white robes trimmed in scarlet, the choir adds a touch of the pagentry one can find at only a few local public activities, such as sports events or the Beijing opera. Some members of the choir sing professionally elsewhere, one with the Central Broadcasting Group.

All who sing at the church are unpaid volunteer Christians.

Liu stresses that prominent citizens — physicians, college presidents, and others — are in the congregation every week, not just as observers, but as Christians. Even as early as 1954, the nation's constitution guaranteed religious freedom for everyone. Chinese Christians were in the People's Congress which prepared that constitution. While officially atheist, the Party guaranteed the liberties of all people in China. The Gang of Four subverted the constitution by arguing that "religious liberty" gave them the right to fight against any religious beliefs.

No barriers to women

Women and men make up about equal portions of the congregation, sometimes as couples, often singly. As in America, however, women are not visible in most pulpits, though soon more will be. The Chinese Christian Association recognizes no barriers to women as ministers, and several women are now in training at the seminary in Nanjing and in local centers. In Shenyang, capital city of the northeast Liaoning Province, Lu Zhibin and Wu Ai'en already pioneer as the first official women ministers in their part of the country. Wu ministers to a congregation of people who, like herself, are of Korean descent.

Women also maintain their own Sister Committee, which tends primarily to women's specialized needs, arranges

visits to the sick, organizes transportation, etc. Wang Yiaoqing, a woman in her 70s, leads in this group at Chong Wen Men Church.

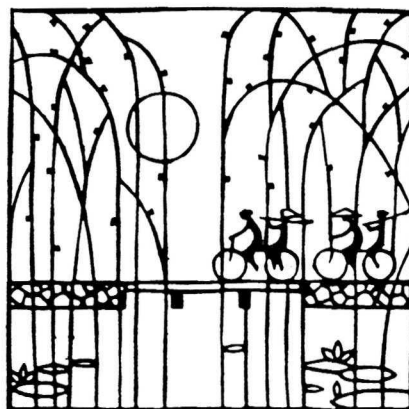
Liu noted that the Chinese church supported the rights of women and children long before the welcome national drive currently reaffirming them.

Age disparity often startles the outside visitor to the church in Beijing. Most in the Sunday congregation are over 60. The young prefer the service on Saturday nights. Some non-Christian students drop in to inspect out of curiosity but usually don't join. The young who do join, work mainly as clerks. According to Liu, most "converts" are children of Christians. Even so, Liu predicts that with new churches opening now almost daily somewhere in China, the church should be a more visible presence in 10-20 years.

Prodded to explain how one might distinguish a Chinese Christian from any other Chinese person, Liu acknowledged: "It would not be easy." Pressed to explain whether religion then makes any difference in the lives of the believers, Liu said that yes, "Christians will make even better workers, even with tasks that are harder and dirtier. Christians work not just for themselves and for the state's modernization drive, but also for God."

Liu said that he does not feel the young will be jeopardized in employment or educational opportunities if they are known to be religious: "Most employers recognize that the religious would make more faithful and dedicated workers."

We asked Liu whether he fears that the new national concern over "cultural contamination" marks a return to the religious suppression of the Gang of Four. "No," he assured us; "The acts during the Cultural Revolution were mostly the work of the four people, but the new acts are a political consensus duly arrived at within the full Party." Liu believes that China would not likely repeat the bitter lessons of that earlier time, that the na-



tion has learned just how evil it is to suppress religion.

In autumn of 1983 Zhou Yang, chairman of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, criticized himself publicly for his paper on "alienation," saying that after he had published it he feared the "adverse effects it would have on the Party." Members of the federation "agreed that while remarkable progress had been made in literature and art in the past five years, writers and artists had failed to heed the Party Central Committee's opinions on fundamental issues aimed at overcoming tendencies toward bourgeois liberalization" (*China Daily*, Nov. 12, 1983).

Minister Yin Jizeng feels that regarding the new charges of "cultural contamination," the Christian community agrees substantially with the government and opposes the importation of Western pollution like pornography.

Both ministers stress that religious people enjoy much more liberty now than they did during the Cultural Revolution. During that time, the clergy who now serve the Beijing Christian Association went to orchards in the suburbs to pick fruit. Liu explains that they did not dare risk communion services even privately, but did read the Bible together. In his recent visit the Archbishop of Canterbury praised the Chinese Christians for the work that they had done to rebuild their church.

Outer limits

The Beijing Christian Association is affiliated with the China Christian Council which hosted the Archbishop, but most of its ministers stay put and are not itinerant, not even for short-term exchanges of pulpits. The Jin Ling Concord Seminary in Nanjing trains many of the new Protestant clergy in the country; but its space is limited, with only three students there now from all Beijing, a city of 11 million. Thus the clergy in Beijing, as do many clergy elsewhere, themselves train

most of the candidates for the ministry.

Chinese ecumenism does not extend to the local Catholics, who meet only a few kilometers away in stark isolation — not from the Protestants only. Chinese Catholics still say the Mass in Latin. They have reconstituted their hierarchy regardless of Rome. Yin said that he and other Protestants have almost no dialogue with the Catholics. Nor do Christians of any sort align themselves with Chinese Buddhists and Muslims, who also suffered under the same religious repression of the Cultural Revolution.

Nor do the people at the Beijing Christian Association connect with liberation theology, popular in many other Marxist settings, especially in Latin America. Liberation theologians address the needs of the poor and the oppressed. Like many of their counterparts in the United States, Chinese Protestants who address those needs tend to do so in their roles as private citizens or as government workers, not as religious prophets. The only politics one is likely to hear about from the pulpit at Chong Wen Men are celestial politics, or questions of theological hegemony. One Sunday last December a minister trained by the Salvation Army explained for over an hour Jesus's pun on St. Peter's name, "rock." The congregation seemed wrapt with that ancient conundrum.

Possibly even more than in the United States, church and state are separate in China. Meeting the material needs of the poor, locating and redressing injustice, healing the sick, championing the causes of the ignored or the forgotten — these tasks in China, as in America, are the responsibility of the state and of individuals working within the state.

Though there are 2 to 3 million Christians in China, religious people of any sort are a very small portion of this society, now numbering 1 billion 200 million. In many ways Chinese Protestants are still discovering for themselves who they are, still building their union.■

Resources: Books

A New Beginning: An International Dialogue With the Chinese Church. Edited by Theresa Chu and Christopher Lind. Friendship Press.

An historic meeting in Montreal in October 1981 brought Western Protestant and Catholic leaders face-to-face with the first delegation of Chinese Christian leaders allowed to travel abroad since 1949. The Montreal conference celebrated the new beginning of a public life for Christianity in China, as well as the initiation of relationships between the church and the rest of the worldwide Christian community on a new basis of equality and mutual respect. As the record of that meeting, *A New Beginning* offers a moving account of the survival of the Christian Church in the People's Republic of China. Among all the books published on China in recent years, this one is unique. It deserves a place in every library.

Households of God on China's Soil. Edited and translated by Raymond Fung. Orbis Books.

This is a useful supplement to the above. When the communists came to power, the regional and denominational structures soon disintegrated but the church as a worshipping community did not disappear. It continued in thousands of villages and towns in a great variety of forms. Some of the remnants survived, others did not. New fellowships grew up where none had been before. Some sought linkages with other Christian groups, others remained staunchly separatist. In the end Christianity was more widespread than ever, more numerous in its membership, and for the first time truly rooted in Chinese soil.

This book records the stories of 14 such "house churches" told in the words of their own leaders.

— Charles H. Long
The Review of Books and Religion



Lucy Poulin

H.O.M.E.

Forging new ministries in Appalachia

by Robert L. DeWitt

H.O.M.E., Inc. is a community organization in Maine. It is chic only in its name, one of those innumerable acronyms which dot the language of this century. "Homeworkers Organized for More Employment" translates and accurately describes the original thrust, though not fully the present reality of its efforts.

Orland, Maine is the home of H.O.M.E. Orland is on U.S. Route 1, about four miles east of Bucksport. On a clear day the Penobscot Bay is within sight. Orland lies in the northerly extension of that picturesque but oppressed and depressed section of America known as Appalachia. Preponderately Anglo-Saxon, as the more southerly reaches of Appalachia, that basic demography is here tintured with traces of Amerindian and French-Canadian stock. Orland, characteristically for its region, has been apart from the mainstream of American life, both safeguarded and imprisoned by geographical remoteness, mountain barriers, and most of all by a rural economy that is barely strong enough to

survive. Maine ranks with the bottom 10 of the states of the Union in per capita income.

Fourteen years ago Lucy Poulin, a sister of the Carmelite order, became concerned about the plight of women in the Orland community. She was a native of the area, and the family in which she grew up was familiar with poverty. So, too, these women in Orland were struggling with a marginal existence, trying to ease the pinch by making for sale various articles in their homes. They were tourist-type items — simple toys, quilted pot holders, aprons, rag mats, mittens, socks, dolls.

From many conversations with them it occurred to Sister Lucy that a co-operative, central store for selling these articles, and a setting of standards as to type and quality, would benefit the crafters. So it was that the homemakers organized for more employment. And more employment they found. There are now three retail outlets for the voluminous production of these items. One is located at H.O.M.E.'s base in Orland, with

branch stores in Ellsworth and Belfast. Annual gross sales now approach \$300,000 per year.

Meanwhile, Sister Lucy Poulin was finding her vocational validity more in this community work than in the contemplative life of her order. She tried to combine both for a while, but finally wanted, and was encouraged, to leave so that she might devote her full efforts to H.O.M.E.

As the seasons came and went, more and more people from Orland and from Hancock County became a part of the loose cluster that was H.O.M.E. They came together to sell their home-produced craft products, but they also came because of loneliness. For some people, if they have money or jobs, rural living is ideal, especially near the coast of Maine. Ask any one of the many thousands who flock in the summer to that idyllic area.

For many others, those without decent incomes or education, it can be hell. It can mean severe isolation and depression. It can mean poor nutrition, poor health, incest, alcoholism and suicide. And, most far-reaching, after several generations of poverty and ignorance, it can mean selling off their only remaining asset, the land, and going to an already overcrowded city. The poignant part is that if a typical resident is asked about being forced off the land, the reply will be: "I wasn't forced off. I sold it." There

is little insight concerning the systemic forces of economics and politics that cause their plight. And so the result is a hopeless and unproductive life. And all this in a beautiful setting of green hills dotted with patches of blueberries and clear streams.

As Sister Lucy and others worked with the crafters, each desperate need, confronted, revealed another. Mimeographed instructions for knitting patterns were not followed by some — they could not read. And so it was that the group's concerns were led from literacy training to life-coping, to child care, to child psychology. From nutrition to family planning to home management to consumer education. And this educational effort was not in the tradition or style of U.S. colleges and universities. The instruction was given by amateurs to novices, small groups meeting in kitchens, in living rooms, and a few at H.O.M.E. itself, which at that time boasted sparse space facilities.

Obviously the needs were greater than the space available, greater than the resources. An expansion program was initiated. They went to the New England Planning Commission, to the Community Action Program, to Action/Vista, to Eastern Maine Vocational Technical Institute. They carried their needs to the Campaign for Human Development, to the University of Maine. Their experience was mixed. Sometimes they got promises and no action. Sometimes they got help, and sometimes only words. And threading through it all was the realization on the part of Lucy and others that some of the taxpayers' money which could have been used for such education and constructive community growth went instead to more and more weaponry designed to destroy the very kind of community H.O.M.E. was trying to bring into being.

Indeed, Lucy has become quite skeptical, particularly of federal assistance programs. Noting the unquestioned



necessity for entitlement programs such as food stamps for those who are destitute, she nevertheless feels that most federal assistance programs, intentionally or not, have the effect of pacifying people rather than assisting local communities to find solutions to problems. She tries, as she can, to avoid those avenues of assistance, preferring support from volunteer help, private donations and the money H.O.M.E. itself earns. She cites the example of Black Americans who, without institutional support or governmental support, a people not in power but oppressed, over a generation have radically changed the face of the nation.

It used to be said of Mainers that they were land-poor — no money, just family land-holdings passed down for generations. Now, increasing numbers are just poor, having been forced to sell their land to speculators and summer-residence seekers in order to pay the accumulated taxes. H.O.M.E. has organized a Land Trust to remove land from that threat, preserving it for the use of those who need it. Over 150 acres have been accumulated on which five family homes have been built.

The houses, beautiful in appearance, are built with astonishing economy, and are financed by a Revolving Loan Fund, started in 1981. Why not governmental money for low-cost mortgages? For starts, the buildings face south to take advantage of passive solar heat. Federal regulations require they face the road, which is to the north. They heat with wood, coin of the realm in that part of the



A wedding in May

They were married by a Justice of the Peace in the Verona Grange Hall which stands between the Bucksport town office building and Western Auto on Main Street. It was a cold Sunday in May and despite the hopeful weather forecast, it rained all day.

Inside someone had draped pink and white crepe paper from a cardboard bell in the center of the ceiling. Three generations of Lydicks, Grindles, Allens and Eatons waited patiently on wooden folding chairs lining the walls. The youngest generation, including Rose, played on the wide expanse of floor. In front of the chairs on the side overlooking the Penobscot River two tables stood laden with food. A small stage at the far end was bare except for a tape deck and amplifier. The music was a mixture of soft rock and country/western.

People, despite the weather, had dressed for spring. One of the two photographers, the one wearing high heeled boots, kept on her coat; the other, in tennis shoes and tight fitting jeans, wore a white cotton blouse. The Justice of the Peace, Sister Lucy, arrived just at one. She had on grey cords and a white shirt with machine embroidery stitched on the collar and cuffs. A flannel outer shirt of faded light blue plaid kept her warm. On her head she wore a blue bandana.

The bridal party arrived just after she did. The bride and her maid of honor each had a bouquet of carnations. All four wore new dungarees and blue cotton knit shirts with a pocket over the left breast, the bride and groom's the same shade of deep blue; the maid of honor and the best man's were two or three shades lighter.

A young man from a poor rural area where there are no jobs and whose family lost its land a generation or two back finds one advantage in joining the Army is getting new clothes. If he should go instead to the County Jail he would get new clothes there too. The Army issue is khaki colored. What he would get in jail is blue, blue dungarees and dark blue cotton knit shirts with a pocket over the left breast. (Another advantage of the County Jail is he could get in without having to pass a literacy test.)

The groom was a big man. His well kept beard and hair were long and light brown. His brow was wide, his features strong and clear cut, his demeanor both reserved and kindly.

The bride too looked her part, substantial and sweet, as if given to having children and a well-run kitchen. A smudge of flour on her face would have seemed less out of place than rouge. She wore no makeup. Her long hair was brushed and hung straight down her back. She smiled a lot and so did he. They looked happy.

While the bridal party conferred with Sister Lucy at the end of the room by the stage, the children played. The youngest, Rose, about 12 months old, propelled herself about in a small round walker. More than the others she seemed attracted by the bridal party. She seemed to orbit them.

The music stopped. All the children, even Rose, disappeared from the floor. In the silence Sister Lucy said how glad she was that she had been asked to perform the marriage.

"I knew Janet's father well. He was a good friend. And I've known Jerry since he was just a boy.

"They've asked me to perform the shortest ceremony. So that is what I'll do."

She asked each in turn whether they would love the other all the rest of their life. "They are married now," she announced when they had both in voices too soft to hear said yes. "But they want to give each other rings."

When the ceremony of the rings was completed everyone said the Lord's Prayer. Janet gave Jerry a long kiss. Everyone applauded. The children reoccupied the floor. Except for Rose. Her daddy caught her up in his arms where she cuddled almost lost to sight in a snug place between his arm and his chest. Rose was in all the wedding pictures.

Sister Lucy hurried away to make copies of the marriage certificate. The groom needed one to take back with him — for proof. He had been released from the County Jail for six hours to get married and records need to be kept straight.

— *This Time*

world. Regulations will not allow wood-heated dwellings because they are not insurable.

And speaking of wood, without which

half the people in Maine could not survive the winter, H.O.M.E. has moved into the firewood business. It has provided volunteer labor, a sturdy team of

horses, private donations, state fuel subsidies, and sales to those who can afford to purchase, in order to provide free wood for those who cannot.

All of these activities, and many more, are beamed out to those involved in H.O.M.E. through the pages of a bi-monthly paper, *This Time*. It carries a pot-pourri of program announcements, personal profiles of staff and program participants, notes on farming, household hints, announcements about peace rallies and the White House Conference on Aging, pithy quotes from Helen and Scott Nearing, Pope John Paul II, Karl Marx, and the local staff carpenter/construction expert, Phil Gray ("I suppose manual labor is the best thing for frustration there is.").

And annually there is the H.O.M.E. Fair, a combination sale, promotion effort and community celebration. Tourists driving east or west on U.S. Route 1 cannot miss the many-hued hot-air balloon tethered on the hill, ascending periodically with its basket full of riders. For a pittance they get not only the thrill of vertigo, but a glimpse of what it is like, for once, to be above it all.

Who are the people who motivate and administer this arresting array of activities, programs and services? It is acknowledged by all that H.O.M.E. would probably not exist had it not been for Lucy Poulin. It is equally clear that it could not continue were it not for a host of volunteers and the 15 or so staff people who somehow keep all these wheels turning, as well as giving instruction in the basics of weaving, ceramics, leatherworking and other skills. And most crucial, and perhaps most invisible, a full-time social worker who intervenes in all sorts of personal crises with assistance, counseling, referrals, and an enormous amount of caring.

One of the most interesting and difficult projects undertaken at H.O.M.E. is the recent effort to provide an off-campus resource for credit-earning higher education. The post-high school educational experience, of those who have any at all, is sporadic and painful, almost never culminating in a degree.

H.O.M.E. entered into an arrangement whereby Vermont College would be the sponsoring institution, with classes, discussions and tutorial assistance being provided primarily at H.O.M.E., with two long and intensive weekends on the Norwich campus of Vermont College. The college has been supportive, even though the communication lines are stretched thin. Vermont is not as close to Maine, by auto, as the map might suggest. But approval of the Maine State Board of Education is required to validate any academic credit for participating students. Their guidelines never envisioned the type of frontier educational encounter being pursued by H.O.M.E., peculiarly appropriate though it is to the students with whom they are working. At this writing it is not yet clear whether the State Board will scuttle the program, having it still under advisement.

But what is clear is the human need involved. One young woman currently in the program is married and has two children. Her husband has marginal employment in a paper mill. She herself serves as waitress and bookkeeper in a restaurant (where she met Lucy) run by her parents. Somehow she had managed to pick up one year of college credit, and wants to complete her degree in order to qualify for doing work of social significance. Only the free-wheeling, custom-built schedule of H.O.M.E.'s adult education program could make this possible.

Another young woman came to Maine from West Virginia three years ago. A battered wife with abused children, she opted out of an intolerable situation with the seven of them, ranging from 4 to 16 years of age. She arrived in Bucksport with nothing but the car they moved in, which by then boasted only two functioning cylinders. Destitute, she was directed to Hospitality House, a modest facility H.O.M.E. administers, which cared for her and the children briefly until she was able to manage on her own.

Since, she has managed to complete

the high school program, at H.O.M.E., and now wants to do some college-level studies. Why? She replies, "Because I was married too young, and had no education. I want the basic skills to enable me to function in society. I want to be able to speak properly, to write clearly. I want to find a sense of self-worth." Her last sentence captures the essence of what inspired the establishment of H.O.M.E. and the challenge that leads it on in the face of so much that is adverse.

Why does H.O.M.E. persist in pursuing what often seems a hopeless task? An economist, after reviewing the prospectus for a land trust project H.O.M.E. was planning, made the comment: "It won't work, but I hope they go ahead with it." They did.

Orthodox Christianity has always asserted that the Kingdom will come only at the end of human history, that during the reign of this world, affliction, oppression and suffering will continue, that efforts to eradicate them will inevitably be frustrated. In recent centuries this pessimism has been challenged by a socialist vision which claims that an accurate and adequate analysis of the power structures of our society, and new social structures based on that analysis, can in time progressively move this world toward an approximation of the Kingdom — called by whatever name.

That ideological and theological debate continues. Meanwhile, both within the church and without, efforts like H.O.M.E. and movements appear which seem to be signs of that Kingdom, moments of grace, sources of hope. In the face of discouragements and defeats, these signs are a crucial witness to the struggle of those "yearning to breathe free," because they are a faithful, continuing thrust of spirit and of deed toward an authentic human history, whether it comes within history's time, or at the end of time. The weight of eternity is on their side. ■



Jackson and Jackson

Presidential candidate Jesse Jackson is shown with Jane Jackson, an Episcopalian noted for her civil and human rights advocacy and for her efforts to gain justice for the disabled. Jackson marched alongside Jane in her wheelchair, enroute to welcome his disabled brothers and sisters to the Rainbow Coalition in Berkeley recently. Said Jane, "He's adding chrome to the rainbow." Said Jesse, "No longer can we think of disability as inability. Together, we can end that discrimination." Pointing, at left, is the Rev. Cecil Williams, Black activist.

Soelle and Hawkins

Dorothee Soelle, noted feminist theologian and peace activist, is pictured with the Rev. Richard Hawkins, rector of St. Thomas Church, Whitemarsh, Pa., where she spoke recently. Dr. Soelle told parishioners that new paradigms for nuclear disarmament talks should be explored. The U. S. government goes in as though peace is a business issue, and tries to come away with more weapons concessions from the Soviets, and more gains, or "profits," for the U. S. But peace, rather, is "an existential issue, and has to do with one's convictions and energies. It means believing in democracy and asking about what my government does in my name and with my tax dollars, and what my people are doing in the name of my nation," she said.



Letters . . . Continued from page 3

our minds of preconceived ideas and useless mental chatter before sitting down to do analytical work, and helps us to let go of obsessive emotional attachments before going into action; it teaches us to respond to the concrete situation at hand instead of reacting to the residues of past actions. Through contemplation we learn to blend with, and use, the dynamic flow of history.

Nor is contemplation a worship of the isolated individual, or a cloistered retreat from the world. Contemplative practice takes the individual psyche only as the starting-point. The goal is complete transcendence of that psyche — both in the inner direction, toward union with the Godhead, and in the outer direction, toward union with the world. Contemplation is not retreat, but presence; its goal is to let us be just as present in the midst of action and struggle as we have been in the protection of solitude.

Finally, contemplative experience is not a reward for personal sanctity, but a potential contribution to the community life; it is the only point through which the power of the Godhead can flow in to transform society and history, by means of human thought, human struggle, and human love, as enlightened and moved by God's spirit. Contemplation is both a form of human labor — of releasing egotism and letting ourselves be moved by realities deeper than egotism — and a form of being that completely transcends labor — the ground of being, the presence and the will of God, the concrete moment as it really is. Contemplation is the true and final "demythologization" of God and the supernatural order, not through historicizing them, but through incarnating them. It is only in contemplation, and in action contemplatively experienced and performed, that God stops being a fairytale, an actor in a mythic drama that we are somehow never able to witness firsthand, and becomes a present living reality: "Yet in my flesh I shall see God."

Contemplation is also forgiveness, automatic forgiveness, we might say. As soon as we're willing to release our own

guilts and attachments in the presence of God, in the face of God's eternal and unvarying will to forgive, then we have already forgiven others; if we're willing to receive God's compassion, then we have compassion for others, immediately, in the same breath. One of the things this compassion lets us see (and what a sickening sight it is) is that even in the inner spiritual hell of a Reagan or a Somoza there is a living human soul, infinitely tormented, but still alive. We realize, at last, that not even the most degraded torturer, using his utmost skill, can succeed in destroying his own soul.

If the liberation theology movement is to survive and grow in North America, the synthesis with contemplation will have to be made, and not only on the theoretical level. We must plan and carry out deliberate experiments to determine how contemplative practice is best integrated into the activist lifestyle to form a single comprehensive praxis. We must discover how contemplative techniques can be used to increase energy, tap strategic insight, and give us access to the kind of spiritual power we will need to carry on the struggle for peace and social justice. Nor can we afford to let an openness to such charisma be monopolized by Christian neo-gnostics, or the fundamentalist Right. Liberation theology, if it is to survive, must not become the final secularization of Christianity.

It must include social action, but not be limited to it; it must address itself, as every vital spirituality in history has done, to the fullness of our humanity, psychic and social, individual and collective, eternal and historical. If our commitment is to serve, and be enlightened by, the oppressed peoples of the world, we must recognize that oppression is part of our inner psychic as well as our outer social reality. We must minister to the spiritual as well as the physical needs of those we serve; we must meet present pain, both spiritual and physical, with something more than social activism and a prophetic orientation toward a future just society. We must be willing and able to demonstrate God as an eternally present as well as a

historically developing reality. Liberation theology, in other words, must address itself to *faith* — the *presence* of things hoped for, the *evidence* of things not seen, in the concrete present moment — as well as to hope, as historical struggle, and love, as human service.

I eagerly solicit dialogue on this, with concrete organizing activities in view. "Would that all the Lord's people were prophets."

Charles Upton
San Rafael, Cal.

Holy Trinity

It rained the night before Trinity
And like silent pilgrims
The priests of Los Alamos
Their litany ended
Waited;
And one or another
They climbed the tower
To gather their instruments
And make silent vigil
While lightening danced
And licked the lips of fate
High above the valley of death.

At the foot of the tower
They cast lots
Cool reason heated
to the boiling point
Science gone mad to guesswork
About the size
of the black beast's wings
And the sting of its breath.
They shared cigarettes and fear
Against the spell
Of this long black night.

"Should we call the Chaplain"
The journal entry reads.
A passing thought
That there might be some prayer
Some invocation
A blessing spoken
in the moment's pause
A shudder sucked in
Before the gates of hell burst open;
But he had no jurisdiction there
Faust dealt but once
And Vishnu's arms grew
To embrace us all
As we became death
The destroyer of worlds.

— Ralph Pitman Jr.

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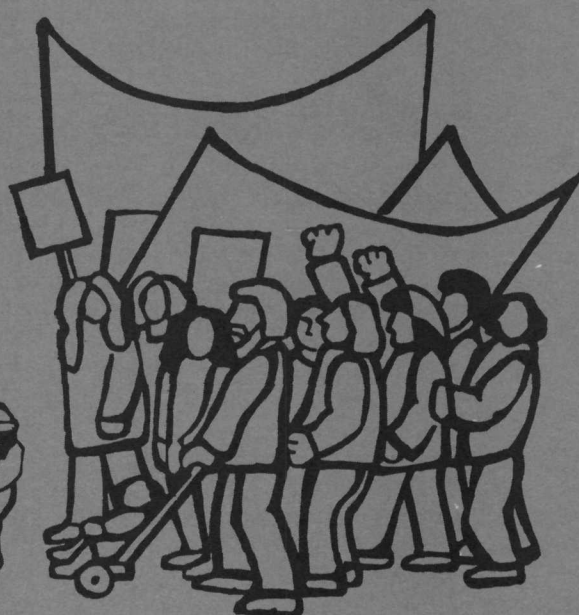
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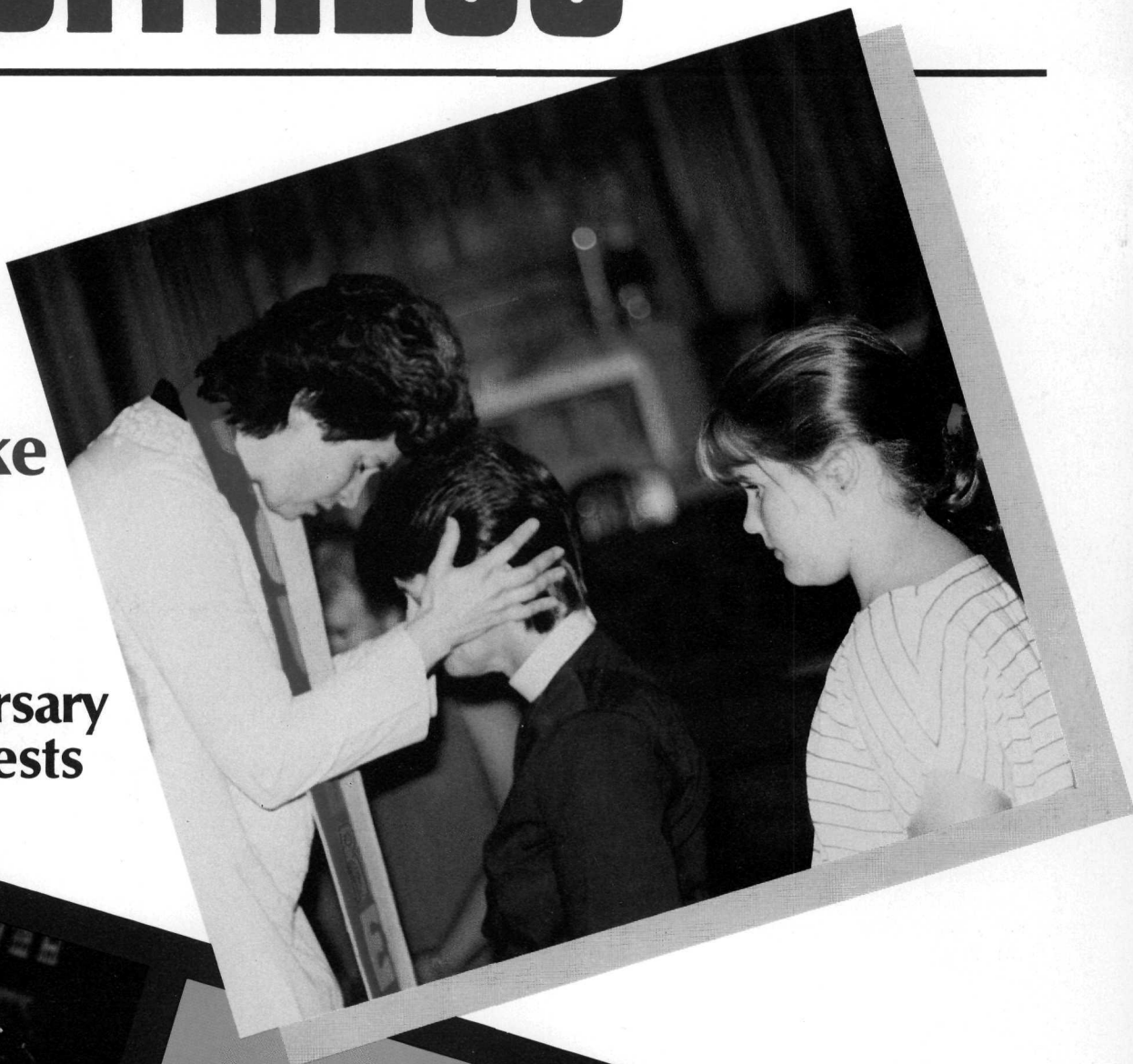
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THE WITNESS

VOLUME • 67
NUMBER • 9
SEPTEMBER 1984

**'God make
us whole'
Laying on
of hands
10th anniversary
Women priests**



Letters

Action courageous

I have read the special issue of THE WITNESS, "Daughters of Prophecy" from cover to cover. I went to Philadelphia as an intellectual supporter of women's ordination, and left there a committed worker for a whole ministry of both men and women in the Episcopal Church. Your updating of where those eleven plus four women are now made it clear how reluctant our church has been in accepting and celebrating their ministry. Probably no one other than each of them know the personal cost of their courageous action — and of the bishops who dared to move ahead of others and make so many of us women feel we, too, are God's precious creations.

George Exley-Stiegler and I are now semi-retired and are doing some work in England. George, an American ordained priest who is licensed to officiate in the Diocese of Liverpool, has decided he cannot exercise his priestly duties as long as women who were similarly ordained in the United States are not welcome in churches here. As far as we know, he is the only male priest in England to have taken that step.

Women are being called to the priesthood but the Church of England continually rebuffs their efforts. I think reading your special issue of the WITNESS might help and encourage them. Would you send me 25 copies and bill me? I could easily distribute two or three times that many. There are so many supportive people here, but their calls are unheard by the church — put off with "It will come in due time." Remember when we heard this in the States? It is a really effective way to tell someone they aren't a very high priority.

**Anne Exley-Stiegler
Skelmersdale, Lancs.
England**

Victimization an issue

The special issue of THE WITNESS was delicious: sweet and sour, savory every bite, and devoured voraciously. Some reactions:

One problem I have as a victim is how I relate to my oppressors. The Episcopal Church seems to have chosen 1987 to celebrate the 10th anniversary of ordination of women to the priesthood. That may indicate that "church official" does not accept the priests who were ordained in 1974, does not repent of the cruel and un-Christlike treatment of those rejected priests, and therefore does not ask forgiveness for its acts and accusations, both official and personal.

It is hard to forgive those who have not sought forgiveness, but Christ taught us to pray "forgive us our sins as we forgive those who sin against us." And from the cross, Jesus cried, "Forgive them, they know not what they do." Painful. But should we acquiesce to continued victimization? I think not. Christ returned to live and lead, not to be killed again. I feel I must forgive those who have persecuted us, but no way will I accept continued victimization.

As we live and lead in the footsteps of Christ, all of us, lay and ordained, how can we prevent further victimization? Especially of those invisible and unrecognized persons whom the church does not encourage or allow to answer God's call to many ministries — not just ordination?

Finally, a problem in the church today is our lack of sharing and trust. For instance, if a congregation is to be "trusted" to be self-determining politically and spiritually, it must have plenty of money. Is that what Christ witnessed, taught and preached? Did Christ instruct the disciples to "take charge" of people without money because the poorer ones could not be trusted? If a congregation is poor, its people can freeze when they

work and worship because no one thinks they are worth helping. It seems to me that in our church today, if the poor are to be helped, they must pay for that help with the loss of their freedom. Is there no mutual responsibility and interdependence in the body of Christ? How can we eradicate this classism within our church?

**The Rev. Katrina Swanson,
St. John's Episcopal Church
Union City, N.J.**

Push must go on

You will be recorded in history for the magnificent way you have presented one of the most compelling issues of this century. The 1974 ordination of those 15 Episcopal women priests did indeed get the church off its butt to address the problem of the repression of women in our society. And especially how that is reflected in the church like so many other inequitable things; i.e. race, nationalism, and empire building among the haves at the cost of the have-nots.

I commend each of the women who have allowed themselves to be instruments for making us (the male chauvinists of the priesthood) aware that God doesn't really concern herself with the gender or color of a person who is asking to serve. I am made deeply aware by "Reflections by the First Women Priests" that, of course, the problem is and will continue to be in the area of clergy deployment. The Old Boy system is still in control. I have just completed my fourth term as Interim Priest. In every situation save one, none even looked at a woman priest, a Black priest, and certainly not a Black woman priest.

This of course says that the push needs to go on. Bishops need to be pressured to give women and Black priests as suitable candidates for consideration by search committees. I believe that until there is a continual and hard push in every diocese, the church

through its vestries and search committees will get off the hook with the lame excuse, "But none of *them* applied for the job."

I spent four years trying to make the N.Y. computer system work for me after I had been gone from active service for seven years, and I learned that it was still the Old Boy System that finally landed me a job in the church. It's an unfair system and needs to be exposed.

James B. Guinan
Deerfield, Va.

Treasured memento

The special issue of THE WITNESS to commemorate *the event* does what it's supposed to do — it evokes the event and enables some of us to relive it, and its consequences. You "Amblers" must be happy and proud to have brought forth this to-be-treasured memento. And may you be permitted to continue serving so many of us so very well. Thank you for the chance to share again in *the event*.

The Rt. Rev. Daniel Corrigan
Santa Barbara, Cal.

Wept for joy, sorrow

I read once that tears are as good as laughter for healing the spirit. I wept and wept at my deep involvement in the powerful event of women's ordination 10 years ago, and I wept again at the way Barbara Harris brought it back so vividly in the special issue. This time I wept for sorrow as well as joy — sorrow because Christendom has been so slow to respond.

I knew all but one of the women ordained July 29, 1974. Two were my students. When Marge Christie referred to *Our Call*, prepared for the 1973 General Convention, I got out my copy and re-read the faith statements of the women recorded there.

Frances Trott was taking a course from me at the Theological School of

Drew University, where she was preparing *Our Call*, and asked if I would accept it as her primary project. Of course, I was glad to do so.

I may want to use a couple of quotations from the special issue of THE WITNESS in a collection of essays I am preparing for publication by Beacon Press. Bless you!

Nelle Morton
Claremont, Cal.

Tough issues remain

Congratulations on your "Daughters of Prophecy" issue. I am pleased to see the Philadelphia 11 circumstances recalled with so much clarity and precision, so that people who do not know history will be confronted and challenged by it.

I was particularly happy with the emphasis on what still remains to be done. Racism, classism, heterosexism and sexism at the highest levels must be combatted.

And of course, the struggle for inclusive language. At the gathering of Episcopal students at Estes Park, Colo. last New Year's, the two issues young people found hardest to face were economic issues (classism) and inclusive language.

Virginia R. Mollenkott, Ph.D.
Hewitt, N.J.

Affirmed each article

I have read every article of the special issue and enjoyed, and affirmed, and wish every member of our church might do the same. I believe I have read every issue of THE WITNESS since it was renewed in 1974, and sent gift subscriptions to many when I thought they might profit by it.

The Rev. A. C. Moore
Philadelphia, Pa.

Oklahoma's O.K.

I write because of an error in your special issue of THE WITNESS devoted to the 10th Anniversary of the Philadelphia ordinations. I don't want the Diocese of Oklahoma to be a "blotch on the church map."

We have the Rev. Blair Deborah Newcomb as a priest in the diocese, having received her by letter dimissory from the Diocese of Massachusetts on Jan. 6, 1984. Our first woman priest, the Rev. Jane Bloodgood, Trinity Church, Tulsa, died several years ago. We have one woman completing her middler year at E.T.S.S. in Austin — Marlena Tothill, and another who leaves for Austin this fall — Sheila Spurrier.

Please help me tell your readers that while the Diocese of Oklahoma may not yet be a "beauty spot" on the face of the church, it really isn't a blotch either.

The Rt. Rev. Gerald N. McAllister
Bishop of Oklahoma

And unblotch So. Va.

I devoured with interest and enthusiasm the special issue of THE WITNESS on the 10th anniversary of the ordination of women. It is a great issue and I will always treasure it.

Let me make one correction to your statistics on page 17. Granted that Southern Virginia has been a "blotch" for years in terms of women in the priesthood (although really a very fine diocese in many other ways), nevertheless we really did have a woman priest canonically resident and functioning in the diocese as of May 1 — indeed, she had been here for some time. She is the Rev. Marguerite S. Kenney, Vicar, Good Samaritan Church, Virginia Beach. For some reason, the clergy list in the back of the *Episcopal Church Annual*, although it has her canonical residence correct,

Continued on page 19

The gifts of God for the people of God

The nomination of Geraldine Ferraro for the vice presidency of the United States and the call for a woman bishop in the Episcopal Church were two July events strongly connected and deeply rooted in theology.

The Christian belief that “in God’s house there are many mansions” implies that it is not only good housekeeping, but also responsible stewardship to see that every room in the house is used. Ferraro’s image of the unlocked door in her acceptance speech was most apt. It is expanded upon in this issue of *THE WITNESS* by Bishop Antonio Ramos as it applies not only to women and minorities, but to the household of the faith, in his memorable July 29 sermon marking the 10th anniversary of women priests.

Moral ecology argues that we make good use of our natural

resources — revere, and not waste them. Women bear tremendous untapped resources for leadership, and it is a sin against stewardship not to tap them for humankind. Those who have the gift and the desire to serve by leading and to lead by serving need to be enabled and encouraged. A bleeding world cries out for women’s gifts of nurturing and healing.

Thus, at the July 29 liturgy, not only did the call for a woman bishop set a high justice tone, but also the proleptic act of laying on of hands by the women predicated new wholeness for the church. For many, that moment of blessing brought tears of relief and joy — a mighty victory of the Spirit.

Similarly, a woman delegate to the Democratic convention stated in *Time* magazine after Ferraro’s nomination, “I don’t cry often but now I can’t keep the tears back. It

seems theological, this event. It is the way the world was meant to look and it has taken so long.”

Of course, for every victory there is a caution and a challenge. Most poor and minority women have little in common with millionaire Ferraro except their gender and a grim determination to defeat Ronald Reagan’s feminization of poverty programs and Civil Rights disasters. And a call for women bishops in the Episcopal Church will not be successful until minority women candidates have the same chance as middle class whites.

Meanwhile, women rejoice in the partial breakthroughs and face the future with the courageous determination that the eucharistic proclamation, “the gifts of God for the people of God” might ultimately mean *all* the gifts, for *all* the people.

(M.L.S. and the editors)

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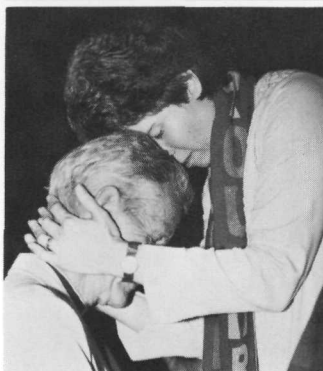


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Credits

Cover, Beth Seka from photos by Mary Lou Suhor; graphic p. 7, Volk, *Network* newsletter; p. 8, Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy; p. 10, Dana Martin; photo p. 12, Ken Basmajian; photo p. 13, Elaine Prater Hodges; photos pp. 15, 16, 17, 18, M. L. Suhor; graphic pp. 21, 22, 23, Peg Averill.

Cover photos: Top, the Rev. Lee McGee gives blessing to the Rev. Susan Peterson, Lutheran minister from Havertown, Pa., while Peterson's daughter Erika awaits turn; left, the Rev. Alla Bozarth-Campbell blesses the Rev. Van Bird; right, the Revs. Alison Cheek, Carter Heyward and Suzanne Hiatt during the laying on of hands at Church of the Advocate, July 29, 1984.

THE WITNESS is published monthly. Editorial office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002. Phone (215)643-7067. Subscription rates \$12 per year. \$1 per copy. THE WITNESS is indexed in the American Theological Library Association's *Religion Index One: Periodicals*. Copyright 1984 by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Printed in U.S.A. ISSN 0197-8896.

Justice, peace issues at Democratic convention

by Shepherd Bliss

First the pews filled. Then hundreds of folding chairs. Finally all the standing room was exhausted. People gathered outside. San Francisco's Grace Cathedral, the largest Episcopal church west of the Mississippi, hosted an Inter-faith Witness for Peace on July 15, the day before the National Democratic Convention opened. The Rt. Rev. William E. Swing, Bishop of California, welcomed the mixed congregation of thousands.

Roman Catholic Bishop Francis A. Quinn of Sacramento climbed the spiral steps of the pulpit and declared, "We are now down to two final options — co-existence or no existence. California cannot attack Oregon. We separate our children when they fist fight. Only nations are allowed to engage in gang wars without any laws to restrain them," Quinn observed to thunderous applause. "We call for radical surgery," Quinn added. The electoral process must be re-structured so that politics is not determined by private wealth."

Rabbi David Saperstein and Protestant preacher William Sloane Coffin of

Shepherd Bliss teaches psychology at John F. Kennedy University in the San Francisco Bay Area and is Publications Director of the Berkeley Holistic Health Center.

New York followed and were also greeted numerous times with loud approval and finally with standing ovations in the usually restrained Cathedral as they called upon their traditions to plead for peace. The ecumenical worshipers then marched down one of San Francisco's steepest hills in a candlelight procession to the Moscone Center, where the Democrats would soon convene. Over a quarter of a million people had marched in San Francisco that day at various events — the two largest being a morning Labor March and an afternoon National Gay and Lesbian March.

A few blocks away from the Cathedral, at Glide Memorial Church, wounded Vietnam veteran Ron Kovic spoke on July 13 at a "celebration," this one designed to influence the convention. "Seventeen years ago I was paralyzed from my waist down. We are not going to allow another Vietnam," he declared.

Kovic, a former marine sergeant and author of *Born on the 4th of July*, continued, "A memorial for the 57,000 boys who died in Vietnam was finally built. It is our obligation to commit ourselves to saying there will never be a Salvador or Beirut memorial."

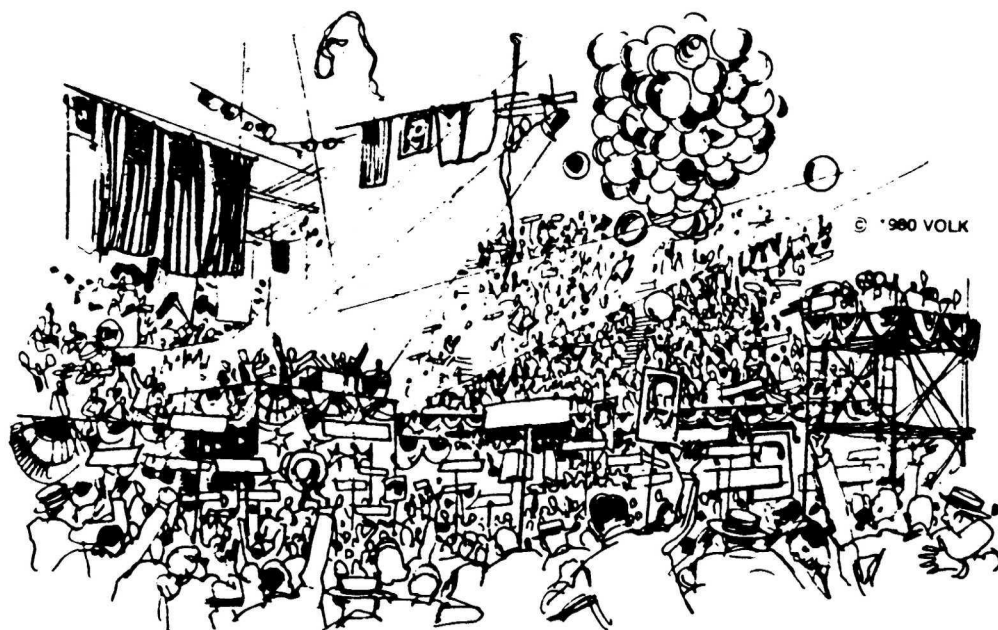
Its old steeple rising high into the sky, St. Patrick's Catholic Church sits across the street from the Moscone Center. But

if you step down and go around to the side you enter the basement, ducking your head if you're tall. That week the area was transformed into an extensive exhibit on Central America and a place for daily briefings on the situation there. Former Democratic presidential candidate George McGovern was among those who spoke at St. Patrick's, where he called for "talks and not troops in Central America."

Grace Cathedral, Glide Memorial United Methodist Church, and St. Patrick's were three of the key coordinates in downtown San Francisco which hosted thousands of delegates, press persons, and guests before and during the Democratic Convention. The spacious and dignified Cathedral, the colorful Glide with its diverse congregation and the low-ceilinged basement of St. Patrick's presented three distinct scenes with a unified message pleading for an end to the threat of nuclear war, jobs and justice for all, and no intervention in Central America.

The kaleidoscope of Americana in which church people joined other groups to try to influence the Democrats and the future of the nation, was this reporter's beat.

Glide, for example, hosted three free breakfasts and morning public forums on



Urban Policy, Foreign Policy, and Social Justice. Scheduled speakers included Gray Panther Maggie Kuhn, consumer advocate Ralph Nader, actor Mike Farrell, California politicians such as Sen. Alan Cranston and House Speaker Willie Brown, and some of the nation's most important elected Black officials.

Grace Cathedral became the staging ground for various demonstrations, including the first of over 30 protests which received official police permits.

The Moral Majority came to San Francisco immediately before the Democratic Convention to hold their Family Forum III and to influence the Democrats. To present an alternative and more diverse point of view than the Moral Majority, the All Family Coalition was initiated by an Episcopalian group called The Parsonage. Parsonage staff member Michael Wyatt, a seminarian at the Church Divinity School of the Pacific, commented, "The Family Forum was too narrow and stifling of life. We sought to get through to people in the Moral Majority with our solemn witness. We went to win people over by making

peaceful statements, by worshiping and by singing the same songs of our tradition as people sing, in say, Nebraska. We provided a peaceful witness in the face of violence and rumors of violence."

The Rev. Jerry Falwell had declared "Homosexuality is a perverse, immoral lifestyle" to his few dozen listeners at the Holiday Inn. The All Family Coalition, on the other hand, attracted over 500 worshipers to an evening celebration at the Cathedral and an enthusiastic march down the hill to greet Rev. Falwell with songs such as "Jesus Loves You" and signs saying "Thank God I'm Gay."

Theologian Rosemary Ruether addressed the Grace Cathedral gathering. She spoke about the dangers of the Family Protection bill now before Congress. In its attempt to restore the traditional nuclear family as a "way to make America strong" it ignores that "less than 12% of Americans are in a nuclear family with a working father and dependent mother." The rest are in a variety of family forms — including single parents and unmarried couples.

Ruether traced a connection between

"religious exclusivism," "chauvinist patriotism," and "mounting militarism." "Waiting in the wings is religious inhumanism," she declared. Ruether observed that women's rights and gay rights groups are the overt targets of religious and political rightists who are so negative.

Though Falwell had far fewer listeners than Ruether, his media skills resulted in extensive press coverage. Rev. Falwell also provoked the first violence of activities surrounding the convention, with what many considered to be inflammatory rhetoric. One of the half dozen demonstrations against Falwell was attacked by police, who beat and arrested a few demonstrators.

But the convention week as a whole was fairly absent of confrontations, especially in comparison to the 1968 Chicago Convention and the fears of many that San Francisco's radical activists or right-wing provocateurs would create disturbances. In fact, there were many demonstrations in the parking lot in front of Moscone and throughout the city. The protestors were usually disciplined and mature, making their points in a variety of ways.

Among the ample and colorful demonstrations was Sister Boom Boom, a gay man who dressed as a nun, and his Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence, which claimed a disproportionate amount of media attention. They performed an elaborate exorcism to rid their city of the so-called Moral Majority. "Ponderosa Pine" led a demonstration of 400 people dressed as trees and animals, advocating their rights and the need for better protection of the environment.

Grace Cathedral also became the gathering place during the convention itself for Vietnam Veterans, calling themselves the "nation's conscience". Randy Taylor, a decorated Marine infantryman who ended a 40-day fast on July 4 to press his demand for veterans to appear before the convention, explained that the veterans would read the

names of U.S. war casualties in Vietnam, Grenada and Lebanon at the Cathedral. The reading took place over two days in front of a 250-foot photographic image of the Vietnam Memorial in Washington, D.C. The Cathedral remained open each evening during the convention until 8 p.m. to provide counselling services.

On the evening of the first day of the Convention, the largest of many demonstrations occurred in the parking lot. Around 50,000 attended the Vote Peace in '84 Rally, which had one of the most impressive lists of speakers assembled, including Jesse Jackson, Ron Dellums, D-Cal., and Ed Markey, D-Mass., George McGovern, Maggie Kuhn, African Dennis Brutus, and a representative of the government of Nicaragua.

"This is a moment to celebrate life — long life — with young and old together," declared Kuhn. "Gray is the color you get when you put all the colors of the rainbow together."

"We need more than a new president. We need a new direction," Jesse Jackson added. "We must stop killing abroad and start healing at home." Jackson's campaign has received more positive response from the nation's disenfranchised than any leader since Martin Luther King, Jr. The speech Jackson gave at the convention and the appearance of Geraldine Ferraro on the last day were, in this reporter's view, the most inspirational moments of the week. Tears were in the eyes of many and hope in the faces of most during those events.

Dellums, a Black Congressperson from San Francisco's East Bay, also was a strong presence during that week. "There are two points on which the Democratic Party should not compromise — no first use of nuclear weapons and no growth of the military budget," he asserted. In the end, however, neither was agreed upon for the eventual platform. Dellums gave the Jackson campaign some credit for the selection of Geraldine Ferraro as vice-presidential

nominee, as he gave the civil rights movement some credit for the development of the women's movement.

The rally was a project of the 100 member Peace and Environment Convention Coalition (PECC), whose combined membership numbers over 10 million. PECC was initiated in July, 1983 by Common Cause and Ground Zero. It began working immediately to influence the Democratic platform and was quite successful. PECC represents a new unity among environmental and peace groups which so often disagree on goals, strategy and tactics.

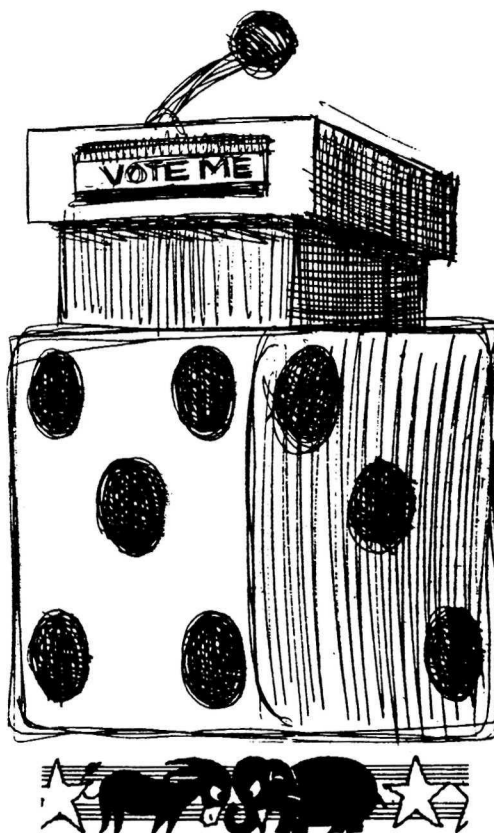
One of PECC's major projects was to cooperate in mounting a huge peace fair — A Vision of America at Peace. The \$250,000 project became a separate group in the month before the Convention and founder Patrick O'Heffernan promises that Vision will continue beyond the Convention. Vision functioned during

that week as a showcase for theater, noted musicians and talks by leaders such as Helen Caldicott of Physicians for Social Responsibility; Marilyn Ferguson, author of *The Aquarium Conspiracy*; Frances Moore Lappe, author of *Diet for A Small Planet*; and futurist Barbara Marx Hubbard, the only vice-presidential candidate other than Ferraro to get enough delegate signatures to appear before the Convention.

Through Vision's numerous exhibits, film festival, and other activities it sought to present "images of what we as a nation could achieve if our resources and talents were rechanneled from war and weapons to creation and achievements," according to O'Heffernan.

This year's National Democratic Convention was a tightly compressed historical moment with ample memories of the past (especially Chicago, 1968) and implications for the future. Some previously important leaders have already disappeared, whereas others, like McGovern, returned. Others emerged for the first time on a national level with promise for the future — including Ferraro, keynoter Mario Cuomo, and Chicano Henry Cisneros.

But the most important phenomena at the 1984 National Democratic Convention were the political and cultural dynamics which emerged at places like Grace Cathedral, Glide Memorial Church, and St. Patrick's, on the Convention floor itself, and throughout the nation during the campaign making it impossible for the Democrats to do business as usual and run two White males for this country's top offices. Jackson's strong campaign and the groundswell of pressure from women and their supporters catapulted Ferraro — clearly the Convention's most popular personality — into her party's vice-presidential nomination. Regardless of what happens in the November elections, American political history has been forever changed. ■



The Stewardship of Political Power

by Mario Cuomo

New York Governor Mario M. Cuomo catapulted to prominence recently after his keynote address before the national Democratic Convention. Long before that event, the Episcopal Cathedral of St. John the Divine in Manhattan had invited him to the pulpit to explore how he mixes his faith and politics. Excerpts follow.

If I'm to talk honestly and meaningfully about the idea of "stewardship" or "the sacred," it can't be from the perspective of a scholar or an exegete. It must be from my own experience — from the perspective of a person who struggles to be a believer — a person raised in the pre-Vatican II American church, an immigrant church of ethnic loyalties and theological certainties that were rarely questioned.

Ours was a Catholicism closer to the peasant roots of its practitioners than to the high intellectual traditions of Catholic theology and philosophy.

We perceived the world as a sort of cosmic basic training course, filled by God with obstacles and traps to weed out the recruits unfit for eventual service in the heavenly host.

At this, God had been exceedingly successful: the obstacles were everywhere. And our fate on earth was to be "the poor, banished children of Eve, mourning and weeping in this vale of tears," until by some combination of equal parts of luck and grace and good works we escaped final damnation. That was 30 or 40 years ago.

But what I now understand is that in our preoccupation with evil and temptation we often put guilt before responsibility

and we obscured a central part of Christian truth: that God did not intend this world as a test of our purity, but as an expression of God's love. That we are meant to live actively, intensely, totally in this world and in so doing to make it better for all whom we can touch, no matter how remotely.

Many of us in the church had to learn that lesson. The great Jesuit scientist and theologian, Teilhard de Chardin, was the first to teach us. He reoriented our theology and rewrote its language. His wonderful book, *The Divine Milieu*, made negativism a sin. He dedicated the book "To those who love this world."

What an extraordinary reaffirmation of Christian optimism. What a wonderful consolation to those of us who didn't want to think of the world as God's cruel challenge. Chardin glorified the world and everything in it. He said the whole universe — even the pain and imperfection we see — is sacred. Every part of it is touched and transformed by the incarnation.

Faith is not a call to escape the world but to embrace it. Creation isn't an elaborate testing ground but an invitation to join in the world of restoration and completion.

Finally, after Chardin's death, the

Catholic church grasped his wisdom and proclaimed it. These exciting new articulations of the world's beauty helped an entire generation of Catholics to realize that salvation consisted of something more than simply escaping the pains of hell. We were challenged to have the faith that Paul speaks of, a faith that "knows what hour it is, how it is full time . . . to wake from sleep."

So for people like me, struggling to believe, my Catholic faith and the understanding it gives me of stewardship aren't a part of my politics. Rather, my politics is as far as I can make it happen, an extension of this faith and understanding.

There is a paradox here, of course. It is one which those in public life who consider themselves religious must face daily. In fact, it would be impossible to stand here as governor — as an official elected by Moslems, and Sikhs, and Deists, and Animists, and Agnostics, and Atheists — and talk about politics and Christian stewardship without addressing this paradox.

The paradox was most recently raised in a letter I received on the executive order I issued banning discrimination against homosexuals in state government. The writer attacked what I had written. He took a stand on the executive order

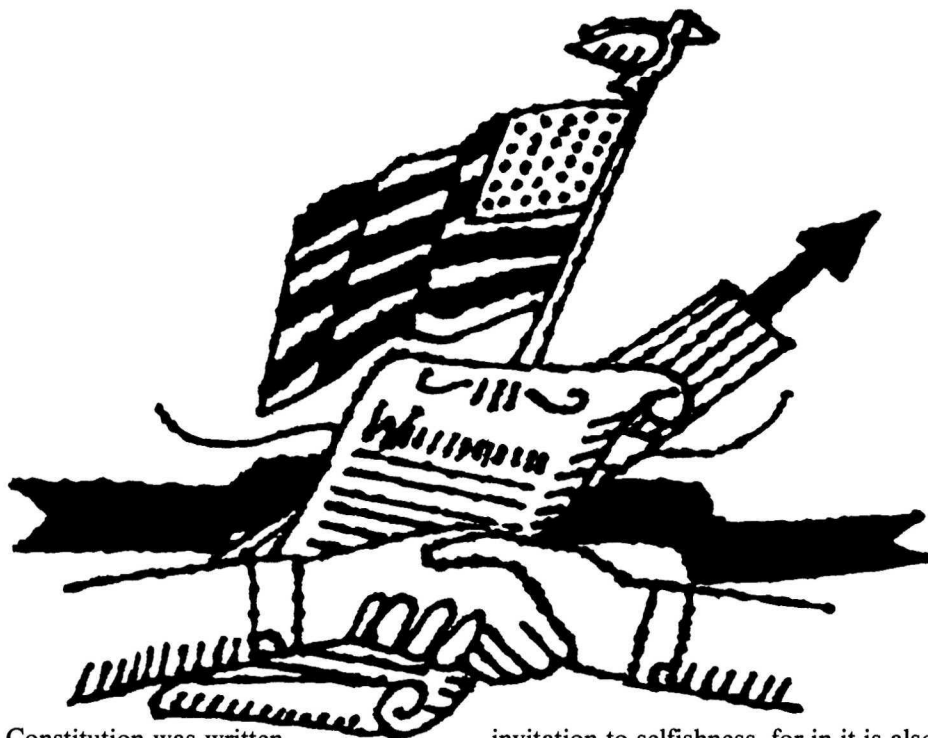
that most of us here would disagree with. Yet the question he raises of religious belief and governmental action is a valid one. And, in one form or another, all of us who mix our faith and our politics — certainly those of us concerned about the stewardship of power — must be ready to answer it. In part the letter says the following: “Governor Cuomo, you call yourself a Christian, yet how can you claim to be a Christian when you go out of your way to proclaim the right of people to be what is an abomination in the sight of God?”

The answer, I think, drives to the very heart of the question of where private morality ends and public policy begins . . . how I involve myself in a world broad enough to include people who don’t believe all the things I believe about God and conduct. Am I obliged to seek to legislate my particular morality — in all of its exquisite detail — and if I fail am I then required to surrender stewardship rather than risk hypocrisy?

The answer, I think, is reflected in the one foundation on which all of us as citizens must try to balance our political and religious commitments — the Constitution.

Those who founded this nation knew that you *could* form a government that embodied the particular beliefs and moral taboos of one religion. They knew that choice was available to them. Indeed, at that time there was hardly a government in the world that operated otherwise. Catholic countries reflected Catholic values and did their best to stamp out or contain Protestantism. Protestant countries upheld their own values. Their laws forbade the Mass, and in some places, like the Dutch settlement at New Amsterdam, the law said any Catholic priest discovered in its walls was to be hanged, drawn and quartered. And everywhere, as they’d been for centuries, the Jews were persecuted and forced to work and live under whole sets of legal disabilities.

That was the world in which our



Constitution was written.

To secure religious peace the Constitution demanded toleration. It said no group, not even a majority, has the right to force its religious views on any part of the community. It said that where matters of private morality are involved — actions that don’t harm other people or deprive them of their rights — the state has no right to intervene.

It didn’t forbid Christians or Jews or Moslems to be involved in politics. Just the opposite. By destroying the basis for religious tests, and not making people’s beliefs and private lives a matter of government concern, it secured that involvement in politics, ensured it, encouraged it. Our Constitution required a consensus that there are areas where the state has no business intruding, freedoms that are basic and inalienable. And in creating this common political ground, it created a place where we could all stand — Episcopalians, Catholics, Jews, Atheists — where we could tolerate each other’s differences and respect each other’s freedom.

Yet, our Constitution isn’t simply an

invitation to selfishness, for in it is also embodied a central truth of the Judeo-Christian tradition; that is, a sense of the common good. It says, as the Gospel says, that freedom isn’t license; that with liberty comes responsibility.

And if the Constitution restricts the powers of the state in order to save us from the temptation to judge and to persecute others, it doesn’t thereby deny the necessity of the shared commitments that are the basis for justice and mercy and human dignity and therefore the basis — the most fundamental basis — of any religion that believes in a loving God.

There is, I think, a clear concept of stewardship in the Constitution. And the government it sets up is meant to embody that stewardship.

I think my religion encourages me to be involved in government because it is very much a part of the world God so loves. And further, if I am given the burdens and the opportunities of stewardship, my principal obligation is to use government to impose neither a universal oath of religious allegiance, nor a form of

ritual, nor even a lifestyle, but to move us toward the shared commitments that are basic to all forms of compassionate belief.

Until recently, I think most Americans accepted this proposition. Our history, until recently, reflected the belief that government had an obligation to show love.

It was accepted that government was created among us, by us, "to promote the general welfare," to protect our water and soil and air from contamination, to secure decent care for those who can't care for themselves — the sick, the indigent, the homeless, the people in wheelchairs — to help people find the dignity of work.

Until recently, our history had been largely one of how we have *expanded* that concept of stewardship, reaching out to include those once excluded — women, Blacks, various minorities.

But this belief in benevolent stewardship — in the commitment of each to the welfare of all, especially to the least among us — is increasingly attacked, and ridiculed, and denied.

There is a powerful move toward a new ethic for government, one that says: "God helps those whom God has helped, and if God has left you out who are we to presume on God's will?"

In a country as religious as ours, where over 90% of the people express a belief in God and a majority profess attachment to a formal religious faith, it is hard to understand how this denial of the compassionate heart of all the world's great faiths could succeed.

Yet it is succeeding. More money for bombs, less for babies. More help for the rich, more poor than ever.

And the success of this Darwinian view presents us with a choice: either we swim with the tide and accept the notion that the best way to help the unfortunate is to help the fortunate and then hope that personal charity will induce them voluntarily to take care of the rest of us

— or we resist. We resist by affirming as our moral and political foundation the idea that we *are* our brother's keeper, all of us, as a people, as a government; that our responsibility to our brothers and sisters is greater than anyone of us and that it doesn't end when they are out of the individual reach of our hand, or our charity, or our love.

I'm aware that this is not a comfortable disposition, believing we have an obligation to love. It can haunt us. It can nag at us in moments of happiness and personal success, it can disturb our sleep and give us that sense of guilt and unworthiness that the modern age is so eager to deny.

And it can accuse us — from the faces of the starving and the dispossessed and the wounded, faces that stare back at us from the front page of our newspapers, images from across the world that blink momentarily on our television screens.

I was homeless, it says, and you gave me theories of supply and demand;

I was imprisoned and silenced for justice's sake, and you washed the hands of my torturers;

I asked for bread, and you built the world's most sophisticated nuclear arsenal.

Yet, as people who claim Christ's name, who dare to call themselves Christians, what choice do we really have but to hear that voice and to answer its challenge?

Chardin in just a few magnificent sentences captured everything I've tried to say here about this challenge of stewardship.

Talking about our obligations to involve ourselves in the things of this world, he wrote:

"We must try everything for Christ. Lift up your head. Look at the immense crowds of those who build and seek. All over the world, they are toiling — in laboratories, in studios, in deserts, in factories — in the vast social crucible. Welcome humanity! Accept the burgeoning plant of humanity, and tend it,

since without your sun, it will disperse itself wildly and die away."

And Jesus, answering the question of a lawyer, in language to be understood by all, said that the law and the prophets, their wisdom and vision and insight, their teaching about religious obligation and stewardship, was contained in two Commandments:

You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind.

You shall love your neighbor as yourself.

That is the law, as simply as it can be expressed. For both the stewards and those in their charge, for both the governed and those who govern them, for all who look to Christ's mercy, wherever they might be. ■

Seeks sermons on citizenship

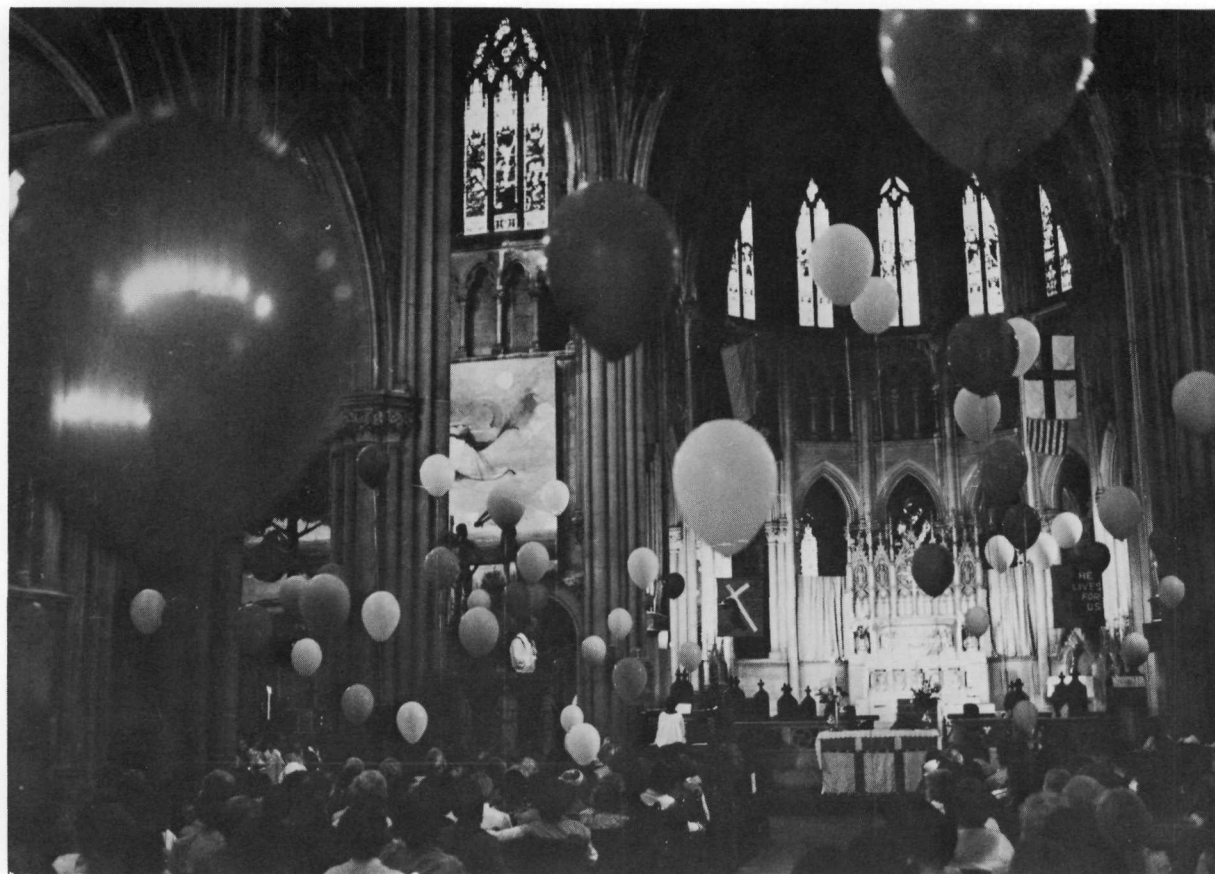
I am seeking sermons on the subject of the need for active Christian citizenship. Having been schooled in Town Meetings of New England, I am shocked at the lethargy and lack of interest in the political process of persons in Central New York. (What is the situation in your area?)

In 1980, only 53% voted in the U.S. presidential election, while in Canada, some 75% voted at the same time. The closing prayer of the Holy Communion of the Book of Common Prayer directs us as we leave church to go outside to act responsibly in the community (Rite I, p. 339, Rite II, p. 366).

The Incarnation continues God's concern for the world — especially outside the Church — as exemplified by over 90% of Christ's reported time and action outside the temple or synagogue — with the people.

I am therefore asking concerned clergy to write, deliver, and send me sermons and/or sermon outlines on what they consider to be involved with Christian citizenship. Sermons and/or sermon outlines will be printed and made available for general use, without copyright, at the lowest possible cost.

The Rev. Prescott L. Laundrie
110 Sims Place
Fayetteville, N.Y. 13066



Church
of the
Advocate

10th Anniversary
Episcopal
Women Priests

Celebrating a dream yet to come true

by Barbara C. Harris

This time the mood was festive; the air was charged with excitement; the smiles and greetings were warm and genuine, like those exchanged between old friends. People clearly had come to celebrate, to rejoice and to relive the high drama of a decade earlier.

They came from Sandy, Ore.; Cambridge, Mass.; Louisville, Ky.; Richmond, Va.; and Washington, D.C. They came also from New York, New Jersey, West Virginia, Maine, Central Pennsylvania, Delaware and Michigan. Just as they had done 10 years ago, many drove in from the posh Philadelphia Main Line and other nearby suburbs, or came by car and public transportation from many sections of the city.

The place — North Philadelphia's

Church of the Advocate. The date — July 29, 1984. The occasion — Holy Eucharist, a service of Thanksgiving on the 10th anniversary of the ordination of women priests and a *CALL* for the election and ordination of women bishops. The theme — *God, make us whole!*

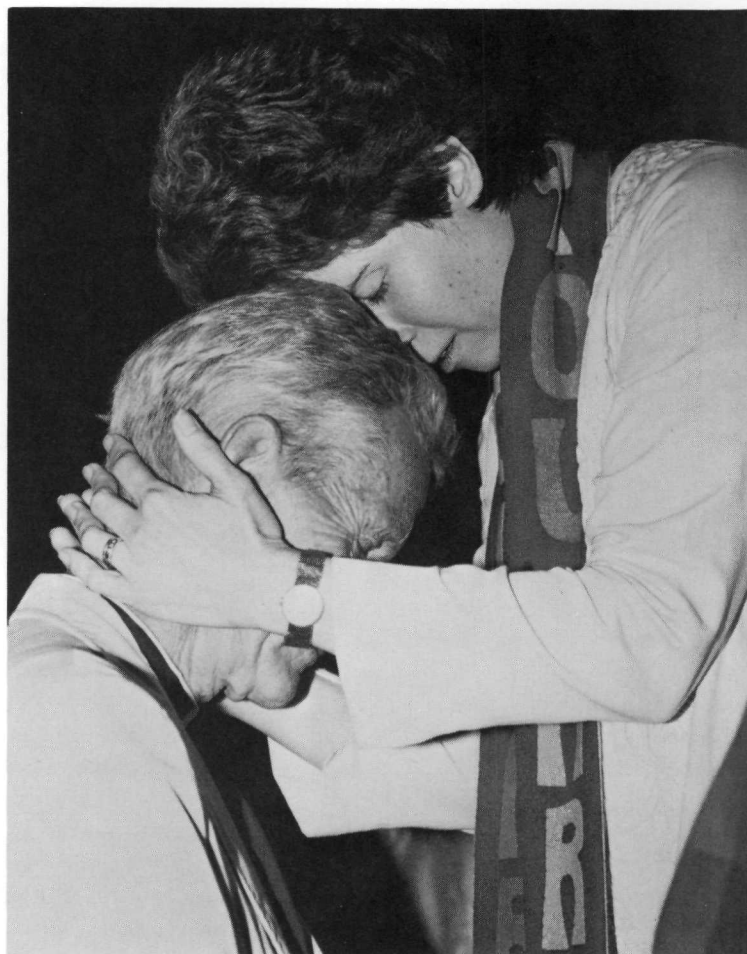
Ten years to the day, on the Feast of Mary and Martha of Bethany, they came not only to recall and celebrate an historic occasion, but to focus on how long a road remains to be traveled. For underlying the air of fiesta, the fond embraces and the inclusive language of the liturgy was a sobering sense of partial victory and the knowledge that the dream of July 29, 1974 — an open and complete priesthood in the Episcopal church — was a dream yet to come true. Moreover,

for many there was the keen awareness that the ecclesiastical "sleeve of care," knit 10 years ago, not only has dropped stitches but, without affirmative action, is in danger of coming unraveled.

There was none of the chaos of a decade ago. Again, things had been well planned, but this time there certainly were no threats of violence, hostile objections or potential security problems. In fact, for some in the national church there was a ho-hum attitude characterized by Episcopal Church Center spokesperson Janet Vetter's comment that this 10th anniversary was not "that big a deal."

For those gathered in Philadelphia, however, it was a big deal indeed. From the colorful street procession, forsaken

"There are some perhaps who before this service have never been able to receive Holy Communion from a woman's hands. There are more of us here, I am sure, who have never had the hands of a woman priest upon their heads in blessing."



The Rev. Lee McGee blesses Bishop Robert L. DeWitt

10 years ago, to the thunderous applause which greeted the women's entry into the church, to the closing strains of the final hymn, it was again high drama, but with a grass roots authenticity that touched the soul and moved many present to tears.

Some of the faces belonged to those who had participated or attended in 1974. But many faces were new and a healthy proportion of them belonged to women now wearing clerical collars. And some things were very different. The Martha-like chores of preparing refreshments for the reception following the ceremony were presided over by two male priests.

The concelebrants were members of the Philadelphia 11 — the Revs. Suzanne Hiatt, Carter Heyward, Alla Bozarth-

Campbell and Alison Cheek, along with the Rev. Lee McGee of the Washington Four who also had been "irregularly" ordained a year later. Hiatt and Heyward, accompanied by friends, had come from Cambridge where both are associate professors at the Episcopal Divinity School. Bozarth-Campbell, founder and director of an ecumenical women's center in Minneapolis, winged her way in from Oregon where she and her husband soon plan to relocate. Alison Cheek was fresh from a consulting stint with a seminary in New Zealand and McGee arrived breathless from an earlier celebration at Washington, D.C.'s Church of St. Stephen and the Incarnation.

Assisting them in the ministration of communion were some of the clergy who

had figured prominently in the ordination service 10 years ago. There was, of course, the Rev. Paul Washington, Advocate's unflappable rector whose memorable words opened the '74 service and who this time around led off with a congratulatory letter from the Rt. Rev. Lyman Ogilby, Bishop of Pennsylvania. There was the Rev. Ed Harris, former co-dean of the Episcopal Divinity School at Cambridge, who had publicly flung the women's ordination challenge in the teeth of the church during a June 1974 commencement address. There was the Rev. Van Bird, sociology professor at Philadelphia's LaSalle College, 10 years more cynically doubtful that the church will, indeed, move on to wholeness in its life and ministry. And there

was the Rev. Warren Davis, suburban Philadelphia rector whose church's chalices were loaned to nourish many of the faithful on July 29, 1974. Scores of others, clergy and lay, participated in the celebration and provided the back-up.

Fittingly the preacher was the Rt. Rev. J. Antonio Ramos, now the National Council of Churches' associate director for Latin America and the Caribbean. Ten years ago as a 37-year-old "baby bishop" and the only diocesan present, he had stood in silent support of the women and the ordaining bishops. Former bishop of Costa Rica and a seminary classmate of Suzanne Hiatt, Ramos got his turn at bat and in a power-packed sermon expressed the hope that one day soon "a woman in Episcopal orders will preach the Word of God in a celebration like this." (Excerpts of that sermon appear elsewhere in this issue.)

Hovering over the entire celebration was the benevolent, mothering spirit of Jeannette Piccard, the oldest and only deceased member of the Philadelphia 11. Members of her family were present, including priest-granddaughter Katherine, who wore Jeannette's balloon stole. She was remembered in flowers on the altar and by name in the Prayers of the People, during which hundreds of balloons wafted up to the vaulted cathedral ceiling to hang there in multi-colored, near cruciform pattern.

Many who could not be present had added their names and signatures to a still growing list of those supporting the "call" for the election and ordination of women to the episcopate. Reading like an Episcopal "Who's Who," the petitions bore names gathered across the church and from as far as Alaska and Hawaii.

Perhaps the most moving moment of the afternoon celebration came near the close of the service when the Rev. David Gracie, chaplain at Philadelphia's Temple University and a planner of both the 1974 and 1984 events, invited the con-

gregation to come forward for the Laying on of Hands. Citing this as "an important part of what priests are called to do," his Altar Call, well known in the Black Church, bears repeated sharing:

"There are some perhaps who before this service have never been able to receive Holy Communion from a woman's hands. There are more of us here, I am sure, who have never had the hands of a woman priest upon their heads in blessing.

"This is an opportunity for those who wish, to come forward, kneel at the altar and receive the laying on of hands, whatever your need may be. It may be personal healing you need or you may just want to experience the healing which comes to the Church when women are more fully recognized as channels of God's grace.

"You may desire a woman who is an ordained minister to give her blessing to your lay ministry. If you are a priest like me, ordained long ago by a male bishop with male priests putting their hands on my head as well, you may want to see in this act a kind of completion of your own ordination. I choose to understand it that way and ask that the hands of a woman may be added to the hands of my brother priests. By this means of grace, God make us whole."

Come forward they did and for nearly 40 beautiful minutes most of the congregation present felt on their heads and shoulders, hands lovingly outstretched in healing and blessing. Kneeling reverently, but proudly, in that throng were two of the church's courageous shepherds, Bishops Ramos and Robert L. DeWitt.

While it might have been ho-hum at 815 Second Avenue, similar celebrations were taking place at the Cathedral in Boston, the Cathedral in Detroit, and at

St. John's Church in the suburb of Royal Oak, Mich. Services in Bantam, Conn.; Concord, Mass.; Rochester, N.Y.; Washington, D.C., and Pasadena, Cal. marked the anniversary as well.

And 500 people from Central New York gathered in Syracuse where one of the Philadelphia 11, the Rev. Betty Bone Schiess, and one of the Washington Four, the Rev. Betty Rosenberg, teamed up for a celebration at Grace Church, a racially integrated parish in inner-city. Also con-celebrating was the Rev. Beverly Messenger-Harris, and music for the service was provided by the Schola Cantorum of Boston.

Dr. Charles V. Willie of Harvard University, preacher for the Philadelphia service in 1974, again filled that slot in Syracuse. Calling it a "celebration of suffering, sacrifice and victory," Dr. Willie praised the raw courage of the pioneer women priests and declared that July 29 "is for the Episcopal Church what the Fourth of July is for the nation."

Back in Philadelphia, where the generous offering was designated toward the restoration of the physically deteriorating Advocate buildings, in the absence of a woman bishop a final blessing at the Eucharist was omitted. A woman deacon, the Rev. Elyse Bradt, sent the 1,000 participants into the world in peace, rejoicing in the power of the Spirit. To the strains of "Come, Labor On" we exited with the hope that God would indeed, one day, make us whole. And the celebration of a dream yet to come true became another footnote to history. ■

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July 29, 1984 sermon:

'Oppressed must unite to be effective'

by J. Antonio Ramos

I am certain that I express the sentiments of all of us in saying that it is good to be here once again during this Feast of Martha and Mary. I look forward to the day, soon, not 25 years from now, when a woman in Episcopal orders will preach the Word of God in a celebration like this.

Ten years ago, on this same feast day, many here present journeyed to the Church of the Advocate to witness to the Gospel of love, justice, freedom and equality. (July must be a good vintage month for the wine which the old skins of legalism, injustice and oppression can no longer contain. The first nomination of a woman for high office — Geraldine Ferraro, for the Vice Presidency — prevailed in July also.)

We journeyed here July 29, 1974 — moved by the same spirit which burst into the created order when man and woman, male and female, inherited the heavens and the earth as collaborators and partners — to unlock the doors which had been locked to women called to the priesthood. We celebrate today the witness of those first 11 women. Standing in the tradition of Jesus, who had announced that persons and human need have precedence over laws, institutions, and structures — over the Sabbath — we journeyed here then, as we did today, because we believe that all of us, regardless of our sexual differences, regardless of our economic or social status, regardless of our ethnic or cultural origin, are children of the same God. All have been created in the image of the One who

The Rt. Rev. J. Antonio Ramos, former Bishop of Costa Rica, visits with the Rev. Katherine Lloyd Mead of Saline, Mich., at Church of the Advocate.



bestows equal dignity on each and every one of us.

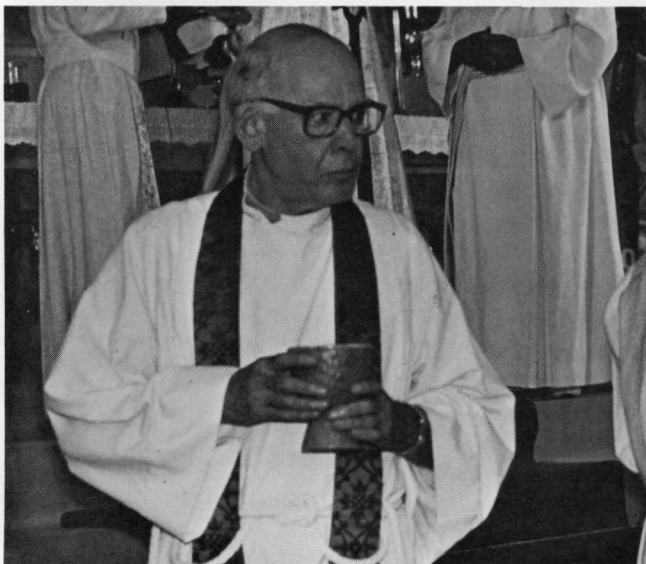
We journeyed then and have come today because we are descendants of our Mother Sarah and our Father Abraham. Therefore, the sabbath, the law of exclusion, of barriers, cannot keep us locked up as prisoners. As St. Paul proclaims in Galatians: "We are children of the promise," of the Spirit. It is the Spirit of God, not the gender of the candidate, that makes a person a priest.

The name of the game for Christian women and men is *wholeness* in God's creation; *wholeness* made possible when justice prevails and equality pervades the life of the church and the world. The church, called to servanthood, cannot renounce nor compromise its vocation to lead the way, regardless of the cost, to freedom and liberation, because "for

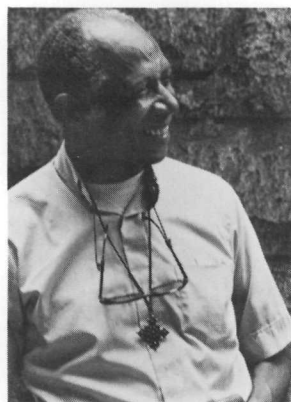
freedom has God made us free." The very laws of nature were transcended in the biblical story of Sarah and Abraham when God made a barren woman conceive the bearer of the promise. In Mary, "the Word was made flesh and dwelt amongst us," to set us free from sin and bondage. In the empty tomb, God unlocked the very mystery of death and its power; and from the ashes of hopelessness and defeat, a power-*full* community was born.

In this Spirit-filled community of which you and I, women and men of every color, race, nationality and social strata are members, a new Israel was born in freedom to set others free. My friends, my sisters and brothers, we are a royal priesthood, a holy people, "chosen to, proclaim the wonderful acts of God."

When we journeyed here 10 years ago



Top row, from left: "The gifts of God for the people of God" — the Revs. Alison Cheek, Carter Heyward, Suzanne Hiatt, Alla Bozarth-Campbell and Lee McGee; right, in procession, McGee, Cheek, and Hiatt; middle row, left, the Rev. Edward Harris assists with Communion; right, the Rev. Warren Davis assists Bozarth-Campbell in distributing Communion; bottom, in procession, Bozarth-Campbell and Heyward.



From left: The Rev. Paul Washington, cheered by a generous collection to renovate the Church of the Advocate, in disrepair (second photo); the Rev. David Gracie shares a joke, but not his ice cream cone, with Bob DeWitt before the July 29 liturgy.

it was not an easy choice. The July 29 event unleashed rage and turmoil, pain and suffering. Many joyful and regrettable things have taken place since that prophetic witness, and I firmly believe that all was worth the cost. The doors of priesthood were unlocked and for this we give thanks and praise. Yet as we celebrate that event, let us remind ourselves that we have achieved only a partial victory. From 11 women then, there are over 500 women priests now in our church. The harvest is good and plentiful. However, many doors still remain closed. Some of them are fully employed, enjoying full equality; yet many are unemployed or on the periphery of the church's life; many are denied equal opportunity and access. We still face bishops and dioceses which refuse to ordain women even though the laws of the church have been changed. There are lay persons who refuse to take communion from a woman priest. Many vestries and parishes remain inaccessible.

Sexism, together with racism, as well as economic and political bigotry and exploitation, still prevail in many sectors of the church and of society. Today, a Black or Hispanic woman priest faces discrimination not only because of her gender, but also because of her color or

ethnic origin; and may also because of her economic and/or social status. Many doors still remain locked; wholeness is far from our reach. The journey goes on, the struggle continues and we need to remain faithful to our call.

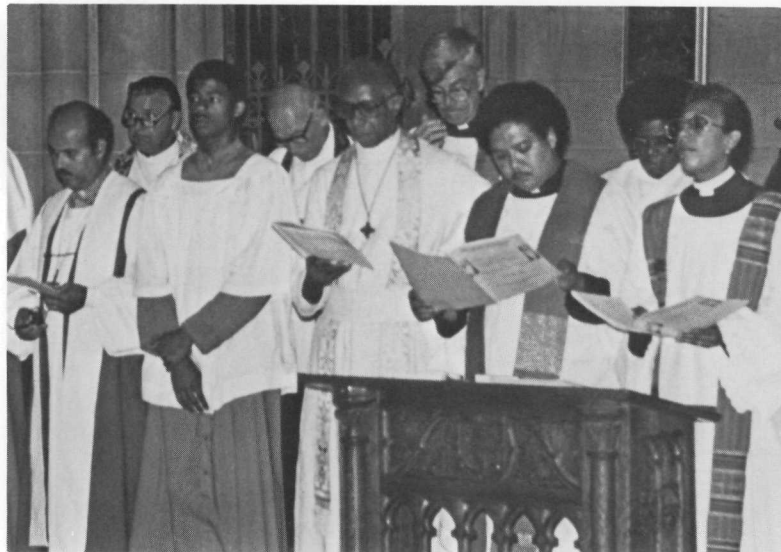
As we affirm our commitment, I would like to mention four fundamental concerns to keep in mind as we journey towards human freedom:

1. *Wholeness of participation.* In our own Episcopal Church we need to make all of the Orders (the diaconate, priesthood and the episcopate), accessible to both women and men. As long as one bishop, one diocese, one priest remains under the yoke of the sabbath, the struggle of liberation must go on.

2. *The equal rights struggle.* In the political arena, the struggle for E.R.A. continues. In our respective congregations, in our dioceses, and as members of a National Church and of the international community of the faithful, it is hypocritical for Christians to advocate equal rights in civilian life when we are not willing to implement equal rights in constitutional and canonical life throughout all levels of the church. Affirmative action must begin with us if we are to have any credibility. General Convention, diocesan conventions and each

parish meeting must face up to this contradiction and challenge. The church, denominational and ecumenical, is good at preaching justice for others; however, it often ignores or does not live up to the standards it preaches.

3. *Inclusive language.* The institution for which I work, the National Council of Churches, recently issued an experimental lectionary using inclusive language. It was received with much criticism and controversy. In this arena we need to move with creativity to develop language which expresses symbolically the reality which is being proclaimed. Language is the vehicle of culture so that each culture must wrestle and deal with the question of inclusiveness in its own context. We must approach this matter acknowledging at the very start the limitations of our earthly human-made vessels to bear the new wine, the new truths and insights of our age. We need new vessels, new skins, new symbols. This is more than just a question of language. It is deeply theological; it relates to the very way people understand the God they worship and the way they understand themselves. This issue is a challenge to our theological centers and to people of the church to seek together new language which expresses that which



Officiants in the Eucharist, left; the Rev. Van Bird extends peace greeting to the press section, right.

we believe and proclaim as women and men, while recognizing the limitations that any culture has in its own historical context to express truths which are communicated in human symbols.

4. *An integrated and holistic approach to human liberation.* We must not divorce our journey for justice and equality for women, for inclusiveness and wholeness, from other struggles for freedom, liberation and inclusion. Let me illustrate with examples from my own ministry as I have tried to relate these issues.

I came to this country for the first time as a student in the '50s during the flowering of the Civil Rights movement. When I was in seminary at EDS, I joined the picket line in front of the Woolworth store in Cambridge in solidarity with that struggle for freedom and equality. During my membership in the House of Bishops from 1969 to 1976, I strongly supported Presiding Bishop John Hines in his prophetic ministry on behalf of the dispossessed, through the General Convention Special Program. During those years I also participated in the Convention struggles of the Black Caucus. I resigned from the House of Bishops in 1976 because I had worked to make the Episcopal Church autonomous and it did not

make any sense to me that the church in Costa Rica, or Nicaragua or Cuba, had any business in the General Convention of the U.S.A. Consistent with that, I resigned my seat when the Costa Rica Church became autonomous. Ten years ago as Bishop of Costa Rica I journeyed to Philadelphia to participate in the event we celebrate today. I am proud of what we did then. My only regret is that I did not choose to be one of the ordaining bishops together with Ed Welles, Bob DeWitt and Dan Corrigan. They were very protective of me since I was only 37 and putting my episcopate on the line. Still, I regret that I did not ordain one of the Philadelphia 11. Yet, I came here and stood in solidarity with the women, and I was the only active bishop who took that stance.

I have been and I am today united with the struggles of our people in Central America for freedom, justice and peace. I accompanied Jesse Jackson on his recent trip to Panama, Central America and Cuba.

With these examples I am trying to say that the battle against sexism and for wholeness must take place as part of and along with the struggles against racism and imperial domination. Neither of these

should take place at the expense of the other, but rather in support of each other. The three are linked together in Galatians where St. Paul states that in Christ there is neither Greek nor Jew, slave or free, male or female, because for "freedom God has made us free."

We need to keep these convictions together. I think that Jesse Jackson is right when he protests against the racism that pervades some sectors of the feminist movement and Black women are right when they protested that Geraldine Ferraro excluded Black women in her campaign committee.

You know in this nation and in our continent the various political revolutions and changes which have taken place have been at the expense of native peoples, and today we see a struggle in Central America against domination which is not just economic and political, but also racial.

As we celebrate what happened here 10 years ago, let us move towards the future struggling for wholeness, for participation, for justice and equality for all of God's people and for human liberation against every form of oppression. "For freedom God has made us free." Amen. ■

Letters . . . Continued from page 3

still has her former Maryland address.

Also, as of May 10, we have a second woman priest in Southern Virginia. She is the Rev. Iris Slocombe, Assistant, Eastern Shore Chapel, Virginia Beach.

Both Marge and Iris are outstanding priests of the church and marvelous role models for other women in our diocese in various stages of preparation.

I am glad to say, as well, that Bishop Vache has changed his earlier stand against the ordination of women to the priesthood and was the Ordaining Bishop at Iris' ordination.

The Rev. Douglas G. Burgoyne
Newport News, Va.

(We are delighted to "unblotch" Oklahoma and Southern Virginia on our map. At the same time, we neglected to show the Diocese of Dallas and the Diocese of Ft. Worth as "blotches" — not having women priests canonically resident. Our graphic reflected data as of May 1. THE WITNESS will run a new map soon, reflecting June ordination statistics.

Other errata in the special issue: The Rev. Betty Bone Schiess is a feminist activist in the Diocese of Central New York, not Central Pennsylvania; Janette Pierce is news editor, not managing editor, of The Episcopalian; and Nancy Hatch Wittig's title is The Rev. Canon, not the Very Rev. — Eds.)

Read in one sitting

I just finished reading, in one sitting, the 28-page issue celebrating the ordination of Episcopal women priests. What an excellent compilation of stories. As one who has worked as an editor, I am regularly amazed at the consistent excellence of the writing in your magazine.

Pat Broughton
Evanston, Ill.

WITNESS to travel

Not only does the special issue of THE WITNESS constitute an important historical document of the events of 1974-

75, it also raises some vital questions for our own time.

I am going to England this summer and there the scene is depressing as far as the ordination of women is concerned. I believe that many would be heartened and radicalized by reading this edition of THE WITNESS, and will take copies to distribute over there.

You may also be interested to know that Roberta Nobleman read "Solo Flight," the play about Jeannette Piccard, to a group at St. Bartholomew's recently. We have formed a committee to arrange a whole day, Sept. 15, when the play will be performed, and seminars, lectures offered on the subject of women and ministry, inclusive language, etc. We expect a large contingent of Roman Catholics.

Also, in October, I am co-leading a conference with Bishop John Spong on sexual stereotypes in the church, and will bring copies of the special issue of THE WITNESS to that event.

The Rev. Elizabeth Canham
New York, N.Y.

'Solo' coast-to-coast

Thank you for your excellent article on the anniversary celebrations of women's ordinations. As you say, I tour my one-woman performance of "Solo Flight," but I want to correct the statement that I tour it only in the Midwest. I am available from coast-to-coast and may be reached at 475 Laurel Av., St. Paul, Mn. 55102. The play is based on Jeannette Piccard's struggles to attain the stratosphere and equal ordination.

Molly Culligan
St. Paul, Minn.

Covers bases superbly

Congratulations on your anniversary issue on the ordination of women. You covered all bases superbly. As the mother of a woman priest (Lucy Hogan, the first woman priest licensed by Bishop Morton in San Diego), I hope every priest in the church has an opportunity to reflect on your issue.

Margaret A. Lind
Minneapolis, Minn.

Beautifully done

Thank you for the special issue. It is beautifully done, brings back many memories and states the continuing issues strongly and powerfully.

The Rt. Rev. George Barrett
Santa Barbara, Cal.

A landmark publication

The "Daughters of Prophecy" issue is a landmark publication for WITNESS just as the ordination of Episcopal women is a new chapter leading to the Third Millennium of witness and discipleship. The gratitude of all women is extended to the brave and beautiful "fifteen" who were ordained priests into a new empowerment of the Holy Spirit.

Sr. Margaret Ellen Traxler, Director
Institute of Women Today



Daughters of Prophecy

For Extra Copies
THE WITNESS

will be happy to provide this special 10th anniversary issue about women's priesthood in the Episcopal Church to individuals or groups upon request. For particulars write Ann Hunter, THE WITNESS, P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA. 19002 or phone (215) 643-7067.

SHORT TAKES

Calls to ministry

There is a Christmas story told of a shepherd named Amos. Amos remained with the flock while the other shepherds went to Bethlehem "to see this thing which has come to pass." He realized that the sheep could not be left alone, but needed someone to care for them. He was much chided by his friends for wanting to stay behind.

When the shepherds returned that night long ago, they told Amos all they had experienced and asked him if it was worth missing to stay with the sheep. Amos told them of a baby lamb that had been born. His friends again mocked him and asked in jest if the "trumpets had sounded the birth." Amos replied, "To my heart there came a whisper."

Moses was also the shepherd of a flock. While in the field he saw a bush that was on fire but was not burning up. And God called to him, "Moses, Moses." Moses answered, "Yes, I am here."

"Come now; I will send you to Pharaoh and you shall bring my people, Israel, out of Egypt." Moses replied, "But who am I that I should bring the Israelites out of Egypt?" God answered, "I am with you. . ."

Each of us is called to ministry differently. For some it is whispered in the heart; for some it is a brightly burning bush or a blinding on the road to Damascus; for others it is a feeling so strong it cannot be denied. *Each of us, however, is called by God to serve as ministers in this world.*

— Penny Frabotta, Co-editor
Centering

Heads World Council

The World Council of Churches has elected Emilio Castro, a Methodist minister from Uruguay, to succeed the Rev. Philip A. Potter as its General Secretary.

Castro, 57, has been in the forefront of the liberation theology movement. He also has a long history of ecumenical involvement, including service as director of the WCC Commission on World Mission and Evangelism from Jan. 1, 1973 until Dec. 31, 1983.

Castro praised Potter, who retires at the end of this year, saying, "His inspiration was fundamental in moving the WCC to confront questions of cultural identity, of racism, and of an evangelism that will not dodge the issues of real life."

Readers invited to John Hines gala

The Diocese of Newark invites WITNESS readers to a gala celebration marking the 50th anniversary of ordination to the priesthood of the Rt. Rev. John E. Hines, former Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church, on Saturday, Oct. 27. A festive Eucharist will take place at 10:30 a.m. in Trinity Cathedral, Newark, and a reception will follow.

Bishop Hines, known throughout the church for his advocacy of social justice issues, served as chair of the board of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company, publisher of THE WITNESS, for two terms when the magazine was revived in 1974.

For further information, write or call the Rt. Rev. John S. Spong, Bishop of Newark, 24 Rector St., Newark, N.J., 07102 (201-622-4306).

Mini-reflection

"Let the one among you who has no sin be the first to cast a stone at her. . . . Then the audience drifted away one by one, beginning with the elders." (John 8:1-11)

I like to think there was some spiritual life in the Pharisees and it seems there was. When confronted with the right question, the elders could recognize their own complicity in sin and have a change of heart. Their action is hopeful. It means the years of religious observance were not in vain, they bore some fruit — the older Pharisees knew themselves. Whereas the younger ones were the last to leave. That's typical, too. The world is often black and white to the young.

Let me also sing the praises of the Pharisee who dropped the first stone. What courage to leave his peers. I have been involved in enough group sin to know how

difficult it is to be the first to change the conversation, leave the situation, say "no."

—Mary Lou Kownacki, O.S.B.
Erie Christian Witness

Doing theology in the city

Doing theology in a life context is not just for the intelligentsia or for the clergy, but for all people of God.

Environments are not neutral to such a process. There is no better place to do theology than in the city where the contrasts and tensions of life are both concentrated and amplified. There is no way to either avoid or deny dissonance of life in the city. Any attempt to understand God and avoid such dissonance would be inadequate. If one cannot do theology in the context of the city, then one most likely will learn and teach theology as a science or a profession and then apply it accordingly. Such a conclusion is most alarming and reminds me of the statement which Sam Keen made at a recent conference: "All warfare is applied theology."

Perhaps the best way to avoid warfare of all kinds is to do theology where there are many different kinds of people and where conflict and pain are never-ending realities of life. I've heard a number of people say that we need a theology for urban ministry and the city, but I am more inclined to think it's the other way around — theology needs the city and urban ministry.

—David J. Frenchak
SCUPE Report

5th EUC assembly set

The fifth assembly of the Episcopal Urban Caucus will take place Sept. 5-8 at the Book-Cadillac Hotel in Detroit around the theme, "The People of God: Chosen, Gifted, Equipped, Sent," according to Byron Rushing, president.

Stated purpose of the event is "to be an assembly where people who are involved with ministry in an urban setting can come together and be strengthened by their experience."

Goals include creating an environment in which people will realize that they are part of the agenda, not simply there "to be handed something;" and creating an intentional awareness of the theological focus for urban ministry.



Dear Momma: a reflection on the ERA

EXAM QUESTION: *Take a position on the Equal Rights Amendment, considering both strictly legal and broadly social consequences. What does "symbolic" mean in this context? Assess its potential impact upon more than one of the specific spheres of law and life covered in the course. Why are women divided on its desirability?*

Dear Momma,

This letter to you is, literally, an answer to a question on an examination for the Sex Discrimination course I have recently completed here at law school. As you know, I am an advocate of the ERA. That advocacy may seem moot now that the ERA has been effectively defeated for the near future. But I am convinced that the political struggle for the ERA ought to and will continue as it has for at least the past three score years.

I find myself thinking not just about women in general, but about you, my mother, Ernestine Bagley. I want to share my thoughts with you about the ERA, about divisions among women, and about divisions *within* women whose social identity involves not only woman-ness, but also Blackness.

I know that you have been ambivalent about the ERA, and you know that your judgment of social-ethical issues has always deeply affected my own. You may also know that, in my estimation, the significance of law is its role as the practical ideological codification of dominant social ethical norms. Thus this discussion is simultaneously concerned about personal, social and legal technical issues raised by the ERA debate, all within a framework

of explicit ethical values.

Although the quest for a Constitutional amendment guaranteeing equality of the sexes in law goes back until at least 1923, the starting point of this discussion is 1954. That year the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Topeka* outlawed a racially segregated public school system. In *Brown*, the Supreme Court actually reached a very narrow decision. The court did not, for instance, outlaw racially restrictive voting laws that denied our people the franchise in those jurisdictions where most of us then lived. The *Brown* decision did not strike down Jim Crow (apartheid) in public accommodations. It did not declare illegal those galling classified ads for housing and jobs, divided into White and Colored sections, that were standard fare in our Chester, Pa. *Times*. Indeed, the court did not even address *de facto* racial segregation in school systems like the public school system which your children attended.

But *Brown* was a tremendous legal and symbolic victory for us. No matter what the legal-ese, we knew that the court had given in to relentless extra-legal lobbying and agitation by civil rights advocates. That is, without detracting from the personal brilliance of Charles Houston, Thurgood Marshall and the other NAACP lawyers, we knew (you knew better than I) that *Brown* was something our people had won. *Brown* proved that we could win and win big. It was a signal to intensify our struggle, to claim our rights in every sphere of life. Without *Brown*, there might not have been the Montgomery bus boycott and the emergence of the powerful direct action movement, two short years later in 1956.

Retrospectively, some may argue that we read too much into *Brown*. The masses of us, ignorant of the fine and narrow points of law, thought that the highest court of the land had given us the green light to claim equality in all aspects of our social existence. Arguably, Dwight Eisenhower's mandate that integration take place with "all deliberate speed" was closer to the legal mark than the Negro's cry for "Freedom Now!" But the symbolic meaning of *Brown* transcended legal niceties and confirmed a new social and ethnical norm that had no authentic space for Jim Crow, White Supremacy and the "separate but equal" standard articulated in *Plessy* just before the turn of the century.

The ERA is just such a legal symbol. The ERA has been a rallying point for the broad political and cultural movement seeking the equality of the sexes, demanding the liberation of women. Resistance to the ERA is often obfuscated by appeals to the traditional hierarchy of the

patriarchal family. Anti-ERA forces appeal to biblical sanctions of female subordination: Paul's admonition to women to keep silent in religious worship. Legal scholars and judges have argued, especially in family law areas, that relations between women and men are more properly the preserve of local governments. This anti-ERA indoctrination glaringly parallels pro-racist appeals to tradition, to allegedly Divine sanctions ("slaves obey your masters") and to racism masking as states rights. Our experience as Afro-Americans should uniquely equip us with a peculiar ability to both recognize the powerful, practical value of legal symbols and pierce the fogs of anti-egalitarian apologies for male supremacy.

Therefore, not surprisingly, race-related law has emerged as the most useful paradigm for formulation and adjudication of laws and legal controversies related to sex. To a great extent, the evolution of sex discrimination law, especially in the past score of years, has involved two recurrent themes: whether legislatures should append "sex" to areas covered by race-related anti-discrimination law, and whether courts should interpret the category of "sex" like the category of "race" in anti-discrimination law.

There is, however, still a great divide between race law and sex law in this strange land. Race is a suspect classification that triggers the presumption of wrongfulness. Allocation of jobs, for example, on a racial basis invites strict scrutiny and is, in the context of contemporary law, invidious discrimination unless the allocation serves as a compensatory remedy for effects of racial discrimination; e.g., affirmative action or some other "compelling government interest." (*Bakke, Weber, etc.*) However, gender-based distinctions must merely "serve governmental objectives and must be substantially related to achievement of these objectives" to satisfy judicial scrutiny under the Equal Protection Clause to the Constitution. Thus, the courts treat gender-based "benign discrimination" much more ambiguously and leniently than race-based discrimination. In effect, this means that women *per se* have less legal protection against materially and psychically damaging discrimination than Blacks. (Whether the legal protections are mirrored in real world experience depends, of course, on various factors; e.g., whether the women are Black or White, rich or poor, welfare mothers or suburban housewives, highly educated or functionally illiterate, well-paid professionals or "cleaning ladies," etc.)

The passage of the ERA will elevate sex discrimination issues to the same Constitutional level as race discrimination issues. Under the ERA, gender-based

classifications will be as suspect as race-based classifications, and the legal arsenal to defend the rights of women will be significantly expanded. However, the ERA will not magically obliterate those biological differences between women and men that might be juridically significant. The laws governing wet-nurses or sperm-bank donors (to use cliché examples) would not cease to have different applications to women and men since only women are potential wet-nurses and only men are potential sperm donors as biological matters of fact. I imagine these examples seem silly, but they highlight that there are relevant biological differences between the sexes which the ERA will not affect any more than the *Brown* decision has affected the pigmentation of our skin or our right to select hair grooming products we feel most appropriate for our nappy hair!

Indeed, the group which may benefit most materially from passage of the ERA is that of Afro-American women and others similarly situated; i.e., non-White women who are often "triply jeopardized" by racism, sexism and economic deprivation (this last reflecting the feminization of poverty and the fact that Black women are three times more likely to be poor than our White sisters). The elevation of sex discrimination to the same level of legal scrutiny as race discrimination, combined with "disparate impact" and affirmative action precedents (not yet overturned by the Rehnquist Court), should be especially attractive to poor and working-class Black women.

Why then are so many of our mothers, our aunts, our grandmothers, our older sisters and role model-counselors ambivalent about the ERA? Please forgive my audacity in hazarding an answer. I am cautiously aware of my relative youth and of the often clumsy blindness of my own sex. And let me, in speaking about this ambivalence, revert to the "we" voice that is most natural in our intimate conversation, for your ambivalences always give me pause no matter what bold poses I might strike.

We are ambivalent because we are afraid lest anything detract from the struggle against racism which has been the central fact of our social, political, economic lives. We have grown used to submerging the claims of womanhood lest we give the White masters a wedge to divide us from our beleaguered men. We know these bourgeois feminists because we have heard them divulge their intimacies, oblivious of us scrubbing their floors and serving their tables. We know how much alike they are to their husbands, fathers and brothers whose chauvinism they berate. We simply do not, cannot trust them to see the scars where our own men have wounded us.

We have been, many if not most of us, sustained by a faith in the same Bible that the Phyllis Schlaflys and Jerry Falwells have made a weapon against us. We do incline an ear to the religious rhetoric of the anti-feminist Rightists, even though we ultimately reject their politics. Abortion is for us a troubling ethical question and we are turned off by the apparent glibness of the visible feminist leadership about this question, even though — or better to say, especially because — we have cradled our crying daughters in our arms after counseling them to terminate unplanned pregnancies. We have suffered too many break-ups of our own marriages and yearned too often for husbands who would indeed protect us from the vicious White-made world to cheerfully applaud the deterioration of the family — even though we ourselves have never played the vapid Harriet to a banal Ozzie. We have fought for our daughters and sons to gain entry into the American Dream; we find little joy in the realization that that dream is just another nightmare.

And, now, we are sometimes just simply tired. We have hoped so high for the flowering of one revolution, the revolution toward racial justice in our children's lifetimes. And we watch daily as our hopes wither, as too many of our peers — men and women — shrivel toward pointless deaths after lives that seem too often of no great moment. We watch as the glorious children of our neighborhoods grow into embittered, fearsome, dangerous brutes and our neighborhoods decay into impoverished anarchy. We are sometimes just too tired to re-invest our broken hopes — again. I know.

But, Momma, you have prevailed. You have given me strength even when you didn't know you had any left. Your mended hopes have held better than good enough. As you have moved on and on, through your tirednesses and ambivalences, you have shown me how to move through my own doubts. I am not writing to try to persuade you to become an advocate of the ERA or of anything else: you know what you know. And your example has taught me to trust my own knowledge.

I am an advocate of the ERA, dearest woman, because you have persuaded me of myself.

**With love, your son,
Muhammad**

(*Muhammad Isaiiah Kenyatta* is a J.D. candidate at Harvard Law School and a political science instructor at Williams College. A civil rights leader and poet, Kenyatta is a frequent contributor to political, religious and literary publications.)

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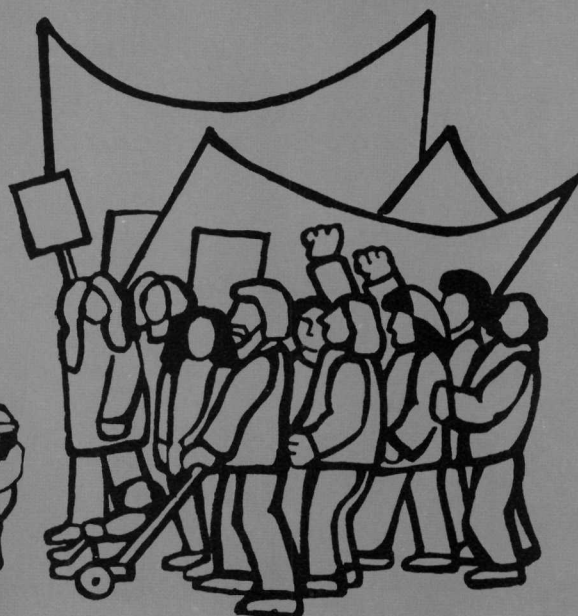
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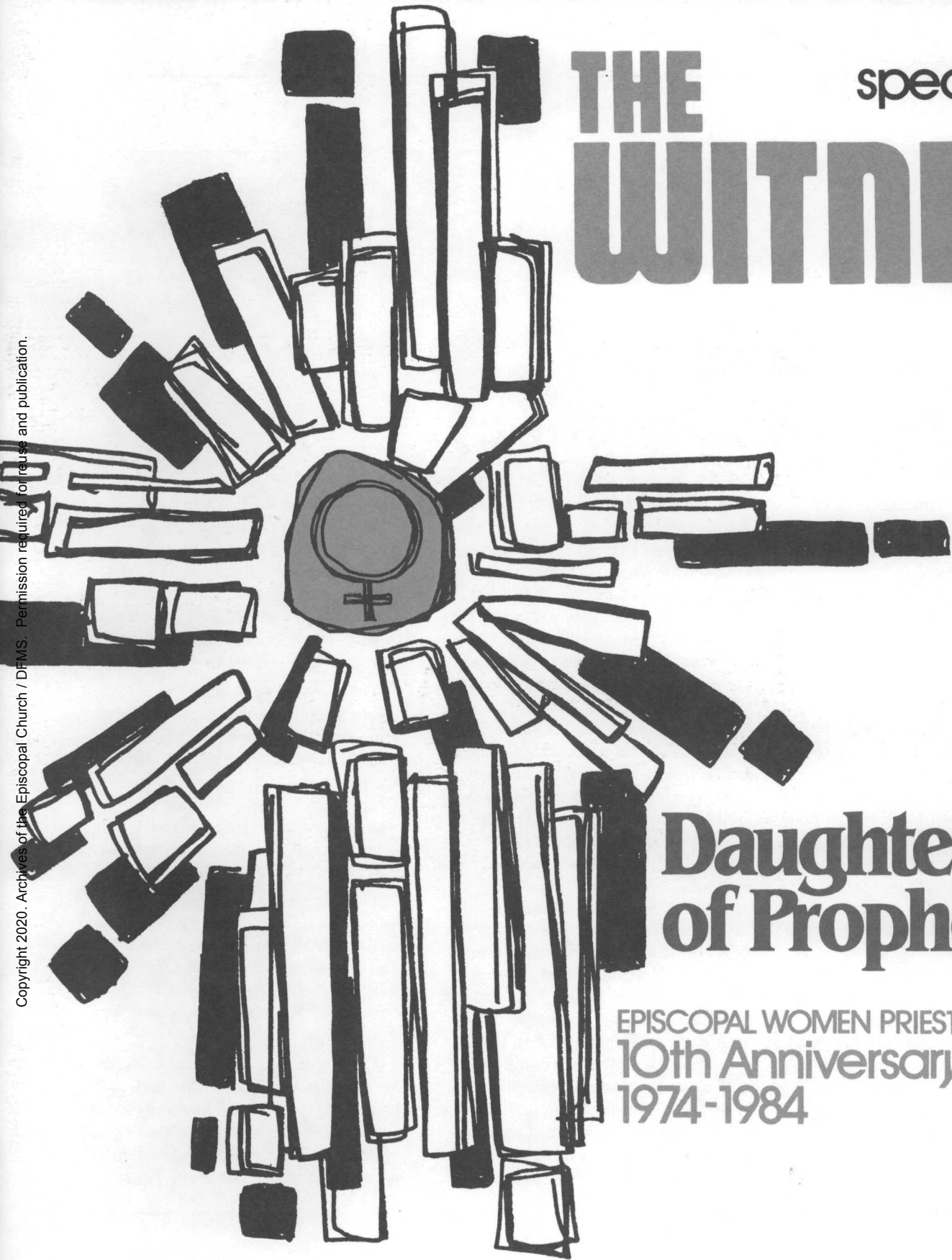
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THE WITNESS

special issue

Daughters of Prophecy

EPISCOPAL WOMEN PRIESTS
10th Anniversary
1974-1984



Daughters of Prophecy

The “irregular” ordination of 11 women in Philadelphia was one of the top news stories of 1974 — a genuine media event.

Pitting themselves against the Episcopal patriarchy, the Philadelphia 11 and their supporters risked reputations and reprisals to claim the right for women to be ordained. Articles by key participants in this issue recall the poignant events which led to that moment of *kairos* and the religious drama acted out at the Church of the Advocate on July 29, 1974.

That these daughters of prophecy are still unrecognized, however, is underscored by the fact that the institutional church is waiting until 1987 to celebrate the 10th anniversary of women priests.

Therefore, THE WITNESS wants to state clearly that *we are celebrating the 10th anniversary of women's ordination in 1984*. Having said that, even as we celebrate, we also puzzle over women's gains and losses during the last decade, and the role of the media during that period.

Consider the historical context of the ordinations:

In the 1970s, women were breaking sex barriers everywhere, but the news media tended to chart their progress with tongue in cheek. Look, a woman policeman, a woman hardhat! Bless their hearts, aren't they something? The media seemed willing to trivialize the women's movement to death, at best, or at worst, ignore or dismiss women as strident, unkempt, or not — well — not very nice. Those women shouted things and insisted on making uncomfortable connections between their own struggle and the struggle of other oppressed people. A number of them made no bones about their distaste for men with chauvinist attitudes.

And 1974 wasn't too far from the disorder of the '60s; 1974 was the year of the Symbionese Liberation Army and the kidnapping of Patty Hearst. Watergate was in its last year, and the debacle of Vietnam had ended only a year earlier. Marginal groups, the disenfranchised, the oppressed were still vocal and those in power feared a resurgency of radical action.

This was the ambience in which the Philadelphia 11 went head-to-head with a powerful religious institution.

The 11 women were White, well-educated, from a religious denomination of solid credentials — easily comprehensible to male media decision makers. And their challenge to the church had a slightly threatening quality: a bell, book and candle aura. These women wanted to *consecrate*.

They wanted to perform the mystical, spiritual duties of the church. Not just fix the flowers or run bake sales. They wanted to consecrate the Eucharist and forgive sins. On a visceral level, people still fear that when you mix women and rituals, you get witchcraft. And they burn witches, don't they?

The mix was irresistible. The press turned out in such force that the ordination became the service heard and seen around the world. One religious journalist commented that only Bobby Kennedy's 1968 campaign generated as much frenzy.

The media blitz made it impossible for the church to ignore what had happened. It forced the hierarchy to confront the issues raised by the ordination. They could not ignore front page stories in the *New York Times*

10 YEARS



and cover stories in *Time* and *Ms.* magazines, even if they would have preferred to study or theologize the women into submission.

It was when the glare of publicity died that the real struggle began. The Episcopal Church ordained the first "official" woman priest in 1977. Now women could be priests . . . if. If the bishop or Standing Committee did not invoke the "conscience clause" which protects those who deny women's priesthood and calls them "none the less members in good standing of this church."

The conscience clause sent a message to women: "You can sit at the counter, but we reserve the right not to serve you." Women are still forced to search for a bishop who will ordain them, a parish that will accept them. This deadening daily battle does not attract the same media attention that the packed churches, the defiant eucharistic celebrations, the ecclesiastical trials once did.

Ten years ago, too, it seemed the issues were clearer. Change seemed possible, if not inevitable. But institutions have long memories and

wait patiently for the backward swing of the pendulum. Who would have believed 10 years ago that the Equal Rights Amendment would fail? That employment gains would be lost in a failing economy where "last hired, first fired" becomes the rule? That those in power could pit women against people of color in competition for scarce jobs? That for every woman who rises to a position of power in a formerly restricted field, many of her sisters sink below the poverty level?

The joy and dignity of July 29 must never be lost. We rejoice in that victory, and in the heaven among us today of some 500 women priests. But the painful efforts to hold the ground gained, to move forward inch by torturous inch, to subsist on crumbs — those stories must be told, too.

Connections between past and present, between struggles of all oppressed groups must be explored. In a time where history threatens to repeat itself finally and fatally, making sure that all the chapters of the story are included is key to survival.

With this special issue dedicated to the Philadelphia 11, *THE WITNESS* renews its commitment to that task. ■

Film of '74 Ordination in Production

A half-hour video film documenting the 1974 ordination of the first women priests in Philadelphia is currently in production, financed by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company.

The film, which will present archival footage of the '74 ordinations and interviews with key participants, will be premiered July 29, according to the Rev. Barbara C. Harris, ECPC Executive Director.

Issues to be covered in the presentation are:

- The function of power and authority in the church
- How to organize around an issue effectively
- The functions of class and economics (including an analysis of the usefulness of sexism and racism in keeping the unorganized powerless)
- What has been accomplished and what is yet to be done.

For further information, write or call *THE WITNESS*, P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002 (215) 643-7067.

**For Extra Copies
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THE WITNESS

will be happy to provide this special 10th anniversary issue about women's priesthood in the Episcopal Church to individuals or groups upon request. For particulars write Ann Hunter, *THE WITNESS*, P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA. 19002 or phone (215) 643-7067.

Chronology of Events Concerning Women in Holy Orders

1862 The Bishop of London orders a deaconess with the laying on of hands.

1885 Deaconesses are ordered in the Episcopal Church.

1889 General Convention directs deaconesses to be "set apart."

1920 Lambeth Conference (of all Anglican bishops) concludes "ordination of a deaconess confers on her holy orders."

1930 Lambeth changes its mind, asserts deaconesses are *not* in holy orders.

1935 A Church of England commission reports it finds no compelling reason for or against ordination of women, but affirms an all-male priesthood for the church of that day.

1944 Bishop R. O. Hall of Hong Kong ordains Li Tim-Oi as priest. In the face of world-wide censure, she ceases to function as a priest for many years.

1964 General Convention changes the canons to read that deaconesses are "ordered" rather than "appointed," and they may marry.

1965 Bishop James Pike formally recognizes Phyllis Edwards as a deacon because of her ordination as deaconess.

1966 U. S. House of Bishop receives report on "The Proper Place of Women in the Ministry of the Church" and asks the next Lambeth to consider the ordination of women to the priesthood.

1968 Lambeth refers the question of ordaining women to the member churches of the Anglican Communion for further study. It endorses the principle that deaconesses are within the diaconate. Hong Kong, Kenya, Korea, Canada ordain women to the diaconate.

1969 Special General Convention votes that women may be licensed as lay readers and be allowed to administer the chalice.

1970 At General Convention in the House of Deputies the lay order passes but the clergy order rejects ordination of women as priests. The bishops do not vote on the

issue. Convention declares deaconesses are within the diaconate and that women should meet the same standards as men for ordination to the diaconate.

1971 The Anglican Consultative Council, an international lay and clergy body meeting between Lambeth, declares it is acceptable for a bishop to ordain a woman with the consent of his national church or province. The Bishop of Hong Kong ordains two women. Episcopal bishops commission another study on the ordination of women as priests. Episcopal women begin to be ordained as deacons.

1972 The House of Bishops votes 74-61 in favor of the principle of women's ordination as priests.

1973 The Anglican Consultative Council reaffirms its 1971 position. The General Convention rejects ordination of women to the priesthood and 56 bishops issue a statement expressing distress at Convention's action.

1974 *February:* Presiding Bishop - Elect John Allin meets with women deacons and seminarians. *March:* Bishops meet to discuss women's ordination but reach no conclusions. *June:* Sermons preached in Cambridge, Philadelphia and Syracuse call for ordination of women to the priesthood. *July 10:* Bishops, priests, deacons, and laypeople meet in Philadelphia to plan an ordination. *July 20:* Plans for an ordination are announced to the church and the press. *July 29:* Service at Philadelphia's Church of the Advocate. Two retired and one resigned bishop ordain 11 women deacons to the priesthood. A diocesan bishop is present but does not ordain. *July 30:* Some of the women priests are inhibited by their bishops from priestly functions, some inhibited as deacons; others agree voluntarily to refrain from priestly ministry. *July 31:* Presiding Bishop John Allin calls a special meeting of the House of Bishops to deal with the questions raised by the ordination. *Aug. 15:* The bishops meet in Chicago, decry the action of the four bishops as a "violation of collegiality" and declare the ordinations did not fulfill the necessary conditions for validity. The 11 women state they cannot accept the bishops' actions. Dr. Charles Willie resigns as vice president of the

House of Deputies in protest. *August:* Many Episcopalians are dismayed at the bishops' actions and petition for a special General Convention. Charges are filed against the Philadelphia bishops. *October:* The House of Bishops reaffirms its 1972 endorsement of the principle of women's ordination, 97-35, but agrees almost unanimously not to act until an affirmative action of the next General Convention. *Oct. 27:* The Rev. Alison Cheek, the Rev. Carter Heyward, the Rev. Jeannette Piccard publicly celebrate an Episcopal Eucharist in New York's Riverside Church. *November:* The Rev. Alison Cheek celebrates at St. Stephen's and the Incarnation in Washington at the invitation of the Rev. William Wendt who is charged and later tried for violations of the canons. *December:* Two women priests celebrate at Christ Church, Oberlin, Ohio at the invitation of the Rev. Peter Beebe who is charged and later tried for canonical violations.

1975 *January:* The Rev. Suzanne Hiatt and the Rev. Carter Heyward, ordained in Philadelphia, are appointed to the faculty of the Episcopal Divinity School in Cambridge, Mass. *April:* Board of Inquiry reviews charges against ordaining bishops — declares the matter is doctrinal and should be handled by the House of Bishops. *July:* The Church of England's Synod approves the principle of women's ordination. *September:* Bishops of the Church of Canada endorse women's ordination. *Sept. 7:* Bishop George Barrett, resigned Bishop of Rochester, ordains four women deacons at the Church of St. Stephen and the Incarnation in Washington, D.C. They are the Rev. Eleanor Lee McGee, the Rev. Alison Palmer, the Rev. Elizabeth Rosenberg, and the Rev. Diane Tickell. *Sept. 19:* The House of Bishops meeting censures the actions of the ordaining bishops in Philadelphia.

1976 *September:* General Convention approves the ordination of women to the priesthood and episcopate, and agrees that the previous ordinations may be regularized, not repeated. *November:* The Church of Canada begins to ordain women priests.

1977 *Jan. 1* marks the date that women may be ordained to the priesthood under the canons of the Episcopal Church.

THE WITNESS

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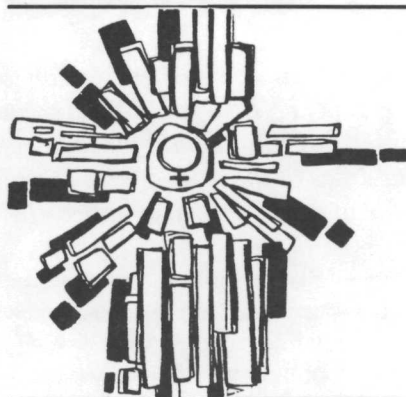
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THE WITNESS

an ecumenical journal
of social concern



Assistants to the editor of *THE WITNESS* for this special 10th anniversary issue were Janette Pierce, managing editor of *The Episcopalian*, and Susan E. Pierce, a free-lance journalist based in Philadelphia. Many thanks!

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Credits Cover, Beth Seka, adapted from a design by Margaret Longdon; graphic p. 3, M. Longdon; photo p. 7, *Philadelphia Inquirer*; inset, Religious News Service; photo p. 9, *Minneapolis Tribune*; photo p. 10, Brad Hess; graphic p. 12, M. Longdon; photo p. 13, Carolyne Anila; photo p. 15, *Philadelphia Inquirer*; photo p. 16, Mary Lou Suhor; map p. 17, Jan Pierce; Advocate graphic p. 19, Neilson LaBohne; photo p. 20, Brad Hess; photo p. 24, J. Martin Natvig; graphic p. 26, M. Longdon. THE WITNESS is grateful to *The Episcopalian* for lending us most of the photos used in this issue.

THE WITNESS is published monthly. Editorial office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002. Phone (215)643-7067. Subscription rates \$12 per year. \$1 per copy. THE WITNESS is indexed in the American Theological Library Association's *Religion Index One: Periodicals*. Copyright 1984 by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Printed in U.S.A. ISSN 0197-8896.

First Women Priests Reflect on Decade

As the 10th anniversary of women's ordination to the priesthood approaches, *THE WITNESS* was able to contact a number of the 11 women ordained in Philadelphia for their reflections on the past decade. Brief updates of those who were out of the country or otherwise unavailable at press time also appear below.

Suzanne Hiatt

Some of my students today don't know history. They are surprised there was any trouble attached to women's ordination. The church, too, is blocking it out. It now seems to take the attitude that it had always encouraged and respected women's vocations and when women expressed a call to ordination they were graciously welcomed. This is reflected in the church's ignoring 1984 as the 10th anniversary of women's ordinations.

The July 29 participants had to be obedient to the *kairos*, the pieces that the Holy Spirit had been lining up for years, which come together in a moment. If you don't seize the *kairos*, it may not come again.

England may have missed its moment for women's ordination. At one time, women were anxious to offer themselves for ordination and some bishops might have been persuaded to go ahead. The mood of the country and world was such that they might have carried it off. But it didn't happen. Now some of the women have gone to other countries to be ordained, like Liz Canham who came here, and some bishops have died or retired. Consequently, ordination in England may be pushed off much longer.

With regard to clergy deployment in the United States, many women are ready for top posts, and had they been men they would have achieved them by now. But women don't move up the career ladder. Moves tend to be lateral. Women and

men have equal luck in finding entry level jobs. It's where women hope to advance that they run into trouble. And few bishops go out of their way to help women.

People ask me if women priests have made any difference in ministerial style. Individual women have, I'm sure, but by and large, women are expected to adapt to the male style, and most successful ones do. This results in an *Animal Farm* scenario where you can't tell the women from the men.

Women are doing other creative ministries such as school, hospital and prison chaplaincies, and work in hospices or in the field of geriatrics, but money for funding of those ministries is tight when there is a recession.

The first year, women priests needed courage. Today they need mutual support. Women priests have no organization of their own, and there is no advocate for them at the national church level or in most dioceses. I've met with women priests in several dioceses to try to build that support network.

(The Rev. Suzanne R. Hiatt is Professor of Pastoral Theology at Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge, Mass.)

Betty Bone Schiess

I see several problems which still exist within the church. As an Episcopalian, I'm burdened daily by the notion that a bishop because of his "conscience" can refuse ordination. The conscience clause is a scurrilous accommodation to the enemy.

Another in-house problem is that women still find it difficult to get appointments as rectors. An Old Boys Club promotes its own to positions of grandeur and men find women either attractive nuisances or real problems in terms of the job market.

People say to me, if only women knew how to use power more effectively, dressed better, were less assertive, they might get ahead. That's what I call the "dressing for success syndrome." The shoe should be put on the other foot. Every priest or bishop with reservations about women needs a course in rehabilitation. They should be given a test, and if they don't pass, they should take the course over. I believe the church either influences and sanctifies human behavior, as we did in the 1974 ordinations, or it blesses a status quo that will do us in as a species.

The condition of women in the world and women in the church is quite parallel. Our slim gains are presently being undermined. But there are two differences. Government officials must run for re-election; church officials do not. And the church claims to be speaking for God, therefore it should be held more accountable. The difference between the church and General Motors is that the church says it believes in equality, justice and love and General Motors says it is out to make money.

(The Rev. Betty Bone Schiess is a feminist activist in the Diocese of Central Pennsylvania.)

Carter Heyward

In 1974 when the Presiding Bishop raised the issue of *order* in the church he was getting at the heart of the matter. The questions of order, power and authority are always challenged, fundamentally by the marginalized when they say, "No more. We want to be involved totally."

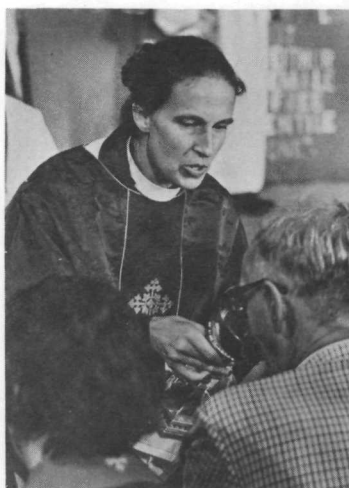
Without the element of defiance, these issues would not have been raised. We might have been ordained later — whenever the church got around to it, but we would have looked a lot like other priests.

To understand order and authority within a justice motif makes for a different understanding, a different kind of *holy order*. One problem with the Pope is that he says he believes in justice for women, but not ordination. This implies a church-world dualism, a division between ecclesiastical authorities and the world.

The church sends a perverse message when it says work for justice should be done decently and in an orderly fashion so the faithful will not be offended. Today the struggle for justice is central to the Christian vocation, no matter how one chooses to live it. The sacraments and evangelization have to be seen in the context of living justice-making lives.

The Philadelphia ordinations had a radical effect on many of us. We began to make connections between the various "isms." Without the Civil Rights movement, we could not have been ordained at the Church of the Advocate. The movers and shakers like Paul Washington, Chuck Willie and Barbara Harris had been on the front lines and saw connections between racism and sexism.

Also, the women's movement over the past 10 years has become more rooted in rich soil, making connections between races, classes, genders, religions, and nations. To write off feminism as a White women's cause is to caricature and trivialize it. Today most feminists — women and men of all colors — know that poor



An Episcopal eucharist was publicly celebrated in October, 1974 at Riverside Church, New York, by (from left) the Rev. Alison Cheek, the Rev. Carter Heyward, and the Rev. Jeannette Piccard. Inset: The Rev. Katrina Swanson distributes communion to her uncle, Sam Welles, at the July ordination service. Her father, the Rt. Rev. Edward R. Welles, was one of the ordaining bishops.

women and women of color are doubly and triply oppressed, and the women's movement is a vital justice struggle.

Two issues are paramount today for the Episcopal Church — class and heterosexism. Class is not dealt with, and is an invisible oppression among us. The tension generated can render us all impotent. Frequently, the anti-feminist rhet-

oric I have heard comes from those with no class analysis.

As for heterosexism, even when people think they have dealt with the women's issue, they still operate on the assumption that our families should be ordered heterosexually. Whether it is the church or nuclear family, the man should be on top. To say women don't have to have a

man to feel whole, creative or productive is heresy to many, which gets us back to order.

(The Rev. Carter Heyward is Professor of Theology at Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge, Mass.)

Alla Bozarth-Campbell

I have a much clearer historical sense than I had 10 years ago. I see now that we're only a small part of a large process. We are one of the many generations whose gifts will transform the church and the face of the earth.

What I've learned from my work in the church and in the peace movement is that it isn't just one of us becoming a martyr that causes change; it's all of us doing our best together. The moment of the solitary hero has given way to the call of the many to share in the collective transformation of the church and the world.

I'm worried because the question of 10 years ago, "Are we doing the right thing, or are we just opening up the male priesthood to create female patriarchs?" has not yet been fully answered. It's very lonely for women priests with no female role models. We have to create our own role models.

I also worry about the women who are alone in no-woman's land, isolated, misunderstood by the men they work with, and in danger of being co-opted. I pray that these women don't lose their sanity or their identity.

Today sexism and racism are more subtle than 10 years ago. More women and minorities may be in external positions of power, but attitudes have not changed. Prejudice will exist in our culture until we get used to the idea of women and minorities in power as normative.

Why am I still in the church? The church belongs to me, too. I'm proud of that ownership. To be forced out would be inconceivable — like being forced out of my home. If there are bullies in the family, is everyone going to leave the

house, or wait until they leave? Or are they going to stick around to try to heal them?

Struggle needs to be renewed. It's not linear, but a spiral. Any generation that forgets that is in danger of regression. To borrow a phrase, "We just got out of Egypt, but we're not yet in the promised land."

(The Rev. Alla Bozarth-Campbell is Director of Wisdom House, an ecumenical center for women in Minneapolis, Minn.)

Nancy Hatch Wittig

Women are not taken seriously in terms of jobs, ministry, or even presence. A lot of change happens one to one, but if you don't even allow that one to come in front of you, to be present with you, you negate the possibility for change.

I am rector in a marvelous corner of God's kingdom. But for those of us who have been blessed and graced, there is also the awareness of those not here; of those struggling elsewhere in the church and outside the church. I carry a gnawing sense of that with me.

We need to change the hearts, minds, and souls of people. In many ways, that's the story of salvation. But there can be pockets of salvation along the way, something similar to celebrating Easter every Sunday.

Many men and women don't want to deal with discrimination against women. They think the problem is taking care of itself. I agree with the politician who said, "I'd rather deal with an Alabama redneck than with a *New York Times* liberal."

I want to reiterate the possibility of health and wholeness by staying at the altar. The challenge before me and my parish is to work together for wholeness and healing.

(The Very Rev. Nancy Hatch Wittig is Rector of St. John the Divine Church, Hasbrouck Heights, N.J., and Canon of Trinity Cathedral, Newark.)

Merrill Bittner

I came out of the woods, literally, to answer the phone call from THE WITNESS. I am in the process of clearing and developing 50 acres, with another woman, and it is my dream that one day women might come to use it as a retreat, to rest and renew themselves.

I've changed over the past decade. It has taken a long time to heal from the wounds and disillusionment, but the struggle remains much the same.

The issue of women being accepted in ordained ministry is still critical, and I only hope those women coming in now realize that the battle still must be fought. The retreat we're preparing for some who might be victims of that and other struggles is on a mountainside, across from a river in Newry, Maine. But the dream has begun. We're just putting up the first log cabin.

(The Rev. Merrill Bittner is presently doing supply and interim ministries in Maine.)

Marie Moorefield Fleischer

I see the questions raised about the church today as significant, but I have been out of touch with the structures of the church and others may be more articulate spokespersons. I was ordained in '74 because of the relationship I saw between ordination and my ministry at the time as a hospital chaplain. I didn't take on ordination from a feminist viewpoint, although some of the others saw this connection. The 1974 ordinands all came from different perspectives. In 1979 I went to work in Washington, D.C. in the field of Education and Management Consultancy and I married. I am a very private person. I now live on a farm in Keedysville, Md., which has a population of 456. We moved in two months ago and are now fencing, rehabilitating the place to undertake a cow-calf operation. The area is quite rural, the nearest neighbor a half mile away.

Three More Updates

Three of the Philadelphia 11 were away and unable to be reached as *THE WITNESS* went to press. Two — the Rev. Katrina Swanson and the Rev. Alison Cheek — were out of the country. Swanson, on vacation in Puerto Rico, is currently rector of St. John's Church, Union City, and canonically resident in the Diocese of Newark. Cheek has been

serving this past term as a consultant on women in a seminary in New Zealand. She will return to the U.S. soon. Also out of town and unable to be contacted was the Rev. Emily Hewitt, who is an attorney practicing with a Boston law firm. She is canonically resident in the Diocese of New York. ■



And Jeannette Piccard: In Memoriam

The Rev. Jeannette Piccard, who at age 79 was ordained with the Philadelphia 11, died of cancer in Minneapolis May 17, 1981. A noted scientist, stratosphere balloonist and space consultant, she was 86 years old. What follows are excerpts from articles which appeared in *THE WITNESS*, July 1981, written by the Rt. Rev. Daniel Corrigan, one of the ordaining bishops in 1974, and the Rev. Chester Talton, former pastor of St. Philip's Church, St. Paul, where Piccard served as assistant.

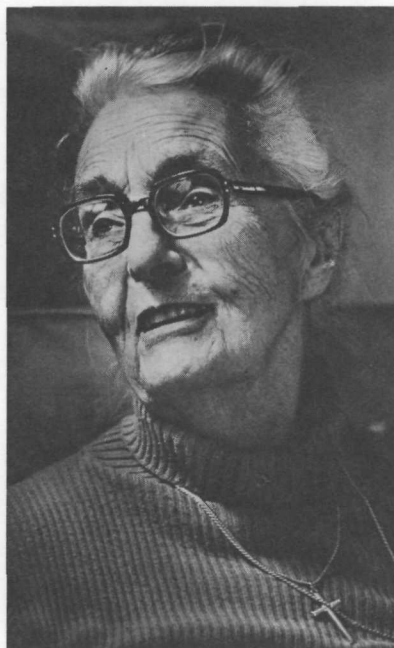
As she approached dying, Jeannette moved quickly into mature and faithful acceptance. Our conversation on the evening before her surgery was little concerned with the operation but filled with projects: Ideas to get out and onto paper, maybe publish; places to visit, etc. When we talked two days after her surgery which revealed inoperable cancer, she had already surrendered those projects and characteristically moved on to the business at hand — Holy Dying . . .

And then Jim Diamond again with a new hospital phone number. Jeannette's voice was tired but clear when I asked, "Would you like it better for me to come now to be with you or for me to come dance at your wedding?"

"Call in a couple of days and I'll tell you," she said.

So next call — "Right away, come dance — and the Bishop and the Dean and Fr. Diamond have all come this afternoon and made me a Canon of the Cathedral."

I couldn't resist. "Another first, Jeannette!



Jeannette Piccard: 1895-1981

I never heard of anyone being canonized until long after their wedding!" And she laughed. "Vale!"

We did feel sad during and after the intimate family requiem at St. Philip's, St. Paul Wednesday morning. The people there were doubly bereaved that evening in the Cathedral. The Good Shepherd in Jeannette had arranged all things however — the order of service, the cast and even the evening hour so that men and women, both clergy and lay, could come from anywhere; that her beloved Phillipians might not only swell the throng but serve and lead as ushers, crucifers — and

oblation bearers. Oblation bearers — Holy offerings rich and rare.

And the Good Shepherd knew I might need a lift. Her magnificent balloon stole was there for me to wear — so I could be up and away — maybe with the young Magee, "Touch the Face of God." The wind bloweth where it listeth and tends toward the Source.

—Daniel Corrigan

Blacks Understood

Jeannette Piccard was a balloonist, an adventurer, a mother, a courageous fighter, a priest and pastor. The role she preferred was that of pastor, and it was that role she fulfilled at St. Philip's Church.

Jeannette loved to celebrate the Eucharist at St. Philip's. She wanted her last service to be very much a joyous occasion, like a party. She didn't want her people to be sad, to feel so much a sense of loss as to celebrate a life which she had tried to live well and for a long time.

Historically, Jeannette had been a member of St. Philip's for 10 years. The Rev. Denzil Carty was originally responsible for welcoming her into the parish, and he also presented her for ordination in Philadelphia. For the past five years, she was a regular part of the ministry at St. Philip's.

To me, it is significant that a parish like St. Philip's, predominantly Black, could particularly understand some of Jeannette's suffering at not being able to exercise herself fully in what she was called to do. Blacks familiar with that feeling could reach out to her in a way others could not.

—Chester Talton



"I was tempted to stride forth like Joshua and lead that courageous band 'seven times around the walls.' "

Pentecost Revisited

Ten years is a long and hazy time over which to look back on any single event, even one in which you were intimately involved, and recall it in sharp focus. Yet July 29, 1974, remains very much with me in vivid clarity, including the heat — the sticky, stifling oppressive heat.

The heat was as oppressive as the sticky voting procedure and the stifling tradition 11 women deacons and their supporters sought to overcome that day. Of no small significance is the fact that one of the few places in which that historic event could take place was in the bosom of an oppressed community — in a church that frequently had opened its heart and its doors to the rejected, the marginalized and those seeking to exercise their non-institutionalized power *to be*.

The church phones rang incessantly from early that morning as people, pro and con, called to verify that the service was indeed to take place. One woman, whose trembling voice bordered on hysteria, asked the by then familiar question: "Is there going to be ordination of women as priests there this morning?" My response was a simple, quiet, but firm, "Yes."

"You people" (a phrase repugnant to Blacks) "are going to split this church," she screamed. I closed the conversation by saying: "Madam, this church is split already. That is why we are having this service."

Most of what I felt that day was the rightness of what was taking place. This feeling of rightness, of "oughtness," was reinforced by several things. Primarily there was the great sense of "the church gathered" as nearly 2,000 people streamed into and filled the cavernous Church of the Advocate in one of Philadelphia's most depressed neighborhoods. They came from far and near, from home and abroad, and there seemed to be a soul-touching oneness as people wedged themselves even closer together to make room for yet another and another kindred spirit.

We seemed to be standing on the edge of a new Pentecost and I silently hummed an anthem frequently sung by the Advocate's choir, "Truly the Lord Is in This Place."

By contrast, detractors of the occasion were so few in number and so consumed by hostility that they proved to be a pathetic presence, at best. Their pre-service huddle in the Parish Hall had all the verve of a two-hand touch football squad about to go up against a Superbowl team.

By agreement, and for the safety of the ordinands, their presenters and other participants in the service, the procession was to make its way to the chancel by the shortest possible route. As crucifer, for one fleeting, emotionally charged moment, I was tempted to throw caution to the winds, stride forth like Joshua and lead that courageous band

by Barbara C. Harris

"seven times around the walls." But remembering that the church, like any other place, has its share of crazies, my better judgment prevailed and I accepted the discipline. But, my God, it would have been like walking about in Zion.

Faces from that day remain indelibly etched upon my memory. Tears streaming down the cheeks of Jeannette Piccard's son . . . pride shining in the eyes of Bishop Edward Welles, father of Katrina Swanson . . . the madonna-like quality of Alison Cheek's countenance . . . the rugged jaw "cool" of my rector, Paul Washington and the ever watchful, ever alert visage of our Cassandra, Sue Hiatt, expecting the worst. Another hymn came to mind, "I sing a song of the saints of God, patient and brave and true." A line that closes another stanza reads: "and there's not any reason, no not the least, why I shouldn't be one too." Perhaps the stirrings in my heart that day marked the unrecognized beginning of my own response to call and my journey to ordination.

Trapped in the midst of the ordaining throng in the chancel (I was holding the only portable microphone) I experienced another Pentecost-like sensation. I was convinced I heard "the rush of a mighty wind" as a myriad of hands stretched forth to the first bowed and waiting head (Jeannette's).

More than the words from the 1928 Book of Common Prayer used that morning is my recollection of two statements. One was Paul Washington's moving pre-

face to the service, drawing an analogy to the untimely onset of a mother's last stages of labor pains and the attendant inconveniences as well as problems. The other, by a last-seen-heading-for-Rome suburban rector, warned: These women cannot be priests, "they can only offer up the sight, sound and smell of perversion." Wonder what he might have said to our Lord about the women of his company.

Ten years is a long and hazy time over which to look at what has ensued since that fateful July day.

Some of what has happened has been obvious: the ordination of more than 500 women to the priesthood; increasing female seminary enrollments; some instances of satisfactory deployment of ordained women and certainly a lessening of the overt hostility experienced by the Philadelphia 11 and their immediate successors.

The hastily convened Chicago meeting of the House of Bishops a month following the ordinations, the presentments and the trials of the Revs. William Wendt and Peter Beebe, except for their ecclesiastical overtones, might well have been scripted right out of *Alice in Wonderland*. Even more bizarre was the need for some members of the House of Bishops to keep reminding themselves and the church that they really had censured the ordaining bishops by pressing to censure them yet again.

In an age where productivity ranks as a precious "commodity," the church would scarcely have gotten high marks for all the time and energy it expended in these areas. But, then, how typical of this church and the society it reflects to get its adrenalin flowing over non-issues like irregularity versus validity, while real issues go unaddressed — justice, power, authority, shared mission and ministry and wholeness in the Body of Christ. Can't recall who said it, but someone is credited with declaring: "The issue is *order*, not *Orders*." Shades of Orwell.

For many the issue of women's ordination is well settled. Female priests are a fact of life and the bitterness of 1974 and the months immediately thereafter seems to have been swept neatly under the rug. But there is a lump in the Episcopal carpet.

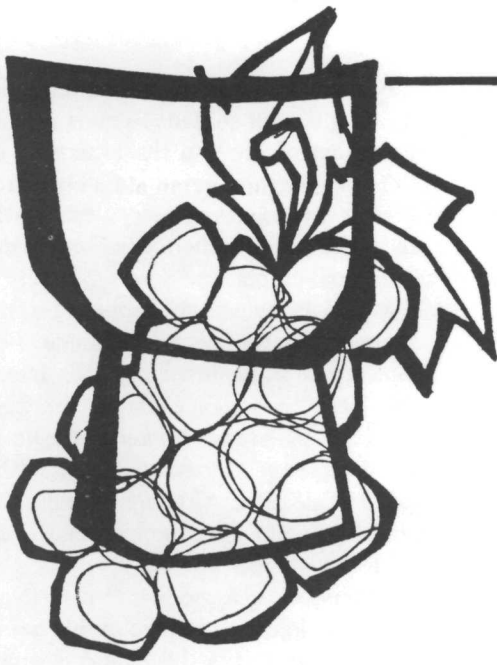
Much of what has not happened is less obvious, but no less troublesome. For some it is the quiet invoking of the damnable 1977 "conscience clause" that permits bishops to reject women on the basis of gender alone or to restrict them to the office of deacon. Although priests, the Philadelphia 11 were similarly restricted by their bishops.

Others of us, as pointed out by Nan Arrington Peete elsewhere in this issue, are keenly aware that the number of women ordained since 1977 far exceeds the total number of Black clergy in the church. As a result, the so-called "glut" of White clergy and the under-supply of Black and other minority priests make the issue of deployment both sensitive and a source of tension. Black women priests, meanwhile, live with the double jeopardy of racism and sexism.

In a speculative look ahead, with a perspective informed by history, one suspects that the eventual and inevitable election of women to the Episcopate (and perhaps their "irregular" ordinations) will have its adverse effect on more Blacks getting to occupy seats in the House of Bishops. Ten years is indeed a long time and the more things change, the more they seem to stay the same. ■

The Rev. Barbara C. Harris became Executive Director of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company on Jan. 1, 1984.





Oh, No, Not Again!

Those Washington Ordinations

Would the 1976 General Convention have approved women's ordination if four more women had not been ordained in Washington, D.C., 14 months after the Philadelphia event?

Possibly not.

The Rt. Rev. George Barrett, resigned Bishop of Rochester, ordained the four at the Church of St. Stephen and the Incarnation in September, 1975, thereby setting off further ecclesiastical handwringing.

The Philadelphia ordinands see no distinction between the two events. The Washington women were "part of the same prophetic moment," according to the Rev. Suzanne Hiatt, ordained in Philadelphia.

One of the Washington ordinands, the Rev. Alison Palmer, strongly believes the Washington ordinations helped assure the 1976 vote: "Had there been no further ordinations, Philadelphia might have been viewed as an aberration. But the bishops saw that if this could happen in Washington, ordinarily a rather conservative diocese, it could happen through-

out the church."

The Rev. Betty Rosenberg, also of the Washington 4, concurs. "When the church faced *two* ordinations and *15* women priests, it began to look like a mass movement." Rosenberg is canonically resident in Washington and is still active with St. Stephen's while she is building her counseling practice. She would like to teach in the area of women and religion, and feels that her ordination and the way it was done was a significant step in her own spiritual journey. "My concept of the deity changed, from my childhood understanding of a male deity to a deity with female traits. I have done a lot of research around the goddess image in ancient religion, which has enriched me."

Palmer has found her share of discrimination in Wellsfleet, Mass., where she moved following her retirement as a foreign service officer with the State Department. Several years ago she was recognized at a service during the kiss of peace by one of the communicants. "The rector

called me, subsequently, to help distribute Communion on Easter Sunday. But the day before the service he telephoned to say he didn't think the congregation was ready for this. I had to protest vigorously before he came around. I'm currently conducting the early summer service at the Chapel of St. James the Fisherman, founded by Bishop James Pike at Wellsfleet, and I have become a hospice volunteer on the lower Cape."

Palmer also remembers an ad in her diocese's newspaper offering clergy pulpit exchanges in England. "I protested that this was equivalent to inviting white clergy to join a club which excludes Black clergy, since women can't be ordained in England," she said.

The Rev. Lee McGee sees another kind of exclusion in the Episcopal Church since her ordination in Washington. "Although women are not being prohibited from the priesthood today, if one looks for an institutional church with a vision of ministry which includes not only male

and female but expects a great diversity with regard to minorities and economic status, we have a long way to go," she said.

Should the church ask her today, "What more do you want?," McGee would respond, "more women rectors, more women deputies to General Convention, and female leadership in vestries. I would also like to see women bishops in my lifetime. The door to ordination is open, but is there a sense of urgency to broaden the base of the priesthood and of the leadership of the church?" she wonders. On the other hand, her best memory of the early struggle was "participating with a community of people wrestling with great tensions and questions of right and wrong."

McGee currently teaches homiletics at Yale Divinity School.

The fourth woman ordained in Washington, the Rev. Diane Tickell, has been serving for the past five years as parish priest at St. George's church in a small fishing community in Cordova, Alaska.

"They probably wouldn't have chosen a woman, but it was myself or nobody," she laughs. "Formerly a priest filled in once a month from Anchorage. There's not much salary, but I have a small income and can support myself."

Her church celebrated its 75th anniversary last summer. Its most notable feature, perhaps, is the building called The Red Dragon, where Tickell now lives. "It was formerly a recreation hall set up by the founder who realized that

the men working on the railroad here in that era didn't need a church so much as a place to meet, play pool, and read," she said. "Every Sunday an altar was lowered from the rafters for services."

Tickell participates in a reciprocal ministry with the Lutheran pastor from Valdez once a month. "Valdez is the terminus of the Alaskan pipeline and about 60 air miles from Cordova. I go by ferry or by plane — there are no roads." The area is conservative in nature, "but we have an Amnesty International group and a peace group which meet in Cordova," she said.

"There are five women priests in our diocese, and our bishop is very supportive, which makes a great difference," she added. ■



The Rt. Rev. George Barrett is pictured with the four women he ordained in Washington, D.C. in September, 1975. From left, they are Eleanor Lee McGee, Alison Palmer, Diane Tickell, and Betty Rosenberg.



Clergy join Bishop Edward Welles in the laying on of hands for one of the ordinands.

Why the (Other) Bishops Balked

by Robert L. DeWitt

Enroute to a House of Bishops interim meeting in the early '70s, veteran religion writer George Cornell approached me: He was confused by the Episcopal Church, he said. He queried, if the House of Bishops had twice voted in favor of ordination of women, why did the bishops not proceed to ordain them?

I passed the question off lightly, saying he was not sufficiently aware of the many facets of Episcopal polity. But his question nagged. As a bishop I was well-positioned to ponder it.

That four Episcopal bishops found answers that led them to the Church of the Advocate on July 29 is a matter of public record. For the youngest bishop and only diocesan present, 36-year-old

Bishop Antonio Ramos of Costa Rica, it had become a question of conscience: Which was more important, the maintenance of law and order or the bestowal of orders enabling the full ministry of the church? Order or orders? He saw strong parallels to the Civil Rights movement where people challenged unjust laws for the sake of equality. We decided collegially that Tony Ramos, although present at the altar, should not ordain, considering that his youth and status made him vulnerable to the heaviest reprisals.

The three bishops who did ordain (myself, Bishop Daniel Corrigan and Bishop Edward Welles) no longer had diocesan responsibilities. Unquestionably, it would have been easier for, and on, the church if

the bishops of the women deacons had themselves done the ordaining. Eight diocesan bishops ordaining their own deacons to the priesthood would have been impossible for the church to repudiate. But the church — dare I say the Lord — makes use of whatever human instruments are available and willing.

In an open letter to the church about our actions we explained that we saw our part in the ordination as “an act of obedience to the Spirit...An act of solidarity with those in whatever institution, in whatever part of the world, of whatever stratum of society, who in their search for freedom, for liberation, for dignity, are moved by that same Spirit to struggle against sin, to proclaim that victory, to

attempt to walk in the newness of life.”

Long before July 29 I had come to know Suzanne Hiatt who, like me, worked in the Diocese of Pennsylvania. She had become the unofficial pastor, community organizer, and *agent provocateur* for the women interested in seeking ordination to the priesthood. I came to appreciate not only her friendship and her intellect, but her sharp focus of concern on the role of women in the church. We had innumerable conversations on the why, the whether, the how, and the when of women's ordination to the priesthood of the Episcopal Church.

Through knowing Sue Hiatt, I also came to know many of the other women aspirants who were bitterly frustrated at their ambiguous “ladies-in-waiting” status. I was familiar with the theological and ecclesiastical objections to women's ordination, though I doubt the objectors had studied the question any more than I, who had read everything I could find on both sides of the controversy.

But I came to feel the theological question had been settled in the mind of the church. Test votes in the House of Bishops indicated a clear majority in favor of ordination. A numerical majority of members of the House of Deputies

were in favor although technicalities of counting votes frustrated the evident will of the 1973 Convention. I began to see the issue as a pastoral one. Bishop Corrigan observed it could well be human arrogance to say ordination of women was the will of God, but it was clearly, for him, an appropriate response to the claims of justice. A pastoral matter.

Over the years, thanks to Sue Hiatt, I had moved from not being really aware of the problem to becoming nearly as frustrated as the women. With an increasing tempo, I was in conversation with bishops both singly and in small groups, focusing on the possibility of an “irregular” but valid ordination which would force the hand of a not unwilling but enormously turgid ecclesiastical structure. I met with little success.

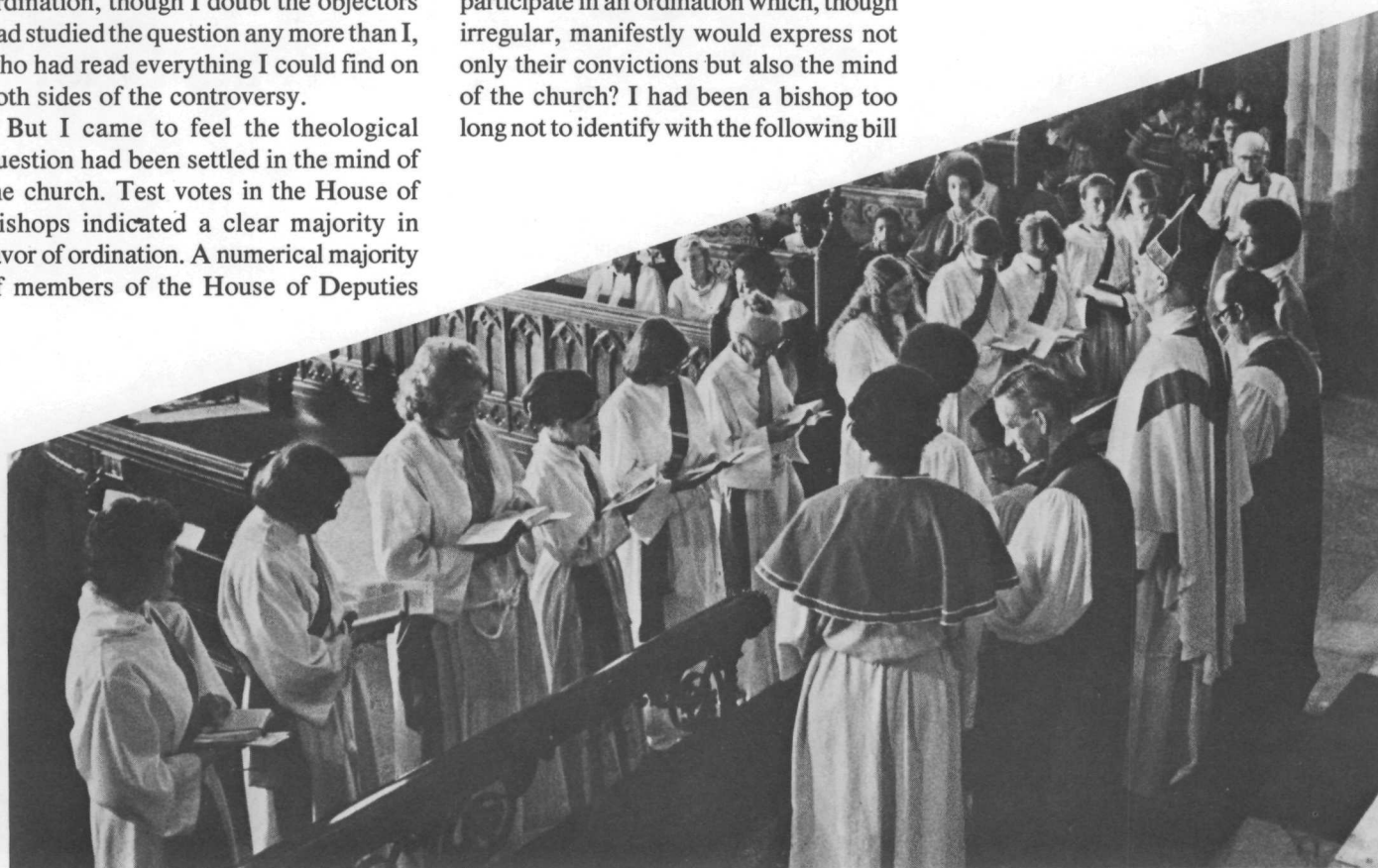
Why were these bishops not willing to participate in an ordination which, though irregular, manifestly would express not only their convictions but also the mind of the church? I had been a bishop too long not to identify with the following bill

of particulars which provides at least a partial answer to Mr. Cornell's question. It illustrates the ambiguity of most of our moral choices. Each point has theoretical validity, but each can be self-serving for a bishop avoiding a hard ethical decision.

- Bishops see themselves as Defenders of the Faith, not as agents of irregularity. It could be not only unseemly but a scandal for a bishop to come against the very ecclesiastical processes of which he is the custodian and for which he bears responsibility.

- Pragmatically, it is imprudent leadership for a bishop to get “too far ahead of the troops.” Clergy and laypersons might be offended, and with who knows what disarray in diocesan life?

- For some bishops, ecclesiastical



Ordinands stand before Bishops as service begins. From left, Alison Cheek, Suzanne Hiatt, Marie Moorefield, Alla Bozarth-Campbell, Betty Bone Schiess, Jeannette Piccard, Merrill Bittner, Emily Hewitt, Carter Heyward, Katrina Swanson, Nancy Hatch Wittig. Bishops pictured, from left, are Robert L. DeWitt, Edward Welles and Antonio Ramos.

preferment is a factor; the church would be electing another presiding bishop. No bishop perceived as a zealot would be considered. The via media is assumed to be the pathway to ecclesiastical glory.

- Peer pressure is not the exclusive property of adolescents. Ask any executive in a large bureaucracy, secular or sacred. Bureaucracies mold their members in their own images, and a pretense of divinity is the idolatry lurking in any bureaucracy. Organizational values are internalized by members who come to believe genuinely — or believe they believe — that accepted procedures partake of the divine. Obviously this is an insidious posture for a religious institution which claims *ecclesia semper reformanda est*, the church should always be in the process of being reformed.

- Bishops, like all administrators, can have hard times with their organizations. When there are discontented clergy, budget deficits or whatever problems at home, a bishop doesn't go out of his way to create more trouble.

- Finally, bishops are people, too. When a man has served his best and retirement approaches, how careless dare he be about jeopardizing a full pension by risking deposition?

But the women were right: Without a fait accompli, the church would debate the theory and the proper procedure endlessly. An accomplished fact would have to be dealt with.

So it was that the ordinations of July 29, 1974 were done as, and by whom, they were done. I look back to the event with joy and satisfaction; but also with the recognition that I, too, was a reluctant dragon for a long time prior. Change for the better in human-affairs comes about, almost always, through the initiative of those who are oppressed — with the accessory help of an oppressor here and there whom they have helped to see, even through a glass darkly, the light of a better day. ■



To my infinite joy, an increasingly large proportion of people in the church accept women priests, and in the House of Bishops, fewer and fewer of my brother bishops treat me as a leper. For example, 10 years ago, the Bishop of Maine put me under inhibition within weeks of the Philadelphia ordination, so that I was not even able to baptize a grandchild in the Episcopal Church. I had to do it in a Roman Catholic church. Now he has rescinded the inhibition and I have been serving as assistant bishop in Maine until the coadjutor arrives.

"As to what remains to be accomplished, I'm really disappointed that there are no women bishops, and I guess that's all I need to say."

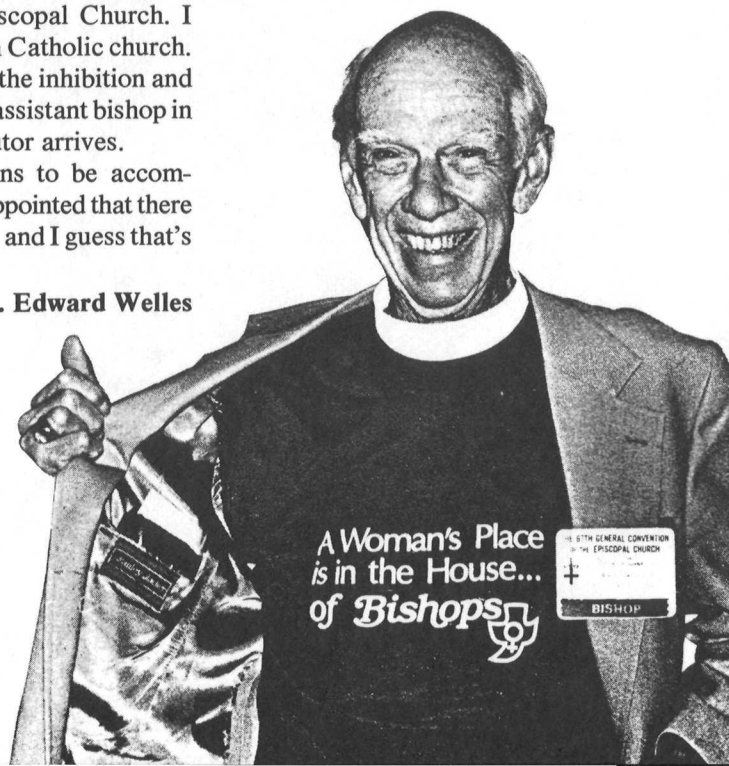
—The Rt. Rev. Edward Welles

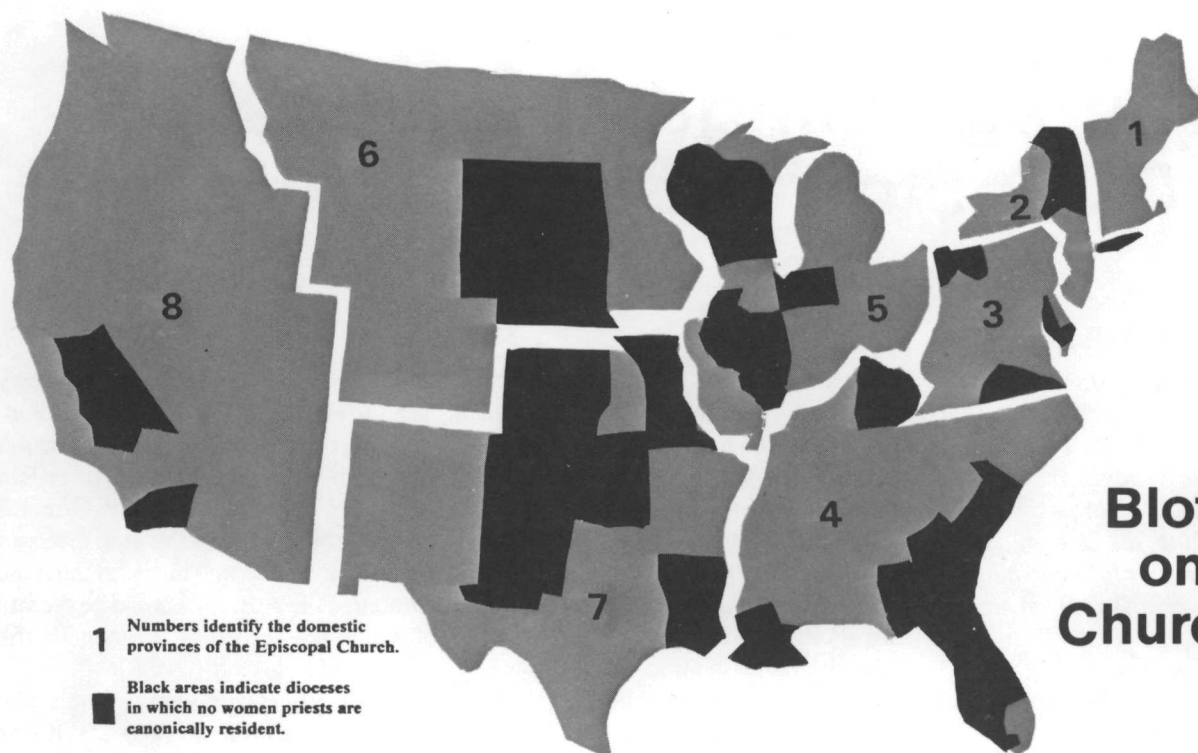
Women have brought a new dimension into the priesthood. Several phrases come in a stream of consciousness to describe it: The show must go on . . . I remember Mama . . . The mail must go through. Women don't crumple nearly as fast as men. They have an inner stability which carries them on. At a reception recently someone told me, "God bless you, sir," and I found myself saying for the first time, "She always has."

I have seen some fundamental mind changes. Ten years ago my parish rector asked me, "What the hell do you mean by ordaining those women?" Today his daughter is a priest, and he is extremely proud. Now we need to see women advanced to greater decision-making positions.

—The Rt. Rev. Daniel Corrigan

10 Years Later . . .





Blotches on the Church Map

PROVINCE 1

The 70 women priests are canonically resident in all seven dioceses.

PROVINCE 2

The 87 women priests are canonically resident in six dioceses. The dioceses of Long Island and Albany have no women priests.

PROVINCE 3

The 92 women priests are canonically resident in 10 dioceses. The dioceses of Northwestern Pennsylvania, Easton, and Southern Virginia have no women priests.

PROVINCE 4

The 25 women priests are canonically resident in 11 dioceses. The dioceses of Lexington, Georgia, Florida, Central Florida, Southwest Florida, and Louisiana have no women priests.

PROVINCE 5

The 75 women priests are canonically resident in eight dioceses. The dioceses of Northern Indiana, Springfield, Quincy, Milwaukee, Eau Claire, and Fond du Lac have no women priests.

PROVINCE 6

The 28 women priests are canonically resident in nine dioceses. The dioceses of Nebraska and South Dakota have no women priests.

PROVINCE 7

The 22 women priests are canonically resident in nine dioceses. The dioceses of West Missouri, Northwest Texas, Oklahoma, Western Kansas, and Western Louisiana have no women priests.

PROVINCE 8

The 67 women priests are canonically resident in 14 dioceses including Hawaii and Alaska (not shown). The dioceses of San Joaquin and San Diego have no women priests.

Province 9 includes the autonomous Diocese of Puerto Rico which has a canonically resident woman priest. Another is canonically resident in the Convocation of American Churches in Europe. Six other women are in jurisdictions other than those listed.

(Information and statistical data used in this presentation were compiled by Suzanne Hiatt and Sandra Boyd at the Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge, Mass., and are used by permission. Figures are accurate as of May 1, 1984.)

Courage Longtime Hallmark Of Rector, Ordination Site

by Susan Pierce

"What is a mother to do when the doctor says a baby is due on August 10, when on July 29 she has reached the last stages of labor pains? . . . It would not be an occasion for suing the doctor, for getting a divorce, or for punishing the child because it arrived too soon . . ."

It was with the above comparison to childbirth that the Rev. Paul Washington welcomed a standing-room-only congregation gathered at the Church of the Advocate to witness the first ordination of 11 women as Episcopal priests.

Ten years later, sitting in his office, Washington smiles as he recalls that his remarks were followed by the strains of the opening hymn, "Come Labor On," (he was unaware of the choice) and the congregation roared with laughter as the procession entered the church.

The ordination, which attracted worldwide attention and made the inner-city parish that day "the center of the Christian world," according to a reporter, was only one more battle in Washington's long campaign for justice and equality.

For all the tumult and notoriety he has experienced, Washington appears surprisingly serene. He sits in his office, a place so small it can be spanned with outstretched arms, and in his gentle, soft-spoken way, shares his reminiscences.

Since he first arrived at the Advocate in 1962 he has not been afraid to tackle

controversial causes. "By the time of the ordinations," he says, "Advocate had already hosted a number of Black activist events — Black power meetings, Panther rallies, a meeting with Stokely Carmichael. Simply to have a Black event in an Episcopal church in the 1960s — when many people didn't even use the word *Black* — was controversial."

The risk factor in these endeavors was exacerbated by the fact that the Church of the Advocate depends on the Diocese of Pennsylvania for financial support. Washington's activism has often angered the conservatives in the diocese, who have attempted to have the bishop cut off funding.

Washington's work in Philadelphia brought him into contact with Suzanne Hiatt, who had come to the city as a social worker organizing around welfare rights. He and Hiatt attended weekly meetings called by then Bishop Robert L. DeWitt to examine the relationship between church workers in the diocese and social issues of the day. Hiatt had joined the Church of the Advocate as a parish engaged in those issues, and because she knew Washington would support her vocation to the priesthood. Washington shared her disappointment at the failure of the 1973 General Convention to approve the ordination of women. He was a member of the Pennsylvania deputation at that convention.

The growing discontent among women like Hiatt, who had already been ordained deacon, found a focus for action in the challenge given in a June 1974 ordination sermon by Dean Edward

Harris of the Philadelphia Divinity School. His sermon at diaconal ordinations in the Diocese of Pennsylvania called on Episcopal bishops to ordain women without waiting for General Convention to act. Washington received a call soon after from Harris asking if the Church of the Advocate could be the site of a service to ordain women to the priesthood.

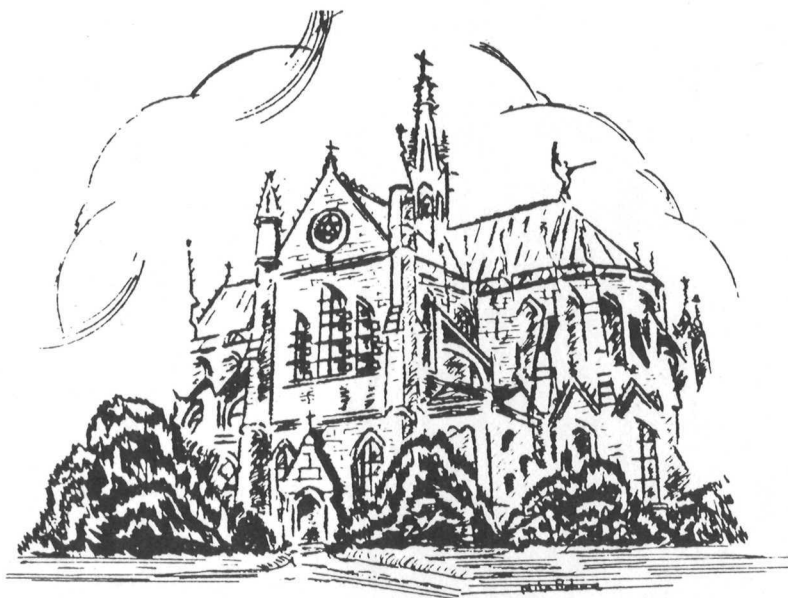
Harris' request presented Washington with "a choice between two risks. It was the risk of what would happen to me as an appointee of the bishop if he was displeased versus the risk to my conscience and my duty to God if I refused. I chose to fear God more than anyone else."

As plans for the ordination service went forward, it became clear that the women who would be ordained were all White and middle-class. However, it made no difference to Washington: "The race of the women was only incidental, and God wouldn't discriminate because of sexual distinction. The women were called as well as anyone to do God's work."

When Advocate was agreed upon as the site, Washington had to break the news to his parishoners. "I told the congregation on a Sunday morning and said I hoped they would back me because I had agreed to it. There wasn't a dissenting voice." He was facing a potentially greater risk to his church and his career than hosting the Black Panthers. The Bishop of Pennsylvania, Lyman Ogilby, had succeeded Bishop DeWitt just six months before. DeWitt would participate in the ordinations and Ogilby would

Susan Pierce is a free-lance journalist based in Philadelphia.

Church
of the
Advocate



oppose them. Washington did not know what Ogilby's reaction might be.

Washington says he was not fearful before or during the ordinations. His anxiety was only triggered after the event by a phone call from Ogilby's secretary: "The bishop wants to talk to you."

"Between that call and getting through to the bishop, all my fears descended on me. Bishop Ogilby was against it, the Presiding Bishop was against it. I thought the bishop would say to me, 'You defied me, this is it.'"

When he finally reached the bishop, Ogilby told him he had violated the canons of the church. Washington recalls saying, "I'm not aware of violating any part of the constitution of the church." Ogilby's response was, "I'm going to have to admonish you."

"After I hung up I thought, 'Phew — admonishment amounts to a letter.' There was no loss of funds, no punitive action," Washington says. But no matter what the consequences might have been, Washington knew the action was just and right.

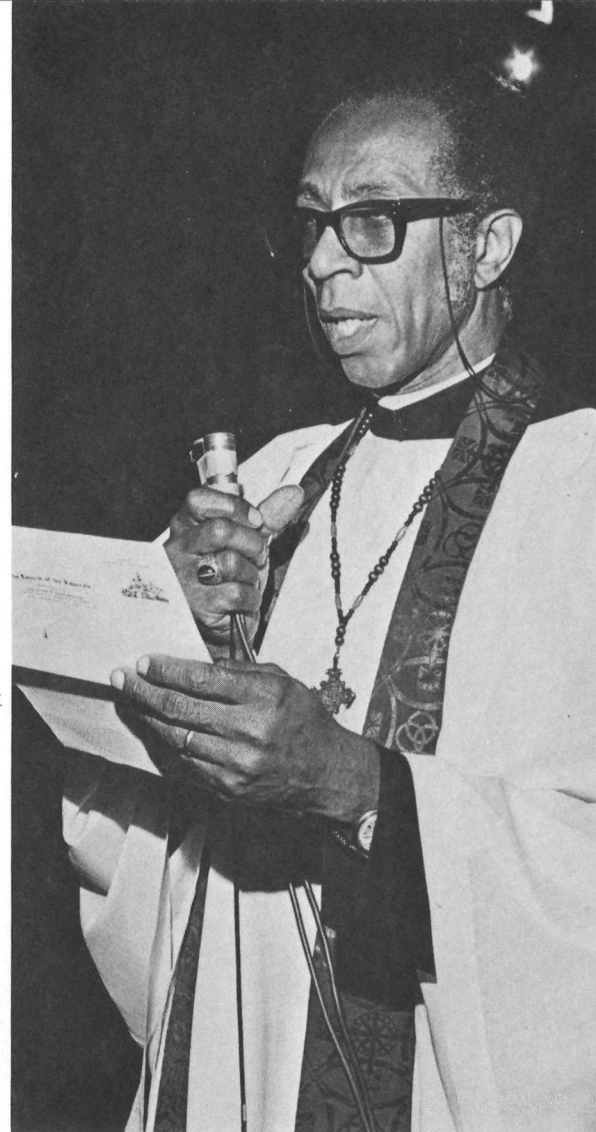
Washington feels that, "If the '74 ordination hadn't happened, it maybe

would have taken until 1979. People with conviction must raise an issue and keep confronting others with it. The ordination of women wouldn't have happened as soon as it did through regular channels."

If Washington's fears surfaced after the event, other participants were afraid beforehand that anti-women's ordination forces would try to disrupt the service using violent tactics. Washington heard rumors that the fear of violence might lead the planners to hold the actual ordination in secret in an empty church, followed by a public concelebration. Worried that this would compromise the spirit of witness in the service, Washington pleaded they not change their plans for a public ordination.

He remembers saying, "Don't withdraw now, because at this moment the church is very small."

"The witnessing church," he explained, "had shrunk to a remnant. That is typical of all prophetic moments. As we sing 'Once to every man and nation/Comes the moment to decide,' it's that small remnant that makes the witness and afterwards things are never the same."



Paul Washington greeting those assembled for the ordination of women at the Church of the Advocate in 1974.

He explains why he never shared the concern about possible violence. "I think that had to do with my own experience of dealing with violence. Being Black, living in North Philadelphia, I live with the possibility of violence every day, and some time ago I faced the possibility of death." When an activist confronts the ultimate violence, things fall into perspective, Washington believes, quoting St. Paul, "the last enemy that shall be defeated is death."

But other participants' ever-present



Ordaining bishops bring up rear of procession at Philadelphia ordinations at the Advocate. In foreground are Paul Washington and Pat Merchant Park.

fear of violence produced Washington's only disappointment of the day. He had hoped for a procession that would fill the nearby streets. Caution reduced it to a short walk from the side door to the altar.

Reflecting on the ordination from the distance of a decade, Washington sees them as one example of what he is called to do. "I view my ministry as acting out

the will of God. I believe in trying to find ways to make things happen."

To illustrate his position, Washington reaches for a well-worn copy of Gandhi's writings on non-violence. He quotes an essay describing a confrontation in which British colonial police injured numbers of unresisting Indians. He says the incident convinced the Indians "they could lift the foreign yoke and make the British

aware that they were subjugating India. When Indians allowed themselves to be beaten and they did not cringe, it showed that England was powerless."

Relating Gandhi's words to the liberation of women, he says, "Women will have to reach the point where they will decide they will no longer be victimized in a male-dominated world."

Asked what changes have taken place in the decade since the ordinations, he responds, "The political dynamics of the church haven't changed much; it is still male-dominated in the centers of power and control. I think it'll change when women are ready to make it change. The 1974 ordination service is an example — due process didn't work, so they made it happen."

He warns that in today's political climate where so many are left out in the cold, it is vital to keep fighting for progressive change. "July 29 changed things in that women could be ordained. We need battlefronts. July 29 was one battlefront. We need to identify others. As Frederick Douglass said, 'Power concedes nothing except by demand.'"

Burnout is a popular word today with those in high-stress careers. It is not a word, however, that is in Paul Washington's vocabulary. Washington, in fact, seems to be holding up much better than the church he serves. In recent months part of a wall has collapsed and winter storms have damaged its steeple and roof. Its continued existence is threatened and money for needed repairs may have to come at the price of selling one of the stained glass windows. Also in jeopardy are the services Advocate provides for the community, such as its soup kitchen. How can Washington continue to minister with this additional burden added to the need and suffering he sees in the desolate neighborhood around the church? How does he avoid burnout? His answer is simple, offered with a smile, "God is inexhaustible. You just have to reach up." ■

The Crisis That Blessed Our Common Life

by Charles V. Willie

Monday, July 29, 1974 was a strange and enchanting day: a day of tender, loving defiance, when 11 women decided to cease cooperating in their own oppression and become priests of the Episcopal Church in the United States. It was a day when the idolatry of an all-male priesthood was shattered forever. The worship of any idol, including male priesthood, is blasphemous and contraindicated in true religion. With courage and commitment, the participants in the Philadelphia ordination service issued a declaration of freedom that could liberate the Episcopal Church from sexist and, therefore, sinful discrimination against women in the range of vocational callings available to them.

The Philadelphia event rejected the arrogant and silly idea that men are better than women as ministers of the church's sacraments or as interpreters of God's word. Those who participated in that first ordination service asserted that all have access to the one living God who is an equal-opportunity provider.

One indication of the significance of an event is the context within which it occurs. As the manger where Jesus was born had a mysterious meaning for his future mission, so the ordination of 11 White women in a predominantly Black city parish was filled with mystery and meaning for their future ministry.

The Philadelphia service was more than an act of tender, loving defiance. It was an event of momentous learning in church and society. We learned, for example, that:

- Sexism, a form of institutional oppression, is sinful behavior;



Charles V. Willie is Professor of Education and Urban Studies at Harvard's Graduate School of Education. Dr. Willie resigned his position as Vice President of the House of Deputies in 1974 to protest the House of Bishops rejection of women's ordination to the priesthood. He termed the attitude "the height of male arrogance and sexism."

- Church leaders tend to sanction sin when it is encoded in their institutional rules and regulations;

- People of power often lack wisdom to know how and when to yield that which is not rightfully theirs to keep;

- Liberation is achieved by ceasing to cooperate in one's own oppression;

- Sinful people are redeemed only when they repent, ask for, and are granted forgiveness;

- Reconciliation is an ever-present possibility but can be attained only when the former oppressors fully repent and the former oppressed fully forgive.

And what of the future? Clearly, men and women have not yet identified a

common cause in church and society. Although the 1976 General Convention approved the ordination of women as priests, many male members of the church have not repented for their past sin of discrimination against women.

A sidelight of the disruption associated with the 1974 ordination of women priests was that the crisis revealed the essence of religious life. Church conventions and congregations emphasize doing good for others as a witness to religious commitment but ignore and sometimes reject repentance and forgiveness as fundamental to religious life.

All church members recite the General Confession from time-to-time, but few have personally repented for the harm their institution visited upon women by casting doubt on the fullness of their humanity. For example, in August 1974, the bishops approved a resolution which asserted that love and order are equal. They did this to condemn the July 29 ordination service because, in their opinion, it violated "the order of our common life." In their attempt to condemn disorder, the bishops misled their followers. For we all know love is the preeminent principle of life; that order not based on love is demonic and oppressive. The church leaders who misled us in their anger about disorder must repent if women and the church are to be reconciled.

Likewise, women who have suffered discrimination in the church and society must forgive those who have truly repented. Otherwise, they cannot be reconciled. It is easier to forget than to forgive. Hostility and hate are understandable adaptations among those who have been hurt and harmed by others. Nevertheless, they are inappropriate among men and women who wish to be reconciled. If out of the crisis of an "irregular" ordination, men and women in church and society learn anew to repent, forgive, and be reconciled, the crisis will have blessed our common life. ■



View From the Press Agent's Pew

by Betty Medsger

I was pushed, shoved, even kicked, by the reporters and photographers who covered that great ordination of women 10 years ago in Philadelphia. I was press agent for the event and as such, part of the support cast in that drama wherein 11 women and three bishops risked the wrath of the Episcopal Church establishment to do what they thought was just.

This scene was playing itself out in various forms for women everywhere as they struggled during the early 1970s to make the first inroads into many then all-male preserves. Other institutions do not have the rituals that the church has. Most women's struggles were worked out behind office doors, in coal mine shafts and assembly lines, not at an altar with cam-

eras and reporters poised to capture the change for the world. As women read and watched what happened in Philadelphia, they were watching themselves. It was a parable with massive appeal.

My role in all this began when Bob DeWitt called and asked me to handle press relations for the group. I had known Bob DeWitt and Sue Hiatt since the late 1960s when I was a reporter at the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin*. At the time of the ordinations I was freelancing, so there was no conflict of interest involved in handling press for the group. I agreed to do it, my respect and enthusiasm for the people and the issues involved overwhelming any doubts I might have had about being overcommitted in workload.

When I started planning how we would let the world know about the ordination of women, it was very important to remember that to a lot of reporters in Philadelphia both DeWitt and feminists were clichés. DeWitt was considered at least a maverick, if not a left-wing nut.

And feminists were, to some reporters, silly "bra burners," an inaccurate label used by the press a few years earlier at a feminist demonstration outside the Miss America pageant (in fact, no women burned bras).

There was a danger that DeWitt and the women would be seen as extremists out to do another "stunt." One of my main goals as press agent was not to let that image develop. My plan was simple: Be first with the news. Act as though the event is the most natural and appropriate thing in the world, and achieve that by explaining the situation fully. Point out that there will be opposition and outline what the theological and canonical basis of the opposition is likely to be. The idea was to have ready a thorough and comprehensive description of the coming event.

This was not how I planned to spend my summer. I had been working all of that year on a photographic documentary book, *Women at Work*. Now I took several weeks out to be a press agent for

Betty Medsger is an award-winning investigative reporter and documentary photographer. She is presently an associate professor of journalism at San Francisco State University, and recently authored the book, *Framed: The New Right Attack on Chief Justice Rose Bird and the Courts* (Pilgrim Press, 1983).

11 women who had a legacy of deep historical opposition to the work they wanted to do. It seemed appropriate that I should interrupt my work to make a small contribution toward helping these women become part of the work force, though I suspect the Episcopal hierarchy doesn't often use that term to describe its priests.

The press packet I prepared for reporters included a news release about the event itself; it emphasized the unique nature of the proceedings. It explained why the participants were taking this unprecedented step, giving quotes from each of them. The three ordaining bishops were also quoted on their reasons for doing this, and background on relevant canon law was supplied.

Accompanying the basic story were two-to-three page biographies on each of the 11 women, filled with quotes from lengthy interviews I had with each of them. The instructions urged reporters to contact the participants directly and phone numbers were provided.

Fate Intervenes

I planned to send the packet to specific reporters at all major newspapers, wire services, magazines, radio and TV stations, and interview shows. Release date was to be just before the event. But fate made me move faster.

Before I was ready to send the packet, I learned that Bishop Lyman Ogilby, worried about an action he did not approve of taking place in his diocese, had decided suddenly to release a press statement of his objections. For me that was a red alert; it was crucial that we be the first with the news. If anti-ordination forces preceded us to the press, the condemnation of the event would make the first and most memorable public impression. We had to announce the news so as not to be put in a defensive position.

I consulted with DeWitt and the women and we agreed it was time to release the story. I had to do it over the phone,

since the packets weren't ready. Due to time constraints, I limited my contacts to Philadelphia papers, the wire services, *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. Each conversation was over an hour long because I wanted to be sure reporters had all the background material to do informed stories.

Approach Understated

My approach was understated. It was a bit like calling a reporter and matter-of-factly saying, "I'm Larry Speakes and I'd like to tell you that President Reagan is changing his registration today from Republican to Democrat. Are you interested?" The facts carried the story. Yes, they wanted it. Yes, they even wanted to know the theological and canonical background on the issue (information that, left to their own initiative, many never would have pursued). Yes, they wanted quotes from each woman's bio. I suggested they call Bishop Ogilby since this was going to happen in his diocese and I understood he did not approve of it.

The result was that I was hoarse for days and the story ran everywhere on July 20.

Later, I distributed the entire packet to a long list of reporters. Because I thought Anglicans elsewhere might be interested, I also sent it to the Washington bureaus of numerous European and Canadian newspapers and networks.

The phones of all of us involved rang frequently during the next few weeks. When opposition forces voiced their opinions, they, not we, were on the defensive. I think the press strategy helped the event to be perceived as a significant historical moment that meant the righting of a longtime injustice. These women and bishops were not kooks; they were wise and committed individuals willing to take a risk in order to obey what they thought faithfulness to justice, truth and the church demanded.

The day of the ordination, the press

box was a mob scene. How was I to know that every journalist invited plus many others not contacted would come? They came in droves. Before the ordination, when asked how many chairs to place in front of the altar for press, I naively said, "Oh, about thirty." But unlike the loaves and fishes, the chairs did not multiply to accommodate the unexpected crowd. It was standing room only.

There seemed to be between 150 and 200 journalists there that day by my estimate. Every network was there. The BBC was there. The pushing, shoving, and jostling for position in the press section was unbelievable. The ordination service was reported throughout the world that evening and the next day. The women appeared later on the covers of *Time* and *Ms.* magazines.

I would like to think that it was partly because of my news releases that the event got such massive press coverage, but the truth is that the great significance, dignity and symbolism of the ordination were the main reasons it was covered so well and so widely by the media.

No amount of planning by a press agent or anyone else could account for the great attention the event received. Now, 10 years later, I think I understand why a little better. The Philadelphia ordinations were the women's movement's Selma. Of course, the two moments are not comparable in terms of risk — there was no threat of deadly violence and loss of life in Philadelphia as at Selma. But women, like Blacks before Selma, were not taken seriously and were mocked and treated with disdain when they spoke of equal rights. Feminist concerns were reduced to funny front-page stories about "bra-burning women's libbers." Women were downplayed and trivialized.

But in Philadelphia we were not trivialized. The 11 women were articulate spokespersons for what they believed in. It was a story of dignity and courage and a symbol of hope for women everywhere. ■

Memories Are Not Enough

For most Episcopal women, July 29 was a life-changing day. Women who saw their ministry in the lay order were affirmed to that as a *calling*, now that it was not simply “the only choice available.” For those called to serve God as priests, the day changed their dream to a possibility.

And you didn’t even have to be there to feel the impact. Nan Arrington Peete, presently a seminarian at General Theological Seminary in New York, remembers:

“I learned of the ordination on the evening news. I was full of mixed feelings and questions. What did this mean? How was it done? Who were these women? Where had I been that I didn’t know about it in advance? Then my telephone began to ring as friends wanted to discuss it. I soon realized something very profound was happening, something affecting me.”

As she began to read about the ordination and the women involved she was amazed at the tenacity of Jeannette Piccard. “What vision and courage! I couldn’t imagine a woman believing herself called to the ordained ministry for all those years.” But she was also struck by the fact that none of the women or the bishops involved were Black. Consequently, “the role of the Rev. Paul Washington in the event meant a lot to

me. He knew liberation was important for all and no one is free unless all are free. The church would now be opened up for everyone,” she thought.

For the Rev. Nilda Anaya of Puerto Rico, the ordination signaled that she might pursue her own dream of becoming a priest.

“I was really happy,” she said. “In 1974 I was doing lay ministry at Holy Trinity Church in Ponce, but the canons prohibited me from pursuing the priesthood. Now, I thought I could go on with my studies.” The mother of five children, and now a grandmother as well, she began her seminary studies in earnest in 1979 after her own children had finished school. She is the second Hispanic woman to be ordained, the Rev. Nina Alazraqui having preceded her.

Anaya admits the Latin American church still fears women (her own rector did not lay on hands when she was ordained) but she has a staunch supporter in Puerto Rico’s Bishop Francisco Reus-Froylan, who is a friend of women priests. Anaya says the bishop jokes, “I’m going to get rid of all the men; women priests work harder and are more creative.”

Many commentators observe that the most important aspect of July 29 is that it incarnated the issue of women priests. The church was faced with 11 real women, not just an abstract possibility.

Anaya’s own experience affirms this: “When they meet you, they change. I went to a *cursillo* in Mexico and afterwards one cleric said, ‘I was 100% against women priests. Now after meeting Nilda, I’m 100% for them.’ I had similar experiences when I visited the Dominican Republic and Panama.”

Anaya is presently stationed at St. Mary the Virgin Church in Ponce. She reports that other Puerto Rican women to be ordained soon, or studying for ordination are Angeles Bermudez, Ana Mercedes Lago and Miriam Jeam.

Janice Duncan, a member of the Bishop’s Staff in the Diocese of Pennsylvania, attended the July 29 service and remembers it as a day “marking the beginning of a new and adult faith. The message came to me and to other women: ‘You can hope to choose your place, according to your gifts.’”

Duncan left her family on vacation to return for the service, “having to be there as a witness.” She says she was scared as she approached the church, convinced that someone would block the way, tell her to go back. “I wandered around the church as it filled with friends, strangers, people I was surprised to see.” The fear remained, edged with excitement, and she remembers “an awesome sense of presence, of the church gathered.”

She sat by chance in the chancel and



Nan Peete



Marge Christie



Jan Duncan



Nilda Anaya

“tried to make myself small.” She waited for what she was sure to be angry shouts and rude interrupting outbursts but found the objections, when they came, “strong but restrained.” She also remembers “listening while the sense of community, of the presence of the Spirit within the body, grew and burst forth in the singing of *Alleluia*.” After the event she remembers being surprised to find herself moving forward to rearrange the stole of a woman she knew and saying, “you are a priest now.” “Thank you.” Then the terror was finally gone, “replaced with deepest joy.”

For Duncan, the ordination on July 29 and the ones since have made it possible for a woman, clergy or lay, to risk visibility; to seek responsibility; to accept leadership.” The ordinations of women “have authenticated the value of the woman who chooses to exercise her ministry as a laywoman.”

Marge Christie, an active lay leader from the Diocese of Newark and a member of the Executive Council, remembers July 29 as “a lovely day. The church was full. There were reunions with friends who had shared the path that led us there; the traditional prayer book words were majestic, the hymns stirred the soul, and Charles Willie’s sermon challenged old myths and called us to a new gospel. The presence of the Holy

Spirit was very real.”

But for Christie July 29 evokes prior memories, too. The mixture of joy and pain as the 1970 General Convention accepted women as deputies for the first time but rejected them as priests. The three years of work between the conventions, the close friendships, the crushing “no” in 1973. Christie treasures her copy of *Our Call*, a book prepared for the 1973 General Convention in which women wrote about their faith journeys and their call to priesthood.

Christie says, “The story that touches me most is by Jane Bloodgood, then a teacher and deacon from Oklahoma. I can still see her pacing the corridor waiting for the decision from the House of Deputies. As she walked, alone and apart, she became for me the symbol of woman eternally waiting.”

For Nan Peete, since she was not present July 29, the real impact came at the January 1977 ordination of the Rev. Victoria Hatch, whose sister, Nancy, was one of those ordained in Philadelphia. But, she remembers, “Still no Black women were being ordained.” Then finally came the ordination of the Rev. Pauli Murray. Peete makes a litany of the Black women priests: Mary Adebenojo, Barbara Harris, Michelle Thornton Page, and others. Still a number tragically small; able to be counted on two hands.

Peete is upset with today’s seminarians who disassociate themselves from the original 11. “If we do not remember our story we lose our identity. Just as we cherish our country’s or family’s history, so we need to remember ‘herstory.’” But as a Black seminarian she is not willing to forget any part of her own story. She admits that the ordinations of many Whites and few Blacks creates tension. “Racism was not eliminated in the church with the ordination of women. Since 1974 over 500 women have been ordained but fewer than 100 Blacks—men and women. In fact, today there are more women clergy than all the Black clergy put together.”

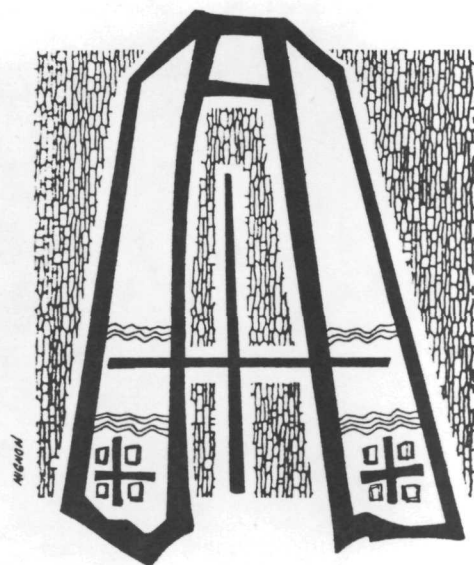
Christie also sees problems still unresolved: “While most dioceses ordain women, still some bishops and standing committees refuse and the conscience clause allows this. Few women are rectors, mostly in struggling rural or urban congregations. Deployment is slow, salaries and benefits low. The age-old divisions between clergy and laity exist among women as well. National committees and commissions have a low proportion of women members and General Convention is still 90% male. Inclusive language efforts are trivialized or ignored.”

Many would agree with Christie that “Memories are not enough.” ■

An Ecumenical Perspective:

What Progress for Women Clergy?

by Connie Myer



Ten years after the first ordination of Episcopal women to the priesthood, what is the overall picture regarding the status of women clergy in other denominations? And did the Philadelphia 11 ordination elicit reactions in ecumenical circles?

Interviews with a number of prominent church women bring mixed reactions. While all were personally touched by the ordination itself, not all are sanguine about progress since, or future possibilities.

One of the most positive responses comes from Presbyterian laywoman Claire Randall, General Secretary of the National Council of Churches. Of the Philadelphia ordination she says, "It brought more strength to the ordination of women across all denominations, especially in liturgical churches where there are priests." She believes the influence of Protestant clergywomen is growing and "will grow more as the percentage of women in seminaries is so high." Presbyterians have ordained women for about 25 years, but Randall says, "Even though some women were or-

dained earlier, they didn't have the opportunity, visibility and momentum they have now. There's a stream flowing out there and it's bound to make a difference. Once the movement is out of the box, there's no way it's going back in again."

The publicity around the Philadelphia ordination was nearly matched by that of the first Eucharist publicly celebrated in New York by three of the ordinands. A United Methodist minister, the Rev. Jeanne Audrey Powers, played a major role in developing that 1974 Reformation Day service in Riverside Church at which Alison Cheek, Carter Heyward and Jeannette Piccard celebrated. Powers, who is Associate Secretary of the Methodist Commission on Christian Unity and Interreligious Concerns, remembers "the church was jammed." The women had celebrated in private, but at the first public celebration, "There were Blacks and Whites and the Canaan Baptist Church choir sang. Then the three women came in, vested, and looking properly solemn. When Jeannette Piccard, then about 79 years old, got to the altar steps I was so moved to think that this woman, who had wanted to be a priest for 50 years, had finally made it."

The United Methodist Church, with 9.4 million communicants, has admitted women to full clergy rights since 1956,

Powers says. By 1983 it had 2,383 women clergy with 1,456 serving in local churches. Of the total, 145 were from ethnic minorities. It also has elected its first woman bishop, Marjorie Matthews of Wisconsin.

Powers thinks, "The Episcopal experience helped every woman's ordination. And United Methodist clergywomen helped their Episcopal sisters by letting them know that women in other denominations were cheering them on."

"Each woman in any denomination who does a good job helps the women in other denominations," says Doris Anne Younger, General Director of Church Women United. Younger, a member of the American Baptist Churches, says she hears some success stories, but also hears that "women pastors are relegated to small parishes or dying churches." Her own denomination, which ordained a few women back in the 19th century, is now "having a difficult time coping" with seminary enrollments that are rapidly approaching 50% female.

On the positive side, Younger reports, "We are graduating a number of Black women from our seminaries. We're now beginning to place some women in Black American Baptist churches, which are even more male-dominated than White

Connie Myer, a free lance writer who lives in Manhattan, taught English for the Church of Uganda (Anglican) in 1968-69.

churches.”

Dr. Sylvia Ross Talbot, a Vice Moderator of the World Council of Churches, is a member of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. She was pleased “Episcopal women broke the barrier, but the event was shrouded in so much controversy and alienation, it also saddened me a bit. I just hope it leads to more ordinations of Anglican women around the world.” Talbot says the AME Church began ordaining women in 1948 and has seen the number of women clergy grow in the past 10 years. She reports that women still are not assigned to large metropolitan churches, and only two are presiding elders — a supervisory position — one in Guyana and one in Ohio.

Rabbi Deborah Prinz of Temple Beth-Am in Teaneck, N.J. also expresses some regret about the Philadelphia ordination. In 1974 she was in her first year of rabbinic school in Israel and says, “I thought it was too bad the entire church didn’t ordain women and I was glad I was part of the Jewish tradition that did.”

Still, it took 50 years from the day in 1922 when the Reform Central Committee of American Rabbis approved ordination until the first seminary-ordained woman rabbi was graduated. Since the early 1970s, Prinz says, 60 women rabbis have been ordained by the Reform movement and 15 to 20 by the Reconstructionist branch. Conservative Judaism has recently decided to accept women rabbis and is now taking seminary applications.

Prinz, formerly assistant rabbi at Manhattan’s Central Synagogue, now has her own congregation, a new trend in Judaism. “There’s been a change since 1979. About 10% of women rabbis are in solo congregations now,” she said. “Sometimes we look to Protestants and are embarrassed because of the little we have done compared to the positions they have, but we’re catching up.”

Catching up is not the question today for Roman Catholic women who have seen their church retrogress during the past decade, according to Ada Maria Isasi-Diaz. “Under Paul VI the church had a more relaxed attitude. Questions could be asked. Churches in the United States and France allowed young girls to be altar servers and women were preaching unofficially in some places. But within the last few years this has been labeled liturgical abuse and is no longer allowed. Since John Paul II, the church has tended to go back to pronouncements from on high.”

Isasi-Diaz was formerly a member of the Women’s Ordination Conference whose goal was ordination of women to a renewed priestly ministry in the Roman Catholic Church. Now finishing a master of divinity program at Union Theological Seminary, 41-year-old Isasi-Diaz still believes renewal may come, “but not in my lifetime. It depends on how long the present Pope lives and who the next Pope will be,” is Isasi-Diaz’ opinion.

The Rev. Dr. Beverly Harrison believes the Episcopal ordination “had a tremendous impact on Catholic women. It hasn’t upped the ante for their own ordination strategy, but it certainly increased their consciousness of the depths of misogyny. Other Protestant denominations prior to 1974 had women clergy, but in the Catholic view, they weren’t ‘real clergy.’” She sees no progress towards ordination in that church “until the women figure out something to shift the ground rules.”

Harrison, a Presbyterian and professor of Christian ethics at Union Theological Seminary, says the Philadelphia event was “a creative moment in the feminist politics of change. The Episcopal Church never would have voted in favor of women’s ordination. Direct action had to be taken. Anyone who thinks there would have been movement without the events in Philadelphia and Washington is wrong.

“The ordination also discovered a heritage of resisting oppression by modeling the occasion around the fact that the first American Episcopal bishop was ‘irregularly’ ordained after the Revolution.

“The Episcopal ordination had a big impact because it was so controversial and newsmaking. It opened offending theological statements about women to public scrutiny and the media got excited about how women were treated in the church. I briefed the media for the Riverside Church service and one young woman reporter couldn’t believe Christians talked that way about women.

“What Philadelphia did was to make people aware of the suffering of Episcopal women, but the Episcopal Church remains unresponsive to this day,” she maintained.

Acceptance of the reality of women’s ordination is still an up-hill battle in the Episcopal Church, in the opinion of feminist theologian and author Virginia Mollenkott, who teaches English at William Paterson College in Wayne, N.J.

“I was jubilant they had the nerve to do it,” she says of the participants in the 1974 ordinations, “and I made tracks to get communion from one.”

Mollenkott, now an Episcopalian, says her former church, the Plymouth Brethren, “doesn’t have women clergy and never will. We wore hats to service to indicate our submission to men.”

She is concerned that, despite the ordination, Episcopal women are still not welcome in the highest decision-making levels. “And the blockage of gay and lesbian people from full citizenship in the church is very painful to me,” says Mollenkott. “It is difficult to be part of a system where there’s still so much injustice.”

For Mollenkott, the Episcopal attitude is “We’re ordaining women, but we don’t have to accept them.” She concludes, “The church’s failure to lift up women is idolatrous.” ■

P.S. This has been a special supplement to THE WITNESS, commemorating the 10th anniversary of the "irregular ordination" of 11 women priests in Philadelphia, which broke centuries of sexual discrimination in the Episcopal Church. That occasion also marked the rebirth of THE WITNESS, a monthly magazine of social commentary, serving as the social conscience of Episcopalians and as an ecumenical journal of Christian concerns. Each month THE WITNESS explores a wide variety of topics in the realm of church and society. If you are not already a subscriber, we invite you to continue the journey with us. Use the convenient coupon inside.

THE WITNESS

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

Address Correction Requested

**NONPROFIT ORG.
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PAID
North Wales, Pa.
Permit No. 121**

VOLUME • 67
NUMBER • 11
NOVEMBER 1984

THE WITNESS



On the advent of the bishops' economic pastoral

John Burt interviews
Rembert Weakland

Commentary:
Sheila Collins
Manning Marable

Letters

Questions 'gullibility'

I liked Grant Gallup's "Weep no more, Our Lady" in the August WITNESS, and he gave us an instructive catalog of tears in the Bible, from Genesis to Revelation. But I want to say another word for tears and even one for the "gullibility" Gallup decries.

The tears he cites are principally tears of suffering and some of "joy at a sinner turned from a life of futility." But tears can also be a means or a sign of inner healing. Something called "the gift of tears" is part of the Christian tradition and can be a significant step in spiritual growth. As John Donne said, tears imply a tender heart, "and the Holy Ghost loves to work in Wax, and not in Marble."

Gallup says this is an age of gullibility. If so, there's a potential beneficial aspect. As some people are liberated from the confining orthodoxies of science and medicine, they are open to accepting the reality of events, abilities and styles of healing which aren't necessarily measurable or experimentally repeatable.

Such openness may not translate immediately into social action or change. Yet acceptance of alternatives to the scientific medical establishment, for example, could be pretty revolutionary and empower the poor to enjoy and maintain good health. *That* might "put down the mighty" from some seats and "exalt those of low degree."

The Rev. Edward M. Berckman
Indianapolis, Ind.

Gallup Responds

Gullibility is a technique of swallowing whole, one that the liberating gospel teaches us to name, even in those who strain out gnats of religious dissent and swallow camels of secular orthodoxy. I

hope we don't confuse it with innocence, or simple taste, or an openness to surprise and experiment, in religion, medicine, or science. It's certainly true that the dromedary of the medical industry is no more palatable than the exhumed woolly mammoth of medieval religion, and to reverse the metaphor, gobbles up too much into its hump.

Yes, the modern medical center has pretensions, as well as Lourdes, and faith has healed at each, in spite of that. But the intertestamental bible's stories of Bel and the Dragon inspire us with Daniel both to laugh at religion that is wired up for tricks, and to feed our fearsome dragons of science and medicine a few hairballs, that they might burst open so that we can, as Daniel said, "see what you have been worshipping."

Grant Gallup
Chicago, Ill.

Fed up with women

Your September issue, stories and photographs, have increased my gorge beyond the limit. I am a veteran of 35 years of Catholic social action in the Episcopal Church. I have marched thousands of miles and engaged in hundreds of hours of Civil Rights demonstrations, including the 1963 March on Washington. I have been imprisoned in that cause, knocked down, and generally reviled. I have repeatedly, and as recently as this current year, demonstrated against nuclear armaments at the gates of the local air base. My curate and four of my lay people have been arrested for felonious trespassing at that base. I have agitated and said Mass at the Mexican border for immigration justice. I have brought my parish into the sanctuary movement, and we are now harboring political refugees

from Central America.

I was formally investigated by the FBI in 1953 and have an extensive, long-standing dossier with them. I have demonstrated against Anita Bryant and Jerry Falwell with many members of my parish. I organized the Southern Arizona Friends of Farm Workers in the early '60s to support Cesar Chavez, and the Farm Workers' flag hangs in my sanctuary. The list goes on, and it would be indelicate of me to extend it. There was a time I would have voted in the General Convention (I went to three of them as a deputy) to ordain women to the priesthood. I defended that vote to this parish, and women and girls serve here at the altar.

But, you and *The Episcopalian*, and a whole host of others have gone too far. I am fed up. The September issue replete with tender and emotional pictures of female priests embracing and blessing and standing about in ill-fitting vestments, is a dead-horse-flogging I can no longer bear.

Women's ordination is neither the only issue before the church, nor the most important. The Roman Catholic Church resisting female ordination (whether wisely or unwisely) still manages to be the most important voice for justice in Asia and Latin America, and for nuclear disarmament in this country. At the same time, the ordaining of women in the Episcopal Church has brought no benefit whatever to the church's witness to the world, no wonderful redemptive outburst which has led the church to higher ground. Whether or not women ought to be ordained to the priesthood is no longer important, if it ever was. You, and the women themselves, have forgotten how to win and then shut up. The issue has now simply become a pain in the neck.

The suffering of women through not

being given equal opportunity in the Episcopal priesthood is petty and unimportant alongside the real moral questions. Those questions are, clearly, the preservation of life, absolute and immediate nuclear disarmament, attacking world starvation, justice in mines and factories through fair wages and decent conditions, abolition of the death penalty, the stopping of elective abortion. Beside those and connected issues, the matter of female ordination is pale, whimsical and silly.

If every active cure in the Episcopal Church were filled by a woman (a not unlikely development in the next 100 years), no more than 8,000 or 9,000 jobs are involved, many of them underpaid. Thus, no significant number of women have suffered in any appreciable degree by being denied ordination in this church.

If I see one more picture and read one more story of an overaged, divorced, discontented woman, fearful of her empty life, standing in a tasteless, hand-knitted stole, wagging her hands over the bread and wine on the altar, I am going to return to males-only at this parish altar.

The Rev. Canon John C. Fowler
Tucson, Ariz.

September delighted

I was delighted to read the article, "Justice, peace issues at Democratic convention," in the September WITNESS. The ecumenical efforts by Grace Cathedral, Glide Memorial Methodist Church, and St. Patrick's Catholic Church were largely ignored by the secular press.

On occasion, I have worshiped at both Grace and Glide. Each church was unique. At Grace I saw and heard the bagpipes celebrate the birth of a new parish by leading the delegation in singing *Amazing Grace*. At Glide I heard a rabbi lead the congregation in the "Lord's

Prayer" with feeling unexcelled in any all-Christian setting that I have ever experienced.

The article gave an inspiring revelation of how bodies with divergent modes of worship could join in a common effort to support the beliefs to which we all subscribe. It was warming to read of the participation by a rabbi whose sensitivity on social issues parallels that of our Christian beliefs.

The excerpts from Mario Cuomo's address, "The Stewardship of Political Power," delivered at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine gave some concept of the relation of religion to politics. It was like a breath of fresh air.

The articles on the status of women in the church were all thoughtfully written. They pointed out that there is progress, but it is painfully slow. There are now women clergy and there will soon be Episcopal women bishops. Recently, a Black woman bishop was installed in the Northern-California-Nevada Conference of the United Methodist Church. May the female Episcopal bishop be ordained soon!

Thank you for an excellent, thoughtful, challenging publication.

Donald L. Tarr
Salinas, Cal.

Exuded vitality, hope

What a fantastic September WITNESS with those gorgeous snapshots on the cover! I very much liked the 10th anniversary issue, "Daughters of Prophecy," (on women's priesthood) but history seems to have bitter overtones in the recalling.

The September issue showed life and the present, and every article — from Barbara Harris' superb recounting of the day to Mario Cuomo's enlightened essay on political power, from the visual Demo-

cratic Convention to Kenyatta's sensitive "Dear Momma" — exuded vitality and hope and the vision of a bright future in the 10 years to come.

I've needed an issue like that after so many describing gloom and destruction, though I know only too well it is all around us. Thanks!

Annette Jecker
West Milford, N.J.

Next: R.C. Women Priests

Your coverage of the 10th anniversary of the ordination of the Philadelphia 11 has been wonderful. I only pray that someday you will have the opportunity to cover the anniversary of the first women priests of my own Roman Catholic tradition.

Barbara A. Jensen
Baltimore, Md.

Faith Scudder's Core

Vida Scudder is indeed, one of the "Holy Righteous ancestors." Recalling her life so filled with the quest for social justice is a needed vista for our times. However, I found myself somewhat discomforted by Gordon Greathouse's article about her in the July WITNESS. While focusing on her varied social concerns, he fails to catch the essence of her being which is best seen as spiritual, liturgical and sacramental. She was a sort of secular monastic who truly caught the dialectical contradiction of being a citizen of a heavenly city in an alien, temporary abode.

Vida Scudder was a devout Anglo-Catholic with a regular prayer and Eucharist life. This old fashioned Anglo-Catholic faith with its developed social and theological I.Q. enabled her to espouse a socialism neither sectarian or

Continued on page 21

Pastoral on economy signal event

This month the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops is scheduled to release the first draft of a pastoral letter on "Catholic Social Teaching and the American Economy." It is a signal event. Its subject matter and the consultative process already initiated by the bishops make it bid fair to equal or exceed the widespread and important public discussion and debate generated by the bishops' 1983 peace pastoral.

A tentative timetable has the second draft scheduled for spring 1985 and the third and final one in November 1985, after further hearings and discussions both within and beyond the church. Thus, there will be a full year of debate, led by the largest and most influential Christian body in the country.

We heartily commend our sister denomination for the special appropriateness of the topic for Christian debate. And the discussion process, which like the Peace Pastoral, appears carefully designed to engage both the

churches and society, is worthy of praise. The first draft — if it at all probes the realities of our current economic life — should come as a healthy antidote to a presidential campaign whose dominant theme was the return to prosperity. This collective illusion into which the populace has been drawn has marvelously papered over, for the moment, the deepening economic and social malaise of the country.

We earnestly hope that the bishops will not limit themselves strictly to a treatment of economics without examining the deeper assumptions of our economic system itself. To do so would be to grant implicitly the autonomous nature of economic life, conceding to its laws and movements a loftiness unwarranted either by history or our religious tradition. The special contribution which our Judeo-Christian heritage brings to such a debate is a deeply moral dimension that places *all* economic theory and practice (as well as our social, cultural and political practices and traditions) under the

scrutiny of larger human and social concerns. Those concerns derive directly from the biblical doctrines of creation, stewardship, and the sacred community. They teach us that the Creator made us *all* in the divine image; that we are to share as stewards of that creation, which really belongs to the Creator; and that in the human community the needs of the least shall be treated with priority.

This should free persons in the Christian tradition from the need to conform to suppositions elevating our present economic system (or, for that matter, any other) to a position beyond questioning. For example, in the year ahead, the bishops ought to ask whether the use and deployment of huge amounts of private capital is becoming destructive of communities and counter-productive for working people; whether "the economy" increasingly requires, for its "health" (as if it is some kind of "being") the existence of a permanent underclass, as in

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THE WITNESS is published monthly. Editorial office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002. Phone (215)643-7067. Subscription rates \$12 per year. \$1 per copy. THE WITNESS is indexed in the American Theological Library Association's *Religion Index One: Periodicals*. Copyright 1984 by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Printed in U.S.A. ISSN 0197-8896.

WITNESS solicits views on economy document

The first draft of what promises to be a controversial document, a pastoral letter on "Catholic Social Teaching and the American Economy," will be made public by the Roman Catholic Bishops of the United States, meeting in Washington, D.C., in mid-November.

Even before it has seen the light of day, the anticipation of what it may say has generated criticism. *Fortune* magazine has editorialized, "Continuing to act out the axiom that God intended them to be social planners, the bishops are once again on the secular stage and once again threaten to unclarify the issue."

Former secretary of the Treasury, William Simon, and Michael Novak of the American Enterprise Institute, have brought together a group of Catholic laypersons (including Gen. Alexander

Haig and Clare Booth Luce) to monitor what they perceive to be the liberal distortions on Vatican II. One of the members of that group, Admiral Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr., retired chief of Naval Operations, states his fear bluntly: "The bishops seek to appeal to the good in man. But that makes them unrealistic . . . They fail to see that what works most efficiently is that which flows from greed."

The New York Times has reported that one White House advisor, fearing the worst, suggested that the Reagan administration, tardy in developing a response to the bishops Peace Pastoral, had "better be out in front of this one." And perhaps prosperous Catholics should "take a bishop to lunch."

At the suggestion of THE WITNESS, the Rt. Rev. John H. Burt, retired Bishop of Ohio and current chair of the

Urban Bishops Coalition of the Episcopal Church, spent an hour in conversation with the Most Rev. Rembert G. Weakland, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Milwaukee, who chairs the committee of bishops who are drafting the Pastoral on the Economy. Their conversation is reported in the adjacent pages.

Debate on the pastoral's contents will ensue over the next year. To involve readers in that debate, THE WITNESS invited two commentators to describe what they anticipate — from a woman's viewpoint and from a Third World posture. Sheila Collins, noted Methodist writer and theologian, and Manning Marable, educator and columnist, offer their readouts of what is to come and urge readers to compare how well they guessed after the document emerges.

'Policy suggestions will jar'

— Archbishop Rembert Weakland
in interview with Bishop John Burt

Bishop Burt: I don't suppose you would give me an advance look at the long awaited Economic Pastoral.

Archbishop Weakland: No. Our committee has agreed not to divulge the text until the bishops meet. But I will say this: The central debate will focus on the ethical and moral questions implied in economic decision-making. We do not believe, as some do, that economics is by nature morally neutral. In truth, of course, the economy is very much a part of the whole social scene. Even though economics has its own laws, it does intersect and intertwine with ethical and moral issues affecting all human beings in the nation. There is a growing awareness of the demands of the Gospel that affect our most fundamental life choices, as you yourself know. Since Vatican Council II, our Catholic population has become more conscious of how the Gospel mandates should affect their lifestyle. The Sermon on the Mount and its perspectives continue to challenge all of us in new ways. More and more, Catholics are asking what the beatitudes mean for them. These reflections go beyond the realm of academic analysis and consist in practical application to today's world as well. What precisely did Jesus mean in those stark statements about the dangers of riches? Does that say anything to us today? Thoughtful people are agonizing over these questions.

Burt: How long ago did the bishops decide to do a Pastoral Letter on the American economy?

Weakland: We made the decision during a meeting of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops in 1980. That was, incidentally, the same meeting we also authorized the preparation of the Peace Pastoral. We had just issued a letter on "Marxist Communism" and a sequel on "Capitalism" appeared appropriate. It seemed only natural for the bishops in the United States, truly the leading nation in world economy, to reflect on the nature of that particular economy and not just the Communist system. The pastoral was not approached in a negative atmosphere or with negative prejudices; rather the bishops were simply recognizing the fact that we in the United States were passing through a new and critical moment in our economic history, one quite

different from previous economic changes. It also had to be admitted that our economic positions affect other nations, especially Third World countries, in decisive ways. These new dimensions called for new reflections.

Burt: The Peace Pastoral came out first, of course, two years ago. Did you learn any lessons from that experience?

Weakland: Yes, indeed. The Peace Pastoral convinced us of the importance of getting extensive feedback from a broad spectrum of opinion before the document is cast in final form. The second and third readings, followed by discussion, were especially helpful. So the Economic Pastoral will be debated in both the spring and fall of 1985, following its introduction this November, before we plan to put it to a vote. Another thing we learned was the need to set up instruments for education and dissemination of the document after it becomes adopted.

Burt: To whom have you listened?

Weakland: We have listened to roughly 100 different people — economists; union leaders, both men and women; laboring people, including people from the garment industry; business leaders; moralists; theologians; workers with the poor. Most of them came at our invitation. But some groups solicited us for a chance to testify. No one we invited turned us down.

Burt: Did you listen to religious spokespersons from traditions other than Roman Catholic?

Weakland: Yes. The National Council of Churches selected a number to testify. There was another hearing with Jewish leadership.

Burt: What about the voice of women and women's issues?

Weakland: We heard from those concerned about the feminization of poverty. There were also women among the economists who testified. Of course, you know our next Pastoral Letter will be on the role of women.

Burt: What about testimony from Blacks, Hispanics and other minorities?



Archbishop Rembert G. Weakland, who chairs the Roman Catholic Bishops' Committee responsible for the economic pastoral, speaks with parishioners.

Weakland: We tried our best to hear their concerns. I think our efforts were adequate.

Burt: Are we due for some surprises when the pastoral comes out?

Weakland: Well, the subject, as you know, is complicated by nature. It is also vast. The document is not written to be a popularization of the topic. And it is at this point far too long.

Burt: I understand from *The New York Times Magazine* that the letter will focus on four areas: employment generation, adequate income for the poor, U.S. trade with developing countries and economic planning. Is that accurate?

Weakland: No, not really. *The Times* failed to stress that the Economic Pastoral is divided into two sections. The first and most important one is the biblical and theological vision which some secular reporters like to jump over to get to the second section where that vision is applied in the four broad areas you mention.

Burt: Were you influenced much by the recent Canadian bishops' "Ethical Reflections on the Economic Crisis"?

Weakland: Well, we studied it, of course. But that paper had very modest biblical and theological undergirding. It was a product of the Commission on Social Affairs only and not voted on by the entire Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops.

Burt: Has the Simon/Novak "watchdog committee" of Catholic laymen bothered you much?

Weakland: No. There was a similar committee monitoring the Peace Pastoral during its months of preparation. They have a legitimate right to do what they are doing. I have met with Michael Novak three times and with their entire committee one day here in Milwaukee.

Burt: Are you going to identify any "villains" in the American economic scene?

Weakland: Well, the letter will have many things that challenge present arrangements, even as the Gospel does. You cannot avoid that — thank God. Much of it will draw on Catholic social teaching that is pretty sharp on matters of human injustice. We won't have "ad hominem" attacks but there will be policy suggestions that will jar.

Burt: You've just returned from the Vatican where, I assume, you showed a draft to Pope John Paul. What was his reaction?

Weakland: Actually, I did not see the Holy Father. I did share the document with Cardinal Casaroli and with staff of the Pontifical Commission on Peace and Justice. And they were encouraging and supportive of what they saw. The decision not to show the Pope the letter was made because if he didn't react we would be disappointed, while if he did react, his comments would be quoted over and over again and would prejudice further discussion.

Burt: Do you think the current debate among presidential candidates, cardinals and others over the role of religion in politics will help or hinder the reception of your letter?

Weakland: I really cannot say. But one thing I know: It was wise to delay the release of the first draft of the Economic Pastoral until after the election. Had we not done so, the letter would already be a political football.

Burt: Most Episcopalians and other Protestants feel uncomfortable if their bishops or bishop types draft position papers without involving lay representatives in the process. What have you done to include such views in the drafting process?

Weakland: Well, in the Roman Catholic Church our polity places the teaching responsibility in the hands of bishops. But our drafting staff in Washington is about one half priests and one half lay persons. The consultants we have engaged to work with the entire process include lay economists and lay moral theologians. There is a member of the economics faculty at Harvard and one from Notre Dame, for example.

Burt: Why do some people fear what they think you may say?

Weakland: One reason is the widespread fear of government involvement in the economy. There is fear that we are going to recommend some sort of return to the "New Deal." Since the church is concerned with the plight of poor people, there is the assumption that the section of our document on planning for their welfare is going to be an attack on the present economic system. There is also fear by some that the committee will somehow declare the free-market system as intrinsically evil and incompatible with the Gospel. The committee has certainly not approached the matter in this way, but has been, from my personal point of view, quite even-handed. The fear that the good which the capitalist system has produced will be overlooked in the light of difficulties which have surfaced may be a legitimate one, since Catholic social teaching does not and has not excelled

in enthusiastic encomiums to economic systems. Actually members of the committee recognize these goods and would hope that through reflection on deeper societal values some of the results that might be less desirable could be reduced or eliminated.

Burt: But isn't there a suspicion by some that you may make American business a whipping boy for our economic inequities?

Weakland: I can only say, in response to that fear, that the committee has probably consulted that area of the economic community more than any other. We also recognize the complexity of economic decisions and the valid differing analyses of the same factual data by different economists. Each decision demands a trade-off and it is not easy sometimes to assess the results with absolute accuracy. But business is not the only actor involved — government and labor have their role and responsibility as well.

Burt: Will you comment on the *Fortune* magazine attack? The editors of that magazine contend the real reason you've delayed issuing this letter is that you "do not wish to dramatize the fact that [your] economics are well to the left of every candidate you could name except maybe Jesse Jackson and that the document [you] produce will be a paean to planning."

Weakland: That the word "planning" is a sensitive one is true, since it means different things to different people. The committee is well aware of all the problems connected with that word; but planning exists everywhere in life, in the field of economics as well, because it is part of the very rational nature of the human person. To avoid a discussion of that phenomenon would be naive today. As for the *Fortune* criticism, one senses here an undercurrent of old secularism: "Religion stay out, only we secularists have anything to say about society. Leave ethics out. The human person and society are well-functioning machines where decision-making need be done only on the basis of what makes the most profit." The *Fortune* article indicates that there is a certain resentment if the church communities suggest that economics is but one aspect of the whole social fabric and not isolated from it.

Burt: One final question. How will the Economic Pastoral affect the Roman Catholic Church?

Weakland: There is no question that the church must also examine itself and its practices as an economic actor with the same kind of responsibilities as any kind of big business. We have to think in international, global terms. The church is already a multinational moral force and so it is already in place to examine and speak about the moral implications of economic issues. ■

Commentary:

Pastoral welcome, long overdue

by Sheila Collins

I welcome the bishops' pastoral on the economic system. It is long overdue — by about 200 years. Perhaps if the bishops had had the foresight to respond to Adam Smith when he first proposed the theory of the “invisible hand” of the free market as a system which was contrary to Christian principles (since it was based on the engine of individual greed), it might have made a difference. Having more temporal power in those days, the bishops might have been able to enforce their pronouncements.

But I wonder what practical difference the bishops' pastoral will make to Barbara, who called me the other day, desperate and frightened. Barbara is Black, the mother of a 17-year-old son, drug-dependent, living with an abusive husband, jobless, about to be evicted from her windowless apartment below a “greasy spoon.” She is suffering from lupus and a leaking heart valve. Barbara is the excess baggage, a member of the “un-productive sector” that the Reagan administration has cast out into the cold. Barbara is also kind, intelligent, proud, sweet-natured, and a child of God. But

economic analysts are not interested in those latter characteristics. In fact, they don't even count her in the unemployment statistics, since she has long since given up looking for work.

I knew Barbara when she was bright-eyed, when her skin shone like polished bronze and her Afro framed her head like a halo. The Barbara I knew spoke proudly of her son and of her intention to go back to school so that she could get a better job. Her deterioration began when her secretarial job was restructured from under her by the church bureaucracy she was working for. She was replaced by a fancy new word processor. At about the same time, she lost the apartment she shared with her mother and son in a low-income housing project. The project, it seems, was being closed for renovations (they called it urban renewal), and residents were forced to find lodging elsewhere.

When I think of the bishops with secure tenures, sitting in well-furnished rooms to hear the testimony of well-tenured theologians, economists and business leaders, I think of Barbara and what she would have to say about the economic system in which we live.

To be fair to the bishops, they did hear from a few of the poor (or their representatives), and there is one woman

consultant (out of a total of 13) on the drafting committee. But a staff member of the U.S. Catholic Conference who worked on the Pastoral Letter admitted that the bishops had “gone out of their way” to listen to the voices of the business community, so that they could not be accused of being biased.

The business community does seem to be exhibiting some anxiety about the bishops' pastoral. Any critique of the failures of our economic system which comes from leaders who have access to the masses (especially to working and middle-class Americans who might be beginning to wonder about the morality of a system which is throwing them out of work, poisoning their waters and threatening their future with nuclear weapons), is bound to draw the ire of the business establishment.

In spite of not having seen the bishops' pastoral, I can assure the business leaders that they need not worry. There will be slaps on the wrist, to be sure, and calls to reorder our national priorities; but there will be no call to the barricades, no clear understanding that in a world of such gross disparities there is only one of two sides to be on. The fact that the bishops have purposely left the release of the letter until after the elections tells me that whatever concern the letter may express for the poor, it will resound in

Sheila Collins is a writer, educator and social activist. She served as national rainbow coalition coordinator for the Jesse Jackson campaign.

the life of Barbara as a tinkling cymbal.

For the bishops to refuse to commit themselves on the economic question (while speaking up loudly on the abortion issue) prior to the most important and fateful election of this century, is to side with the forces of injustice, militarism and oppression represented in the Reagan administration.

The “preferential option for the poor” articulated so eloquently by Latin American theologians of liberation, and reiterated by the Canadian bishops in their “Alternatives to Present Economic Structures” implies a commitment, not just in words, but in deeds.

To make an option for the people like Barbara is to commit oneself and one’s resources to the political vehicles which have the best chance of reversing the widening gap between rich and poor and the alarming militarization of our society. There is no neutral, lofty “religious” ground in 1984. The bishops, it seems, have chosen.

Since the bishops are being silent until after the election, I want to express a little of what I wish they would have said.

“As bishops of the church, we are required by our understanding of the Gospel and our function as God’s mediators to stand with the poor and oppressed; for our own Lord said in his great parable of the Last Judgement: ‘Inasmuch as you did it to the least of these, you did it to me.’

Through the lens of poverty we see a world system dominated by U.S.-based multinational corporations, whose value base is the maximization of individual greed, not the dignity and equality of all human beings as children of God. This system has permeated every aspect of our corporate life — defining our religious practices, our esthetic tastes, our leisure time pursuits, our approach to domestic distribution and consumption, our foreign and military policy.

This system poses as the best of all

possible worlds, as the logical outcome of human evolution, while attempting to hide from consciousness the terrible toll it has extracted from its human and non-human subjects: the unnecessary deaths of 20 million Black slaves; the near genocide of the native inhabitants of North America; the underdevelopment of much of the Third World; the near depletion of the topsoil and forests of this country; the poisoning of our water and air; the violent deaths of 50,000 El Salvadorans in the last four years and 100,000 Guatemalans in the last 30; the denigration of women and the sanctioning of violence against them; the production of weapons that can wipe out all of civilization.

Standing with the poor and oppressed, we feel no need to extol the virtues of capitalism, for that is done every day by those who control the consciousness industry. Rather, our mission is to confess the church’s complicity with this system in providing the ideology for European expansionism, for the denigration and economic marginalization of women, and the treatment of non-Christians as subhuman “heathens,” who either had to be converted or eliminated.

Standing with the poor and oppressed, we denounce as contrary to God’s will and purpose for human life an economic system which places profits over people and military dominance over peace. We commit ourselves to a world economic/political system that makes the dignity and equality of all human beings and the conservation of the precious resources of the earth its first priority.

We recognize that such a stand carries risks, that it entails choosing sides and

therefore incurring the enmity of many who may be members of our churches. We do this not out of hatred for those who stand in the way, but out of great love for the suffering.

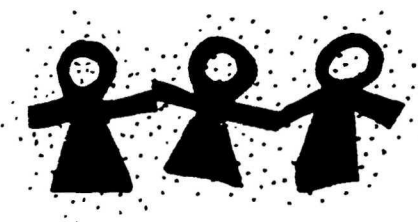
We begin this process by taking our vows of poverty seriously. Henceforth, all rectories are to be turned over to organizations of community residents, 75% of whom must be victims of poverty, and at least 50% of whom must be women, to be used to uplift the poorest sectors of those communities. In addition, all schools, convents and seminaries which are running at less than 75% capacity are to be leased to such community groups for \$1 a year.

From now on, all of our churches are declared sanctuaries for the victims of U.S. oppression — whether they be fleeing the violence in Central America or Haiti, or the violence lived as the homeless in the midst of so much abundance.

Our priests and religious are encouraged to engage in voter registration campaigns, especially with low income people, so that they can register their desire for change in an informed and peaceful manner.

Henceforth, our religious education will consist not only of the practices and doctrines of the church, but will include education about the multinational, multi-racial world in which we are called to be Christians. The history texts used in our parochial schools will be scrutinized for the ways in which they leave out or distort the histories of Blacks, Latinos, Native Americans, women, Jews, Asians, Arabs, and the working class.

Finally, we pledge ourselves to preaching and living a theology of the incarnated Word and the immanent Kingdom, to seeing the face of Christ and therefore the gifts of ministry in all of the common people. We pledge to bring concrete hope and literal salvation to the millions who have given up that their voices will ever be heard.” ■



Flaws anticipated in document

The forthcoming U.S. Roman Catholic bishops' economic pastoral should have a profound impact upon the nation and the world — all the more reason to regret that the letter may be profoundly flawed, both in its theoretical understanding of capitalism and in its suggestions for creating new economic arrangements.

The first problem I foresee is the failure of the bishops to approach the relationship between capitalism and Christianity historically, rather than emphasizing the present day economic crisis in a chronological vacuum. Every economic system exists within a larger social constellation, in which cultural institutions, social mores, and the state influence and are influenced by the processes of production and distribution. In their letter on Marxism, the bishops had no difficulty understanding that social political economies should be analyzed theoretically, despite their tremendous variations. But on the more sensitive question of Western capitalism, Archbishop Weakland stated in a recent speech, "the committee, after lengthy discussion, decided to avoid a theoretical analysis of capitalism similar to the paper on Marxism, because the reality is so diversified and diffuse that no single theoretical position is adequate or all-embracing."

This theoretical lapse creates difficulty in understanding the reasons for racism, world hunger, poverty, and systemic unemployment. Why do Afro-

Americans experience twice the unemployment rates of whites, and have over three times the percentage of families below the poverty level? Why do Black infant mortality rates in U.S. ghettos exceed those of some Third World countries? Why have the majority of U.S. financial institutions and U.S.-based multinationals refused to divest from the South African system of apartheid? No meaningful discourse on modern capitalism can occur outside of a political and social context.

The pastoral letter, written from the perspective of the oppressed, would unearth the roots of capitalism as a social system, and explore its historical relationship with the Catholic Church, and in more general terms, with Christianity.

Christianity presents a strikingly different way of perceiving human beings, their labor, their relationship to the environment and to each other. Capitalist production and the hegemony of capital over labor create an "economic" human being preoccupied with accumulation of capital, who demands that the political apparatus serve the economic order. Christians, on the other hand, are concerned with the moral and social aspects of humanity. If economic arrangements promote social injustice, suffering, or immorality, the church must condemn them, even though they generate profits for an elite.

From the beginning of the rise of capitalism, the Catholic Church attempted to mediate the ideals of Christ vs. a cultural and socioeconomic reality which prized the primacy of unfettered, private economic production and capital accumulation from mass exploitation. There was nothing deliberately hypocritical about this. The Catholic hier-

archy made earnest attempts to serve both masters and slaves, and later, managers and workers. The church usually accommodated itself to many political systems, from bourgeois democracy to fascism. All too often, clergy rationalized and justified the brutalities of capitalism simply to retain a social base within a society.

In the United States, the inherently contradictory position of the Catholic Church was most apparent in the issue of racial segregation. "Jim Crow" was not simply an oppressive social system of unequal race relations, but a particular type of "racial capitalism." The color line perpetuated sharecropping, the infamous convict leasing system, and political disfranchisement of poor whites and nearly all Afro-Americans. Here was a blatant social example of capitalist exploitation and race prejudice, cemented by poverty and lynching, which demanded a moral critique. But once again, the institutional church attempted to serve both the exploiters and the exploited.

On a global scale, in the capitalist-colonial nations in the Third World, church leaders frequently supported the systems of economic exploitation, political terrorism, and racism. But as oppressed social classes in Latin America, Africa and the Caribbean began to reject capitalist economics, the hierarchy began to recognize that its historic complicity with systems of exploitation had to end. Years before, Roman Catholic leaders in Europe, pressured by the rise of trade unions and mass social democratic parties, began to address the proletariat. Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum* (1891) defended the right of workers to organize against capital, and advocated

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by Manning Marable

humane working conditions. In *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931), Pope Pius XI condemned the excessive profits of corporations, and urged Catholics to advocate "a more equitable distribution of goods."

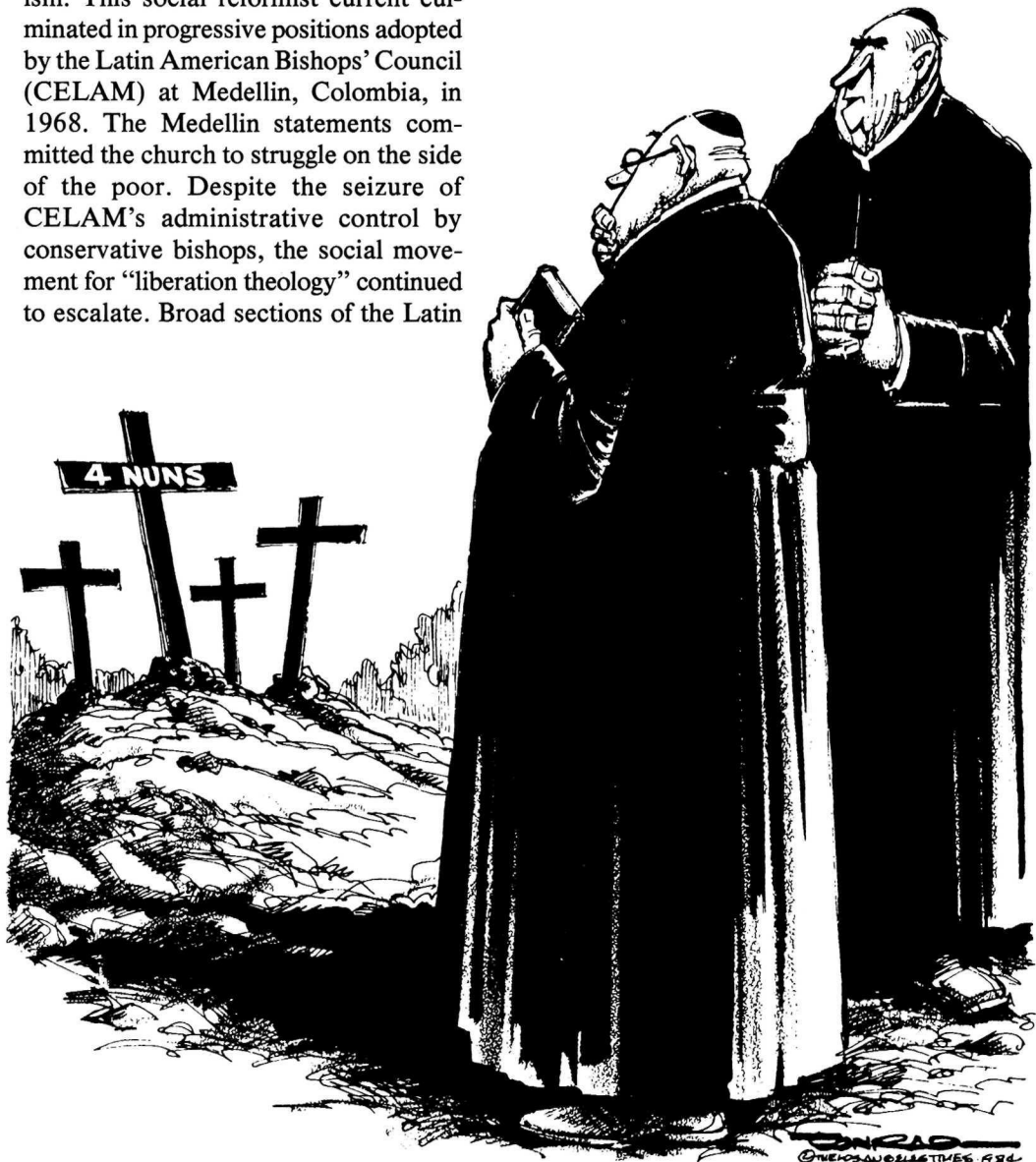
U.S. bishops followed their European counterparts, failing to address the central contradiction of race, but nevertheless expanding their discourses to include social contradictions created by capitalism. In 1919, the U.S. "Bishop's Program of Social Reconstruction" was announced, which advocated "minimum wage legislation, government regulation of public service monopolies, growth of industrial cooperatives, equal pay for women, just wages, public housing and insurance programs, and the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively." Eleven years later, in the midst of the Great Depression, the American Bishops' Administrative Board issued a strong attack on the periodic unemployment cycles inherent to capitalism. "Unemployment is the great peacetime physical tragedy of the 19th and 20th centuries," the statement declared, "and both in its cause and in the imprint it leaves upon those who inflict it, those who permit it, and those who are its victims; it is one of the great moral tragedies of our time."

But it is within the broader context of liberation theology, the recent rigorous criticisms by John Paul II of monopoly capitalist exploitation, and the world rise of a politically involved clergy, that the U.S. Catholic bishops' economic pastoral may be best comprehended.

Vatican Council II, called by the liberal visionary Pope John XXIII, was the beginning of "liberation theology." The theological edifice of Aquinas at

long last gave way to the modern world. In the Caribbean and Latin America, the church increasingly began to attack the systems of political oppression and economic dependency generated by capitalism. This social reformist current culminated in progressive positions adopted by the Latin American Bishops' Council (CELAM) at Medellin, Colombia, in 1968. The Medellin statements committed the church to struggle on the side of the poor. Despite the seizure of CELAM's administrative control by conservative bishops, the social movement for "liberation theology" continued to escalate. Broad sections of the Latin

American clergy openly condemned capitalist exploitation, embraced liberation movements, and spoke a social language akin to Marxism in advocating



"WE CAN ONLY PRAY THEY WERE FOLLOWING THE LIBERATION THEOLOGY OF CHRIST, NOT MARX!"

constructive pastoral programs among the rural masses and the working class.

The more conservative Catholic hierarchy was forced to counterpose its social vision against capitalist excesses while steering clear of Marxism. Pope John Paul II's Sept. 3, 1984, statement on liberation theology criticized priests who "transform the fight for the rights of the poor into a class fight within the ideological perspective of the class struggle." The Pope denounced Marxism for creating regimes which denied "basic freedoms" by "totalitarian and atheistic" means. However, it was too late to return to the status quo ante of pre-Vatican II. As journalist Peter Hebblethwaite observed, John Paul II's recent statement remains "one of the most radical documents ever to emanate from the Vatican. In its anxiety to refute liberation theologies . . . it is obliged to borrow their clothes." The statement unambiguously criticizes "the scandal of the shocking inequality between the rich and poor." Even more radical was John Paul II's speech in Canada on Sept. 17. The Pope denounced "imperialistic monopoly," and the exploitation of the poor by the world's wealthy classes.

And on the U.S. scene, clergy in growing numbers had become involved in anti-nuclear weapons campaigns, tenants' organizing, poor people's interests, and anti-racist mobilization. The absence of a mass socialist, labor, or Marxist party is the principal reason that the new activism of U.S. clergy has not moved as far to the left as it has elsewhere. The national political culture is heavily and almost exclusively pro-capitalist, and the acquaintance of U.S. workers with socialism is nearly nonexistent. With the lack of a democratic left alternative, the church does not have to speak "the language of Marxism" as in Latin and Central America. Nevertheless, as the crises of unemployment and poverty fester, the U.S. Church is

Capitalism's toll in human terms

What is the crisis of capitalism creating in political, social and human terms? In the past six years, many Western capitalist democracies have attempted to resolve the systemic crisis of their economies by bringing to power conservative parties.

Reaganism finds its ideological counterparts in Thatcherism in the United Kingdom, the Progressive Conservatives in Canada, and other rightist parties in West Germany and Japan. Reaganomics represents a calculated effort by capital and the upper middle classes to resolve the crisis at the expense of those social classes which can least afford austerity — Blacks, Latinos, poor Whites, blue collar workers, single women with children and the elderly.

Reagan's 1982 welfare reductions increased the number of poor Americans by 2.2 million, reaching a total of 35 million Americans in poverty by mid-1984. Since January 1981, 1 million people have lost food stamps, and child nutrition programs have been cut 28%. A total of \$120 billion was reduced from programs which directly aid people, and real wages of all employed dropped \$380 billion since 1981. Conversely, households earning over 80,000 annual income received an additional \$35 billion after taxes.

A rise in national unemployment of 1% over a one year period translates into 37,000 additional deaths, including 650 additional homicides, and 920 additional suicides. Each time U.S. unemployment climbs 1% annually, 4,000 additional Americans are admitted to state mental hospitals. A 1% rise in unemployment costs \$20 billion in tax revenues, and \$68 billion lost in national production.

Only in these stark terms can we begin to comprehend the human suffering and social chaos which capitalist economics creates.

Of course, the present crisis is directly related to the massive expenditures on both conventional and nuclear weapons. The major beneficiaries, again, are the large corporations. Profits before taxes for defense contractors are over 50% higher than in the civilian sector.

Who pays for these military expenditures? One half of a nuclear aircraft carrier reduces the Medicaid budget by nearly \$2 billion; two Trident submarines cut \$2.3 billion from the food stamp program, and \$687 million in nutrition assistance to women, children and infants. Forty-six M-1 tanks would provide funds for 500 new city buses for mass transit. One F-16 jet fighter would cover the salaries of 1,000 public school teachers for one year.

Further, U.S. arms producers increased sales to Latin American regimes by 300% between 1969 and 1978; sales to African states soared by 2000% in the same period. Since 1970, U.S. client states in the Third World which maintain capitalist economies spend an average of 5 to 8% of their gross national products to purchase conventional weapons, of which 80% are made by U.S. corporations. These same client capitalist states spend only 1% of the GNP for public health and barely 2 to 3% toward public education. Thus, the needs of world capitalism perpetuate systemic poverty and illiteracy among Third World people, and reinforce authoritarian political structures which sanction human exploitation.

M. M.

pushed forward, lagging behind Third World Catholics but far ahead of U.S. middle-class congregations, toward a unity of social vision and social reality.

A century from now, Americans may view capitalism as we now view slavery, apartheid and Jim Crow segregation — an irrational, wasteful, and immoral socioeconomic system which oppressed millions for the material benefit of the few. Catholics and Democratic socialists alike perceive the elements of what comprises a just society — full employ-

ment, income maintenance for the elderly and the poor, universal healthcare and education, and the absence of political, racial and gender oppression. The Christian road toward socioeconomic transformation might begin with a serious reflection of Christ's "stark statements about the danger of riches," as Archbishop Weakland has commented.

If Christianity is indeed a theodicy, the demand to relate one's faith to the immediate material and social problems of the world necessitates a choice. Faith

in the ability for good to triumph over evil demands a “reckoning with the dominant form of evil” over people’s immediate lives, as theologian Cornel West states. And James Cone’s major essay on “Black Theology and the Black Church” speaks to all American Christians under capitalism. “The time has come for us to move beyond institutional

survival in a capitalistic and racist society and begin to take more seriously our dreams about a new heaven and a new earth. Does this dream include capitalism,” Cone asks, “or is it a radically new way of life more consistent with African socialism as expressed in the Arusha Declaration in Tanzania?”

In short, the praxis of a socially in-

involved Christianity must inevitably include a call for a humanistic and democratic transformation of the political economy of capitalism. It means taking the living legacy of Christ seriously in one’s daily life. The path toward human emancipation, the unity of spiritual and secular egalitarianism, may be the praxis of democratic socialism for our time. ■

On being authentic

by James Lewis

I remember an older woman in a previous church I served who objected to the fact that her parish was serving a free noon meal to people in need.

She was not a cruel or unfeeling person. She just thought that the church, by offering the meal, was inviting dangerous people into the building. She was particularly fearful of people who had been in jail.

One day, while shopping at a local supermarket, she spied a friend in the next aisle. Going to greet her, this woman absentmindedly put a small food item she had in her hand at the time into a bag she was carrying. She inadvertently forgot that it was there. Minutes later she was arrested for shoplifting, put in a police car, driven to the county jail, fingerprinted and placed in a cell. A phone call from this 80-year-old woman brought quick action. She was released and the charges dismissed. It was all a mistake.

I will never forget her response. She told me that she never realized how it felt to be in a jail cell and how it hadn’t dawned on her how close all of us are to jail because of a mistake.

From then on, I noticed a changed attitude on her part to patrons of our

meal. She seemed more empathetic toward them. Many of us have had similar experiences. We have had a change of heart or mind about some issue because a personal experience has jolted us right where we live.

For example:

A group of people in St. Louis oblivious to the environmental debates over dioxin suddenly get involved because the chemical surfaces on the lawn of *their* daycare center.

A woman confronts her own prejudices about homosexuality when her son tells her *he* is gay.

A man, critical of people on welfare because he says they are lazy and don’t want to work, sees how wrong he is when he is without work and forced on welfare.

A woman, who takes pride in saying she’s not a feminist because women are taken care of, is shocked by the sexism she discovers when her husband leaves her and *she* is unable to get credit or a loan because she is a woman.

A number of years ago, a white man dyed his body black and lived in the city in order to feel what it’s like to be Black. He wanted to walk in the Black man’s shoes. His experiences provided copy for a best-selling book.

But the truth is that no one can ever really walk in anyone else’s shoes. The man with dyed skin couldn’t really be Black. And, anyway, why did *he* need to

feel blackness? And why did a white world need a White man’s rendition of what it’s like to be Black? Blacks, like Ralph Ellison, Alice Walker, Malcolm X and Sojourner Truth, have been telling us what it’s like to be Black in the United States for years. Isn’t that truth enough?

Do we have to be oppressed to understand oppression?

Do we have to be addicted to understand an addict?

Do we have to be female or Black or Hispanic or Jewish or disabled to understand what it is like to be a minority or a second-class citizen?

Is the measure of truth grasped only by *my* experiences, what *I* feel and what *I* see? I hope not.

We certainly learn, as my friend did, by our experiences. But finally we must admit that we can’t experience enough in one lifetime to understand what all of life is about. We have to learn by listening to and honoring other people’s experiences quite different from our own.

Of particular importance is listening to people who have lived on the underside of life — the outcasts — the oppressed — minorities — the shunned — those on the fringe — those outside of our experiences. They teach us the most — if we listen and don’t demand that their experience be ours before it is accepted as authentic.

It is authentic in and of itself. ■

The Rev. E. James Lewis is a member of the Michigan Coalition for Human Rights and sits on the Board of Directors of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company.

Revolution in the workplace

by Richard W. Gillett

The question of work may well be the critical global social issue of the last two decades of the 20th century. Not only in the Western industrialized nations, but also in the socialist nations and in the Third World, the question inexorably rises to the top of the list of the world's complex problems. In most of the Western nations, unemployment is now running at about 10%. In the Soviet Union and Eastern bloc nations, questions of worker alienation, relationship to bureaucracy and trade union independence are becoming increasingly critical, calling into question long-held political assumptions and practices. In the Third World where there frequently is almost no governmental cushion to sustain the jobless, unemployment figures are astronomical: in Kenya up to 25%, in Mexico 30 to 40%, in Chile 25%.

The other crucial social issues — adequate housing, hunger, the massive migratory movements of people, the incredible burden upon society of a global arms race, the degenerating urban centers of the world, the basic human need to feel productive and creative — would become much less critical if the core

issue of work could be effectively addressed.

In the United States, the recent economic recovery, while impressive statistically, masks the deeper realities of worker and community devastation unaffected by it. Uncounted in the dropping unemployment figures are over 1 million discouraged workers who have given up looking for work, over 5 million part-time workers who would like full-time jobs, and untold former blue collar workers now working at half their former wages. Receiving only passing attention is the recent substantial jump in the numbers of people who are officially classified as poor, to 35.3 million people in 1983, or 15.2% of the population. Economists say there is little likelihood this will dip significantly, even in a recovery. Furthermore, the recovery has been purchased at a terrible price: the creation of a monstrous federal deficit — a “mortgage” upon future prosperity — and the expansion of jobs through vastly increased military production.

And the issue before us is not simply unemployment. It is work. “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,” states the Papal Encyclical *Laborem Exercens*, (“On Performing Work,” September 1981). Technology and the coordinated global use of corporate capital are rapidly changing the

patterns of work. In this country, almost an entire industrial work force has become jobless in the recent devastating recession, while the booming “information industry,” based on the invention of the microchip, and the service industries create a demand for a new, different, and considerably smaller work force. It is a work force becoming more and more polarized at opposite ends of the economic spectrum. At one end are the increasingly educated and affluent managers and technicians of this new technology. At the other end are the discarded workers of the obsolescent industrial era, followed by more and more women and more and more minorities, all of whom are progressively more exploited and relegated to the margins of power and influence over their own lives. Even in the more prosperous years of the past decade there was already developing in our society a “permanent underclass,” consisting disproportionately of minorities, who were growing up with no work experience at all.

But flowing in a direction opposite to these currents, both in the United States and abroad, is a growing belief by masses of working people and would-be working people that they should have a voice in decisions made in the workplace — a thirst for *recognition*. Seen in this context, the reigning American political philosophy that the individual alone must bear the ultimate responsibility for finding work runs counter to this trend, and returns to a simplistic 19th century view

The Rev. Richard W. Gillett, based in the Los Angeles office of the Episcopal Church Publishing Co., is a contributing editor of *THE WITNESS*. The above article is an excerpt from his forthcoming book, *Revolution in the Workplace: The Reshaping of Work and Church Response*.

of work — a view that even in its own time lacked full acceptance.

Thus, work will be a central and inescapable issue from now until, and perhaps well past, the turn of the century. Even in the United States, the numbers of people who have lost their jobs in the private sector in the last decade run as high as 70%. They were lost in the most prosperous nation on earth as part of this great shift in work; a disinvestment by private industry in the productive capacity of the American economy. About 32 to 38 million workers have been so affected in the past decade.

It should be obvious even to the most unperceptive churchgoer that the sheer impact of such a loss is staggering. Such is its human dimension that entire communities have been deeply affected, from the Atlantic seaboard states through the Midwest, to the Deep South, and to Southern California and into the Pacific Northwest.

Yet the issue of work is all but unknown as a relevant issue in the American religious community. For example, is the performing of work of any religious significance? Our seminaries briefly raise the question through such classical texts as Max Weber's "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism," and they review medieval and Reformation views of work. But once seminarians become pastors, that one-half of a parishioner's weekday waking hours which constitutes a job is almost totally ignored for its place in the Christian scheme of things.

How much does a typical pastor really know, for instance, about his or her parishioner's work life? What Christian education curriculum seriously examines work and Christian life in the modern context, including working wives and husbands who share child care? Both in our contemporary training and in our parish practices, we seem to have ignored the intimate connections between creation, work and human fulfillment, made in the book of Genesis and continued through the Old Testament. The parables of Jesus are overwhelmingly cast into themes of work whose central actors are ordinary working people. We have overlooked the centrality of work as the chief arena where responsible stewardship of God's creation is exercised and participated in by all. Our modern ministry is thus truncated; a ministry largely relegated by theological default to families and their relationships *outside of*, and independent of, their work lives.

It was not always so. In the Middle Ages, the sphere of economics — and therefore, of work — was simply regarded along with society and the state as one part of an organic whole, the *Corpus Christianum*. Of course, that medieval civilization in Europe was an all-encompassing "feudalistic patrimonialism" (Weber) or "patriarchalism of love" (Troeltsch), and a pluralistic church and world today rightly reject such an arrangement. Nonetheless, the ensuing Reformation saw the beginning of a gradual disengagement of religion from

economics as a relevant and biblical concern. Historian R. H. Tawney, wrote that Protestantism had "emptied religion of its social content and society of its soul." With the dawn of capitalism, economics began to be separated from the other social disciplines, including theology, that together underlay the theory and function of the state. In the exhilaration of the discoveries of production miracles wrought by the 18th century industrial revolution, economics in effect became the new autonomous queen of the sciences. It promulgated not only the laws that governed the exchange of goods and services but purported also to find in human nature itself the foundations of the lawfulness of economic phenomena. The universality economists claimed for their abstractions rested on a psychology of possessive individualism.

So extensively have these assumptions prevailed in both church and state in the contemporary Western world, that the profound and comprehensive insights on work promulgated by Western historian and economist Karl Marx remain, 100 years after his death, at the outer fringes of dialogue.

Thus was the groundwork laid for the church's abandonment of any claim to speak authoritatively about work as a religious issue.

Theologically, a recognition of the sweep and profundity of the Christian doctrines of the Incarnation and of Creation are more than sufficient foundations for serious engagement with the issues of work as they now present themselves. The whole person and the totality of the human condition are definitively established as the arenas of Christian concern under these doctrines. How the economic system serves the person and the community are therefore proper subjects of Christian concern. Precisely the reverse is the common assumption today; namely, how the person can serve the economic system.

But there is a more serious impediment.



The mainline churches in America are by and large so distanced by their middle-class, mostly White constituencies from the depth and extent of the pain and alienation felt by working people that it is still largely an abstraction of unknown and therefore unfelt dimensions. All the theologizing in the world is useless until we make a concerted effort to identify, and directly engage ourselves with, the affected masses of working people in their struggles. In this regard, the experience of Latin American Christians in their applications of liberation theology is instructive: First comes the engagement with the concrete reality; then, as the "second step," comes the theologizing.

The task before us, therefore, is to attempt, first, to measure the scope of what is happening on the American scene. How widespread is this "economic dislocation"? What impact is it having upon workers, their families, and their communities? How are they coping? What are the long-term effects? What does it feel like to be laid off if you are a Black automobile worker with 20 years' seniority, or a 50-year old woman who has made electric irons for 28 years? What is life like for an 18-year old woman up from rural Mexico to an American-owned plant in Juarez or Tijuana on the border, who is squinting

through a microscope soldering microchips?

What happens in a one-industry town such as Detroit, or Youngstown, or Anaconda, Mont.; or Salinas, Cal. when industry packs up and leaves? What is the spiritual as well as economic cost to families in these towns who pull up their roots and take to the highways in search of a job elsewhere? Most pathetically, what is the cost to the children who watch their jobless father's or mother's dignity and self-esteem vanish before their eyes?

It is not enough, of course, simply to become well-informed about the human effects. We must seek to understand and piece together the major economic and social dimensions of what is happening. "Economic dislocation" is the term used frequently to describe what is happening to the structure and nature of work today. What, for instance, is the significance of the movement away from a blue collar work force and towards a service-and-information society? How widespread is it, and to what extent is there job carry-over from one to the other? What part does the new evolution in technology — in information and transportation systems — play in this? What is the role of multinational corporations? Why is the recent shift of jobs and

capital overseas so extensive? Is there a good side to the new technology? Does automation and the rapidly rising use of industrial robots to do boring and tedious jobs formerly held by workers hold a humanizing promise? And as technology increasingly compartmentalizes the work task, will a sense of satisfaction and pride in work remain with the worker?

These are just some of the questions needing to be addressed.

In this regard, it is heartening, and timely, that the U.S. Catholic bishops, following upon their widely influential 1983 pastoral letter on nuclear warfare, plan to issue for discussion and final adoption, a pastoral letter on "Catholic Social Teaching and the American Economy" in late 1984 and 1985. The results should be a boon to all religious bodies concerned for justice in the work place, and will hopefully help stimulate both a new theology and new strategies on behalf of work and workers everywhere.

Over 100 years have passed since Charles Dickens wrote *Hard Times*, which most vividly depicts the misery and human exploitation experienced by workers in 19th century England. In spite of Dickens' passionate chronicling of the "downside" of the Industrial Revolution, we still remember that revolution more for its "upside," for the way it revolutionized the production process and world trade and commerce, than for the damage it wreaked upon human beings, families and communities. As the quote from the papal encyclical stated, we stand once again on the eve of revolutionary developments in the world of work and production. The churches are one of the few institutions in society with a belief in the dignity of the human person and the innate preciousness of the world community before God; and with a constituency having the potential to make a significant difference in the outcome of this new revolution that is fast upon us. ■



SHORT TAKES



Separation of church, state

Separation of church and state cannot mean an absolute separation between moral principle and political power. The challenge today is to recall the origin of the principle, to define its purpose and refine its application to the politics of the present.

... The controversy about the Moral Majority arises not only from its views, but from its name — which, in the minds of many, seems to imply that only one set of public policies is moral — and only one majority can possibly be right.

— **Senator Ted Kennedy**
Religion and Public Education
Winter/Spring 1984

Corporations & apartheid

U.S. corporate presence in South Africa dates back to the 19th century. For example, General Electric has operated there since 1894 and Mobil's roots go back to 1897. To suggest that General Electric or Mobil or Westinghouse have been progressive forces in breaking down the apartheid system is spurious.

White South Africans enjoy what may be the highest standard of living in the world as a result of the economic growth brought about with the assistance of foreign investment and technology. Unfortunately this economic growth has not been shared with the Black population.

The inference that U.S. corporations provide employment to a number of Blacks and that U.S. corporate practices in South Africa can change apartheid by serving as a progressive example, must be seen in the context of other facts. Less than 1% of the Black labor force in South Africa is employed by U.S. corporations. A large concentration of U.S. firms are in manufacturing and high technology industries with capital intensive, rather than labor intensive, strategies. Ironically, U.S. capital intensive investments will lessen the economy's dependence on Black labor. In addition, the notoriously deficient Black educational system ensures that better educated Whites

The sparrow's contribution

We are grateful to *Benedictines for Peace* in Erie for this anecdote:

It was a chilly, overcast day when a horse-back rider spied a little sparrow lying on its back in the middle of the road. Reining in, the rider inquired of the fragile creature, "Why are you lying upside down like that?"

"I heard the heavens are going to fall today," replied the bird.

The rider laughed! "And I suppose your spindly legs can hold up the heavens?"

"One does what one can," said the little sparrow.

S. Lucille Nachtstheim of Cottonwood, ID, who sent the story suggested, "Doesn't this describe our peace efforts?"

will obtain positions demanding a technical education or background.

Washington, D.C. Councilmember John Ray noted at a conference on investment in South Africa (Boston, 1983), that divestment could bring some suffering to Black employees of U.S. firms, but added that the vast majority of South African Blacks suffer considerably under apartheid. He reminded the audience that slavery in the United States provided full employment for Blacks, but that abolition of slavery did not generate complaints about the loss of full employment.

— **Max Obuszewski**
ICCR's Corporate Examiner
Vol. 12, No. 10

Named Bishop of Nicaragua

The Rev. Sturdie Wyman Downs, dean supervisor of the Pacific Coast Deanery and vicar of All Saints Church, Managua, was elected Bishop of Nicaragua at a special convention Sept. 9 in Bluefields. Bishop-elect Downs, 37, was named on the first ballot in a field of five candidates, all Nicaraguan nationals. When the vote was announced, the congregation rose in standing ovation and the bishop-elect broke into tears.

The Diocese of Nicaragua, currently part of the Ninth Province of the Episcopal Church, U.S.A., will be seeking autonomy at the 1985 General Convention to become part of a new province to include the Dioceses of Costa Rica, Puerto Rico and Cuba.

Taxation sans militarization

Conscientious tax objectors have taken their war on war to a new front: the Internal Revenue Service. They want the same rules that exempt draftees from military service on moral grounds to excuse people who refuse to pay "war taxes."

A bill introduced to the House of Representatives by California Democrat Ron Dellums would provide for just that. The World Peace Tax Fund Act (H.R. 3224) allows taxpayers who qualify as conscientious objectors to earmark the portion of their tax bill that normally goes to the military for a special World Peace Tax Fund.

Right now, people morally opposed to war and the military have three choices when it comes to federal income tax: paying in full and living with guilty consciences; purposely holding their incomes to below-taxable levels; or withholding the military portion of their tax (estimated at 42¢ on \$1 for Fiscal Year 1983). Those who go the third route — anywhere between 900 and 20,000 taxpayers each year, depending on whether you believe the IRS or peace groups — are deemed tax evaders. As such, they're subject to numerous fines, including a new \$500 penalty for "frivolous" filing.

— **Carole Bass**
Cooperative News Service

Millionaire rites, Mobil style

Life is full of astonishing contrasts. In May this year I attended my first annual meeting of a giant American corporation. I was invited to go along with a friend who had a few shares of Mobil stock. She too had never attended a corporation celebrating its rites of spring. It was an odd and in some ways a chilling experience. The world of reality — the world of international tensions, poverty, hunger, wars and revolutions — remained outside the Scottish Rite Masonic Temple on Wilshire Boulevard in Los Angeles. Inside the Mobil minions all dressed alike in dark suits checked the shareholders' credentials as we came into the large auditorium.

The theatre-like hall was more than half filled when we arrived. The audience was composed of well-fed men and women in middle life. They were dressed as befitted stockholders of Mobil shares. All seemed to be reading the proxy statement which contained the agenda, the financial reports and stockholder proposals. As the proxy statement had been mailed out two months earlier, it was a little like cramming for a final exam.

Promptly at 10 a.m., Rawleigh Warner, Jr., chairman of the board and chief executive officer, called the meeting to order. After a few introductory remarks he outlined the game plan. A large digital

clock was to be used to limit speakers to two minutes each and flashed red when the time limit was exceeded. He said that this was necessary to assure all the shareholders present a chance to participate in the discussion of the various items on the agenda. Of course, this didn't happen. Two gentlemen dominated the discussion of several of the matters presented but in reality formed a sort of loyal opposition to the management. Outside of the Baptist minister who presented a resolution on South Africa, only a handful of others took the microphones.

Among the first items brought up was the matter of approval of the compensation paid to the executives of Mobil. A rather raw nerve was touched when a shareholder expressed polite disapproval of the cash compensation for the five most highly paid officers of the corporation. From the reports it appeared that in 1983 Warner had received a salary of \$1,644,038 and William P. Tavoulareas, president of Mobil, received \$1,415,500. It turned out that in addition to his salary Warner had received in the past few years Mobil stock worth more than \$3,000,000 under the Mobil incentive compensation and stock option plan. In reply Warner noted that such salaries were customary in business, sports and the entertainment world and suggested that they were well merited.

I could only wonder how any man or woman in the world was worth that much money. By contrast I thought of the little

Mexican-American parish I attend where the parishoners scratch a bare living on or slightly above the poverty level. I also thought of the people my wife and I serve in a shelter for homeless men and women — people without jobs, homes or anyone to care for them. There are estimated to be some 30,000 homeless men and women in the city of Los Angeles sleeping under freeway bridges, back yards and doorways. The world of bag ladies and the homeless is far removed from that of corporate America. I wondered how is it possible to reconcile these two worlds, the world of million dollar salaries and the unemployed woman who has lost her home, her savings and only has the clothes on her back. I decided you can't.

The young Baptist minister introduced his church's resolution on South Africa which was also co-sponsored by the Dominican Sisters, the Society of Catholic Medical Missionaries and the United Church Board for World Ministries. Together with the Baptists these groups hold some 21,000 shares of Mobil stock. The proposal noted that Mobil had done some good things in following the plan devised some years ago by Dr. Leon Sullivan. This plan forms the basis for voluntary action on the part of more than 100 companies doing business in South Africa in the fields of health, employment, education and housing. Today the author of the plan has said that it isn't enough and that the goals outlined by Bishop Desmond Tutu, General Secretary of the South African Council of

The Rev. E. Lawrence Carter is an Episcopal priest and artist based in Los Angeles.

dogmatic. This faith provided both ballast and compass for what after proved a stormy journey in her pilgrimage. It was the same faith which mandated work with and the defense of communists and secular radicals possible and real. It was neither gratuitous, condescending nor adventurous (in the sense of self-gratification). Her sense of justice issued from firm theological beliefs with discernible perimeters. It did not partake of that theological anarchism or Trotskyism so prevalent today in Western Christendom.

It is this dimension of theology — ordered and traditional as the seed of Vida Scudder's flowering — which is so absent in the WITNESS article. In this sense the lionization of Vida Scudder without the insight into her spiritual core is almost like the medieval traffic in parts of Saints.

Francis Haitch
New York, N.Y.

Tool for education

Thank you for your most refreshing, energizing and challenging magazine which comes into my convent home each month. I have great admiration for the ways in which you integrate social justice survival issues of Central America, nuclear threat, feminism, classism and racism. I began my subscription as a vehicle to help me with my involvement in my Catholic Sisters' social justice committee. What a find you have been — a real blessing! Keep up your great work of educating for a peace and just church and society.

I also team teach a Women's Studies course through various state universities here in rural Minnesota as adjunct faculty. Of course, I was greatly appreciative of your Special Issue, *Daughters of Prophecy*. Alla Bozarth-Campbell is a personal friend who has also ministered to me in her priesthood. I will be sharing that particular issue with the classes.

Sister Michelle Meyers
Hutchinson, Minn.

Left out Colson, too

Pathetic! How else can I describe your efforts to function as a *Christian* ministry. After reading a recent issue, I thought of writing you because of my having found the name of Christ but once (and that only used incidentally) in the entire issue. But then I looked over the "letters" section of another issue and found someone had written about the absence of the word "Bible" in an entire issue. Obviously, I had a change of mind about writing.

And how could you write about prison ministries (June issue) without one mention of the Prison Fellowship under the leadership of Charles Colson?

J. W. Dunn
A.P.O. Miami, Fla.

Poem saved sub

I had decided not to renew my subscription because I have eight back issues piled up that I haven't had time to read. But my July issue arrived, and what to my wondering eyes should appear but a poem by Alla with a message clear — a challenge, a warning, a vision of hope that God safely guides me to an unseen new home. Even though I grow weary and sometimes lose way I need only remember my God-given name . . .

This is the best I've read of Alla Bozarth-Campbell's poems. Thank you for printing it, and renew my subscription for another year.

Mary Ann Brown
Minneapolis, Minn.

Barb under saddle

As a non-believer in a holy-seer, male or female, I must respectfully decline your most generous offer to subscribe to THE WITNESS.

I do think, however, that your magazine, judging from the promotional mailing, has the potential to be a constructive barb under the saddle blanket of the ex-cowboy actor. For that I applaud you. Good luck!

Bob Corbett
Camden, S.C.

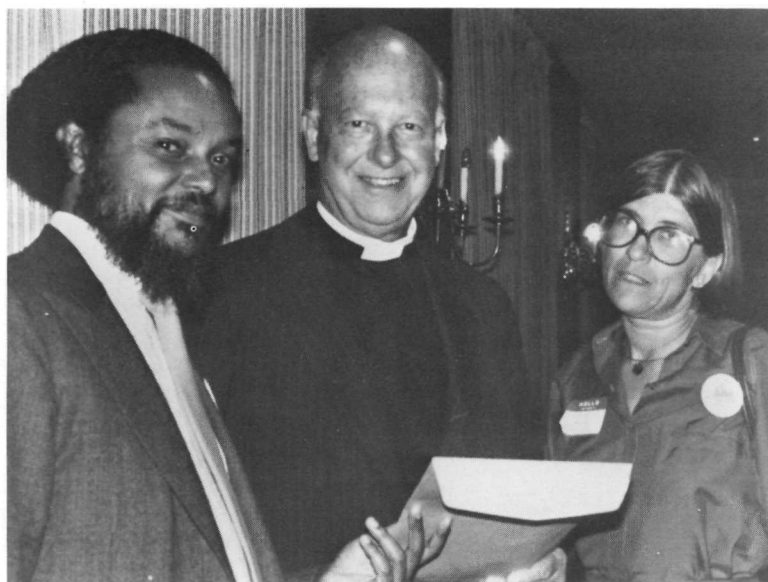
by Lawrence Carter

Churches, should be adopted. These call for the housing of work-force families near the place of employment, affirming Black trade unions, recognizing the right of the worker to labor wherever the best price can be obtained, calling for labor mobility and opposing any ultimate implementation of influx control. And finally the proposal called for the implementation and/or increase of activity on each of the Tutu principles or take the necessary steps to withdraw from South Africa.

It wasn't a complete surprise when Warner rejected this proposal out of hand remarking that the management and a majority of the stockholders opposed the resolution and moved on to the next question.

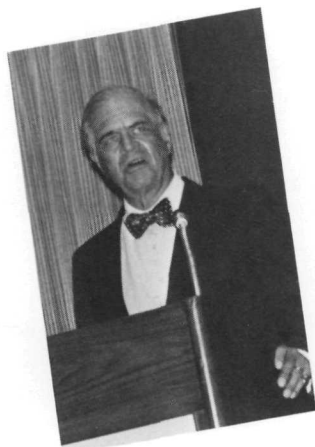
By coincidence, the following Sunday Bishop Tutu preached in All Saints Church in Pasadena. Hearing this profoundly spiritual and charismatic man of God show the relevance of the Gospel as it applies to the Black South African, one could only reflect once again on the strange and amoral world of corporate America.

The meeting droned on smoothly and in accordance with the game plan. Then came the climatic moment when the retiring president, Tavoulareas, was to give a preview of the wonders that lay ahead for the Mobil Corporation. As the auditorium lights were being dimmed and the spotlight centered on the podium, my friend and I left. It was time for lunch, but we weren't very hungry. ■

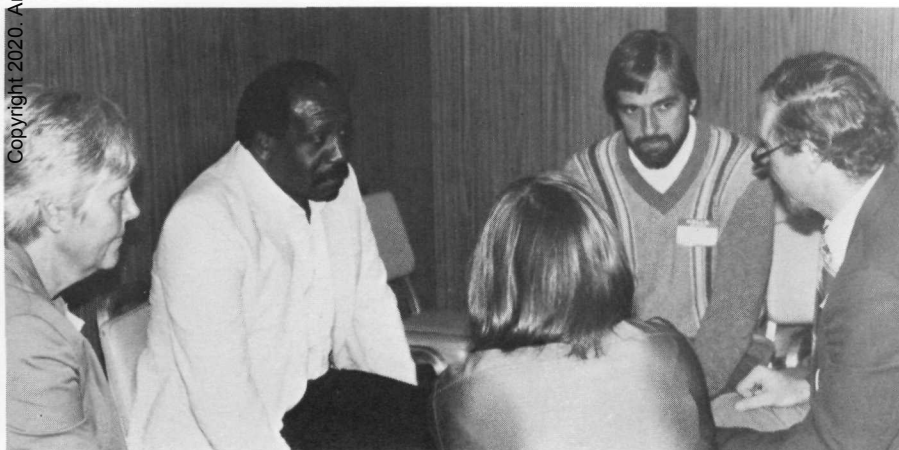


Episcopal urban caucus on candid camera

The Rt. Rev. John Burt, who conducted the interview earlier in this issue of THE WITNESS, was keynote speaker at EUC's fifth national assembly in Detroit recently. He is shown at top with Byron Rushing and Anne Scheibner, EUC president and vice-president, respectively.



Center, the Hon. G. Mennen "Soapy" Williams, former Governor of Michigan, left, greeted the Caucus at its opening banquet. The Rev. Edward Rodman of Boston, right, who is serving as interim EUC executive, prepared a working document embellished by delegates, calling for greater regional and local activities aided by field secretaries, to be supervised by a coordinator and central office.



Bottom: A discussion group ponders the Caucus agenda. EUC members urged that candidates for Presiding Bishop have a "personal track record" in social and economic justice; lobbied for a better run Jubilee ministry; opposed the sale of national church headquarters in New York at this time. Resolutions asked that U.S. policy toward South Africa be debated in the presidential election; deplored the treatment of five Hispanic Grand Jury resisters (including Maria Cueto, former church employee and Steven Guerra of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company); affirmed the Rev. Judy Upham, under fire for allowing homosexuals to conduct religious services in her parish; and supported the concept of pro-choice before birth and the right to full life after birth in the abortion debate.

Editorial . . . Continued from page 4
 ancient Greece; whether the work experience itself is becoming less and less a vocational expression and more and more a grim endurance test of meaningless motions and rituals; whether there may need to evolve in economic life, a far-sighted planning for the needs of all, democratic in nature and making working people the *subject* of the economic system.

In both the Canadian bishops' statement of January, 1983 and in the Papal Encyclical *Laborem Exercens*, the bishops have — if they will use them — clear guides. "Work is for the person, and not the person for work", states Pope John Paul II's encyclical. And the principle of the priority of labor over capital (which his encyclical asserted and the Canadian bishops followed) is nothing less than the biblical witness itself calling us back to the chapters of Genesis, the prophets, and the book of Acts. According to them we are called to give moral shape to our society, to help move it closer, in likelihood, to the Kingdom of God.

So let the debate begin. Let us in the Christian community also enter it to learn and to listen. But let us enter it knowing that our religious heritage allows us to offer a clarity and a vision that such a debate will surely need as it moves through the year ahead.

(R. W. G. and the editors)

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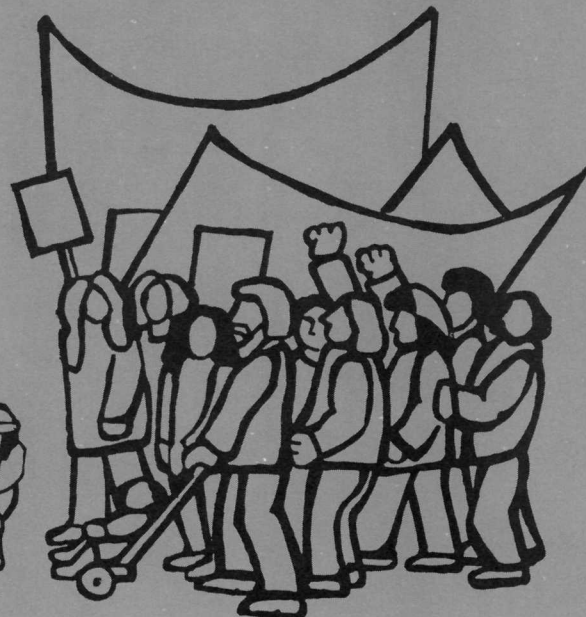


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THE WITNESS



**Bishop Desmond Tutu
Winner Nobel Peace Prize**

Into this world, this demented inn
in which there is absolutely no room
for him at all,
Christ comes uninvited.

But because he cannot be at home in it,
because he is out of place in it,
and yet he must be in it,
His place is with the others for whom
there is no room.

His place is with those who do not belong,
who are rejected by power, because
they are regarded as weak,
those who are discredited,
who are denied status of persons,
who are tortured, bombed and
exterminated.

With those for whom there is no room,
Christ is present in this world.

— Thomas Merton

Letters

Ministry a call

I am responding to the editorial, "The Gifts of God for the People of God," in your September 1984 issue.

It is my conviction that ordained ministry is not a job so much as it is a call. Skills for ministry are important, but a call from God and the worshiping community is essential. When I hear that "Those who have the gift and the desire to serve by leading and to lead by serving need to be enabled and encouraged," and that (we need to make available) "... all the gifts, for all the people.", then I wonder if we are not confusing "skill" and "job" (respectively) with "gift". A call is not a gift one receives simply because one has certain skills and inclinations. It is not a job you are given because you are deserving.

Like God's gracious self giving, which we remember powerfully at the Eucharist, like the gifts given by the Spirit (among which is the office of apostle or bishop), it is a gift given directly by God. We as a church and as individuals can recognize or fail to recognize God-given gifts — but we cannot give them. We can encourage them when we discern them. We can work and pray for better discernment on the part of the church (which requires that our hearts and minds be open, as well as those of our "opponents"), but somehow I am not sure that this is what you mean.

I react similarly when I read about "the call for a woman bishop." I assume that women bishops will be called forth by God and the whole community. I believe that this will be a good thing. But not if we give the "job" of bishop to a woman simply because she is a woman (and we feel that some woman deserves it). And when I read that there are "women's gifts of nurturing and healing," it occurs to me that this is the same type of thinking which suggests that only men are crea-

tive and which kept women out of the ministry for so many years. This is, I hope, what we are trying to change!

The Rev. John Mangels
Meeteetse, Wyo.

(THE WITNESS editorial, as indeed, the call for wholeness urging the ordination of women bishops, comes against unjust structures which prohibit a vocation or a gift of leadership from being fulfilled. Granted that the call to ordained ministry comes from God who moves the recipient to pursue the goal, the individual so moved cannot fulfill the intent if discriminatory institutional structures make that option impossible. With regard to "a bleeding world cries out for women's gifts of nurturing and healing": the statement was not meant to exclude men who have those gifts. But empirical evidence seems to indicate that the men who wield the world's decision-making power in patriarchal church and state structures do not exercise those qualities with great efficacy. With a call for wholeness and women's participation, we might have a different world. — Eds.)

Favorite woodcut on cover

What a treat to see my favorite woodcut on your October cover! It hangs over my fireplace at home to remind me of false piety; the temptation of "ostrich adjustment"; pain masked by prettiness; and what I especially enjoy is the child being the only one with courage enough to look up and see what's happening! Not printed with my picture is its title: "But deliver us from unpleasantness". Hodgell might well have added, with tongue still in cheek, "at all cost"! Secondly, I am glad for Charles Meyer's article. Again, thanks for a splendid issue.

John L. Abraham
Grand Rapids, Mich.

Death article insightful

Chuck Meyer's discussion of "Death and Spirituality" (October WITNESS) offered a great amount of useful insight. In 24 years of hospital chaplaincy, I have experienced much testifying to the truth of what he writes. As he seems to conclude, death is the final healing and it is welcomed by most aged patients, as well as their families.

However, it is not as easy to achieve such acceptance in the instances of parents with stricken children, with many young adults, or even with some in their prime years of family responsibility. Also, we are faced with the Gospel accounts of our Lord's healing such people. I have always believed that spiritual healing — not to be confused with faith healing — and anointing as a healing sacrament are responsible Christian practices, both strengthening and efficacious. Of course, while we can be sure of God's will that a human spirit be healed, the form and time of physical healing has to be left completely in God's hands.

Yes, we shall all die; only if we are ready to accept this fact, can we live fully. Yet surely it is not wrong to encourage a younger person to make a fight for life and to assist him or her to do so with every means at our disposal — up to a point. What this point is must depend on God's revelation to the ill persons themselves; and we should take our cues from them. We ought not to be in the position of removing hope; that hope should be directed towards a richer life in God's service — whether in this stage of life or in the one that follows physical death. And I agree with Chaplain Meyer that the enhanced life can be attained only through death.

Personally, I would not like to resubstitute the medieval Last Rites for the early Church's Sacrament of the Sick. Except for Holy Communion of the

Dying (Viaticum), death is itself a sacrament and requires no other. Recognizing that it is God's ultimate will for us all and that it is a merciful release, however, does not preclude our using the Biblical sacrament of anointing or Holy Unction for bodily healing any more than we would renounce modern medicine — also God-given — for the same purpose.

The Rev. Benjamin Axleroad
Philadelphia, Pa.

Attention all poets

On behalf of the Parish Life Institute, I am pleased to announce a forthcoming poetry anthology to D. H. Lawrence (1885-1930), celebrating the 100th anniversary of his birth. The Institute sponsors an annual memorial poetry anthology series; the previous issues included one to George Herbert, Samuel Seabury, Samuel John, and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, all of whom were distinguished in the Anglican communion as well as men of letters. "Lawrence of Nottingham" is in the same genre and is to be a tribute to English literature. We believe that many Episcopalians would be interested to participate.

Inquiries for poet's guidelines should be directed to: Wyndham Hall Press, D. H. Lawrence Anthology, Post Office Box 877, Bristol, IN 46507. Submit no poetry. Entries must conform to the guidelines which are available upon request. All types of poetry will be considered and there are no entry fees. Entry deadline is January 15, 1985.

The Rev. John H. Morgan
Notre Dame, Ind.

Ordinations schismatic

I have received the special issue of THE WITNESS with a covering letter from Bishop Coleman McGehee inviting comments on it.

I have to say that I regard the ordination of women to the priesthood as something which would only be justified if there existed a real consensus in Catholic Christendom that there are no substantial theological objections to it. Clearly such a consensus does not exist at present, and in the absence of it I regard such acts of ordination as schismatic in character and ones which will set back the cause of Christian unity for generations.

The Rt. Rev. Eric W. Kemp
Bishop of Chichester
Church of England

WITNESS to Zimbabwe

Thank you for sending me a copy of THE WITNESS commemorating the 10th anniversary of women's ordination in the United States. Will you please be good enough to send me 15 copies for distribution among the bishops of the Province of Central Africa at their forthcoming meeting. I look forward to the parcel.

The Rt. Rev. Peter Mashonaland
Salisbury, Zimbabwe

'Eminently readable'

Thanks to Connie Meyer for calling me to answer a few questions regarding the role of women in ministry several months back. It was fun to see that article in a special issue commemorating the ordination of women in the Episcopal Church and to find that you had gathered so many fine articles to commemorate that event. The magazine continues to be lively — one that carries our common concerns for peace with justice, but one that is eminently readable for laypersons. I congratulate you on maintaining a magazine of integrity and quality.

Doris Anne Younger
General Director
Church Women United

July 29 plays in Paris

How great my joy to receive September's WITNESS! My own article about the 10th anniversary of women's ordination will be coming out in December in France's *Actualités Religieuses dans le Monde*. July 29, 1984 continues to mark and to move me. I have spoken about the events of the day with French Catholic friends, many of whom were pleasantly surprised, others outright envious of an evolution that will certainly not happen here as long as John Paul II is on the Roman throne.

Nell Riviere-Platt
Paris, France

Prophecy daily reality

Thank you for your special issue, "Daughters of Prophecy," and for the follow-up coverage of the 10th anniversary celebration in your September issue. You shared with us the views of the participants in the ordination and those of distinguished lay leaders and clergy, but you didn't share with us the reactions of "normal, everyday" locally involved lay persons on whom the ordination of women is impacting each day in their parish life. Members of the parish I belong to are in this group.

The Church of St. John the Divine serves a small parish, typical of hundreds in the Episcopal Church, struggling to survive, earnest in our desire to worship in as many areas of our lives as possible, and committed to keeping our parish alive, at least as a parish family, if not in a physical location.

Never in our wildest dreams would we consider ourselves to be revolutionaries on the cusps of social change and yet, we were the first parochial congregation in this diocese to call a woman rector. She was not suggested to us by the bishop or

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Bishop Tutu and the Christian response

by Barbara C. Harris

In this particularly turbulent year of Our Lord 1984, two December observances — Christmas and the presentation of the Nobel Peace Prize — should give Christians added pause for reflection.

Unfortunately for many caught up in the wonder of the Nativity and the prestige of the Nobel awards, it is difficult to move beyond either the pastoral tableau of Bethlehem's stable or the regal grandeur of the Oslo ceremonies. Such romantic encapsulation reduces the two to mere commemorative events and little more.

Some years ago the late Dr. Howard Thurman, distinguished theologian, author and pastor of San Francisco's Fellowship Church for All People, penned a striking bit of Christmas poetry that captures what should be the Christian response to the "Word made flesh."

*When the song of the angels is stilled,
When the star in the sky is gone,
When the kings and the princes are home,
When the shepherds are back with their flock
The work of Christmas begins:
To find the lost
To heal the broken
To feed the hungry,
To release the prisoner
To rebuild the nations,
To bring peace among people,
To make music in the heart.*

Dr. Thurman's words come sharply into focus when looking at the considerable rhetoric that accompanied the naming of Bishop Desmond Tutu, General Secretary of the South Africa Council of Churches, as 1984 Nobel Peace laureate. Response from church and government leaders was both warm and enthusiastic.

Under a New York dateline, a news release from the Episcopal Church Center read: "The news that Desmond Mpilo Tutu, Anglican bishop and vigorous foe of South Africa's racist oppression, is the winner of the 1984 Nobel Peace

Prize caused a joyful peal of bells here and heartfelt thanksgiving throughout the Anglican Communion." Laudatory sentiments were expressed by Presiding Bishop John M. Allin of the Episcopal Church and Archbishop of Canterbury Robert A. K. Runcie. Allin noted "Bishop Tutu has presented the concern for peace to the world through clear and concise rhetoric, as well as through strong and decisive action." Runcie commented from Lambeth Palace that Tutu "and his colleagues have been tireless workers for peace who have attempted to create middle ground in a polarized situation. They have sometimes paid a heavy price for this."

In Philadelphia, the American Friends Service Committee, which had nominated Bishop Tutu for the prize in 1981 and again in 1982, hailed him as "a forthright leader in South Africa, speaking out courageously against the system of apartheid, which is so abhorrent to the world community."

In Johannesburg, as Black and White staff members of the South Africa Council of Churches held a prayer service and other clergy and anti-apartheid leaders expressed their joy, the Botha government, understandably, was silent.

U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Jeanne J. Kirkpatrick, in Paris to receive the International Policy-Hachette Prize (given for working courageously for peace) commented "we are in complete solidarity with Desmond Tutu in his struggle." Ambassador Kirkpatrick later abstained from a U.N. Security Council resolution condemning the South African government for its massive armed crackdown on Black political dissent because of unspecified "excesses of language." It is hard to know whether these "excesses" referred to phrases in the resolution such as "massacre" of Black protestors, or the descriptions of apartheid as a "crime against humanity" and armed raids on civilian homes as "virtual martial law."

Kirkpatrick's abstention, however, was as understandable as the Botha government's eloquent silence. The Reagan

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THE WITNESS

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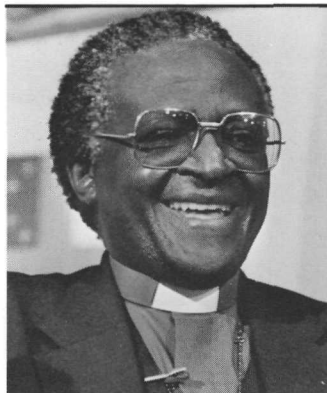


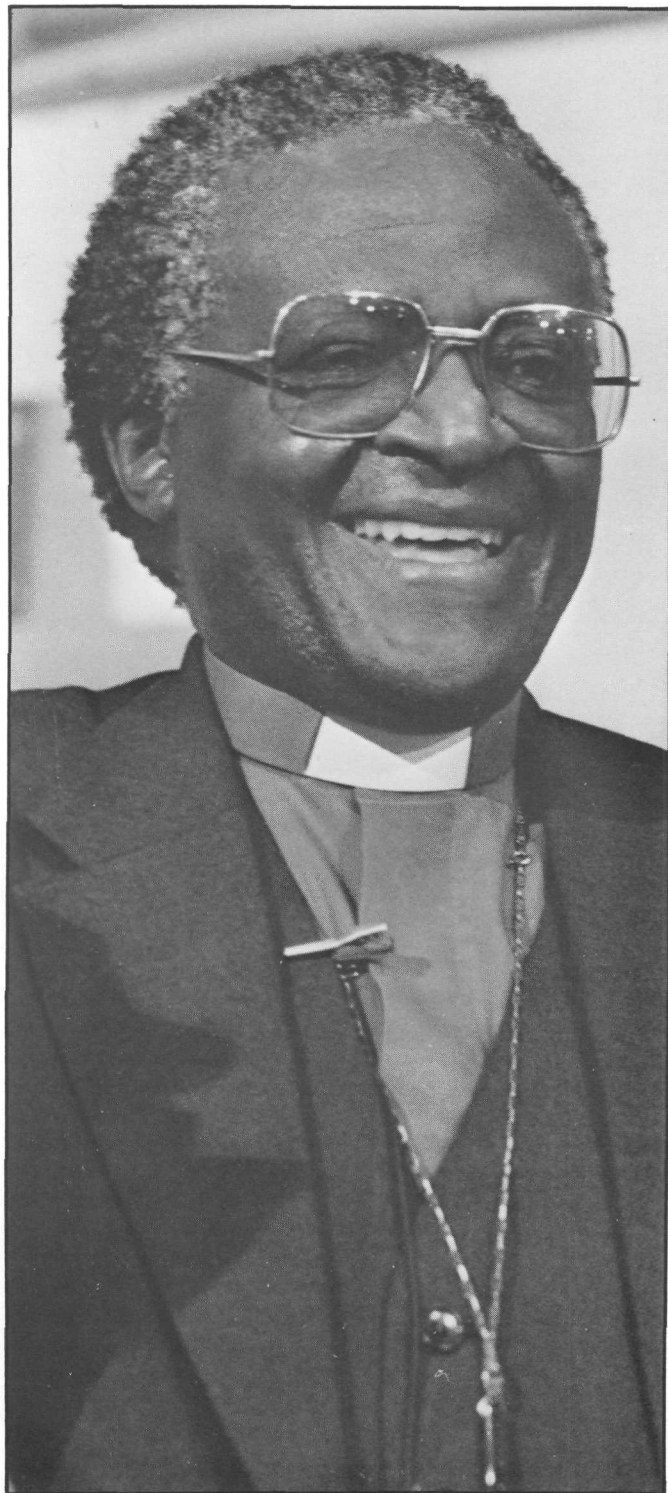
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Credits

Cover photo and photo p. 6 by Pamela Rolande Hasegawa; graphic p. 10 from Report, "The Church and Southern Africa" convened by NCC and USCC; graphic p. 12, *Central America Report*, RTFCA; photos p. 16, M. L. Suhor; graphic p. 20 and box p. 21, *Ground Zero*.

THE WITNESS is published monthly. Editorial office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002. Phone (215)643-7067. Subscription rates \$12 per year. \$1 per copy. THE WITNESS is indexed in the American Theological Library Association's *Religion Index One: Periodicals*. Copyright 1984 by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Printed in U.S.A. ISSN 0197-8896.



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Bishop Desmond Mpilo Tutu

United States a 'strange country'

The United States is a strange country. When Poland's General Jaruzelski does something to Solidarity, your country, before you can say Jackie Robinson, has applied sanctions against Poland; but when something is done to trade unionists in South Africa, government leaders say, "Sanctions don't work, we must have a policy of constructive engagement . . ."

The United States is giving money to rebel forces which it calls freedom fighters to overthrow the properly constituted government of Nicaragua, but when our people take up arms, your government says our freedom fighters are terrorists, and they tell us, "Violence never works. You ought to be ashamed."

— **Partners in Ecumenism Annual Meeting**
Washington, D.C. 1984

Violence of apartheid, racism

Many in our land seem to think that violence is something introduced *de novo* from outside into South Africa by those who are called terrorists, who are part of the so-called total onslaught masterminded by the Soviets or other Communists. I want to stress, as we hardly ever do, that violence is part and parcel of our South African way of life, that the primary violence is the violence of apartheid and racism.

It is the violence that has turned Blacks into aliens in their own motherland. It is the violence that has robbed them of their heritage in the land, dispossessed them since 1913 when they were to be confined to only 13% of the land-surface of the land of their birth. It is the violence which, stripping them of their citizenship, has made possible the anguish of massive forced population removals, when people, God's children, have been uprooted from their homes and dumped in poverty-stricken bantustans where they have starved, not accidentally, but by deliberate government policy. It is the violence of the migratory labor system when the father has to leave his family eking out a miserable existence in the bantustans while he lives an unnatural existence in a single-sex hostel. It is the violence that destroys Black family life, not accidentally but by deliberate government policy, the violence of the final solution. It is the violence of the Pass Laws, which cause the police to hound men and women whose only crime is trying to find work to keep body and soul together. That is the primary violence.

— **South African Council of Churches**
National Conference, 1983

Bishop Tutu speaks

SACC not fly by night group

The SACC and its member churches are not a tuppenny halfpenny fly by night organization. We belong to the Church of God, a church that is found universally spread out throughout the face of the whole inhabited universe. That is what the Greek word from which we find “ecumenical” means. It is the Body of Jesus Christ of which we are members and it is a supernatural, a divine fellowship brought into being by the action of God through the Holy Spirit. It is not merely a human organization that is limited by national or ethnic boundaries. It transcends time and space, race, culture and sex, nationality and all the things that men sometimes think are important.

I am a bishop in the Church of God — that is what was pronounced over me when I was consecrated — so that I am a bishop of the church when I go to Timbuktoo, when I go to Korea; I am a bishop of the church in Russia and in the United States. We belong to something which includes the living in what is called the church militant, which includes the dead in what is called the church quiescent, which includes the saints in glory in what is called the church triumphant. Theologically I have brothers and sisters whom I have never met physically and will probably never meet but ontologically. We are one in our Lord Jesus Christ and I know that they are upholding us with their prayers, with their love, with their caring concern even now.

Because of this theological fact of the nature of the church we express our oneness in all kinds of ways — in our prayers for one another, in making up what is lacking in the resources of another church, and so on. When one church gives to another church either personnel, or material, or money resources that is in fact nothing remarkable. It is as it should be. It is an expression of Christian fellowship, of koinonia in our Lord.

— Before Eloff Commission of Enquiry
of the SACC, South Africa, September, 1982

Taking Bible seriously

Iwant to say what I said before on another occasion: the Bible is the most revolutionary, the most radical book there is. If a book had to be banned, then it ought to have been the Bible, by those who rule unjustly and as tyrants. Whites brought us the Bible and we are taking it seriously.

— Before Eloff Commission,
South Africa, September 1982

Suggested code for investors

Economic pressure need not become economic sanctions if the South African government responds positively. It can mean some such code with the prospect of economic sanctions as the ultimate sanction. Overseas investors will say, we will invest in South Africa provided

- Our work force is housed in family-type accommodations as family units near the place of work of the breadwinner;

- We will recognize Black trade unions, registered or unregistered as long as they are representative;

- We will recognize the right of the worker to sell his labor where he can obtain the best price for labor mobility and the scrapping ultimately of influx control;

- We will enforce fair labor practices and invest massively in Black education and training.

— South African Council of Churches
National Conference, 1983

‘Want our chains removed’

Some investors say, “If we get out of South Africa, others will invest.” The moral turpitude of that argument is breathtaking. It’s like saying, “Hey, your wife is going to be raped and if I don’t do it, someone else is waiting.”

Some people say, “Our presence creates jobs and we have used our presence to change the situation.” When Blacks get very cynical, they say, “That’s very interesting, but it looks as if you’re benefitting from cheap labor.” At best, that argument amounts to amelioration — moving the furniture around, but not changing the structure of the building. We don’t want our chains made comfortable; we want our chains removed.

— 1979 luncheon sponsored by Episcopal Diocese
of Massachusetts and Mass. Council of Churches

Convoluting logic, linguistics

Blacks do not hate Whites because they are White. They hate a White-dominated system of injustice and oppression. This is what must be changed or overthrown for the sake of South Africa, for the sake of all its people, both Black and White. And it is because Blacks in Zimbabwe, in South Africa and in Namibia have, they believe, tried every peaceful means that they have been compelled reluctantly to resort to violence to oppose a system that has used and uses legal-

ized and institutionalized violence to oppress and cow them, as through the migratory labor system which separates fathers from their children and husbands from their wives. Our people are fundamentally peace-loving and patient to a fault.

They have, as they see it, had no other option left open to them but to resort to violence. And they have been flabbergasted at how most of the Western world turned pacifist all of a sudden. The same Western world has lauded to the skies the underground resistance movements during the last World War; it is the same Western world which has all but canonized Dietrich Bonhoeffer as a modern martyr, a man involved in a plot to assassinate the leaders of his country and executed for this crime. And Blacks have been amazed at the convoluted logic and linguistic contortions of those who have condemned Black liberation movements.

And then they have remembered that the atom bomb was unleashed on a so-called non-European people and there was a further holocaust in Vietnam perpetrated by the West on the nonwhite peoples of Indo-China. One did not wonder too long whether the same destruction could have been unleashed on Whites. I am myself firmly committed to justice and reconciliation and peaceful but, radical change. I have seen too much violence in Ulster, in the Middle East, in Nigeria, in Ethiopia to be unconcerned about the destructiveness of violence, but I can't go on saying all these things when the other side is armed to the teeth and has no qualms in using its military and police might ruthlessly. I can't go on saying these things and hope to retain any credibility. I can't go on saying these things when I see those whom I know very well, those whose integrity I respect deeply and whom I know to be concerned for justice, peace and reconciliation being harassed and imprisoned and detained and made to suffer for what they believe firmly. I can't go on saying these things when I see the quite irresponsible disregard for human resources. I can't go on saying these things unless our concern for natural ecology is matched by our concern for human ecology. . .

The only chance of real reconciliation in Southern Africa lies in the conversion of the Black to an acceptance of personhood, because reconciliation can happen only between real persons. I am committed to the liberation and freedom of our people, both Black and White, because whilst one section of society is unfree and oppressed, to just that extent the apparently free, the oppressors, are themselves unfree and in need of liberation.

(Keynote speech, consultation on Southern Africa by National Council of Churches and U.S. Catholic Conference, 1977. Bishop Tutu was then Anglican Bishop of Lesotho.)

May trigger World War III

I have said before, as many others of my fellow countrymen have said, there is no doubt in our own minds that we

are going to be free. There is no question about this at all. I have even given a timetable and said that within five to ten years we are going to have our first Black Prime Minister. So there is no question in our mind about the certainty of our freedom. I have said that the only questions that are still open are how and when we are going to be free. . .

And therefore it is in the interest of the international community to participate with us in our struggle to see that bloodshed is avoided or minimized. And to say that *when* we become free, not *if* we become free, when we become free, we will know who were our friends, we will know who participated with us in helping us to attain our goal of freedom and in the post-liberation period, this will have an enormous influence on whom we do business with. We say we are not threatening anybody, we are merely making a statement of fact. The natural resources of our country, which have been described by so many as being of strategic importance belong to all of us — even we who are the voteless ones today — and we will have an important role in the determination of how those resources are going to be used. And therefore we believe it is very much in the interest of the world that they help to resolve that situation and help to resolve that situation quickly.

We do not want violence. I wish again to say that if that situation is not resolved reasonably quickly, it could very well be something that triggers World War III. Now for some people that sounds melodramatic but when you have been aware of what nearly happened between the United States and the Soviet Union over Angola then you can realize that what I am saying is not a hyperbole.

— Before the UN Special Committee
on Apartheid, March, 1981

On being a Native

In many ways it is a minor miracle that I am here with my wife . . . the public hearings of the government-appointed commission set up to investigate the South African Council of Churches started last Wednesday, and nobody thought the government would relent and let me travel abroad. After all, they had resisted quite considerable U.S. pressure (and that refusal prevented my coming to a seminar of human rights organized by the School of Law, Yale University and, more oddly, the government of South Africa had refused for me to come to Columbia University, which had wanted to confer an honorary degree upon me). . .

My nationality, so my travel document avers, is “undeterminable at present.” We have some strange things in our country, of course, and that designation, for me, is not entirely surprising. You see, we in South Africa have a way with semantics. In times past, for instance, they used to speak of the “Natives” of South Africa (using a capital N), and you might have been forgiven having used your dictionary for

thinking that they were referring to everybody born in South Africa.

Until you committed the awful faux pas of asking a White South African, "Excuse me, are you a native of these parts?" Then you were left in no doubt whatsoever that it applied only to those of darker hue. We were later called Bantu, then they changed the name of the department which looks after our welfare. The name they gave to it was "The Department of Plural Affairs." Presumably now, we were the "Plurals," one of whom would be that very odd thing — a singular Plural, and perhaps, one coming out of the country would be a "rural Plural. . ."

Perhaps the government is speaking more eloquently than it knows. It is saying that, in fact, it is probably a crime to be a Christian in South Africa, for it is Christianity and not ourselves that is on trial. We are treated, as a Council of Churches, as if we were somewhere behind the Iron Curtain, and not in a country that claims to be Christian. The apartheid policy is the best recruiter for Communists.

— **Episcopal Church General Convention**
New Orleans, 1982

Jesse Jackson caused stir

At our National Conference in July (theme, "The Church and the Alternative Society") we had Jesse Jackson, the Black American civil rights leader. To say he caused a stir in South Africa is putting it mildly. The conference was a happy affair and passed resolutions about the obligations placed on Christians to obey God rather than man, given publicity as the SACC advocating civil disobedience, earning us warnings from the authorities.

— **1980 Letter to Taskforce on the Churches and Corporate Responsibility**

Perceptions in Black and White

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 soldier 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. . .

I am one of those who say (the Russians and the Cubans) pose 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. . .

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.

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.

— **Interview with Sam Day**
"Bishop Tutu and the Cycle of Violence,"
THE WITNESS, November 1982

Modern day parable

Missionaries came to South Africa. We had the land, they had the Bible. Then they said, "Let us pray," and we closed our eyes. When we opened them again, *they* had the land and we had the Bible. Maybe we got the better end of the deal.

— **Quoted in *Bread*, 11/84**

Resources

Crying in the Wilderness by Bishop Desmond Tutu. Describes the struggle for justice in South Africa. William B. Eerdmans, 1982. \$5.95.

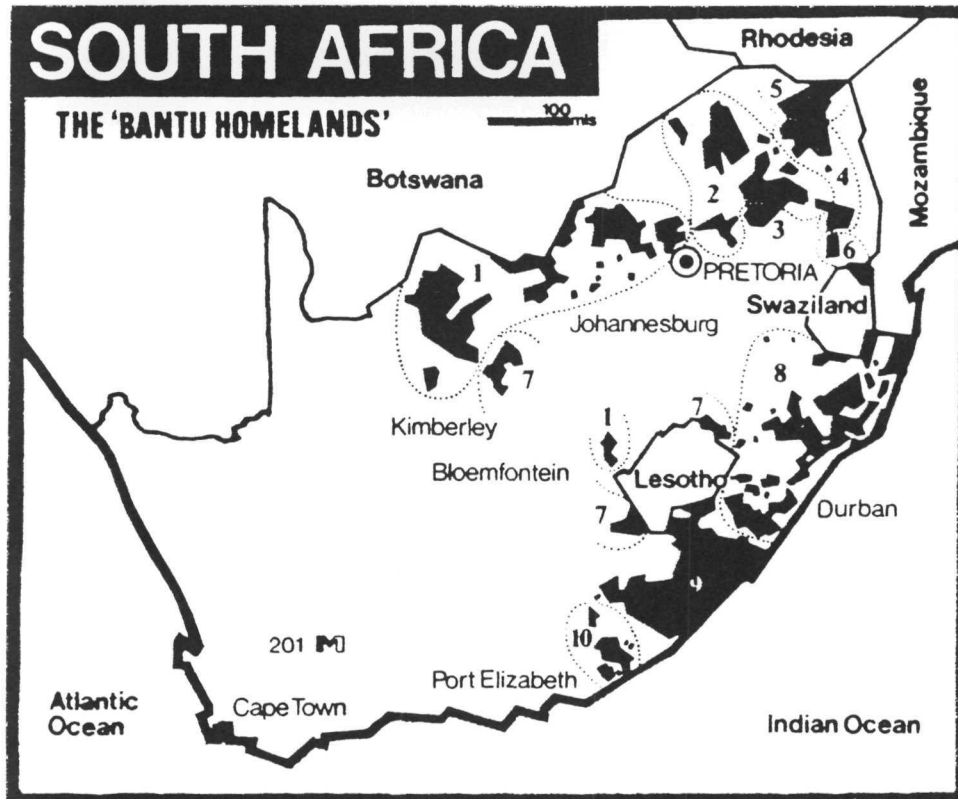
Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility. Publishes *The Corporate Examiner* which examines unjust policies and practices of major U.S. corporations, including a long-time emphasis on how investment in South Africa abets apartheid. Write ICCR, 475 Riverside Drive, Room 566, New York, N.Y. 10115.

Africa Secretary, National Council of Churches. Write Willis Logan, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10115.

Episcopal Churchpeople for a Free Southern Africa (formerly Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa). An independent group supporting those within and outside the churches struggling for freedom in countries in Southern Africa. Publishes regular newsletter and frequent booklets addressing human rights, human needs, education and political, economic and social developments in countries in Southern Africa. Write William Johnston, President, Episcopal Churchpeople for a Free Southern Africa, 339 Lafayette St., New York, N.Y. 10012.

(Our thanks to all of the above for sending **THE WITNESS** documentation to put this issue together.
— *Eds.*)

Backgrounder



PROFILE

Size:	472,359 square miles
Population:	31,700,000
	69% African
	17.8% White
	9.4% Coloured
	2.9% Asian
Languages:	English, Afrikaans, at least 17 other languages

The beginning of South Africa's present crisis goes back 300 years to a period when Europeans, most frequently Dutch and English, migrated there to take advantage of the country's rich farmland, vast mineral resources, and pleasant climate.

The European immigrants subjugated the indigenous population who had preceded them by thousands of years, according to archeological studies, and claimed the land as their own. The continued systematic oppression through three centuries has led to the present situation whereby nearly 70% of Africans in urban areas earn less than the figure considered by South African economists to be necessary for survival. African workers lack access to training programs and to high-paying skilled employment; they are denied the right to

strike; and their trade unions are denied government recognition.

Despite accelerated efforts on the part of the white regime to encourage Bantustan development, today 8 million Africans — nearly half the total Black population — live in urban townships. About 1.5 million live in Soweto, the township near Johannesburg where the 1976 disturbances began. These township residents are the best educated and most politically aware Africans in the country.

The security system buttresses White domination. The South African government may legally detain anyone for an indefinite period on any suspicion. Security officers enforce the pass laws with such diligence that one adult in four is arrested annually for some kind of violation.

If apartheid has made life difficult for Africans, it has worked strongly to the advantage of Whites. Whites are paid as much as eight times as Blacks for the same work and White South Africans enjoy one of the world's highest standards of living.

The United States has a stake in South Africa's stability owing to the more than \$1.5 billion invested there in 300 United States corporate affiliates. This investment has yet to reform the apartheid system in any fundamental way. Also of concern to the United States are South Africa's raw materials and its control of major sea lanes.

The African National Congress (ANC) was established in 1912 to fight white minority rule in South Africa. For many years, the organization used non-violent means including boycotts, peti-

tions, and strikes. After the 1960 Sharpeville massacre, in which 69 people were killed while peacefully protesting the passbook laws, the ANC and other liberation organizations including the Pan Africanist Congress were banned and forced underground.

Militancy increased, however, in the years that followed: workers went on strike in 1973 and a black consciousness movement took hold. An attempt to force the use of Afrikaans in the black education system provoked Soweto students to protest in June 1976, and disorders followed in other parts of the country. The United Nations estimates that at least 1,000 people were killed during the uprisings.

The disorders harmed the South African economy at a time when world economic problems were also having an effect. In 1976 the country's growth rate slowed to 2%. The cost of overseas bor-

rowing rose, and foreign investors began to grow wary.

An estimated 17.6 million Christians live in South Africa. The country's five million other residents include Jews, Muslims, and Hindus. Most government officials belong to the Dutch Reformed Church, which helped develop a theological basis for apartheid.

Methodists, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Lutherans and Congregationalists constitute the English-speaking Protestant churches in South Africa. About 80% of their 15 million members are African.

These churches belong to the South African Council of Churches, which rejects apartheid. The Council, in which Africans occupy leadership positions, provides a forum for Black and White church leaders to discuss openly ques-

tions regarding South Africa's future. Elsewhere in the church, however, advances have not been as great. Few White churches have Black ministers, and few African ministers are paid as well as their White counterparts. Whites generally continue to control church property and finances.

In addition to traditional churches, there are about 4,000 independent churches in South Africa. Membership in these churches has grown among Africans who seek less Western forms of Christianity.

South Africa's politically active Africans frequently come from church backgrounds, and many Christians are numbered among the hundreds of detainees and members of liberation groups.

From: Report on Consultation convened by NCC and USCC, 1977, Marcy, N.Y.

U.S. companies no force for change

In an April 1984 letter to nearly a hundred U.S. Senators and Representatives, U.S. church leaders refuted claims by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in South Africa that its member companies were a force for change in South Africa. Two months earlier an official of the Chamber of Commerce had written to members of Congress and the Senate, urging opposition to legislation intended to apply economic pressure on South Africa. Included with the Chamber of Commerce letter was "U.S. Business Involvement in South Africa", a 20-page pamphlet painting a sunny picture of the role of U.S. business in the white-dominated society. Church leaders called the letter and pamphlet "one-sided" and urged members of the House and Senate to pass legislation placing a moratorium on new investments, prohibiting sales to the South African police and military and ending krugerrand sales. Following are excerpts from the letter to U.S. political leaders, sent by Dr. Audrey Smock, chairperson of ICCR's board of directors and world issues officer of the United Church Board for World Ministries, and the Rev. Christian T. Iosso, chair of ICCR's Workgroup of International Justice and associate for Mission Responsibility Through Investment for the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.):

We believe the letter and materials from the American Chamber of Commerce were extremely biased. They provided an inaccurate description of life in South Africa and the role of U.S. investment there. Finally, they oppose economic pressure on South Africa, a step we believe is long overdue.

U.S. church groups have examined the role of U.S. bank loans and investment in South Africa for over fifteen years. We

share the outrage expressed by many U.S. political, business, union and academic leaders who condemn apartheid and the system of white supremacy in South Africa as a massive denial of human rights based on outright racism. We also believe that apartheid is contrary to fundamental religious principles.

Over the last fifteen years, U.S. churches have tried to raise important social responsibility questions with corporations about their involvement in apartheid. We have asked U.S. banks to restrict lending to South Africa, particularly to end loans to the government and its agencies, and have been heartened by the dozens of major banks and financial institutions that have adopted such policies. We have called on certain companies to put a moratorium on further investment in the republic and on others to stop sales to the South African police and military. In some cases when corporate activity directly supported the apartheid system, we have requested these corporations withdraw from South Africa.

U.S. churches have taken these positions in an intensive program of discussions with management, shareholder resolutions, support for appropriate legislation and in some cases the withdrawal of bank accounts and divestment of securities of corporations investing in South Africa. We have done so in consultation and partnership with church agencies in South Africa.

The upbeat American Chamber of Commerce report suggests that the situation is vastly improved in South Africa and that the system of white minority rule is being dismantled. Exactly the opposite is true. The government's apartheid scheme has effec-

Continued on page 22



Liberation theology under fire

by Gary MacEoin

Sixteen years ago, a new theological stirring in the Christian churches was still unnamed. Today, liberation theology is not only debated — often emotionally — in seminaries and universities, it is front-page copy in newspapers around the world.

Liberation theology has changed many things. The headlines stress the conflict it has provoked in the Roman Catholic Church. Less noted, though probably more important, is the realignment it has produced within the Christian community. It is the first common theological movement of Catholics and Protestants since the 16th-century Reformation, and it is stimulating an explosion of theological creativity comparable to that of the 13th-century Scholastics or the 16th-century Reformers.

We already have an amazing repositioning of the Christian churches: Catholics and Protestants committed to

radical social change on the one side; Catholics and Protestants supportive of the status quo or of gradual and controlled change on the other. In a real sense, this marks the end of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation; and it is significant that it originated in and has taken deepest root in Latin America, Asia and Africa, regions for which the Reformation as a European historical phenomenon was irrelevant.

Great minds have from the dawn of civilization tried to clarify the relation of the contingent, specifically the human, to the transcendent; and to determine the role of sentient and intelligent beings in the light of their conclusions — the relationship of humans to each other and (for the great majority who admit transcendence in some form) our relationship and obligations to that transcendent being.

Given the enormous contribution through the centuries of Jewish and Christian theologians to this task, we should not expect liberation theology to be a wholly new creation. It leans heavily on the Bible and other Judaeo-Christian sources. But it interprets and combines them in often startling ways, and it adds important fresh elements.

The starting point for all the traditional theologies, for example, has been revelation as enshrined in the Scriptures or generated in the believing community. Practical rules on how to live, what to do and to avoid, are deduced from these sources. Liberation theology rejects this understanding of theology as primarily contemplative activity directed to the perception of truth (the monastic tradition), the understanding of religion as demanding conformity to divine laws, personal devotion, and sacramental rites (popular Catholic piety), or centered on individual conversion and salvation (Protestantism and existentialism).

In challenging these attitudes, liberation theology came up with two basic intuitions and one major concern. Its first insight was the need to study the role the privileged people of God's Kingdom, the poor, play in theological reflection. The recognition of the poor as privileged was, of course, not new. It dominates the entire Jewish Testament and is the key message of the good news proclaimed by Jesus.

What was new was to look at theology from the viewpoint of the poor, to take them and their concerns as the starting point. The radical change in perspective

Gary MacEoin, a lawyer with advanced study in ancient and modern languages, political science and theology, has published several books on issues of world development and neocolonialism. As a foreign correspondent, he has reported from every country in the Americas, and from Asia, Africa and Europe.

was facilitated by Paulo Freire, the Brazilian educator, who saw education not as the transfer of knowledge from teacher to pupil but as the mutual enrichment of the participants in a process of exchange, a process called *conscientization* by Freire. This process enables the learners to recognize themselves as knowing who they are, what their needs are, and how to take action to provide for those needs as a community.

Gustavo Gutiérrez, a Peruvian Indian priest, tested out this approach by living in a Lima slum and learning from the people their understanding of their reality. This produced an awareness that their deprivation was man-made, not God-given, and that the man-made structures of contemporary society are designed to keep the poor both poor and exploited. The resulting focus of reflection was on the means to be adopted to help the process of liberation of these oppressed people from their situation of oppression.

The second basic intuition or key idea was that theology must be a reflection in the light of faith on and about this praxis of liberation. What is praxis? It is a spiral dynamic seen many times in church history as well as in human history. It moves from the word of the Lord to experience, comparing, for example, the way the Israelites applied the word of God, as transmitted to them by Moses, in their successful escape from Egyptian slavery; or asking what Jesus would do in our circumstances in the light of what we know about the way He acted. Then, after we had acted, the dynamic returns once again to the word of the Lord for further guidance.

It is important to understand the exact sense in which liberation theology uses the word *praxis*, a word that in the dictionary has many meanings. Our culture has been dominated since the 17th century by the physical sciences in which knowledge precedes action. We know we cannot split an atom until we have been taught how to split atoms. Praxis

challenges the application of this scientific method to human behavior. We learn to live by living, how to free ourselves in the process of freeing ourselves. Marx understood this but he did not discover it. The same primacy was accorded to praxis by Hegel, by the U.S. pragmatists, by French philosopher Maurice Blondel. And long before them it was expressed in the early Christian stress on the primacy of love in the sense that charity is the ground from which truth comes to us. Henri Nouwen sums it up neatly when he says that liberation theologians do not think themselves into a new way of living, but live themselves into a new way of thinking.

"Liberation theology is the first common theological movement of Catholics and Protestants since the 16th century Reformation divided them, and it is stimulating an explosion of theological creativity."

Finally, to come to the major concern of liberation theology. It is simply — as should be the major concern of every theology — evangelization. But evangelization is not the mere proclamation of the good news. Jesus first proclaimed the good news, then proceeded to implement his words by healing the sick, feeding the hungry, giving sight to the blind, yes, even raising the dead to life. For liberation theology, evangelization is praxis. It is the liberation of every person and the whole person from all forms of bondage, including the bondage of oppressive structures that condemn half of humankind to subhuman living conditions, preventing them — at least sociologically speaking — from leading a Christian life.

The current criticism of liberation theology comes from two distinct directions. The main opposition within the Catholic Church, centered in the Roman Curia but with strong support from conservative church leaders in Latin America, is ecclesial. Decision-making in the Catholic Church has become increasingly centralized since the Reformation, culminating in the declaration of papal infallibility in 1870 and the semi-divinization of subsequent popes, especially Pius XII (1939-1958). John XXIII (1958-1963) and Vatican Council II (1962-1965) attempted to reverse this trend, stressing the active input of all the faithful into the decision-making processes. Starting in Brazil and gradually spreading across Latin America and other Christian areas of the Third World, this movement has been institutionalized in *comunidades de base* (grassroots communities), a constitutive element of the theology of liberation.

The ecclesiastic bureaucracy became understandably alarmed as its monopoly of decision-making was challenged. Its heavy-handed attempts to impose administrative sanctions on such leading Catholic exponents of liberation theology as Gustavo Gutiérrez and Leonardo Boff make today's news headlines.

Because of their more democratic structures, the ecclesial issues do not hold the same threat for Protestant churches. Their conservative elements, like the Reagan Administration in the United States, are concerned rather with the political challenge to the status quo. As far back as 1969, Nelson Rockefeller warned President Nixon that the church in Latin America was abandoning its 400-year alliance with the rich, an alliance that had ensured "stability." It needed careful watching in its new desire "to be more responsive to the popular will." The 1980 Santa Fe Document, designed as a policy statement on Latin America for the Reagan Administration, went further. "U.S. foreign policy," it

said, “must begin to counter — not react against — liberation theology as it is utilized in Latin America by the ‘liberation theology’ clergy.”

Pope John Paul II is the mystery man in this conflict. He is under tremendous pressures from his closest advisers in the Curia and from Cardinal Alfonso López Trujillo, longtime head of the Latin American Bishops’ Council (CELAM) and a bitter enemy of liberation theology. He is similarly pressured by Washington, whose support is important in his dealing with Solidarity and with the Polish government. A conservative theologian, he has long been on record as unsympathetic to liberation theology. Having spent his life under totalitarian regimes, Nazi and Soviet, he has experienced only autocratic rule; and, as his style shows, he has internalized his experience. In addition, he is clearly convinced that the church in Poland has not only survived but retained great moral power because of total unity under its official leaders.

For all these reasons, John Paul is understandably unhappy with liberation theology as a threat to his kind of church. He is unhappy because it does not accept the simplistic “cold war” condemnation of Marxism, but relies on John XXIII’s distinction between ideological systems and historic movements deriving from them (*Pacem in Terris*), and on Paul VI’s approval of the use of Marxist analysis by social and political scientists (*Octogesima Adveniens*). Yet even on Marxism, John Paul is not without ambiguity. As is particularly clear in his major encyclical on work (*Laborem Exercens*), his insights are largely Marxist, not surprising in the light of his life experience. In that, of course, he is not alone. Just as all of us in the 20th century are influenced by Freud, so we are all affected by Marx. In *Laborem Exercens*, when John Paul notes that “the poor” appear in many forms, very often as a result of the violation of the dignity of

work, he is dialectically transcending Marxist theory.

This is precisely what leading Latin American liberation theologians are saying. For them, Vatican Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger’s opposing position rests on a misunderstanding. It is the Third World seen from a palace window, as Leonardo Boff has said. The issue for liberation theologians is “the struggle of the gods.” Atheism is practically unknown in Latin America. Rather, the people — ever since the conquest — have been forced to bow before idols: gold, the colonial order, power, capital, consumerism. They bowed silently. They had no choice. But they never accepted these gods. Marx’s analysis of the mechanisms of oppression led him to opt for a society totally unrelated to religious transcendence. Liberation theology analysis, on the contrary, leads to a new humanity permitting a true affirmation of faith and hope in a religion that is no longer an opium but a powerful affirmation of the dignity and the freedom

of the poor.

Even if John Paul does not share this vision, he is becoming progressively more hostile to imperialistic capitalism. In Alberta, Canada on Sept. 17, he said, his voice rising in anger: “The poor people, the poor nations — poor in different ways, not only lacking in food but also deprived of freedom and other human rights — will judge those people who take their goods away from them, amassing to themselves the imperialistic monopoly of economic and military supremacy at the expense of others.” Then at Flatrock, Newfoundland, he denounced the big companies that are exposed “to the temptation of responding only to the forces of the marketplace,” a clear repudiation of the Reagan slogan of “the magic of the marketplace.”

The recent 36-page document critical of liberation theology from Cardinal Ratzinger of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith is certainly not Rome’s final word on the subject. That document promised a sequel, on which the Pope himself is now working, a sequel that will deal with the “positive” aspects of liberation theology.

Two factors subsequent to the publication of the earlier document will influence the Pope’s tone. Leonardo Boff arrived in Rome for his confrontation with Ratzinger accompanied by Brazilian Cardinals Lorscheider and Arns and the bishops who compose the Brazilian Commission for the Doctrine of the Faith, an effective repudiation of the Ratzinger charge that liberation theologians had invented “a popular church” at odds with the hierarchy. And when the cardinals saw the Pope, they disabused him of the impression he had been given by Ratzinger that the Brazilian bishops had seen and approved of Ratzinger’s document before publication. John Paul is not one who likes to be deceived by his associates. We can be sure that the liberation theology debate is not about to be ended by papal fiat. ■

Mary, en route

**She comes riding
This olive-eyed innocent
A silent burden for
The likewise muted beast, whose
Hooves drum up
Puffs of doubt
With the dirt**

**She knows nothing about
Being a Madonna
She only
Knows that
The angel who
Talked her into this
Is gone; that
This road south has to stop
(Please, soon!); that**

**The future stretching her belly
Could be her life’s regret
Or,
Smiling now,
The lover’s touch of God
That strokes the skin of the world.**

— Bruce O. Boston

SHORT TAKES

Pope wrong about sex

When Pope John Paul said, in the sixth of his weekly addresses on *Humanae Vitae*, that the conjugal act "ceases to be an act of love" when artificial means of birth control are used, he was simply wrong. And millions of devout, practicing Catholic couples who take their faith seriously know he was wrong.

His remark further inflicts unnecessary pain on millions trying to live the faith. And it could possibly undermine his own authority by making some people question more fundamentally important church teachings and moral assessments on other subjects. When prayerful Christians who work to form their consciences, guided by church teachings, find their experiences in such elementary conflict with the exhortations of their pastors, it forces pause. Who, Catholic couples might legitimately ask, best knows the deepest meanings of their marriage acts? Themselves or the Pope?

I write this with considerable pain, thinking first of those fortunate, relatively affluent, educated Catholic couples who will wonder why John Paul, rather than encouraging them in their struggles to raise their children in the faith in secular societies, instead continues seemingly to judge the quality of their married life in solely sexual terms.

But I also write this painfully aware of those many more millions, much less fortunate, struggling for food, denied any hope of proper health or education for their young. Have those impoverished couples' marriage acts also "ceased to be" full of love because they have chosen to limit their families' sizes by the means available to them?

— Tom Fox
National Catholic Reporter

On modern preaching

"I'm tired of hearing folks talking about going to church because the preacher makes them feel good. They go to church and come out feeling *good* about *nothing*. What we need is more people who go to church and come out feeling *bad* about *something*."

— John Coleman, Director,
Peter Paul Development Center,
Richmond, Va.
at Episcopal Urban Caucus

Trident commander's power

The Naval Commander of a Trident submarine could be considered the head of the third most powerful nuclear nation in the world, so powerful are the nuclear missiles he carries aboard.

— Lloyd Dumas, author of
Reversing Economic Decay

Signs of hope

To speak of hope I need to speak of Jacques Ellul, the French theologian who wrote a book titled "Hope in Time of Abandonment." Ellul argues that in our generation hope is the form that genuine religious faith takes. That is, you can gauge the depth of personal faith so much by assent to theological doctrines, as by whether someone can look the world of today in its bloody, bomb-haunted face and not despair. Ellul believes the ability to sustain hope today involves more than evidence, more than a weighing of favorable trends against unfavorable; to be able to hope in the nuclear age requires an act of God, a gift of grace, something that comes from beyond ourselves. And that's what faith is — a gift of grace, something that comes from beyond ourselves. And that's how today's faith takes the form of hope.

What hope I feel is not a matter of evidence (which is scarce enough), but rather something that underlies evidence, what in another time might better have been called faith; again, less a matter of assent to some doctrinal scheme than a conviction that the power of death, which we are unleashing on the world, is not the last word about the human prospect.

I'm not able to sustain this hope all the time, of course. Nor is it the same as an assurance that our current nuclear soap opera will turn out innocuously in the end. It's hard to explain: it has much to do with religion, but the hope underlies the religion, rather than vice versa. Nevertheless, it's there most of the time, and for that I'm grateful.

— Chuck Fager
Peacework

Free hostel membership

In celebration of its 50th anniversary, the American Youth Hostel organization (AYH) is offering free organization memberships to churches and other non-profit groups. The free membership pass is valid for 1985 and normally costs \$50 per year. In addition to this savings, your group can save even more by making AYH's 300 low cost hostels part of your travel and retreat program. Hostels are inexpensive overnight lodging and meeting facilities located throughout the United States.

Church groups interested in seeking more information regarding the free membership application should contact: Kava Schafer, Weisel Youth Hostel, R.D. #3, Quakertown, Pa. 18951, 215-536-8749.

Ashes to ashes

If there is a nuclear war, the ashes of Capitalism will be indistinguishable from the ashes of Communism.

— John Kenneth Galbraith

Peace needs justice connection

Increasing church opposition to the worldwide nuclear arms race could lead the ecumenical movement to create an "ideology of oppression" that will be used to justify injustice, says Allan Boesak, South African theologian and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

"Many Christians in the Third World," Boesak said, are concerned that "the issue of peace will be separated from the issue of justice, making of 'peace' primarily a North Atlantic concern" while deprivation and injustice, especially in Third World countries, are ignored.

"It may be true, he said, that the issues of justice, racism, hunger and poverty are largely unresolved issues for the ecumenical movement, but it cannot be true that we will be willing to use the issue of peace to avoid these dilemmas. One cannot use the gospel to escape from the demands of the gospel." If these unresolved issues are not addressed by the churches, Boesak said, "we will make of our concern for peace an ideology of oppression which in the end will be used to justify injustice."

Reported by Ecumenical Press Service
World Council of Churches Meeting,
Vancouver

Nicaraguan pastors Warn re invasion

Nicaraguans are living in deep anxiety because they fear a military invasion by the United States which will turn their country into a tremendous cemetery.

That was the message delivered by three visiting pastors from Nicaragua, who appeared in a "ministry of reconciliation" before an ecumenical audience in Whitemarsh, Pa., recently.

Their spokesperson, Tomas Tellez, pointed out that their fear is well founded, since the United States has sent troops into Nicaragua five times since 1833. "We come to you because you are the ones who took the Gospel and its values to Nicaragua. You gave us missionaries and money to spread the Word. But from your same country we are receiving death."

Tellez said that the present situation in Nicaragua "is not because of anything our new government has done." The standard of living has advanced more in the last five years than in Somoza's 30 years of dictatorship, he said. And the number of Protestants has tripled since the revolution.

On the other hand, the U.S.-sponsored war in Nicaragua has enabled some 7,000 former National Guardsmen (Somocistas), abetted by mercenaries, to conduct raids as "contras" across the border, "doing what they did under Somoza — killing, raping, murdering — and they are being armed and financed by the United States," Tellez said.

"When we heard Vice President Bush refer to the 'contras' as 'freedom fighters' we almost cried. The Baptists have lost four congregations near the border with Honduras. Our only hope, after God, is our Christian brothers and sisters, that you will help free Nicaragua of this situation," he said.

Escalation of U.S. military intervention in Central America has produced a plan by U.S. Christians for a nationally coordinated non-violent response in the event of an invasion of Nicaragua or other area experiencing an ongoing war. The U.S. government has been informed, in the hopes that this will forestall an invasion. The plan calls for people to gather at previously designated churches across the country which will be centers for information, prayer and preparation for action. A non-violent vigil will be held at the field office of each U.S. senator and representative, which office will be peacefully occupied until the Congressperson votes to end the invasion.

Delegations will be sent to Washington to engage in civil disobedience to demand an end to the invasion. And U.S. citizens in Nicaragua (Witness for Peace, Maryknoll, etc.) will launch their own plan in concert with the U.S. action.



Tomas Tellez, right, executive secretary of the Baptist Convention in Nicaragua, spoke at St. Thomas Church, Whitemarsh, Pa., at an ecumenical event attended by more than 100 representatives from various religious denominations in the area. Translating for him was the Rev. David Funkhouser, an Episcopal priest working with the Central America Organizing Project, Philadelphia.



Other Nicaraguans who accompanied Tellez were Jose Jesus Ulloa, a Baptist pastor from Jinotega, and Nicanor Mairena, a Nazarene pastor from Granada, Nicaragua, shown here from left with Donna Cooper of the Central America Organizing Project. Witness for Peace and Citizens Concerned about Central America sponsored their appearance.

Among groups sponsoring the plan are Witness for Peace, Sojourners and Clergy and Laity Concerned. For further information, write THE WITNESS. ■

'We are Egypt'

by Robert M. Anderson

Approximately 200 churches will be offering sanctuary to political exiles by the time this issue reaches WITNESS readers, in spite of the U.S. government's displeasure over such actions. The Rt. Rev. Robert M. Anderson, Episcopal Bishop of Minnesota, presented the biblical underpinnings of sanctuary at an ecumenical ceremony celebrating Walker United Methodist Church's intention to become a refuge. His words there could apply to any sanctuary situation, and are especially poignant as the Nativity approaches.

We are Egypt. The people of God — the poor and the oppressed — must flee for their lives from our hard-hearted Pharaoh in Washington and from the soldiers who do his bidding in Central America. Like the ancient people who followed Moses across the Red Sea, those who flee Pharaoh's army in El Salvador and Guatemala must go into the wilderness — into an unknown land, an uncertain future. They are forced to become refugees by the policy of our government. We are Egypt.

But Egypt has another significance in the Bible. Egypt symbolizes not only the tyranny of Pharaoh, but the land of plenty which sheltered Joseph and his brothers in the time of famine. Egypt was the land which welcomed the family of Israel and allowed the hungry people of God to survive. The name of Egypt is not only cursed because of Pharaoh; it is blessed because of hospitality to refugees. And in spite of the hard-hearted Pharaoh, the name of Egypt is blessed forever, throughout the world for the hospitality

it offered to a later Joseph and his family, when Christ himself had to flee for his life on this earth from a government that was trying to kill him. As we read in the Holy Gospel according to St. Matthew:

Joseph arose and took the young child and his mother by night, and departed into Egypt; and was there until the death of Herod; that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet saying, "Out of Egypt have I called my son."

And so, Egypt has a double significance in the Bible. It is the source of oppression and persecution; it is also the place of refuge and safety. And we are Egypt, today, for the people of Central America. It is up to the people of this nation to decide which Egypt we shall be. The administration in Washington has clearly chosen to play the role of the hard-hearted Pharaoh. But the people of the Walker Church have chosen to be the other Egypt.

This congregation — and others like it across the country

— have chosen to be the Egypt of protection for hungry refugees, the Egypt of safety for the Holy Family, the Egypt of sanctuary.

Whether this choice is an act of civil disobedience is questionable. The U.N. Protocol on Refugees is the law of this land, and it seems to me that deporting people to their torture and death in El Salvador and Guatemala violates that law. The witness of this congregation, then would not disobey, but rather call upon the government to *obey* that law.

But in any case, providing sanctuary to refugees is obedience to a higher law: it is a religious duty. Our Savior himself has told us that what we do to his sisters and brothers we do to him. So, in welcoming this woman to your sanctuary, you welcome the most well-known of refugees, Jesus, Mary and Joseph.

May God's blessing be upon you in this witness. And thank you for making the United States the Egypt of sanctuary, and not just the Egypt of Pharaoh! ■

Why a Spanish Rendition

The poem "Passover revisited" by Alla Bozarth-Campbell in a recent issue of THE WITNESS hit me hard, with the power of something meaningful beyond immediate appearances. I copied it and sent it to a few friends, as I often do with parts of your publication. Some of them are like myself involved in the struggle of undocumented people. In that light the poem acquired a very special value.

There is in Florida a new effort to create a community network in the rural areas where undocumented workers and refugees live and work. It has called itself *Santuario*. When my colleagues saw the piece by Bozarth-Campbell they translated a few lines for the *Santuario* literature, particularly relevant to the idea of pilgrimage, exodus, promised land, search that the poet identifies with her 10 years as a minister and which we, in a different context, see as the lot of a nation in exile, persecuted in a strange land but unwelcome in its own home.

I have since translated the whole poem into Spanish and have shared it with *Santuario* and other friends. In doing this I had to use the masculine gender for adjectives because that was the most inclusive language available. Otherwise the translation is quite faithful. I wonder if you could send a copy to the author with our gratitude and tell her that we hear her clearly and concur in her message, and are grateful for her gift.

— Aurora Camacho de Schmidt
Mexico-U.S. Border Program
American Friends Service Committee

(We felt that this translation was worth sharing with all our readers, with hope that they in turn would pass it on to Hispanic friends. We are grateful to Alla Bozarth-Campbell and to Aurora Camacho de Schmidt. — Eds.)



No traigas nada contigo
más que tu decisión de servir,
tu voluntad de ser libre.

No esperes a que fermente
la masa del pan.
Trae alimento para el viaje,
pero come de pie,
aprétate para emprender el viaje
de inmediato.

No dudes en abandonar
las maneras antiguas
de hacer las cosas.
Deja atrás
el miedo, el silencio, la sumisión.
Entrégate sólo
a la necesidad de este momento:
la de amar la justicia
y caminar con humildad
junto a tu Dios.

No te preocupes
por explicárselo a tus vecinos:
díselo a algunos cuantos amigos
y familiares en los que tengas
más confianza.

Y después, empieza pronto
antes de que
te encuentres volviéndote
a hundir en aquella
vieja esclavitud.

Santuario

Emprende el camino en la oscuridad.
Yo te enviaré fuego
para alentarte y mantenerte abrigado.
Estaré contigo en el fuego.
Estaré contigo en la nube.

Aprenderás a tomar nuevos alimentos
y encontrarás refugio
en lugares nuevos. Yo te enviaré sueños
en el desierto
para guiarte seguro
a la patria que nunca has visto.

Las historias que se cuenten
unos a otros,
alrededor de la hoguera,
en la oscuridad,
los harán más fuertes y más sabios.

Los extraños los atacarán
y también sus propios seguidores
y algunas veces,
con fatiga se enfrentarán
unos a otros por el miedo,
el cansancio, el olvido que ciega.

Se han estado preparando
para esto por cientos de años
y los estoy enviando a tierra desconocida
para abrir un camino y aprender mejor
el camino que es mío.

Los que luchan contra ustedes

by Alla Bozarth-Campbell

los harán más sabios.
 Los que los temen
 los harán mas fuertes.
 Los que los siguen podrían olvidarlos.
 Pero sean fieles.
 Es lo único que importa.

Algunos morirán en el desierto,
 porque el camino es más largo
 que lo que nadie pudo imaginar.
 Algunas de ustedes darán a luz.

Algunos se unirán a otras tribus
 por el camino,
 y algunos simplemente se detendrán
 para formar una familia,
 en un oasis lleno de frescura.

A algunos de ustedes
 los cambiarán tanto los climas distintos,
 y tanto peregrinar
 que sus amigos más cercanos
 tendrán que reconocer sus facciones
 como si los vieran
 por la primera vez.
 Pero algunos de ustedes no cambiarán.

Algunos serán abandonados
 por sus seres queridos.
 Algunos serán malentendidos
 por aquéllos que los conocen desde niños
 y ellos los acusarán
 por haberlos dejado atrás.

Otros encontrarán nueva amistad
 en rostros inesperados
 y verán que estos viejos amigos
 son fieles y sinceros
 como la columna en la que arde
 la flama de Dios.

Para el viaje,
 ponte ropa que te proteja.
 Se desgarrará tu carne
 al paso que abres brecha con tu cuerpo
 en los ramajes espinosos.
 Protégete.

Los que vienen atrás
 quizá irán olvidando a los pobres tontos
 que sangraron al hacer el camino
 que ahora está abierto,
 llevándose las espinas en sus cuerpos.
 La urgencia que ahora sientes
 podría avergonzar a tus hijos
 que no sabrán mucho de estos tiempos.

Lleva canciones en tu andar
 y abraza a tus amigos:
 habrá momentos en que te confundas
 y pierdas la dirección.

Llámense unos a otros
 con los nombres que yo les di,
 para que siempre sepan quiénes son.
 Pues sólo llegarán a su destino
 recordando quiénes son.

Abrazándose uno al otro,
 repitan las historias
 de su antigua servidumbre
 y de cómo yo los liberé.

Repítanlas a sus hijos
 y que ellos nunca las olviden,
 para que no caigan en cautiverio —
 Recuérdenles que ellos mismos
 no nacieron en libertad,
 sino en una esclavitud
 de la que ya no se acuerdan,
 pero que aun está,
 invisible, con ellos.

Quizá nacieron en el desierto
 donde no hay señales
 que los orienten.

Hagan mapas al caminar
 para que nunca olviden
 de dónde salieron,
 desde antes de nacer.

Hace tantos años
 que cayeron en la esclavitud,
 sin darse cuenta,
 por el hambre y la necesidad.

Dejaron su patria hambrienta
 buscando alimento y libertad
 en una nueva tierra,
 pero cayeron en la inconciencia
 y la pasividad,
 y la esclavitud se apoderó de ustedes
 al echarse a dormir,
 porque la vida se hizo fácil.

Ya no contaban las historias
 de la vieja patria
 que les pudieran recordar quiénes eran.

No dejen que los niños duerman
 en las partes más difíciles del viaje:
 manténganlos despiertos,
 caminando para que ellos y ustedes
 se mantengan fuertes y siguiendo
 la ruta más directa.

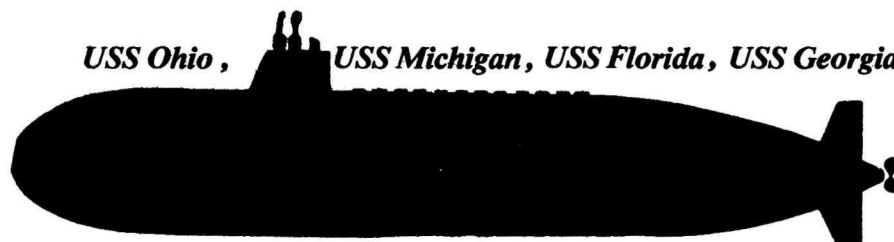
Para que sean sólo los primeros
 de muchos comienzos,
 y en su fiesta Pascual,
 permanezcan fieles al Misterio.

Entrégueles a otros
 esta historia entera:
 yo los perdoné
 llamándolos hacia mí
 para que dejaran sus cadenas.

No vayan de regreso.

Yo estoy con ustedes.
 Yo los espero.

USS Ohio , USS Michigan , USS Florida , USS Georgia . . .



Junior high vs. the Trident

by Judy Tralmes

Our village is small, about 250 people. It's on the Yukon River in the interior of Alaska. The people are about 70% Athabascan Indians and 30% Eskimo. I went to the village five years ago and have been teaching junior high classes ever since. Junior high youngsters have an unbelievable amount of energy and enthusiasm and a great deal of generosity.

This year is the 25th anniversary of the statehood of Alaska. We've been doing a lot of work around the theme "What Alaska means to me." Because the self-concept of the people is closely tied to the land, I have been stressing the beauty, the life-giving quality of the peace that is found in Alaska, encouraging the

students to find these qualities within themselves, too.

We had watched the film, "The Day After" on video tape, and it had made a profound impression on the students. There was a dance the same night, but instead of going to the dance the youngsters stayed for two hours discussing that film. They were deeply disturbed by it and terribly frustrated that there was nothing for them to do. I was upset with myself because I hadn't prepared better for the film, and I kept my ears open for the rest of the year for anything that might come up.

So when I went to the National Education Association convention in Anchorage, I attended a workshop on "Peace Curriculum" put on by a group of people from Juneau. I heard someone mention that the next Trident submarine off the assembly line was going to be called the *U.S.S. Alaska*. It occurred to me that my students might have their opportunity to do something to relieve

the tension they felt about the arms race.

When I got home we took some dental floss and tied together three strings and we walked it out so that the youngsters would understand the length, 560 feet, of Trident. They were absolutely flabbergasted! The string went from the school halfway to the airfield, which meant that it covered the distance of a great deal of the village itself. There were several youngsters who kept asking me, "Is that one boat that long?" It was a very graphic description for them.

We have been doing a lot of map work in social studies. The statement that the Trident had enough warheads to wipe out every major city in the Northern Hemisphere also had a great impact on them. We went to the globe and the flat maps and noticed all of the territory of the Northern Hemisphere, noticing also what was left after the Northern Hemisphere was wiped out.

After thinking of what Alaska means, and realizing in a very minimal way what

Judy Tralmes is a member of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Peace and has taught the last five years in the village of Holy Cross, Alaska. This article was first published in *Ground Zero*, Center for Nonviolent Action, Paulsbo, Wash.

THE SUBMARINE:

SIZE:	Length — 560 feet (nearly two football fields)
	Height — 4 stories
	Displacement — 18,700 tons
PROPULSION:	Pressurized-water cooled nuclear reactor; 90,000 horsepower
SPEED:	About 30 knots (35mph) when submerged
RANGE:	Indefinite; 400,000 miles (about ten years) before nuclear refueling is necessary
CREW:	157 enlisted men and officers
COST:	About \$2 billion

THE MISSILE (TRIDENT-1) (C-4):

SIZE:	Length — 34 feet
	Diameter — 74 inches
	Weight — 73,000 pounds
PROPULSION:	Three stage solid fuel rocket
RANGE:	4,000 nautical miles with full payload
	6,000 nautical miles with reduced payload
WARHEADS:	Eight 100-kiloton bombs per missile
	24 missiles per submarine
COST:	About \$12 million per missile

Indications are that the Navy wants at least 30 Trident submarines. Speculation on the basing possibilities for the submarines include the Island of Belau which is part of the Micronesian island chain in the South Pacific, and Diego Garcia, an island in the Indian Ocean. At this writing 15 submarines have already been approved by Congress, with funds appropriated for 14 of them. (*Ground Zero*)

Trident means, the children decided that we would send a letter to every junior high class in Alaska asking them to petition to have our state's name removed from the Trident submarine. Writing letters is not the easiest thing to do, especially if you are a rural Alaskan student in the 6th, 7th or 8th grades. We labored long and hard over letters to the junior highs, to the native corporations and to our legislators.

For a long while we had only one response, from a principal in Matsu District, scolding the children for protesting. Then, just as I was leaving the village, I had a phone call from a woman in Anchorage saying that her junior high stu-

dents had asked her to sign their petition, and that they were going to call a press conference. The press conference was widely picked up. AP and UPI both carried it throughout the world. I know that there were news articles from Fairbanks, Anchorage, and Ketchikan, and that it was beamed statewide via satellite. I have received news clippings from throughout the state and was just delighted to be able to take a whole sheaf of those and send them back to the youngsters encouraging them to continue with their project. I pointed out to them that they were influencing the world because even if the name of the Trident is not changed, they have made people think about it. ■

Silver medal to film on women's ordination

A half-hour film documenting the 1974 "irregular" ordination of the first women priests in the Episcopal Church won a silver medal from the International Film and Television Festival of New York at its November awards ceremony.

The Episcopal Church Publishing Company had commissioned Ideal Image, Inc. to write and produce "A Priest Indeed" and the medal was accepted by Linda King of Ideal Image.

The film incorporates dramatic scenes and documentary interviews to tell the story of the irregular ordination of the Philadelphia 11 at the Church of the Advocate ten years ago, and the ramifications in the church ever since.

"But 'A Priest Indeed' is more than a look at a decade of turmoil in the Episcopal Church," Peggy Cerniglia, executive producer of the film, said. "It is the story of women seizing power in an institution, and the issues it raises reflect those of society at large. Discrimination against women and minorities is not new. That it was practiced by a spiritual institution responsible for alleviating such prejudices makes this story remarkable."

Cerniglia, King, and Wendy Robins who wrote the script, are all award-winning television producers who formed the video company last March. The film is their first major production.

Robert Handley, an award-winning filmmaker in his own right, was cinematographer/director/editor. Actors from Detroit's Attic Theater plus family and friends of the producers took the fictitious roles, with Cerniglia portraying the central female character.

Interspersed throughout are cameo appearances by Suzanne Hiatt, Barbara Harris, Paul Washington, Carter Heyward, Robert L. DeWitt and Charles Willie, all key participants in the 1974 ordination.

An advertisement is being prepared for the back cover of THE WITNESS in January which will carry information on how to order the film. ■

Change . . . Continued from page 11

tively divided South Africa along racial lines into two countries: a developed, affluent country for whites and a poor developing country for 70 percent of the population which is black. The Sullivan Principles notwithstanding, economic and social conditions have deteriorated for the majority of blacks in the past decade. The homelands policy under which 86 percent of the land is reserved for the nation's white minority, combined with the government's policy of forced removals, has consigned three-fourths of the blacks to desolate, rural hinterlands characterized by poverty, crowding and malnutrition. Despite the conclusion of the government-appointed Tomlinson Commission in 1955 that the homelands could support a maximum of 2.3 million people, the government has forcibly relocated 2.3 million Africans from the common area to the homelands and South African civil rights groups predict that another 1.5 million blacks are scheduled for relocation. The homelands population increased from 4 million in 1960 to 10.7 million in 1980.

While the American Chamber of Commerce argues that its report gives "an insight into the impact that American companies have had in bringing about change" and that "U.S. companies work hard to change the character of South Africa society", these claims need to be placed in proper perspective. The Seventh Report on the Signatory Companies to the Sullivan Principles (October 1983) describes the Sullivan Principles as an "employment code" which addresses workplace conditions, not the apartheid structure of South African society. Moreover, even within the limited context of the Sullivan Principles criteria, only twenty-nine of the more than 300 U.S. companies operating in South Africa are rated "making good progress".

The American Chamber of Commerce is silent about the strategic role American corporations play in the apartheid economy, dominating several critical sectors: petroleum (44 percent U.S. controlled), computers (70 percent), automotive (33 percent) as well as other strategic industries. U.S. oil companies — Mobil, Texaco and Standard Oil of California (Caltex) — are

assessed as strategic enterprises and fall under the Official Secrets Act, unable to report to their U.S. parent company basic facts about their imports, refinery output and sales to the South African government. These companies regularly sell petroleum products to the police and military; they say they are required to by South African law. U.S. computer companies sell and service sophisticated data processing equipment to the South African government, facilitating the modernization and maintenance of apartheid.

We do not believe that being a responsible employer or active philanthropist in South Africa offsets the many ways in which U.S. companies give the South African government support and sustenance. We disagree with the Chamber that the policy of "constructive engagement" by the U.S. government and U.S. companies has been a force for social change. We support the call of Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, when he said:

... I have called on the international community to bring pressure to bear on the South African authorities to persuade them to come to the conference table before it is too late. I have called for diplomatic, political, but above all economic pressure. Apartheid's purveyors must not become respectable. They must remain international pariahs. Economic pressure need not become economic sanctions if the South African government responds positively.

Finally, we believe the debate in the U.S. churches, state legislatures, Congress, universities, unions, foundations is an encouraging and positive development. We believe that congressional initiatives to put a moratorium on new investments, prohibitions on sales to the South African police and military and an end to kruggerand sales are constructive and responsible. The message from states like Massachusetts and Michigan and cities like Philadelphia and Washington, D.C., which have decided to sell investments in companies with South African operations, is an encouraging development. American political leaders deserve a more honest and accurate portrayal of South Africa than that provided by the Chamber of Commerce.

— ICCR Corporate Examiner Vol. 13 No. 6 1984

Editorial . . . Continued from page 4

administration's position, after all, temporizes with apartheid under the euphemism "constructive engagement," and its policy toward South Africa is predicated on a "Damoclean sword" theory of Soviet destabilization of that country and its subsequent dissolution into chaos or civil war. Left to its own devices, not much can be expected from this government in the way of a change in its thinking or its policy.

But what of the Christian community?

If the joyful pealing of bells is to have more than a hollow ring and the pronouncements of religious leaders are to translate into more than pious platitudes, efforts already being expended by churches through stock proxies, resolutions and the like to "reform" business practices of American firms in South Africa must move to a new level. American business practices in South Africa must change. And that change is spelled *disinvestment*.

Bishop Tutu has called "constructive engagement" an "unmitigated disaster" and has lamented the well-intentioned Sullivan principles — a voluntary plan for equal treatment of Black workers by U.S. corporations in South Africa — as "cosmetic and superficial." "They are crumbs of concession," says Tutu, "that have fallen from the master's table. We don't want these crumbs."

Clearly, a greater response is demanded of the Christian community. It must escalate its support and risk and dare also "to pay a heavy price" if it is to stand alongside Bishop Tutu and the real "moral majority."

After the Nobel award medal and its accompanying check have been presented, after the applause has died and Bishop Tutu is back home in South Africa or wherever he may be permitted to travel on the limited documents afforded him, the work of peace, as embodied in that continuing struggle for human rights, really begins. ■

Letters . . . Continued from page 3

the clergy deployment office; we actively sought her. During a prior period between rectors, this priest who happens to be a woman came to us as "supply" priest. Her impact was such that when the time came to search for a rector, there was no doubt that she was the one we wanted. This is important, not because the people in the parish are extraordinary or particularly different from other Episcopalians, but precisely because they are not.

If women priests are allowed to function on the parish level — to gain a foothold — and if those of us who experience their ministry will share it, a firm and lasting base will grow. The revolution can and must go forward but the evolution on the local level is what will accomplish all that is hoped for. I, too, wait with impatience for the first women bishops, but meantime, I am filled with joy and wonder at the impact of that day in Philadelphia 10 years ago on people who are not overly aware of the momentous event that occurred then, but who are benefiting from it every day in their corporate and individual lives.

Those of us who think in terms of the future of the Episcopal Church at large hope for the same things you do, but it is important for you to know that in one parish, at this time, among the "ordinary" people of the church, prophecy is daily reality. In that, I think, lies the hope for the future.

Jean A. Titterington
Hasbrouck Heights, N.J.

Correction

The artist responsible for the dramatic cover graphic of our November issue is Lynd, not Lynn, Ward.

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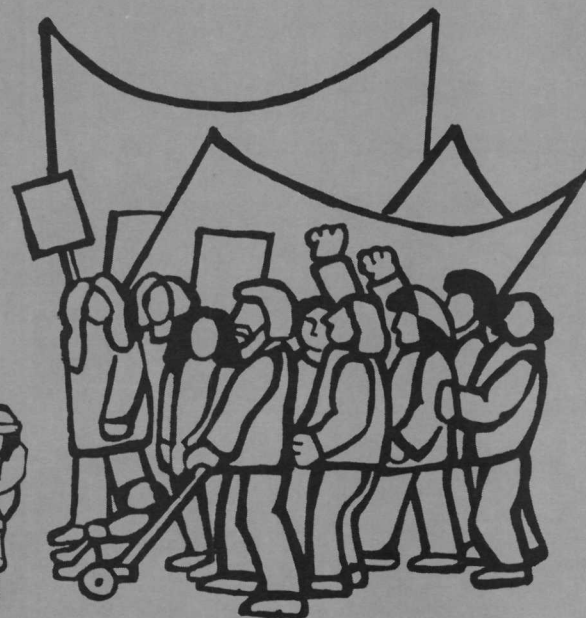


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