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179th Year

The

CHURCHMAN

An Independent Journal of Humanistic, Religious, and Social Thought



“A RMS NEGOTIATIONS . . . should be seen as the only clear path to security and survival. . . Self-interest is common interest. And if I am certain of anything, I am certain that Soviet leaders are as concerned to avoid a nuclear war as we are. I have seen how the Second World War scarred not only a generation but the very soul of every Soviet citizen — even those born a decade after the guns fell silent. They have no desire to repeat that experience.”

W. AVERELL HARRIMAN
former U.S. Ambassador to the USSR

A NATIONAL JOURNAL • ESTABLISHED 1804

One Dollar and Fifty Cents

Dismantling the War Machine

JAMES AVERY JOYCE

Nuclear and National Equality

SHINGO SHIBATA

America's Wars

W. STANLEY RYCROFT

Living, Loving, Learning

TED COX

The Open Forum

Shameful

TO THE EDITORS: When the history of this ominous period is written, it will recount the billions of borrowed dollars made insensitive to society's crying needs, and shamefully squandered on stockpiles of omniscidal weapons — all marked for the destruction of an enemy which did not exist.

EDWARD DREW GOURLEY
Walnut Creek, Cal.

Needed: Peoples' Representation

TO THE EDITORS: The millions of protesters who marched in New York and in hundreds of other places, need more than the applause of peaceniks. They need, more importantly, some representation. What we should have in our nuclear, global, interdependent world is a United People's organization, a parliament of men/women which, in contrast to the U.N., would have a moral/religious base. As the "lower house" in two-chamber parliaments, its councils and committees would consist of delegates who would not represent militant "sovereign" states, but peace-loving, morally-guided populations, cultures, religious, and occupational groups. The great majority of the world's peoples, such as the massive populations of China and India, would have a proportionate stake in it, which they do not have now. Such an institution might also reduce the number of false prophets, political extremists, and fly-by-night cultists who now abuse the idealism of youth everywhere. Today's U.N. is a platform for governments to justify their wrong-doings, and not a court of justice for condemning and correcting them. To say the very least, it needs supplementation by some institution of morally-oriented leaders sincerely interested in the welfare of people. Religion and science ought to work hand in hand to find ways and means to protect civilization against barbaric, often criminally inclined and irresponsible governments with still fundamentally tribal mentalities, backed by their respective military establishments ready to plunge mankind into nuclear disaster.

Salt Lake City, Utah HELMUT G. CALLIS

Farm Convention

TO THE EDITORS: What a remarkable journal someone has sent to me! And in its 178th year! Progressive! And truly American! I recently attended a U.S. Farmers Association convention in Mason City, Iowa. While there I had the pleasure of hearing a United Methodist minister from Broken Bow, Nebraska: Tom Rehorn. He was an added attraction to an already stimulating and inspiring convention experience. Enclosed is my subscription check, plus \$20.00 for a copy of the November issue to be sent to 20 persons listed.

PAUL STEWART

Patriotism is the same as love
for humanity.

MOHANDAS K. GANDHI

Galileo Lesson

TO THE EDITORS: I read with great interest the "'Galileo Affair' White-wash?" by Dr. Nathaniel Lehrman (December 1982 issue). When we consider the way in which the citizens of Geneva, at the instigation of John Calvin, treated Michael Servetus or the way Protestants of Central Europe treated Johannes Kepler or the way the Jews of Amsterdam treated Spinoza, it soon becomes clear — at least to me — that Catholics are not the only lovers of darkness. The unfortunate incident between the Roman Church and Galileo ought to provide a lesson for everyone, irrespective of religious affiliation.

Southbridge, Mass. FRANCIS ROACH

Lamb, the Lion

TO THE EDITORS: How is everything going at "the old flame-thrower"? When I read Edward Lamb's articles, I feel he is much like an energetic lion. Keep *The Churchman* chargin'!

Long Beach, Cal. BEN BRADLEY

New Supporter

TO THE EDITORS: For some time a friend has subscribed to *The Churchman* for me, and I read it from cover to cover. Because I wish to help support your valiant efforts to search out the facts about our current scene and life in it, I will subscribe on my own now and send a gift to The Churchman Associates to boot. I am dismayed that I didn't learn about your magazine at least 40 years ago. What counts now, however, is that I may look forward to receiving significant communications from your good company of thinkers who seek truth wherever it leads.

Valley Center, Cal. C. W. WENNERBERG

Land Value

TO THE EDITORS: It may have been in 1932 (with an MA from Columbia and nudges from Reinhold Niebuhr and Harry Emerson Fosdick) that I left the profession of religious education and joined the ranks of social changers. It seems to me the major problem in our society (while educational, psychological and low intellectual level) are in the economic and political areas — the obvious, patent, clear, and widespread mal-distribution of wealth.

For me, *The Churchman* is part of the good workers who open doors and expose problems-solutions, but who do not see that all these good things contribute to one pervasive and underlying distortion. They all — each of the good actions we all do — inevitably and in the long run, "raise the level of the values in land." In our society, we allow and continue an unethical system of arrang-

ing that the "unearned" (by them) sum is taken by the private owners of land. So, until the benevolent, active doers-of-good help change this system, we all unwittingly increase, rather than solve, the problem. For fifty years I've heeded Ralph Borsodi, who said, "to solve the land problem is the beginning of solving ALL social problems." And, of course, Henry George, who taught us simple, logical ethical facts and how to deal with them, said, "The truth I have uncovered will be slow in coming . . . but it will find friends who will live for it, and if need be, die for it."

York, Pa. MILDRED LOOMIS

'Civil Disobedience' Article

TO THE EDITORS: I was happy to see my history class' cooperative article, "Civil Disobedience," in the November issue of *The Churchman*. The subject is one on which I feel deeply. However, may I make a correction on the note identifying me. After teaching history for 10 years at Rust College, a traditionally black school in Mississippi, I retired. I never taught in Rust's graduate school; it never has had one.

The Churchman fills a definite need in our society and I heartily endorse your idea of Associates to underwrite a portion of the rising cost of publication. May success be yours — and ours!

Holly Springs, Miss. CLARICE CAMPBELL

Free Apples in Protest

TO THE EDITORS: According to President Reagan, inflation is on its way to being cured. I say he is a liar for the following reason: the farmers are going broke because they cannot sell their apples for a profit. The farmers get approximately 10¢ a pound; these same apples sell for \$1.13 for a 3-lb. bag, 57¢ a pound, or \$1.44, for three Golden Delicious apples displayed on store shelves. I strongly feel the injustice on the part of our leaders and profiteering food chain owners. In protest, I will distribute half-bushels of apples fresh from storage to citizens that are unemployed, on welfare, senior citizens, and bonified church leaders. Come and get free apples and boycott the profiteering food store owners. Three cheers for the Black Dirt onion growers for their donation to the steelworkers in Pennsylvania!

Modena, N. Y. ANGELO DeLEWIS

Agreement

TO THE EDITORS: We agree with *The Churchman's* editorial policy. You are our kind of people!

Wilmington, Del. Mrs. ERNEST THORN

Dynamic

TO THE EDITORS: *The Churchman* is worth more than your subscription rate. It is the most dynamic force for peace.

Macon, Ga. EDITH C. TURPIN

New Frontier in Colombia

TO THE EDITORS: We are Americans who have made our home in Latin America for seven years. Lately we are seeing much distorted news about the Americas coming out of the U.S. and would like to set the record straight for *Churchman* readers. When we first moved to Costa Rica, bag, baggage, grandmother, teenagers, and pets, we spoke no Spanish and knew little about the country. But soon our rural neighbors accepted us and graciously taught us their language, culture, and how a city-bred family could enjoy ranch life in a foreign land. Our delightful adventures there merit a book, at least! My husband's love for the sea (Pearl Harbor survivor, retired Navy) prompted a further move two years ago, to Colombia's Caribbean coast. We found a lovely, old coconut plantation on the Pan American Highway near Santa Marta, the oldest (457 years), most fascinating city in all of the Americas. Imagine, green palms waving in gentle ocean breezes, blue sea and sky, pounding surf and golden sand and, towering 19,000 feet over all and snow-capped the year 'round, majestic Mount Columbus. We feel we have much — incomparable beauty, fine neighbors, perfect climate, a stable, democratic government, and a satisfying low cost of living. Like Columbus, we have discovered a new frontier, with a vast potential and, being human, are driven to tell others about our dream-come-true. If you are interested in the future of the Americas, and the Birds, write us by international air mail (35¢ a half-ounce) at P.O. Box 5222, Santa Marta, Colombia. It may take a while, but we promise to answer. Now, from beautiful Santa Marta, we wish you *salud* (health), *pesetas* (wealth), *amor* (love), and the time to enjoy them all!

Santa Marta, Colombia, S.A. JUANITA BIRD

Pantheism

TO THE EDITORS: Increasingly being urged upon American religion is the mistaken belief, called pantheism, that the universe is necessarily part of God, within whom, it is believed, the universe exists. Questions curiously avoided by pantheists include these: Since human beings are part of the universe, does not pantheism finally mean that human beings are part of God? Have, then, Hitler and similar personalities been part of God? Having affirmed with Christ (Mark 12:29) that there is but one God, are we now to imagine that God consists of, among other things, billions of personalities? Beyond being Unitarians or Trinitarians, are we to become "Billitarians"? Certainly we can believe that the Creation exists within God, as Scripture affirms (Acts 17:28), without holding, idolatrously, that the Creation is part of God. Here we may analogize that, for example, a certain small object may be to be for a time within a person's body without being part of that

body. In any case, advanced religion can no more accept a novel and sophisticated polytheism than an old and simple one!

Waterloo, S.C. ROBERT E. CRENSHAW

International

TO THE EDITORS: Enclosed are two gift subscriptions to your wonderful paper. I wish for all of you a healthy and progressive year. The truth we seek comes through *The Churchman* in the interest of the nation and peace for all mankind.

Salt Lake City, Utah ROLAND W. MATTHES

Concern For Animals

TO THE EDITORS: This holiday season is a perfect time to give the gift of mercy to millions of laboratory animals. Two enormously important legislative bills are pending in the U.S. Congress which would require the development and use of alternatives to live animals in painful medical and other experiments and testing, also inspection of the laboratories to see that there is no unnecessary pain or stress and that no animal is used in more than one major operative procedure. The proposed legislation will not eliminate all the suffering, but it will certainly reduce it.

Readers are urged to take a few minutes from their busy holiday schedules for a true act of unselfish kindness. Every concerned person should write his or her own Congressman (the name can be obtained from the public library) at House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515, requesting co-sponsorship and full support of laboratory animal bill H.R. 6928. A letter should also be sent to each U.S. Senator at Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510, requesting co-sponsorship and full support of laboratory animal bill S.2948. We speak for those who cannot speak for themselves when we say "thank you."

St. Petersburg, Fla. JOAN JENRICH,
President, Nat'l Assn. for
Humane Legislation

Poland's Growth

TO THE EDITORS: To blame Poland's problems on the Soviet Union or the Catholic church is to ignore the influence of Western banks in a decade of manipulation. Since the early '70s, Poland's industrial product grew 60 percent, faster than any other leading capitalist country, including Japan. It was all managed by loans. Food shortages are a big part of the problems in Poland because this lopsided industrial growth neglected the development of agriculture. If we choose to follow a religious guideline, we are also free not to follow it. Separation of church and state is our heritage. Nothing stops Poland from adopting that directive. Any human being on the face of this earth can work at obtaining freedom, whether he lives in the United States or not.

Bloomington, Ind. GRAY ANDERSON

The
CHURCHMAN

An independent journal of religious humanism, under the sponsorship of The Churchman Associates, Inc. It is edited in the conviction that religious journalism must provide a platform for the free exchange of ideas and opinions; that religion is consonant with the most advanced revelations in every department of knowledge; that we are in a fraternal world community; and that the moral and spiritual evolution of man is only at the beginning.

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CHANGE OF ADDRESS — When ordering a change of address, GIVE BOTH OLD AND NEW ADDRESSES. THREE WEEKS NOTICE REQUIRED.

A Testament of Faith

I see man awakening, arising,
 The old dreams of embattled races
 And an impoverished earth are fading.
 The signs are unmistakable.
 Evil in one last, great assault
 Presses with bloody hands
 Outstretched, dripping coins and baubles.
 There are many who still accept them.
 But no one, even the acceptors,
 Is much misled.

Man is growing from infancy.
 His first steps falter, and he will fall,
 But he will rise again.
 He will quit playing soldier, lay aside his toys and guns,
 For he has work to do.

He cannot stand in fear and trembling forever,
 He cannot suckle and cling forever.
 He must go forth and live as was intended.
 He will not be controlled by his abstractions
 Or by Nature.
 But will control them.
 He will not accept evil as final or divine,
 But will take goodness by the hand.

He is not stupid; he will not kill and maim himself forever.
 He will control killing as he controlled murder
 By recognizing the necessity
 And regulating it by law through men who enforce the law.

He knows there are more good
 Men than evil ones.

He will reject the primitive dream
 That original sin stems from knowledge.

He will war on fear,
 Not on himself.
 And his peace will not be a desert,
 A nothingness left by old conquerors.
 His peace will be a morning
 To arise and work in.

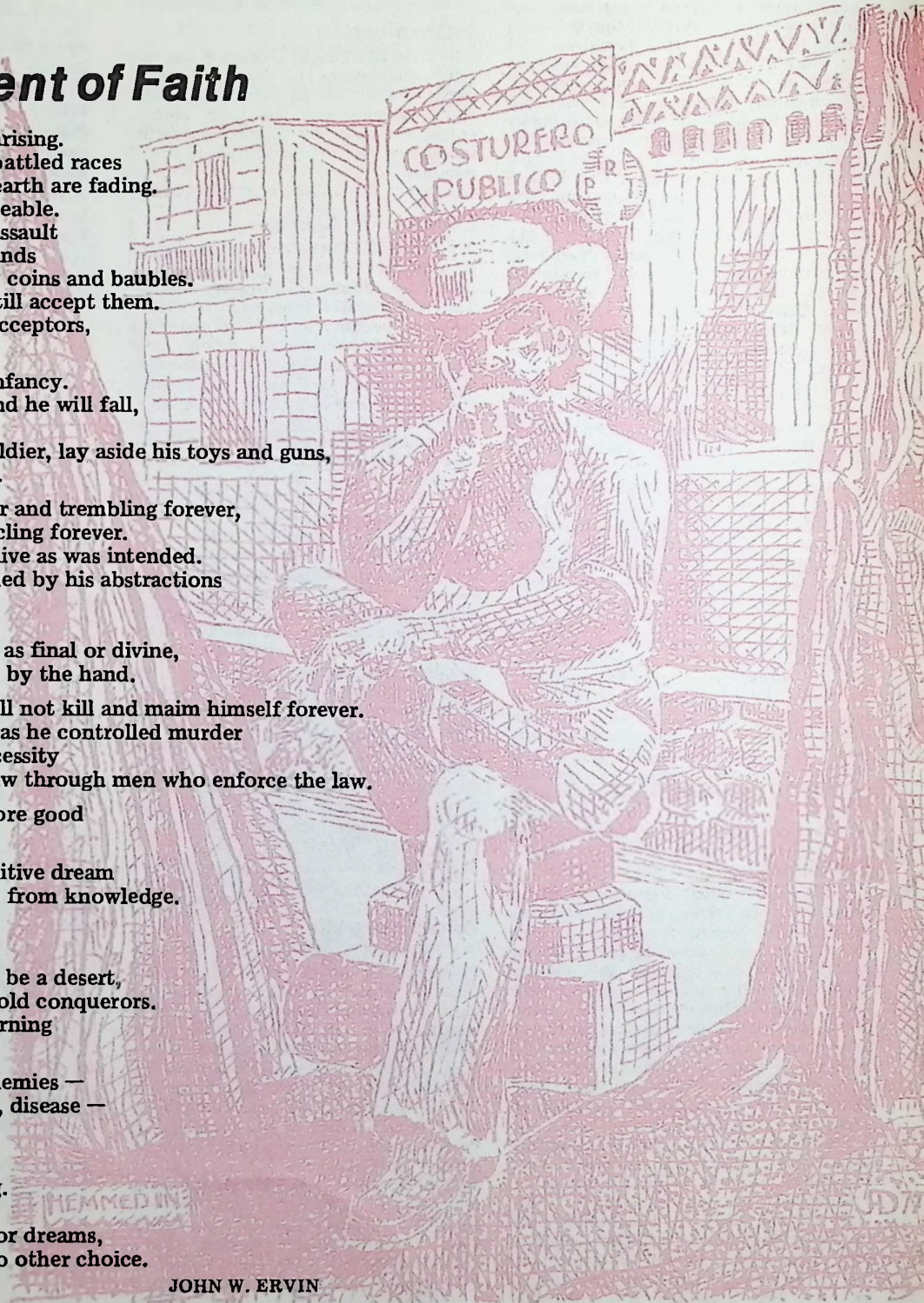
He will find his real enemies —
 Fear, ignorance, greed, disease —
 And fight them,
 Conquer them.

His nations are uniting.
 Men are uniting.
 Not because of ideals or dreams,
 But because there is no other choice.

JOHN W. ERVIN

Mr. Ervin is an attorney with offices in Beverly Hills, California.

Pen and Ink Peace drawing by Jim Dombrowski, New Orleans, La.



CHURCH LOBBYING BRINGS RESULTS IN DISARMAMENT MEASURES

CHURCH PEOPLE have shown their clout by lobbying against the MX missile, resulting in Congress' tabling production funds for the ogre. Defense analyst, George C. Wilson, commented in the *Washington Post* that church lobbying is a "new political force that [was] shaping, if not determining" the House vote against the

EDITORIALS

MX. Wilson cited Congressional aides who said that much of the mail

against the MX was generated by religious groups.

"The systems we're talking about are not defensive systems," said Gretchen Eick of the United Church of Christ. "They support the illusion that nuclear war is possible to win."

People are resisting right-wing word-foolery that propagandists pour forth, such as Reagan's "the MX missile is a peacekeeper" and "freeze-niks," as the Coalition for Peace Through Strength terms the growing arms-freeze activists. Other right-wing organizations whose names mislead their fallacious intent are Students for Peace and Security, the Committee to Prevent Nuclear War, and the Alliance to Halt the Advance of Marxism in the Americas. The *Reader's Digest's* joining in such nefarious word warfare with an article entitled "The KGB's Magical War for 'Peace'" does not deter the growing anti-war movement.

"I think the people in the pews are coming around," observed Bob Alpern, director of the Washington office of the Unitarian-Universalist Association of Churches in North America. "We have listened to the experts for 37 years, and they have led us into the abyss. We church representatives have at least as much expertise as many of the members of Congress."

We believe that most religious people — certainly readers of *The Churchman* — agree with Mr. Alpern that "the main point is that nuclear weapons are a menace to life and they could never be tolerated."

Money Used Against Democracy

WE OWE MUCH to the wisdom of the late Justice William O. Douglas. "Ideas," he wrote in the *Almanac of Liberty*, "are indeed the most dangerous weapons in the world. Our ideas of freedom are the most powerful political weapons man has ever forged. If we remember that, we will never have much to fear from communism."

Judge Skelly Wright carries on where Justice Douglas left off in an article on how "Money Has Distorted Our Democratic System" in the *Columbia Law Review*. He thinks a government is best served by no restriction on ideas so that "the wealthiest voices may not dominate the debate by the strength of their dollars." He believes the Founding Fathers "would cringe if they could see what has happened to American politics. . . . Free speech has turned into free spending; money is now king in our democracy."

Judge Wright hasn't overlooked the wealthy Political Action Committees (PACS) who spent more than \$180-million during the 1982 election

cycle. PACS not only maneuver elections but promote their special interests through legislation. "When money becomes more important than people," wrote Judge Wright, "when media mastery outweighs appeals to judgment, when opportunities to communicate with voters are extremely unequal, the result is a cynical distortion of the electoral process."

Resistance to pressures, dissidence, a sense of values — these are the tenets of our democratic heritage that need practice.

Economic Growth

WHEN THE CIA gave out the "news" last month that the Soviet economy is not collapsing, it prompted Congressman Henry S. Reuss (D-Wis.) to comment: "The CIA helps put into perspective for Americans the fact that the USSR, far from being on the verge of collapse, has experienced major growth."

Is it probable that economists can learn something from the Soviets who, despite the burden of defense spending — to keep up with challenges from the Pentagon — have done so well? Is it logical for private business to initiate trade with the Soviets with the concomitant advantage of more jobs for Americans?

The Soviet Union has bought 100,000 metric tons of American wheat, boosting its total grain purchases from the USA to 5.5-million tons in the fiscal year ended last September 30. Last year, the Soviets bought nearly 14-million tons of U.S. grain. American farmers were happy about this trade.

To open more trade doors might be the cure for avoiding a larger world depression and bringing up the level of the world's standard of living. All it takes is simple goodwill for this simple solution.

When Is A Human Human?

AN UNBORN CHILD is not a person, ruled Justice D. H. Bowen of the Court of the Queen's Bench, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. He chose to go along with the dictionary meaning of the word "alive" — defined as "marked by a state in which the organs perform their vital functions." In his view, the mother performs the vital functions while she is carrying the child.

The late Professor Frederick L. Schuman, political scientist, Portland (Ore.) State University, wrote in the article "A Fetus Is Not Human" for *The Churchman's* March 1976 issue: "A fetus, even at full birth, is not psychologically or socially 'human.' An embryo of our species becomes a human being only by prolonged nurture and by mutual communication and interpersonal relationship of love with another human. Without this, while there may be physical survival, there is no emergence of a human psyche."

"Interpersonal relationship of love," he said. That can be extended to sacrifice toward world brotherhood — the kind of human being we need!

DISMANTLING THE WAR MACHINE

International Community of Common People Tie Disarmament To A Better Society.

By JAMES AVERY JOYCE

THE PUBLIC is kept in the dark about disarmament processes, while the heated debate rolls on about the nuclear dangers. The long-term effectiveness of the U.N. disarmament program will depend on how this body of new knowledge, focussed on diverting and connecting the arms race with peaceful development, has been assimilated and implemented by the government leaders. What is needed, then, is a sort of primer setting out guidelines for armaments conversion, as they have recently emerged from research and expert discussions within the U.N. family, and outside, too.

These quiet voices of sanity are coming from the grass-roots, while the Pentagon think-tankers are telling the world that the U.S. could seriously plan to "win" a nuclear war, provided it is handled in short doses and spread over nine months by agreement with the enemy, leaving only 20-million American dead!

They forget that the "20-million" corpses would be barely survived by untold millions more, blinded, crippled, diseased, in a waterless and houseless irradiated wilderness!

Swedish Secretary of State Inga Thorsson (quoted on the January 1983 cover of *The Churchman*) prepared the major report on disarmament and development for SSD II earlier this year, with the assistance of a group of qualified governmental experts appointed in conformity with the Final Document of the 1978 Special Session. It begins by stating that "the present study is an important attempt by the international community to investigate thoroughly the proposition that a balanced and generally acceptable pattern of global economic and social development is inextricably related to disarmament." It defines "development" as the "social and economic changes in society leading to improvement in the quality of life for all." This, in essence,

"With federal adjustment aid and planning to diversify local economies, 78,000 new jobs were created. Forty-eight base closings have led to 41 schools."

means providing for every person the basic material requirements for a productive and dignified existence.

But how many of our legislators understand disarmament in these terms of social change?

In 1980, global outlays for military purposes amounted to \$500,000-million, equivalent to investment in all the developing countries combined. This is nearly 20 times greater than the official development aid. Our present predicament is presented, in the Thorsson document, in the following terms:

"Hundreds of millions of people exist in conditions of such acute poverty that the label 'standard of living' is utterly inappropriate. The World Bank estimates that there are now 570-million people who are malnourished, 800-million who are illiterate, 1,500-million who have little or no access to medical services, 250-million children who do not go to school."

This does not mean that economic growth has stopped. It is the wrong "growth." The report continues: "In many industrialized and in a few developing countries the arms industry is now one of the fastest growing sectors of the economy. The international arms market has grown in recent years

at a rate which contrasts sharply with otherwise sluggish trends in world markets."

Conversion, therefore, becomes an antidote to recession, if scientifically applied and coordinated internationally.

Arms growth does not add to employment. On the contrary, rising arms expenditures, in the face of falling government revenues, lead countries to economize on health, education, and welfare, with all the negative social consequences this entails. In fact, high arms expenditures have proved to be a hindrance to economic policies leading out of recession.

Government arms budgets increase demand without increasing the volume of saleable or exportable goods. It thus intensifies the problems of inflation.

Against so dark a backdrop of runaway crisis-economics and colossal mispending, our heads of governments have, at several "summits" and in high-level visits, achieved nothing of consequence. They have not been able to agree on words to cover the nakedness of this spurious war-economics.

It is the common people who have been raising a cry of alarm and remonstrance as they face the think-tank scenario of death and desolation being prepared for them on both sides of the Atlantic.

Let us look at one or two early instances of this grass-roots revolt. A pioneer local study, funded by the American Friends Service Committee and written by Marta Daniels, was published in 1980, entitled, "Jobs, Security and Arms in Connecticut." Its analysis and proposals on conversion have so far not been surpassed in any other part of the United States. It deals with practically every industry in the State of Connecticut, and its findings have already had a surprising effect on legislators and the press. Marta Daniels

Dr. Joyce's *The War Machine* (Quartet, 1980) went into its third edition in Jan. 1983 (Hamlyn), to be followed in the Spring by *Dismantling the War Machine* (Avon Books, New York). A member of the English Bar in London, Dr. Joyce has been for years consultant to the United Nations in Geneva, Switzerland, where he resides.

has introduced her study as follows:

"Connecticut has the highest per capita military spending in the nation. At least 100,000 people in the state depend directly upon the Pentagon for their jobs, and 25% of the state's industrial capacity is geared exclusively to serving the needs of one interest — the military. This extraordinary dependence has created a unique vulnerability for the Connecticut workforce."

Daniels goes on to say that there is no doubt that Connecticut's giant corporations — General Dynamics and United Technologies — have poured billions of dollars into certain sections of the state's economy, and have provided jobs for thousands of Connecticut workers. But she adds the proviso in italics: "*when times were good.*" The overall effect, however, had been to discourage industrial diversification and thereby increase the economic impact *when times were not good.* Military spending has had a negative effect upon the U.S. economy in general, she says, and for the Connecticut economy in particular. While the state now has the greatest Pentagon income in its history — \$3.5-billion in 1978 — there has not been a corresponding increase in jobs. Rather, the opposite has occurred. Dollar for dollar, spending in the military sector provides the least number of jobs than any other kind of spending.

If reducing inflation, unemployment, and high taxes are to be met, military spending must be curtailed — a principle that President Reagan has not only ignored, but turned upside down in his 1983 budget.

"If we are to combat poverty and utilize our resources to meet vital human needs," urges Marta Daniels, "the work to direct the economy away from military spending towards civilian-based production *must begin.*" This process is called economic conversion. "It means the transfer of production machinery, skills, workers, resources, and plants from manufac-

turing for the military to manufacturing for peaceful purposes. Conversion is the sensible and humane way to get workers and communities off the hook of defense dependency."

Mr. Irving Stolberg, a member of the Connecticut House of Representatives, has said: "If peace were to break out, the State of Connecticut would face an economic crisis of unprecedented proportion." As Chairman of Connecticut's Finance Committee, Rep. Stolberg has taken a courageous stand: "We must move our state to recognize the high economic risk of defense dependency and be prepared for alternative production which can more effectively produce jobs, while at the same time addressing important social needs such as housing, mass transit, and the environment."

It is significant that this unofficial pioneer study will be followed by a comprehensive report on "Defense Dependency in Connecticut" to be released by the Department of Economic Development under Public Act 79-230, planning to minimize the layoffs and economic dislocations which would result from a cutback in Connecticut's Defense Department contracts.

In the Connecticut study, a number of examples are given in answer to the question "Can Planned Economic Conversion Work?" They answer: "On a small scale it already has." Between 1961-1977, 75 communities and 68,000 workers were hit with a major contract loss on military/plant closing. With federal adjust-

ment aid and planning to diversify local economies, 78,000 new jobs were created. Forty-eight base closings have led to 41 schools.

The AVCO engine plant in South Carolina, which made military helicopters, now makes truck engines and employs more workers than before the conversion.

The late Walter Reuther, President of United Auto Workers, proposed national conversion legislation over a decade ago. He urged that a portion of each defense contractor's profits be set aside as a "conversion reserve, to be held in a government trust fund," which would assist disrupted workers and the communities in which they lived.

There are now, in fact, a number of pieces of legislation at the federal level which would help the nation as a whole. So the disarmament process has begun in America. They include The Defense Economic Adjustment Act, which would establish a national conversion planning program of "alternative use" committees at military facilities; Congressman Chris Dodd's Economic Diversification Bill, seeking ways for defense-dependent communities to obtain state and federal assistance to diversify their local economies; and also Congressman Dodd's The Defense Workers Adjustment Assistance, Amendment to the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1979 (which has now passed the House), to initiate a two-year demonstration program



"SHALL I TAKE IT OUT OF REVERSE?"

to provide income support to defense workers who lose their jobs.

This little-reported real peace movement enterprise, centered on one state, played a lonely part until Dr. Seymour Melman, Professor of Industrial Engineering at

Columbia University, drafted his revolutionary Conversion Bill, which was introduced by Rep. Ted Weiss on June 16, 1982, under the title of The Defense Economic Adjustment Act (HR 6618). If passed, this Act will make the federal government responsible for supporting economic

conversion planning in the whole defense sector. If carried into legislation, this would invoke sweeping changes in the U.S. defense structure.

What a breath of fresh air is sweeping through the turgid pollutions of the orthodox arms debate!

WAR IS ABORTION

VATICAN II helped to shift the focus of morality from sex-related acts to acts that affect life itself. Organized actions of war, segregation, and economic greed have slowly come to be seen as moral or immoral acts.

Public figures, like Phyllis Schaffley, can still be very strong in their opposition to abortion, but are unable to see that killing people with nuclear bombs is wrong. Their narrow focus allows them to oppose the Supreme Court, but not to see that in opposing the Supreme Court, they are opposing the government. They feel they are not opposing the government, only the Supreme Court, and yet the Court is an important part of our government.

On the other hand, those who oppose the U.S. policy of nuclear deterrence are clearly opposing the government. Christians who have accepted a personal morality which leaves the government sacrosanct, find it difficult to see that being moral might mean opposing the government. When you oppose American policy, you are opposing the executive and legislative branches of government, the two branches most clearly seen as being the government; and so it happens that you are labeled as unpatriotic, as a dupe of communism, or pro-communist. This burden is not borne by pro-lifers who are only against abortion.

The potential of nuclear weapons to destroy all life and all future life through worldwide radiation is a threat to abort all future generations. The U.S. National Academy of Sciences report of 1975 says it is probable

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that an exchange of 10,000 nuclear warheads (about one fifth of the world arsenal) would rupture the ozone layer that protects all life from the lethal violet rays of the sun. All eyes that didn't wear sun glasses would go blind in such an exchange; birds and animals would be unable to find food. Foliage would wither, roots would decay. This potential of nuclear weapons shows them to be the macro-abortion instruments for the entire human family. This makes the Pentagon a giant abortion clinic.

A change is on the way. One

IF...

THIS YEAR, 1983, marks the 500th anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther, the 100th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx, and the 50th anniversary of the triumph of Nazism in Germany.

It is also the year during which nearly 600 Cruise and Pershing II missiles will either be installed in Europe or they will not.

If they are, then the heirs of Hitlerism, total war, and other forces of barbarism will have triumphed. If they are not, then the heirs of Luther, Marx, and other exponents of human civilization will have triumphed.

The one triumph leads to world peace; the other to Euroshima.

There really is no choice. The Eurostrategic missiles must not be installed in 1983 — or ever!

WERNER J. LANGE

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sign of that change is the second draft of the U.S. Bishops' peace pastoral. One bishop describing it said to me, "The U.S. bishops in this pastoral are just one inch away from Gospel non-violence." Another bishop said, "We are saying No to nuclear weapons, but then we allow a single thread of some toleration of some kind of deterrence policy, provided it is accompanied by a move toward total disarmament."

We should cut that thread and say an emphatic No to every kind of deterrence to peace. The process that Bishop Joseph Bernadino of Chicago described as going on in the Roman Catholic Church, the process of teaching respect for life, led the bishops to talk about the immorality of nuclear war. This process emphasizes Gospel non-violence as the Christian way. It reveals the impossibility of morally justifying war in the nuclear age. The bishops condemn so much of the U.S. nuclear policy that both the President's National Security Advisor and the Secretary of Defense wrote letters to the bishops asking them to tone it down or change it. Some newspaper editorials have accused the bishops of deserting the old, traditional Just-Unjust War theory of the church. But, as the bishops see it, at least most of them, they are taking that theory, analyzing it in the light of the nuclear danger, and saying that, even applying that theory, we get a "no" to nuclear war, a "no" to the intent to wage nuclear war, a "no" to first-strike intent, and a "no" to strategic, or counterforce, bombing.

The improvement of nuclear technology helps consciences better evaluate the immorality of using nuclear weapons.

By RICHARD McSORLEY

Nuclear and National Equality

All Cultures Must Become Related in New International Thinking

By SHINGO SHIBATA

THE HISTORY of mankind ever since the birth of class society has been basically a history of big power centralism in international economic, political, and cultural relations, with big powers absorbing, ruling, and subjugating smaller powers.

Even the United Nations has been, and still is, based on the principle of big power centralism, authorizing five powers to occupy the exclusive seats of permanent members in the Security Council, with the privilege of exclusively exercising veto rights.

In addition, in the nuclear age, big power centralism is nothing but nuclear big power centralism. Each nuclear big power has destructive power which could extinguish all forms of life and culture on Earth.

This presents a new task to the human race. That is how the era when nuclear big powers have had the destiny of small powers at their disposal can be ended, ushering in a new era when all nations can decide on their own destiny for themselves, and when a genuine national culture may flourish.

This task is also related to another new task: how to reform the United Nations. How can the existing principles and machinery of the U.N., which gives the five nuclear big powers the right of veto, be democratically renovated on the principle of equality of nations? Here, the point at issue is criticism and the overcoming of nuclear big power centralism, not only in international relations, but also in our cultural vision. Without a struggle waged against nuclear big power centralism, as well as nuclear weapons, we cannot speak about a cultural vision of the world, because any nuclear war would be the worst vandalism in world history, which could bring

"For people to understand each other, non-verbal methods of communication, such as music, painting, films, photographs, sculpture, and so on, should be given their due roles and places in the cultural visions. We need a new theory of arts and aesthetics in the nuclear age."

all forms of culture and cultural visions to naught.

One aspect is the concept of fundamental human rights which have been incorporated in human rights' declarations since the 18th century. Among them, the U.S. Declaration of Independence gives the most fundamental and excellent formula of human rights and democracy. It places "Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness" first among the inalienable rights with which all equal human beings are endowed. Indeed, the most important thing for a human being is "life," without which all other values are meaningless. According to the Declaration, therefore, "whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it." It thus explicitly recognizes the right to revolution as one of the most fundamental of human rights.

The concepts of human rights of the American Revolution were inherited by the Vietnamese Revolution. In drafting the Declaration of Independence of Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh quoted from the U.S. Declaration and referred to it as an "immortal statement" and went on to say: "In a broader sense, it means: All the peoples on the Earth are equal from birth, all the peoples have a right to live and to be happy and free." "Equal and free" means not only individuals; all nations — large and small — should be entitled to decide their own affairs for themselves.

Concepts of human rights should be laid down as cornerstones of the cultural visions of the world, because without the exercise of human rights nobody will be able to enjoy culture and its achievements.

Einstein once said, "If mankind

is to survive, then we need a completely new way of thinking." Also, the 33rd General Assembly of the U.N., on December 14, 1978, adopted a resolution entitled, "New Philosophy on Disarmament," and asked the Secretary General to submit the comprehensive theory on this philosophy to the next General Assembly. What, then, is "a completely new way of thinking"? What is the "New Philosophy on Disarmament"? The cultural visions of the world in the nuclear age are asked to include replies to these questions.

On February 25, 1981, Pope John Paul II visited Hiroshima and issued an "Appeal for Peace" which deeply moved not only Catholics but also all religious and non-religious people in Japan. The Appeal showed the Pope's deep insight into the implications of Hiroshima.

As to other religious bodies, we can also mention the names of many leaders in Japan and the world who have contributed much towards strengthening anti-nuclear movements and thereby helping mankind and culture to survive. Cultural visions of the world must include the role of religions in the nuclear age.

National scientists such as Einstein, Bohr, Yukawa, Needham, and others, were ahead of many social scientists. This raises a question about the role and place of natural sciences and the scientific revolution in the cultural visions of our times.

As to the implications of social sciences in the nuclear age, it is important for us to learn what is not known. On the way toward nuclear disarmament and human survival, many new questions must

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be asked and answered by social scientists:

How to scrap nuclear weapons under strict international inspection? Specifically, how to control and deal with the uranium and plutonium that will have to be extracted from the vast number of nuclear weapons? It cannot be allowed either to be dumped into the sea or left in deserts as heaps of uranium and plutonium. Simply shouting "No Nukes!" will solve nothing.

How, under strict international inspection, can we control and treat radioactive wastes produced in existing nuclear power plants?

How can we strengthen the functions of control and inspection to be assumed by the U.N. and NGOs without infringing the right of national self-determination?

How can the munitions economy be converted to a peace economy?

How can the political and military machinery standing in the way of conversion be democratically regulated?

Unless these questions — which are just a minimum — are solved, humanity can never be free of the danger of nuclear destruction of the world and culture.

As language is one of the most important elements of culture, in constructing the new cultural visions in the nuclear age, we cannot avoid the need to criticize and examine the words created in the pre-nuclear age, and create new words for the nuclear age. We need to create a new science of language, such as semantics, in order to present the new cultural visions to the world.

In my contribution to the August-September, 1982, issue of *The Churchman*, I explained a few proposed new words, including *hibakusha* (victims of nuclear war and disaster).

We need to pay attention to non-verbal methods of communication in culture. For peoples to understand each other, non-verbal methods of communication, such as music, painting, films, photographs, sculpture, and so on, should be given their due roles and places in the cultural visions.

We need a new theory of arts and aesthetics in the nuclear age.

In my essay I stressed the world-historic implications of the anti-atomic and anti-nuclear culture originating from Hiroshima and Nagasaki. But I would not like to think of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, or even Japan in general, as monopolizing the anti-nuclear culture. The nuclear danger is universal. The anti-nuclear culture must be universal. The anti-nuclear culture must be associated with all other forms of culture for human survival — cultures against all violations of the human right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, including aggression, conventional war, genocide,

colonialist suppression, despotism, starvation, ecocide, poverty, etc.

Life is indivisible and supremely valuable to every human being.

According to the Charter of the United Nations University, one of the aims of the university is to devote its work to research into the pressing global problems of human survival: development and welfare. In the same spirit, the cultural vision of every nation of the world is asked to focus on the danger of human survival and to develop its own special and unique form of culture for survival.

For humanity to survive, we need to see all forms of the culture of human survival develop and complement each other.

There Is No Victory

By ROMESH CHANDRA

THROUGHOUT the world, and particularly in Europe, people are marching to say, "No!" to U.S. imperialism, to Reagan's policies; "Yes!" to life, to peace, to building a new world for all mankind.

The peoples are demanding: "Don't let the world die for the profits of the multinationals of the United States of America!"

The strength of the peace movement, of the peoples campaigning against war, is greater than ever before. Mr. Reagan talks of having a "limited nuclear war" in Europe, so that he can experiment on European lives with his weapons. But Europe says: there will be no nuclear war and we shall not be the guinea pigs for the United States of America! Mr. Reagan talks of "victory" in a nuclear war. He means victory for the oil companies and all the big monopolies of the United States of America and its allies.

There is no such thing as a "victory" in a nuclear war! The only victory is to stop nuclear war, and this is what we must do! Thirteen million citizens of the German Democratic Republic signed an appeal recently against the deployment of Pershing IIs and Cruise missiles in Europe, and called for disarmament and detente. The same call is being made by the peoples of every country in Europe and, above all,

in the NATO countries which are threatened with these weapons. We do not want our peaceful, creative labor to be used for imperialist wars, for the destruction of mankind. That is what the working people of all the NATO countries, including the United States, are increasingly saying.

Not long ago, Chairman Erich Honecker met with Chancellor Schmidt of the Federal Republic of Germany. How important this meeting was for peace and security in Europe and peace in the whole world!

Again and again, the German Democratic Republic, as part of the great community of socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union, has put forward proposal after proposal for negotiations, for dialogue, for political solutions, for peace.

You are working for your own people, for your home, for your children or for your parents. But by your work — please remember — you are also working for us, for my children, for the children and the old people and everybody in the whole world. The whole peace-loving world is with you. Peace shall win, imperialism cannot win. We are full of optimism, we are full of confidence. Long live peace!

This article is taken from a speech given in Berlin, East Germany, by the President of the World Peace Council. Mr. Chandra is from India.

AMERICA'S WARS

By W. STANLEY RYCROFT

FEW CAN READ the history of wars without concluding that they constitute what may be called the "great human tragedy." In all, many millions of lives have been lost in wars throughout history, and one is bound to ask — for what? The disturbing reality is that in our world, might makes right, in spite of the prevailing belief that right usually triumphs in the end.

America's nine wars — so called because Americans participated in them — are analyzed carefully and thoroughly in *The Wars of America — Christian Views*, edited by Ronald A. Wells (Eerdmans, \$9.95). Eight distinguished historians contribute their perceptive analyses and insights in this book.

As the new American nation emerged in the 18th century, it was believed that "the rising glory of America would represent the final stage of human development." In one of his books, Harold Laski of England said that Americans believed they have made "the final pact with history." The Founding Fathers were convinced that America would be different from Europe with its centuries of strife and endless wars. Jefferson referred to the European countries as "nations of eternal wars." The American experiment would change all that, devoting strength and energies to peace and fraternity instead of destruction.

The American way of war reveals much about the American way of life, which is based largely on confidence in the future. American ideology has been greatly influenced by its Christian beliefs and foundations. We see the juxtaposition of "Eden," pure and undefiled, and the worldly corruption of Europe.

Out of this there developed what Ernest Tuveson called the concept of the "Redeemer Nation," America's destiny. Basic to America's self-perception in its wars was a pretentious view of itself and a belief in its moral superiority over other nations, and that what is good for America is good for the rest of the world.

The prevailing justification of war throughout the history of Christianity is that of a "just" war, the "offender-defender dichotomy" — aggressor wars are considered unjust and defensive wars are thought to be just. The trouble is that wars are not as simple as that. Many theologians have discarded the just war theory while others have serious reservations about it. In contrast to the just war theory, some Christians have espoused pacifism, while others have adopted the crusade concept. During World War II, Eisenhower, the Supreme Commander of the allied forces in Europe, said he was engaged in a "crusade for peace."

"Britain, France, and the United States regarded Hitler's Germany as a buffer against communist Russia. They would gladly have seen Germany destroy the Soviet Union."

An examination of the American Revolutionary War presents us with diverse, complex factors. We shall mention just two: the religious and the economic. The rationale, or justification, for this war is found in the Declaration of Independence. It was clearly more of a revolution than a war, although the revolution led into the war. The Declaration of Independence sought to justify and enlist international support for an already existing war.

No one can deny that a government in far-off England instituted a series of measures which gave rise to extreme provocation and aggravation among the colonists. However, George Marsden, the author of the essay on the American Revolutionary War, maintains that the American Revolution was "not fought primarily over the principles stated in the Declaration of Independence, but rather

that the war occurred to advance the economic or class interests of a limited group of revolutionaries." In other words, the economic factor played a large part in the motivation for the war.

In the Declaration of Independence, the grievances of the colonists were used hyperbolically as a rationale for the war. But the rhetoric reached extreme proportions when Britain was characterized as a despotic power.

To the good Protestants of those days, "the history of tyranny had a strong religious dimension." For the Puritans, the conflict was between liberty and true religion (that is, Protestantism) on the one hand and tyranny and hierarchical power on the other.

Reading this book, one cannot escape the impression that, with varying degrees, religion has played an important part in some of America's wars. The most striking example is that of the Civil War, with its 600,000 casualties. Lincoln once said that "the Northerners and the Southerners read the same Bible, worship the same God, and both groups invoke the blessing of God upon their cause." The Northerners believed that slavery was morally wrong while the Southerners alleged that slavery was not condemned in the Bible and were therefore persuaded that it was "a righteous and a Christianizing force."

During the Mexican War (1846-1848), responses and attitudes of Christian churches varied. Many, but not all, opposed it. For some Christians, evangelical priorities led them to believe that the political term, "Manifest Destiny" was also a mission of evangelization of the world. But noble aspirations were often blurred or lost sight of and the original intentions of the United States were superseded by expansionist policies and actions. The Spanish names of some states, New Mexico, Texas, and California, tell the rest of the story.

Racism, too, has been a factor in America's wars. In the Spanish-

Dr. Rycroft, a veteran of World War I, was a pilot in Britain's Royal Air Force in France in 1918. He is an American citizen who served as educational missionary for the Presbyterian Church and secretary of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America.

American War, ethnocentrism was evident. The Cubans were treated with disdain and deprecation, the Filipinos were referred to as "those little brown men."

In modern times, the deep underlying cause of motivation supporting war is the economic factor. In the United States, big business and powerful, wealthy corporations produce this motivation. But American people do not consciously go to war to protect or safeguard the investments of U.S. corporations abroad.

Governmental rationale for a particular war, in most cases, is fabricated out of less mundane considerations, such as freedom and democracy. This provides the facade for war and usually excites popular feeling.

It is well known that the idealism and moral aspirations of President Wilson during and after World War I were nullified, or pushed aside by his own countrymen and, in particular, by the U.S. Senate. Not only was the Treaty of Versailles rejected, but U.S. participation in the League of Nations and the Permanent Court of International Justice was denied.

Among America's wars, World War II is considered unique. It is believed by some historians to be "the purest example of a just war in which the United States was engaged." The provocation for entering the war was overwhelming: the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.

In 1941, before the United States entered the war, Walter Van

Kirk, General Secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, said, "Along with other nations, the U.S. must accept its share of responsibility for Hitler. . . . We separated ourselves from the rest of the world. We closed our eyes . . . our minds . . . our hearts. . . . We did everything but close our mouths. . . . Until the outbreak of World War II, we preached internationality to others, and practiced international anarchy for ourselves. Christian theologians were divided between the pacifists and what we might call the 'realists.'"

There is one consideration which is not sufficiently covered in this book: anti-communism. Britain, France, and the United States regarded Hitler's Germany as a buffer against communist Russia. They would gladly have seen Germany destroy the Soviet Union. That country embodied an economic system which was anathema to those who upheld the capitalist system. In the years 1936 to 1939, Britain, France, and the United States stood idly by while Germany and Italy ravaged Spain in aiding Franco. This was the awesome prelude to World War II.

Frank Buchman, founder of Moral Rearmament, after attending the Olympic Games in Berlin in the mid-1930's, told a reporter in New York that he "thanked heaven for Adolph Hitler who built a front-line defense against the anti-Christ of communism." Publisher William Randolph Hearst, after meeting Hitler in

1934, called him "an extraordinary man." He said, "Hitler's government policy and great achievement was to have saved Germany from communism."

The immediate or ostensible cause of a war is usually not the real cause. Most Americans believe, for example, that the attack on Pearl Harbor was the cause of our entry into World War II. They fail to understand other considerations such as the growing conflict between American imperialism and a rising Japanese imperialism in the Far East.

After World War II, the pattern which developed was the containment of communism. This was the ostensible cause of the Korean and the Vietnam wars. The fundamental error of the makers of American foreign policy was to believe that an ideology can be defeated by military means. They are mistakenly convinced that you can "shoot" ideas.

Ho Chi Minh was an admirer of American democracy, and when he wrote a new constitution for Vietnam, he incorporated many ideas from the U.S. Constitution. He was ready to proceed with a constitutional democracy along socialist lines. But we (under Truman) labeled him a communist and sent our armies and planes to destroy him. We proved once more that you cannot combat ideas with bombs and bullets.

The nuclear war which looms over the horizon today will be vastly different from America's wars of the past. It will be the war to end civilization. Whatever the cost, America's tenth war must be avoided. The question is, how? Can there be a mighty movement of popular opinion around the world, not only in Central Park, New York, but also in Moscow, Bonn, Paris, and London? Can government leaders be convinced that nuclear war is sheer madness?

Let us not forget that the United States is the only nation that has dropped nuclear bombs on civilian populations.

At the height of the Falkland Islands crisis, the head of the BBC in London, replying to Prime Minister Thatcher's criticism of his



coverage of the war, said that "the widow in Portsmouth is no different from the widow in Buenos Aires."

We desperately need a doctrine of our common humanity, regard-

less of race, color, nationality, or religion. In the closing lines of *The Wars of America*, the editor placed emphasis on the need for "reconcilers." Unless such a group can be found, he said — speaking

as a Christian — "like the Americans we have considered in this book [we may] find ourselves beating our ploughshares into swords, in the name of Christ and for the sake of America."

Living, Loving, Learning *For Personal and Planetary Peace*

By TED COX

THE UNEXPECTED success of Leo Bustaglia's *Living, Loving & Learning* (Charles B. Slack, \$13.50) may indicate the beginnings of a revolutionary change in human behavior.

Love is traditionally treated as a one-word generality in sermons and books. We talk about it endlessly, but like Mark Twain's epigram on the weather, we don't do anything about it. In this new book, Bustaglia not only defines the term with new insight, but elevates love to the most powerful force we can use for living fully, free from fear.

He recognizes that fear, alienation, and dehumanization is the almost universal curse today; that love and fear cannot live together. Supporting this critique, he quotes the sociologist Sirokin: "The sensate minds, our minds, emphatically disbelieve in the power of love. It appears illusionary — we call it self-deception, the opiate of people's mind, idealistic thought, and unscientific illusion.

"We are biased against all theories that try to prove the power of love . . . in determining human behavior and personality, in influencing the course of biological, social, moral, and mental evolution, in affecting the direction of historical events, in shaping social institutions and cultures."

Bustaglia rages and roars against the social indecency of this attitude. *Living, Loving & Learning* is a collection of the author's crusading speeches delivered worldwide between 1970 and 1981. Typical of his wisdom is the belief that "the loving person must return to spontaneity — return to touching each other, to smiling at each other, to thinking of each other,

to caring about each other. . . . Hugs are good, they feel nice, and if you don't believe it, try it."

"She emphasizes that 'love is a verb, not a noun,' and presents seven practical acts one can learn to communicate love."

More important than this important book is its spectacular success in meeting a seemingly voracious appetite for love by American readers. Conventional wisdom brands love as an irrelevant fancy in its "real world" of cold, hard facts; therefore, the book shouldn't sell, especially since it doesn't even peddle sex as the only saleable aspect of love.

The marathon run on the nation's best-seller lists may indicate an important change in human behavior — an active desire to learn the arts of loving in a fear-ridden and dehumanized world. If this really is a trend, it may become the most important force in stopping the arms race, an insanity that can continue only in an atmosphere of love's opposite — fear.

The great hope for survival of humanity may be that the powerful force of love can be commanded for personal and planetary peace by study and training in its principles and practices. It is no longer blind force that "happens" when one "falls in love."

Bustaglia's class in loving at the University of Southern California at Los Angeles is still the only such teaching on America's campuses. As usual, conventional institutions catch on slowly. But hundreds — new-age centers and churches — are teaching the arts of loving to tens of thousands of people.

Typical of these new crusaders is Golda Sirota, director of the Living Loving Learning Center in Los Angeles. A look at her work as an example of the new trend will indicate the growing action to reduce the dominance of fear by expanding the influence of love in human behavior.

Like Bustaglia, Ms. Sirota believes the principles and the practices of love should be learned in schools, Sunday schools, and all adult self-help groups. She is encouraged by recent church invitations to lecture or teach seminars.

Her "Love Versus Fear Training" recognizes that two forces dominate individuals and control our politics. One is fear-pressured war preparation. The other is love-nurtured peace movement, now burgeoning throughout the world.

"Fear dominates our lives," Ms. Sirota explains. "We're taught from birth: don't trust, don't get too close, don't speak to strangers, don't touch. Fear negates our self-esteem. It separates us into lonely members of a dehumanized society. Love is magnetic, whether expressed in emotional radiation, in words, or acts. It draws us together in cooperation instead of competition. Love transforms fear energy into positive action."

The principles of the loving attitude are the same as those advocated by every religion but rarely taught in actual training classes. What's new is the way Ms. Sirota and dozens of others teach specific techniques for applying the principles for improved family relationships, for success on the job, for expanding friendships, and for reducing tensions by "loving your enemy even while you may be opposing his actions."

She emphasizes that "love is a verb, not a noun," and presents

Ted Cox, former newspaperman, is the author of *Through the Black Hole*. He lives in Palm Springs, Cal.

seven practical acts one can learn to communicate love. They include eye-to-eye contact with a warm smile, listening, nurturing, touching. "As natural as they seem, people today find them difficult to perform," she says.

The training is the opposite of the specialization in conventional education. It includes, along with

the seven practical steps in communication, the "seven principles of wholistic health and wholistic lifestyles" as essential to the expansion of loving potentials. These include nutrition, exercise, meditation, prayer, and other elements.

The Bustaglia book and the expanding study of love as a practi-

cal force in personal and national living may be our greatest hope for banishing the panic that fuels the arms race. Together with new knowledge in brain behavior and psychology, they may generate the change in "human nature" that can materialize the biblical promise that "Perfect love overcometh all fear."

MARK HATFIELD, RADICAL ANABAPTIST

By HERBERT MEREDITH ORRELL

WITH PRESIDENT Richard Nixon on his right, Billy Graham on his left, Bob Haldeman and John Ehrlichman sitting directly in front of him, and a throng of more than 3,000 luminaries staring him in the face, Senator Mark O. Hatfield, *enfant terrible* of the Republican party, approached the lectern to deliver a national prayer breakfast address which, within hours, would reverberate throughout the country.

Hatfield's speech is worth recalling as a major departure from the ritualistic approvals in the 1960's and early 1970's of Richard Nixon's handling of the Vietnam War. Instead of an "honorable peace," Hatfield called for national repentance because of the horrors Americans had loosed on the people of Vietnam. So impressed was the *New York Times* with this novel approach that they devoted only two paragraphs to Nixon's remarks, and twenty-two to Hatfield's.

Although a shocked Billy Graham chided the young senator for refusing to commend Nixon for his peace efforts, Hatfield's trenchant remarks drew a favorable public response: editors sought reprint rights; letters poured in, most of them supportive. With this outspoken speech, Mark Hatfield who, as Governor of Oregon in 1966 had cast the sole vote against a resolution to back Lyndon Johnson's handling of the Vietnam War, had left behind his conservative evangelism and was

launched on his new course of "radical Anabaptism."

Robert Eels and Bartell Nyberg have written a lively biography of Hatfield: *Lonely Walk: The Life of Senator Mark Hatfield* (Multnomah Press, \$8.94 paperback). They define him as a "contemporary, revitalized expression of the theology of historic Anabaptism, found among Menonites, Brethren and, to some extent, Quakers."

Hatfield's lifelong aim has been to fuse Christianity and politics, although he has always been wary of the extremism that might result from a "Christian" political party or even a "Christian" stance on controversial issues. In this respect, he is close to the views of the late Reinhold Niebuhr.

To Hatfield, the Gospel is the *primum mobile*, the revolutionary utterance without peer. It stands in judgment of all economic and political institutions. Therefore, no system can be sacrosanct. Post-colonial American history, he says,

has made the error of idolizing an individualistic and capitalistic economy. Such a view, as many have learned to their dismay, reigns supreme in the ideology of Reaganomics, which calls for a "limited" government ("Get the government off our backs"), thus depriving the poor and needy of protection against the concentrated power of modern economic organization.

Seeking answers for the modern Christian who must daily face the arrogance and pretentiousness of the all-powerful state, Hatfield refers over and again to the Old Testament prophets.

To Hatfield, love is always the answer, even when love itself is trampled into the ground.

A brilliant politician (he has yet to lose an election) and a person of impeccable integrity, Mark Odom Hatfield would unquestionably contribute to the Presidential office a morality which has long been lacking. Now that the American people are waking from their stupefaction — as indicated by the favorable votes on the nuclear freeze and the magnificent turnout for the peace march in New York on June 12, 1982 — it could well be that Hatfield will emerge from the limbo into which he seems to have fallen. If the arms race continues to be an overriding concern, then certainly a man who backed an arms moratorium long before anybody else and who calls for a "spiritual revolution transforming our values and shaping our corporate life" would be an exciting candidate, whatever his party allegiance, for America's highest office.

Ultimate Infinity

Space Sustains the Sphere
Clock and Counterclockwise
Backwards and Forwards
Toward the Openness
Flowing from the Navel
of Dreams
the Door to Infinity
Rainbow Ground Level
Trinkets and Earth
Golden Glow of
Ultimate Potential
Slow Current
Breeze Through
Infinity with
Everyone Ever
All There
with Mao

Jack Kent

Mr. Orrell teaches English in the University of New Mexico at Albuquerque. He is a contributing editor to this magazine.

LABOR AND RELIGION: MEMORIES

By WILLARD UPHAUS

IN 1934, during the depth of the Great Depression, I was among the unemployed. Fortunately, I was invited to study for a semester at Pendle Hill, a Quaker graduate center near Philadelphia which became the base for a WPA research assignment. Working with a native American we were to investigate the degree of integration among Indians and Blacks in south Philadelphia. As an Indiana farm youth, I had known that there were poor people, but to see massive poverty and human degradation threw me into emotional turmoil. It was the first unforgettable disillusionment with the capitalistic system. Though we had little money on the farm, we had a home, food, clothing, and security.

In 1932, Dr. Jerome Davis, with associates like Bishop Francis J. McConnell of the Methodist Church, A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Dr. John A. Lapp, a Roman Catholic sociologist, and Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, formed the National Religion and Labor Foundation. Its purpose was to bring the clergy and trade union leaders into understanding and cooperation for social justice.

Despite my rural background, with its almost complete ignorance of the labor movement, the Foundation offered me the directorship. Dr. Davis saw more promise in me than I felt.

The turn of events, I feel now, was Providential. I was to leave the conventional classroom for good and enter a world in which religious creeds had to be translated into action. John Dewey's *Democracy and Education* that I had studied years before taught that one's education is not real until a person's whole being is involved into bringing the idea and the act together, in association with others.

Albert Schweitzer taught that "the greatest thing about a thinker will always be that his thought and his life form a unity." The Theology of Liberation was un-

heard of then, but a re-reading of the Bible in Depression days revealed that it had a message from Exodus to Jesus for the poor and repressed.

Then the horrid truth crashed in on me that I had spent four years in a leading seminary without reference to the history of the labor movement or contact with unions and their organizers.



Sculpture from East Germany

One of the first of new teachers who opened my eyes was a third-generation union cigar maker, an ardent socialist whom I sought out in a smelly, old labor temple. The reality of a Eugene Debs was breaking into my consciousness. Karl Marx was not much more to me than a name. But as I read, all the while being active — on the picket line, helping feed strikers and their families, safeguarding the poor against evictions, observing the intimidation and obstruction by management — my political education grew. I could see now why Old Testament Moses was considered a labor organizer, why Amos flayed dishonest merchants, Isaiah condemned monopoly, Jeremiah urged fair wages paid on time, and why the union leader who called a mass meeting to protest conditions was a biblical Nehemiah.

It grew on me that religion and labor are natural allies in creating change. Significantly, ancient Hebrew has one word, *avodah*, for work and worship. Creative labor leads to personal and social fulfillment. Unemployment leads to the loss of self-respect, to moral degeneration. The indifference with which a profit-motivated system could throw workers on the streets became painful.

An order that called itself Christian made human beings just cogs in a machine. This treatment ignored the historic role of labor in society, belittled its purpose to help build the abundant life. Here, Marx seemed far more Christian. According to him, labor creates the authentic human world. Through labor, men and women draw on universal energy to create an order to be their own. Labor is to free, to liberate.

Marx went even so far as to say, "fashion things according to the laws of beauty." How can work be a spiritual experience as well as an economic reward in an acquisitive society?

Not all the members of the board of directors were pleased with the direction of my thinking, especially those caught up by the Cold War. The progressive unions were being expelled from the CIO. One of the most prominent union executives said to me, "After we get the commies out, the socialists will come next." That gave me pause. Could I be myself in such a situation?

Separation from the Foundation came when I was asked to break with peace forces that I had come to respect. I declined. Why should I, standing on firm Christian ground, separate myself from nonbelievers on the left who sought peace also? Peace comes from the reconciliation of those who differ, and not those who enjoy their congeniality in safety.

The Rev. Dr. Uphaus, who recently celebrated his 92nd birthday, is author of *Commitment*, an autobiography. He was for 17 years director of World Fellowship, Conway, N.H., and currently directs, with his wife Ruth, the Fellowship of Faiths in St. Petersburg, Fla.

CARING AND SHARING

THE FOLLOWING letter was written to the Internal Revenue Service a few weeks ago:

Herewith my federal income tax form, from which you will see that Messrs. H&R Block say I owe a given sum on my 1981 income.

I enclose my check for the sum they say I owe, *minus* 20%, which I am deducting in protest because so much of our country's income goes to preparation for war. This money I will give to my favorite peace organizations: the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the American Friends Service Committee, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the War Resisters' League, the Friends Committee on National Legislation.

I am a Quaker and try to be a follower of Jesus, who, as of course you know, told us to follow him and to love our enemies.

Is it not a terrible commentary on our character that, while millions of people around the globe are homeless and hungry, the nations are spending billions on armament, are planning for war?

Surely in the nuclear age, it is time for the world to "get rid of the war system," to establish other ways than violence to settle conflicts between nations — arbitration, negotiation, compromise, reconciliation, world law, or a combination of all these, that would add up to caring and sharing.

Surely it is time to make the world safe, not for this or that ideology, but to make it safe for its differences — before all the world fuses inside an atomic incinerator.

We MUST come to realize and appreciate that we are all one human family the world around, that all men and women are brothers and sisters.

Mrs. Layer, a free-lance writer, lives in Mesa, Ariz.

We MUST learn to confine our conflicts to non-violence and find the way to real and lasting peace.

May our minds and hearts be sufficiently open to God's guidance in this endeavor.

Very sincerely yours,
FRANCES EVANS LAYER

A Will Is A Way

ALTHOUGH there have been advertisements and announcements in *The Churchman* from time to time to encourage friends to remember this magazine in their wills, too few have responded. It may be a subject that most of us are reluctant to think about. But we all must face it sooner or later.

A will is important. Without a carefully drawn will, property and other assets may be distributed differently than a person wishes. These holdings could be distributed according to the whims of a probate court.

Rest assured that whatever you may bequeath to The Churchman Associates, Inc. will be used frugally to enhance the magazine's illustrious longevity, its integrity, its independent editorial policy. The primary function of The Churchman Associates, Inc. is the sponsorship of *The Churchman*, established in 1804, the oldest religious journal in the English-speaking world.

The United States Supreme Court has ruled that each citizen has the right — even the duty — to avoid as much taxes as allowable. One way to comply is to give (during one's lifetime and after) to a tax exempt organization. The Churchman Associates, Inc. is such an organization.

To evade taxes is another matter. It is unlawful.

There are several ways a tax-free transfer of assets can be made. One is an outright bequest to The Churchman Associates, Inc., in the form of a "codicil" attached to the present existing will. This is con-

Logic

CASPAR WEINBERGER sought to take a course in elementary logic. He is arguing that Brezhnev's announcement of Soviet determination to match every increase of American nuclear weapons is the final proof that we should reject the

sidered a revision of the will to provide for the bequest. A simple statement attached to the will as a codicil could state: "I give and bequeath to The Churchman Associates, Inc. the sum of \$ - - - - , to be considered part of my Last Will and Testament." This method is subject to estate taxes, probate delays, lawyers' fees, etc. There are better methods.

A far more sensible and practical way to leave a gift — a tax-free transfer of assets — to The Churchman Associates, Inc. is through an *inter vivos*, or a living trust. The donor then would be the Trustee and would receive all the income and other benefits from the trust as long as he/she lives. This is tax-free and could apply to stocks, bonds, a residence, or any other assets the estate possesses. This is most advantageous for single persons without heirs.

If there are heirs, the living trust may be modified so that the joint owners, husband and wife, for example, would act as joint trustees and receive the income and benefits while they live.

There are other ways tax-free transfers may be made. It is advised you consult an attorney if there are complications.

The distinguished people with The Churchman Associates, Inc. hope there will be legacies to ensure this journal's future independence. By all means, don't avoid leaving the situation to chance. Responding persons may write to me, care of The Churchman Associates, Inc., 1074-23rd Ave. North, St. Petersburg, Florida 33704.

PAUL H. JONES

Paul Jones, former President of St. Petersburg-Tampa UNA-USA, is a tax consultant who lives in St. Petersburg, Fla.

idea of a bilateral nuclear freeze.

The whole need for a nuclear freeze is created precisely by the fact that every time one superpower adds to its nuclear arsenal, the other does the same, even though the point has long since been passed where either one could wipe out the human race. Did Weinberger really think if we just planned one more step up our ladder to doomsday glory, the Soviets wouldn't do the same? Where has he been all these years?

Weinberger's argument to forget the freeze now sounds strangely like the legendary boy, found in every logic textbook, who murdered his parents and then asked for mercy on the ground he was an orphan.

JOHN SOMERVILLE

Dr. Somerville is Professor Emeritus of Philosophy, City University of New York, NY.

DEFENSIVE?

WHO WAS the renowned writer and thinker who made the following statement?

"No government will now admit that it maintains an army to satisfy occasional desires for conquest; rather, it is supposed to serve a defensive purpose. As their advocate they summon that morality which justifies self-defense. But this means: assigning morality to oneself and immorality to the opponent, because he must be considered aggressive and eager for conquest if our state is necessarily to consider the means of self-defense. In addition, one declares him — who no less than our state denies aggression and claims to maintain an army for defensive purposes — a hypocrite and cunning criminal, who only too gladly would pounce upon a harmless and unskilled sacrifice without a fight.

"Thus do all states face each other now; they presup-

ANGLICAN SPIRITUALITY. William J. Wolf, editor. Morehouse-Barlow. \$8.95 (paper).

Spirituality is defined as "the practice which makes religion come to life." This book is a compilation of essays written by the faculty of the Episcopal Divinity School to stimulate a deeper appreciation of The Book of Common Prayer and lead to deeper spirituality. It is classical in the sense that it deals with foundational questions. Significant figures in the development of Anglicanism are considered. These essays will help an Episcopalian understand his roots and to develop his own spirituality, although it should be added that The Book of Common Prayer is not the only guide one can have. LEE A. BELFORD

PREACHING ON PEACE. Ronald J. Sider & Darrel J. Brubaker, editors. Fortress. \$3.95 (paper).

When the world is at the brink of a nuclear holocaust and many nations are suffering from paranoia, it is imperative that the churches summon the people to an urgent quest for peace. That is what the sermons in this compilation do. They are by Christians, some very conservative and some liberal in background. The preachers are bishops and

pose bad intentions upon their neighbor's part and good ones on their own. . . . The tree of military glory can only be destroyed at a single blow, by one stroke of lightning; but lightning comes, as well you know, from the clouds — and from on high."

The writer of these words was none other than Friedrich Nietzsche, the German philosopher. He penned these prophetic ideas about a hundred years ago, but they ring true for 1982. Nietzsche might have been criticizing the foreign policy of the Reagan administration. Unless the superpowers will sit down and talk seriously about an arms freeze and a subsequent reduction in nuclear arms, we may see the stroke of lightning from the clouds that will mean the end of civilization on this earth. The Russians have made a proposal for a summit conference which Washington has ignored. However, time will not stand still.

BERNARD FORER

Mr. Forer, a former newspaperman, lives in Sarasota, Fla.

BOOKS

other clergy, teachers, laymen, and some in religious orders. Some sermons give statistics in regard to overkill and some are more abstract. Of course, Jews and other non-Christians are also concerned with peace, but the editors have limited the scope in order to stimulate the Christian clergy to issue a summons for peace. The integrity of the speakers cannot be questioned — they are certainly not agents of Moscow. Anyone wishing to preach peace will certainly find himself/herself in very good company. LEE A. BELFORD

THEOPHANE THE MONK [Pseudonym]. Tales Of A Magic Monastery. Crossroad. \$6.95 (paperback).

Uniting the wisdom of Aesop, Zen, and the magic of the fairy tale, a contemporary Trappist monk under the pseudonym of a famous Eastern Orthodox monastic, has distilled a strong brew from the rich yeasts of Christian mysticism. Enlivened by dream-like drawings which seem to come out of the hidden recesses of an enchanted childhood, we see the quest for God in all its varied dimensions: through the riddle, the contradiction, the absurd, the obvious, and the humorous. The sense of spirituality is Catholic, overcoming boundaries of time, place, and particularity. These short stories read like children's tales, but they catch the timeless breath of the pilgrim's quest. One is moved to laughter, wonder, and tears. This work will prove to be an enduring treasure. Part of the magic is epicurian. FRANCIS H. TOUCHET

HOMEMAKERS. The Forgotten Workers. By Rae André. Chicago Univ. Press. \$15.00.

This book seeks to counteract the fact that homemakers are the largest group of neglected workers in America today. Homemaking is a low-status, low-security, low-power job. Rae André seeks to bring homemaking into the sphere of legitimate, appreciated, valued place which it should occupy. She uses data from extensive interviews with homemakers to analyze their problems, then offers a number of suggestions on what can be done to solve them.

FRANCES EVANS LAYER

TO BE A SURGEON. By Richard Furman. Dell. \$12.85.

This book skims through time with a wealth of detail as the author chronicles four years of medical school, then five of internship and residency. From the first dissection of a human body to the ultimate performance of modern heart surgery, the account is vivid. There is no table of contents, no index. It reads like a novel.

Dr. Furman develops his personal formula for success. He keeps a "Goal's Rule Book." This use of the possessive suggests that the "Goal" has a life of its own, as indeed it seems to. As a qualified surgeon with his own practice, Dr. Furman considers the goal for the rest of his life, presented in the last paragraph. "Love the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your soul, with all your mind — Matthew 22.27."

DOROTHY KEMBALL WALKER

PEOPLE • OPINIONS • EVENTS

BUSINESS

Executives For Freeze Are Growing in Number

An increasing number of American business executives, often thought to be in favor of increased defense spending, have begun to call for a freeze on nuclear weapons, *Common Cause* found in a series of interviews with American business leaders. This development is even more significant, the magazine says, given President Reagan's recent statements implying that freeze advocates are being manipulated by those who want "the weakening of America" — presumably the Soviet Union.

But Robert Schmidt, vice chairman of Control Data Corp., told *Common Cause*: "There are no facts to substantiate any of that nonsense."

Among the many other influential business executives who have begun to question the validity of the arms race — despite the widely held perception that taking stands on controversial political issues is not good for business — are: Donald Kendall, chairman of Pepsi Co.; Lewis Branscomb, vice president and chief scientist of IBM; Lawrence Huntington, chief executive officer of Fiduciary Trust of New York; Marvin Rosenberg, chairman of the board of Cameo Curtains of New York; and T. Walter Hardy, board chairman of Hardy Salt Co. of St. Louis.

Schmidt, who also serves as president of the American Committee on East-West Accord, an independent educational organization committed to a nuclear arms freeze and improved relations with the Soviet Union, acknowledges that it's difficult for business executives to take a stand on the nuclear arms issue. But Schmidt told *Common Cause* that he does see a trend in the business community to disagree with President Reagan's stand on arms control. "I've been at several conferences in the last six months," he said, "and I don't think they're all on Reagan's side by any means. In fact, I would guess that the majority are *not* on Reagan's side."

Anti-Soviet Propaganda

A Chicago *Tribune* editorial alleging "substantial proof" that the Soviet Union and its allies conducted chemical warfare in Afghanistan and Southeast Asia is in direct contradiction to the United Nations General Assembly's 109-page report.

The UN report, based on a 2-year inquiry by a four-member team of scientists and doctors, cast doubt on allegations made by the United States and other countries.

The Soviet Union has categorically denied the use of chemical weapons. The Soviet academician, Alexander Fokin, stated, "the Soviet Union has never resorted to the use of chemical weapons anywhere. . . . We are for outlawing and destroying chemical weapons."

Unfortunately, such editorials based on war propaganda are not new. Since the founding of the Soviet State, attempts to whip up frenzy by accusing the Soviets of criminal acts has been part and parcel of anti-Soviet crusades.

Larry McGurty, CA-SF

RIGHTISTS

Ineffective As Force In Politics, Schools, Society

The ineffectiveness of Religious Right groups such as the Moral Majority as a force in American politics headed the 1982 list of top church-state news stories, compiled by the staff of Americans United for Separation of Church and State. The Religious Right, the much-heralded coalition of fundamentalist Protestant, traditionalist Catholic, Mormon and Orthodox Jewish religious forces in politics, suffered serious setbacks in Congress and at the polls in the biennial Congressional elections in 1982. Not one item on the Religious Right's social agenda (abortion restrictions, mandated prayer in public schools, tuition tax credits for parochial schools) was enacted by the 97th Congress.

And the prospects for those

legislative proposals have been significantly reduced by the ouster of many Religious Right leaders in the 1982 elections, including U.S. Representatives Albert Lee Smith of Alabama and Mick Staton of West Virginia.

While many observers believe that the Religious Right's impact on the 1980 elections was somewhat exaggerated to begin with, its dramatic decline in 1982 clearly is a very important development. [AU]

FREEZE

Religious Leaders From 12 Countries Urge Peace

A 41-member praesidium representing Buddhists, Muslims, Jews, and Christians from 12 countries has called on the United States and the Soviet Union to reach an agreement in the Geneva disarmament talks.

The superpowers must use all possibilities to reach positive results, said the document, prepared by the committee which met in Moscow as a follow-up to the Moscow peace conference of religious leaders held last May. Presiding Bishop David Preus of the American Lutheran Church attended the meeting.

In a resolution, the praesidium asked the UN's 37th Session to urge both nuclear superpowers to freeze their arsenals.

The committee adopted a resolution on disarmament calling for an end to the arms race and a resolution challenging the United States and the Soviet Union to create a lasting atmosphere of peace. [LC]

MIGRATION PROBLEMS

The Simpson-Mazzoli immigration bill is seriously flawed, and its potential for harm to citizens, residents, and immigrants in the U.S. is great, the American Friends Service Committee has declared.

In a telegram to House Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill, the organization's Executive Secretary Asia A. Bennett expressed grave

concern that the bill places top importance on employers' sanctions as a backbone for immigration reform. "Penalizing employers who hire undocumented workers has been shown by numerous studies based on actual experience to be ineffective in controlling illegal flow," Bennett said. "The problems of migration are of a magnitude and nature not even touched by the assumptions which underlie the Simpson-Mazzoli bill."

UNILATERAL

Disarmament Asked By Church of England Report

Great Britain's role in nuclear arms strategy has been historically a somewhat passive one as a willing vehicle for U.S. weaponry and tactics, and it is that passivity that is shaken in a Church of England report calling for — among other things — unilateral nuclear disarmament, by the U.K.

The report, by a working party of the Church's Board of Social Responsibility, will be presented to the General Synod for debate in 1983, but its existence has already pricked the ruling conservative party into response.

The working party was chaired by the newly-appointed Bishop of Salisbury, the Right Rev. John Austin Baker, a theologian and author who has served as Chaplain to the Speaker of the House of Commons.

When his working party examined the question of nuclear weapons, Baker was moved by remorseless logic to the conviction that "nuclear weapons are a direct denial of the Christian conception of peace." The seven members of the working party became persuaded that "the nuclear element in deterrence is no longer a reliable or morally acceptable approach to the future of the world." The heart of the working party's recommendations is that Britain should renounce its independent nuclear deterrent in the hope of putting new life into the non-proliferation treaty, and in the further hope that by such an act of renunciation, the process of multilateral nuclear disarmament would be advanced.

In a letter to the *Times* of London, the bishop said, "nuclear weapons release radiation, whatever the target, and . . . this radiation is distributed in a way which cannot be accurately predicted."

CAMPUS

Institution Is Secondary To Human Values: Ms. Nilssen

"How do you minister to this?" the Rev. June Nilssen asks intensely amid the empty beer mugs and hordes of students gathering on a weekday afternoon at a cavernous University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, campus bar.

Family to Family: USA-USSR

Person-to-person and family-to-family dialogue is the theme of an upcoming journey to Moscow, Minsk and Leningrad offered by Citizen Exchange Council, June 23 - July 3, 1983.

Unlike other "peace tours," this 10-day program offers substantial opportunities for striking up friendships with Soviet families and educators through CEC's special arrangements for meetings and visits to their homes.

Participants on these select, purposely small study tours find active encouragement and assistance in making acquaintances spontaneously in all sorts of situations. An experienced, Russian-speaking CEC leader accompanies each group; this assures the quality of a program that combines its family-oriented core with sightseeing and free time for exploration.

For almost 20 years, Citizen Exchange Council, a nonprofit, nongovernmental organization, has sought to satisfy the need of American citizens for greater knowledge of life in the Soviet Union. CEC's extensive network of contacts sets "Family to Family: USA-USSR" apart from other travel programs.

The cost of \$1499 for adults (\$909 for children under 12) covers all expenses from New York. For more details, contact Citizen Exchange Council, 18 East 41st St., New York, NY 10017.

Nilssen, her Irish plaid suit and red turtleneck a stark contrast to the blue jeans and sweatshirts seen at most other tables, is one of 160 full-time Lutheran campus ministry staff at colleges and universities across the country. Since beginning work in campus ministry at the University of Wisconsin in 1976, Nilssen has become known for her special interest in peace and reconciliation.

She helped establish Gamaliel chair at the Milwaukee campus. Gamaliel was the liberal rabbi and early "peacemaker" who, in the Book of Acts, helped free Jesus' apostles. The first chairholder last spring was Myles Horton, an Appalachian educator, union organizer, and civil rights activist.

The October 1982 chairholders were Ray and Kathleen Davey, founders of the Corrymeela Peace Community in Ballycastle, N. Ireland.

Nilssen is afraid the church has a tendency to become too tied up within itself to see the outside world:

"We talk to ourselves a lot — we're concerned about the institutional survival of the church. But we have a crisis of the imagination. We're locked into models demonstrated by the corporations and we structure our lives together in these terms."

Nilssen, one of 70 members on the Commission for a New Lutheran Church, feels the Church needs to "more closely scrutinize the model of Jesus. He moved. He wasn't institutionalized, but was moving, healing, and interacting."

Barbara Compton [LC]

ANTI-KLAN

Network Vows An End To Racist Violence In America

Citing the list of nearly 1,000 violent racist and anti-semitic acts — including death threats, destruction of property, assaults, shootings, whippings, bombings, and even murder, the National Anti-Klan Network has announced a major national campaign to press for swift federal prosecution of Klansmen, Nazis, and others who commit such acts.

"We want to make 1983 a year

known as the "Beginning of the end to racist violence in America," said the Rev. C. T. Vivian, Chair of the Network. "January 1983 marked 120 years since the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation and it seems that regard for black life in America still stands no higher than that of chattel."

The Network, now three years old, has launched the 1983 campaign in order to create public pressure on federal authorities to crack down on racially-motivated and anti-semitic violence. "Those who murdered the five in Greensboro, who shot John McCollum in Alabama, who shot the five women in Chattanooga, who tried to assassinate Ms. Evelyn Lowery, who poured gasoline on the interracial couple in St. Louis — all these Klansmen, Nazis, and other criminals are still out walking the streets," said Vivian, who was a top aide to the late Dr. Martin Luther King.

EL SALVADOR

Seven Episcopal Co-op Leaders Murdered: Protests

Seven members of a cooperative farm, part of a social program of the Episcopal Church in El Salvador, were massacred last Nov. 20 in La Florida, 65 miles west of San Salvador. Episcopal Church leaders have strongly condemned the murder.

The victims, all male, household heads, had their throats cut and their bodies dumped in a mass grave, according to newspaper reports. As a result, more than 520 persons from the village have fled — some taking refuge in the Episcopal diocese offices in San Salvador — while 90 continue to live in constant fear at the farm. Among the dispersed persons there are 24 orphans and several elderly people. "It is something unbelievable," said the Rev. Luis Serrano, Director of CREDHO, the church-sponsoring agency and the priest-in-charge of the 200-member congregation at the farm, which produces cereals and sugar cane. "This is really a model of agrarian reform," said Serrano, "a unique program in this country."

The local press reported in San Salvador that "a large group of

Dehumanizing Forces

A recent ecumenical conference of 60 Protestant and Roman Catholic theologians on the sacredness of life, says modern life is being profaned by "destructive forces." A concluding statement from the conference said, "Dehumanizing forces issue forth in an ever-lengthening litany of evils."

The conference statement listed the following conditions that are caused by these forces: an "unraveling of the social fabric," the "prospect of nuclear holocaust, the rise and spread of violence," the "disintegration of families," widespread hunger and "justification of abortion, infanticide, and euthanasia on grounds of expediency."

Participants, including both liberal and conservative scholars, urged efforts to restore "a sense of life's dignity, beginning at conception and continuing all the way to death."

armed men" came to the farm and killed the leaders and workers of the cooperative. Weeping while talking on the telephone, Serrano said, "They have killed these innocent people. This is the most horrendous thing I have seen in my entire ministry."

Episcopal Church Presiding Bishop John M. Allin sent a cable to the U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador Deane Hinton asking him to press for investigation of the killings and to see that justice be done. Allin was joined by the Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of the Anglican Church of Canada in this appeal.

This is the third assassination involving members of the Episcopal Church. In 1979, the South African Ambassador to El Salvador, Archibald Dunn, was kidnapped for several months and then killed. He was a member of the vestry of St. John's Church in San Salvador.

In August, 1981, Dr. Rosa Judith Cisneros, 45, a lawyer who headed the legal aid program of CREDHO, was assassinated as she was leaving her home. In neither case have the culprits been found.

The Executive Council of the Episcopal Church has urged that the U.S. government curtail all military aid to El Salvador and to press for a negotiated settlement among the different warring factions. Since 1976, the Episcopal Church has been operating CREDHO, a huge social and economic program which provides training and technical assistance to hundreds of campesinos.

MILITARY AID

U.S. in Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala, AFSC Reports

The extent of U.S. military support for the governments of Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala is far greater than most U.S. citizens realize, the American Friends Service Committee has said in a report. Little-publicized U.S. equipment supplied to that region has included Taser dart-shooting electric weapons; night-vision equipment; and fragmentation grenades, according to the Philadelphia-based Quaker organization.

The new AFSC report, "The Central American War: A Guide to the U.S. Military Buildup," documents the U.S. government's growing involvement in Central America through military training programs, war exercises in the region, covert destabilization operations, and the provision of counter-insurgency weaponry and other military gear.

The guide, published by the AFSC Peace Education research team, NARMIC (National Action/

The L O V E

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TO OUR DELINQUENTS.

NOTICE

To delinquent subscribers:
The old subscription rates are extended through February.

(After February, the rate will be \$10.00 a year.)

Research on the Military-Industrial Complex), is believed to contain the most comprehensive publicly available catalog of U.S. military equipment in the arsenals of El Salvador, Guatemala, and the Honduras.

"U.S. weapons and communications gear are enabling the El Salvadoran military to turn large areas into free-fire zones, reminiscent of Vietnam," said NARMIC staff researcher Eva Gold. "The flow of U.S. military equipment to Central America fuels military violence and makes repression more efficient."

Gold added that "incursions into Nicaragua by former Somoza national guard troops, like incidents reported the week of Dec. 21st, would not be taking place without continuing U.S. weaponry, training, logistical and intelligence support. This raises the threat of regional war."

The AFSC report is based on documents released to NARMIC by the Pentagon under the Freedom of Information Act; data collected from defense industry sources, and interviews with military officials.

POLAND

Soviet Criticism of Pope Calls Solidarity Rome's Work

The Soviet government news agency Tass recently distributed a sharp attack on Pope John Paul II, asserting that under his leadership the Vatican was involved in "subversive" activities in Poland as well as in "anti-communist propaganda on a broad scale."

In the first direct attack on the Pope since the turmoil in Poland began more than two years ago, Tass charged that the "notorious" independent labor union, Solidarity, was a creation of the Roman

Catholic Church.

The broadside distributed by Tass was printed in a communist party monthly, *Politieskoe Samooobrazovaniye* (political self-education). It appeared to reflect Soviet displeasure with the controversy that has erupted recently over Western allegations that Bulgarian authorities were linked to the attempted assassination of the pontiff in 1981.

Describing Vatican policies as having come under the influence of "the opponents of detente" and "the aggressive designs of imperialism," the article declared: "Unlike his predecessors, the present head of the Catholic Church, John Paul II — the former archbishop of Krakow, Cardinal Karol Wojtyla — has taken a much more conservative and rigid position vis-a-vis the socialist world.

"It goes without saying that the present vice regent of St. Peter prefers, in his statements whose substance happens to be political, to speak the language of Christian prayers. Yet the thrust of his statement is clear.


"The anti-socialist activity of the reactionary forces of the Catholic Church is attested by the developments of recent years in People's Poland.

"The notorious Solidarity, which came to symbolize the crisis

provoked by the anti-socialist forces on instruction from overseas, was born not in the wave of disorders that swept the country in the summer of 1980, but in the Catholic Church."

The article said that Poland "is not the only object for the Vatican's subversive activities."

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Potent Words

Religion Defined

◆ KONSTANTIN KOLENDA, philosophy department professor, Rice University, in *Religious Humanism*:

"Paul Tillich shocked many Christians when he suggested, paradoxically, that we might have to reject religion in the name of religion. . . . I believe Tillich was on the right track when he proposed that we define religiousness as ultimate concern. . . . To the extent that we see the world as a meaningful whole, achieve a degree of integrity and autonomy, manifest a modicum of piety, morality, and mystical absorption, we not only are likely to attain states of mind called happiness and blessedness, but are also enriching the scheme of things in terms of intelligible value that only persons can bring into being. Persons who aim at the realization of these values deserve to be called religious. . . . The love of life unites the entire human race, even though it comes to expression in varieties of religious experience."

Reagan's Make-believe

◆ CHARLES FLYNN, Miami University professor, in *Humanity & Society*:

"In Reagan's meta-reality, the American people are the people of a Western town threatened by outlaws who want to come in, rape its women, loot it, and burn it down while orgiastically killing its inhabitants. As the Marshall of the town, only his courage and will power stand between the townspeople and the Death that threatens to engulf them. But this image is, of course, far from the reality of the 'Old West.' Far from being 'bold, courageous, and true,' the typical lawman of the frontier often operated on both sides of the law, and acted more out of greed and need to survive than out of commitment to any abstract conception of justice. Far from saving the people from robbery and mayhem, lawmen often were its chief promulgators."

Norman Mayer

◆ COLEMAN McCARTHY, *New York Post* columnist:

"Because he lost control of himself, Norman Mayer, the anti-nuclear pro-
testor who was killed by police at the

end of his siege at the Washington Monument, was quickly labeled nutty. . . . Who is out of touch with reality: someone who listens to politicians talk of possible nuclear war and panics, or those who hear the same talk and remain untroubled? . . . Mayer's was a TNT bluff in the nuclear age. It distracted us, too, from the potential reality that when world leaders, the supposed sane ones, issue their threats — 'do as I say or I'll blow you up' — they may not be bluffing. Their weapons are real."

Northern Ireland

◆ DR. JAMES F. BURNS, engineering professor at the University of Florida, Gainesville, in the *St. Petersburg Times*:

"Those are our cousins back in Ireland . . . the Ulster-Scots have lived there for nearly 400 years, giving them a better claim than we 'Americans' have to America. . . . Americans can contribute to the carnage by sending money and moral support to the IRA. Don't."

Wilderness Exploration

◆ THE ST. PETERSBURG TIMES, in an editorial:

"Interior Secretary James Watt . . . announced that he is withdrawing up to 2-million acres in the West from consideration as protected wilderness areas. . . . The man who is supposed to defend the environment declared an open season on it and supported exploitation of it for fast profit."

Contrasts in Peace Talk

◆ WILLIAM WINTER, in his newsletter, *Comments*:

"In reaction to Reagan's blistering rhetoric, calling Soviet leaders cheats and liars, Brezhnev told his generals that the Reagan administration displays 'adventurism, rudeness and undisguised egoism.' And that causes 'deepening tension . . . unfolding an unprecedented arms race' in which the U.S. is 'trying to attain military superiority.' In contrast, he described the 'Soviet line' as 'detente, and strengthening international security. We shall not abandon it,' he said."

Prayer In Schools

◆ PROF. JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR., in *Report From the Capital* (Baptist):

"The issue in prayer legislation is not whether we are for or against prayer, but whether we are going to defend the constitutional right of every American not to have government establish religion in the public schools. It is whether we will defend the religious liberty of those who choose not to engage in prayer. It is also whether we will defend the religious liberty of those who prefer to pray only in their own home and church uncoerced elsewhere by government."

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SHORTS

JOBS WITH PEACE Week is proposed for April 10-16: a call to Congress to make money available for education, housing, transportation, health care, human services, and other socially productive industries. . . . Teenagers polled by Gallup revealed 63% feel that war is outmoded. . . . More Roman Catholics were elected to the 98th Congress in 1982 than ever before, now totaling 142. Methodists have 73, Episcopalians have 61, Presbyterians 54, Baptists 46, Lutherans 25, and Jews have 38 (5 more than before). . . . The Fellowship of Reconciliation 1983 Martin Luther King Award was given to Dr. Septima Clark Jan. 14 in Athens, Ga. . . . The 67th General Convention of the Episcopal Church will be held at the Hilton Hotel, Anaheim, California, Sept. 7-14, 1985. . . . A Khodareva, head of the Soviet Peace Committee, wrote to Ed Rothberg, Chairman of the Ads for Peace Committee, approving the "idea of building bridges of friendship and understanding between our two great peoples." . . . The Solar Lobby, 1001 Connecticut Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, works for renewable energy and conservation programs to increase employment, aid small businesses, and enhance national security. . . . Frances Moore Lappe, Founder of Food First, 1885 Mission St., San Francisco, California 94103, works for "a world where ordinary people have control over their lives and destinies, rather than having it manipulated by a powerful few executives of multinational corporations." . . . Public Affairs Committee, 381 Park Ave. So., NYC 10016, finds that re-marrying is growing, according to its booklet, "Stepfamilies - A Growing Reality." . . . Gardens For All, 180 Flynn Ave., Burlington, Vt. 05401, reports that 18-billion dollars worth of food was grown in backyard and community gardens in 1982. . . . Women to End War in the World, Box 240, Young, Ariz. 85554, promotes peace through individual effort in "the spirit of reconciliation." . . . The National Rights Center, 156 Drakes Ln., Summertown, Tenn. 38483, carries the work of Plenty into the field of law in the public interest. . . . May 5-15 is Soil Stewardship Week, with the theme, "Living Waters."

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