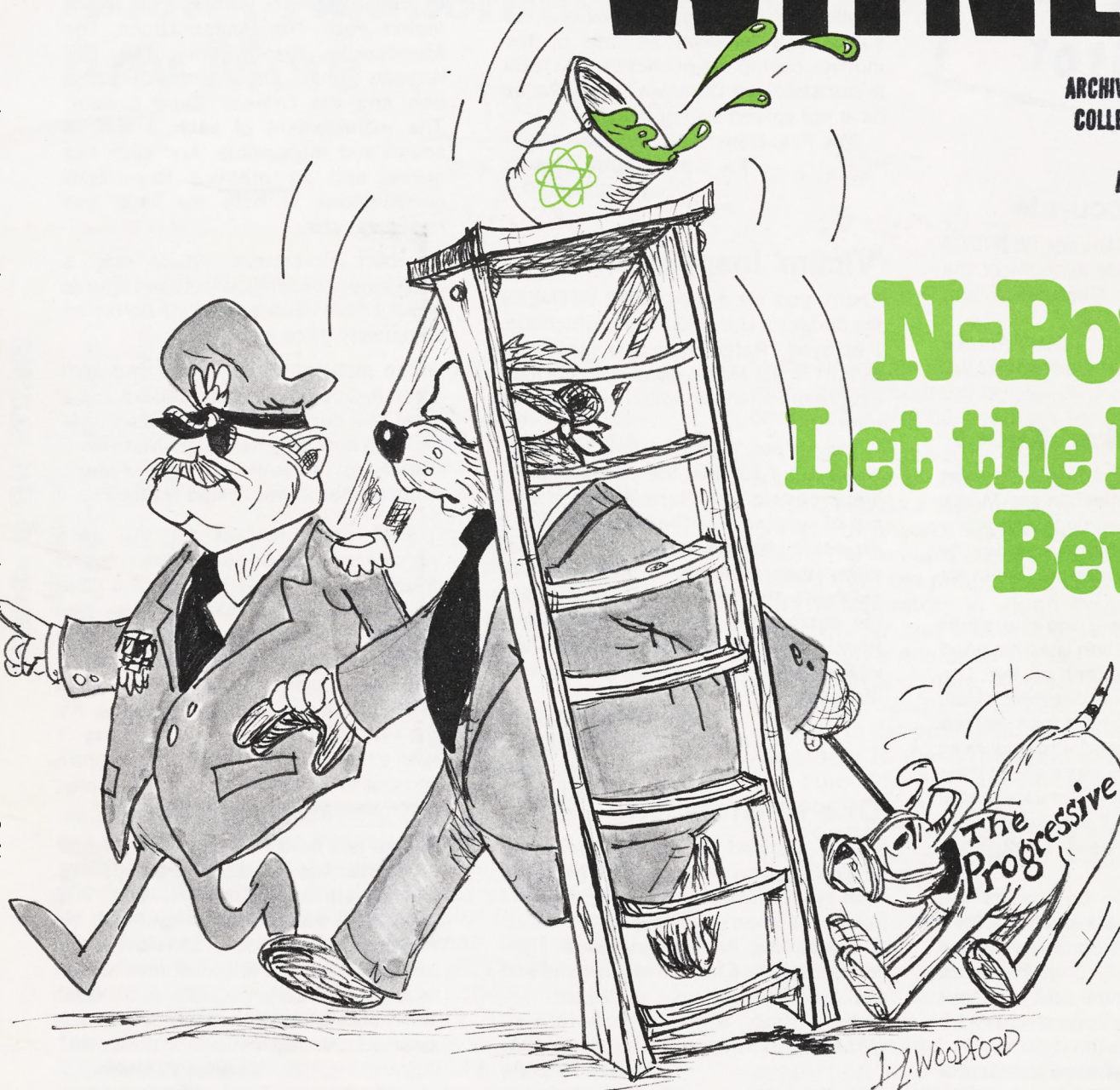


# THE WITNESS

Vol. 62, NO. 6  
JUNE, 1979  
\$1.00

ARCHIVES AND HISTORICAL  
COLLECTIONS, EPISCOPAL  
CHURCH  
AUSTIN, TEXAS

**N-Power:  
Let the Buyer  
Beware!**



SAM DAY: U.S.A. v. *The Progressive* ■ CARTER HEYWARD: Homosexual Perspective  
WM. STRINGFELLOW: State of the Church ■ THOMAS GUMBLETON: No on SALT II



### **WOC Most Accurate**

Your article in the January WITNESS was the most accurate account of the Women's Ordination Conference that I've seen so far!

**Mary Franke**  
Norfolk, Va.

### **'Catholic Worker' Kudos**

I appreciate Ben Bagdikian's story on "The Media Monopolies" in the March issue. I am going to show this to many people. I am also going to look up the works of Vida Scudder as well, for further study.

My own interest is in co-operatives and it began in 1950 when I had the good fortune to be a student at the Co-operative College in Stanford Hall, Loughborough, England. I then worked in Sweden and England for two years as a brickmason to learn more about their method of construction work and about co-operatives. Now I do small contracting work and have a Michigan builder's license.

I used to write on co-ops for the *Catholic Worker*. I was once on their editorial staff and still communicate on occasion with Dorothy Day. Therefore you can understand how easily I accept your journal and have special regard for it. I wish you good fortune.

**William B. Horvath**  
Rochester, Mich.

### **Christian Yellow Pages**

Thanks for the article, "Next: Christian Yellow Pages?" in the February issue.

Christian Yellow Pages are an unhappy reality. In Pennsylvania, editions have been published in the central part of the state.

The Pennsylvania Equal Rights Council in a statement last year urged Christians not to support such a publication. The Council saw not too subtle anti-Semitism as one of the motives behind the publication. At least in our state, the Christian Yellow Pages have not spread during the past year.

**The Rev. Donald W. McIlvane, Chair**  
Pa. Equal Rights Council  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

### **'Victim' Inappropriate**

Thank you for making THE WITNESS the cudgel to our sensitivities which it is. I enjoyed "Reflections of a Managing Editor" in the March issue, but one item caught my attention which prompts this note.

The phrase, "victim of cerebral palsy" was used. I suggest the connotation is inappropriate, and furthermore surely out of keeping with the emphasis today on identity being primarily personhood, rather than a variety of attributes. We celebrate the "differences" but affirm the personhood. We, the able-bodied, (there, an attribute again!) may be the victims — but surely not the person with disability!

**James Loran Cockrell**  
Ann Arbor, Mich.

### **One to Grow On**

I had decided to do without THE WITNESS in my attempt to keep an even keel in this costly world. But how can I resist you when you come out with such a resounding Anniversary Issue! I am forwarding my \$10 (one to grow on!) and my candidate for your 6 months' free subscription offer in the March WITNESS. Thanks — and keep eager!

**Martha Falcone**  
Bloomfield, Conn.

### **Critiques March Issue**

With regard to the March issue of THE WITNESS, which dealt with your 62nd anniversary and financial disclosure:

Ben Bagdikian's piece was a honey — great research, well written. I, too, am concerned about the proliferation of most of the newspaper chains. But I'm not worried about the basic ownership of *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Boston Globe*, *The Minneapolis Star-Tribune*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Atlantic Constitution* and the *Orleans Cape Codder*. The management of each, I feel, is sound and responsible. And each has made and is making important contributions at both the local and national levels.

Robert Eckersley's article was a masterpiece of detailed facts and figures which I have never seen done before so completely. Nice job.

The pictures of the board and staff were A-One. Customers should know what the purveyors of a product look like. But how long has Hugh White been disguising himself as the French Ambassador to the United Nations?

With great respect for the main articles in the issue and others I haven't touched on, I would have to give Gold Medal with Three Palms to Mary Lou Suhor's "Reflections of a Managing Editor." That piece will, I would wager, get you more subscriptions than anything else in the March edition. It's the kind of thing that makes a guy say, "I wish to hell I'd written that," and makes a prospective subscriber say, "By golly, that's my kind of managing editor!"

One last note — a slightly sour one. The cover was dramatic and compelling, but it left the impression that THE WITNESS was picking a fight with the national media. And I don't think you are. I haven't the slightest idea what I would have done instead, but I don't think the excellent contents of the issue bear out the implications of the cover.

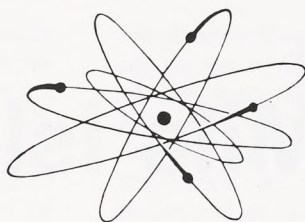
**Charles F. Moore, Jr.**  
Orleans, Mass.

# THE WITNESS

Robert L. DeWitt, Editor; Mary Lou Suhor, Managing Editor; Kay Atwater, Robert Eckersley, Ann Hunter, Susan Small, Lisa K. Whelan, Hugh C. White, Jr. Editorial and Business Office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, Pennsylvania 19002. Telephone (215) 643-7067.

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## It Isn't Academic Any More



Robert L. DeWitt

Al Smith once said "The only cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy."

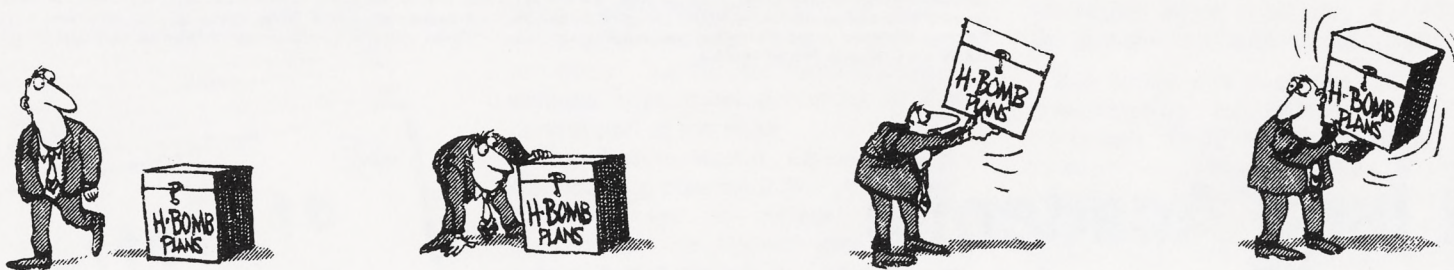
But the book, *The Crisis of Democracy* (1975), published for the Trilateral Commission, suggests that applying Smith's cure of "more democracy" at the present time "could well be adding fuel to the flames." That opinion is being translated into policy in the United States today. Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Jimmy Carter's National Security Adviser, is former director of the Trilateral Commission. And President Carter, Vice President Mondale, four members of the cabinet and David Rockefeller, dean of the U.S. financial establishment, are or were all Trilateral Commission members.

The concept of democracy for most of us, much of the time, is perhaps just a slogan eliciting strong emotional reactions but devoid of any practical content. The experts, of course, discuss it. In the field of political science, as in medicine, music and art, they set forth their learned theories, understood and discussed largely by other experts. To you, to me and to most people it makes little difference what they say or write. (Have you read *The Crisis of Democracy*?) They live and think in a different world. That is, until their theories impinge upon *our* world, the real world of people and poverty and kids and schools and food and safety and jobs and our futures. It is then that the discussion of democracy is no longer an academic matter. It becomes an issue of prime political concern in the literal sense of that word — a concern

to the *polis*, the city, the place where people live. It is then that democracy becomes more than a slogan. It becomes a crucial question for all of us.

Today is such a time. Atomic energy is such an issue. The near-runaway reactor at Three Mile Island indeed had its academic side. There were principles of nuclear physics and fission engineering involved which the experts discussed, disagreed over, concealed from the public, misrepresented to the press. But the laboratory in which these issues are being puzzled over and where the experiments and near-catastrophic mistakes are being made is the world, your world and mine. Nuclear energy is distinctly in the public realm, it is dangerously in the public domain. Is the public entitled to have the knowledge necessary to make informed decisions about it? Is the cure for this evil of our democracy "more democracy," as Al Smith maintained? Or would more democracy simply "add fuel to the flames" — surely a macabre series of words in the context in which we now speak.

THE WITNESS welcomes to its pages in this issue Samuel H. Day, Jr., managing editor of the embattled *Progressive* magazine, former editor of *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. The *Progressive* is in court over the issue of freedom of the press. THE WITNESS has joined other editors and publications in supporting this effort to fight against censorship and prior restraint (See box, Page 6). ■



## THE U.S.A. v. THE PROGRESSIVE

# H-Bomb's Three Mile Island?

by Samuel H. Day, Jr.

Reading their newspapers, listening to the radio bulletins, watching their television screens, Americans shared some agonizing moments with the people of south-central Pennsylvania, in the last three days of March waiting to know whether a runaway nuclear power reactor would bring disaster.

The Governor ordered the evacuation of children and pregnant women. Police and fire sirens alerted people to the presence of a danger they could not see, smell, feel, or hear. Emergency planners spoke of evacuating tens of thousands and even hundreds of thousands to who-knew-where and for who-knew-how-long.

The public mood of anxiety and incredulity — of not knowing what to do or what might come next — reflected the mood in the control room of the reactor itself, where panic and confusion fed on one another.

In an act which epitomized the trauma of Three Mile Island, a Catholic priest in a small Pennsylvania

church granted general absolution at Sunday mass to all who might require it, as if to the passengers on a crippled ocean liner.

A combination of luck and skill eventually saved the situation at Three Mile Island. The hydrogen bubble was dispelled. The reactor was finally cooled. The engineers averted the ultimate disaster of a full meltdown of the radioactive fuel core, which could have laid waste, in the language of an oft-cited reactor safety study once conducted for the Atomic Energy Commission, "an area the size of the State of Pennsylvania."

But the soothing official reassurances with which such warnings were dismissed in the past are not likely to work any more. There is a big difference between risks, dangers and vulnerability in the abstract and risks, dangers and vulnerability in the immediate. At Three Mile Island, America came face to face for the first time with its vulnerability to the unforgiving technology of nuclear power. As a result, the national commitment to continued development of nuclear power may well have reached a turning

point.

The ultimate disaster at Three Mile Island didn't have to happen to drive the lesson home. It came close enough.

If confrontation with the reality of nuclear power can give America traumatic second thoughts about its deepening commitment to nuclear power, what will it take to loosen our commitment to the nuclear weapons technology from which the nuclear reactors sprang?

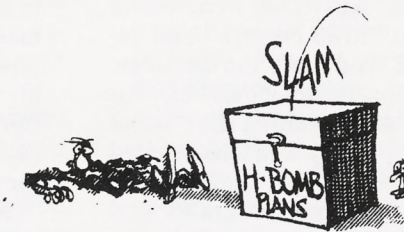
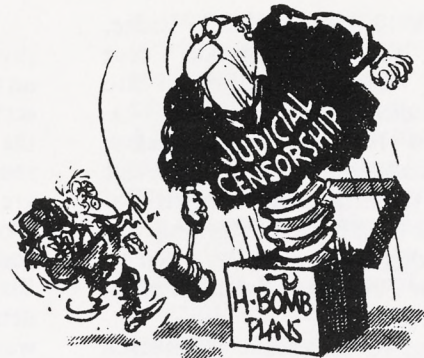
There can be little doubt that the ultimate catastrophe of nuclear war — bringing the death of hundreds of millions and the decimation of human society — would sever the commitment just as surely as the meltdown of Three Mile Island Reactor No. 2 would have closed the nuclear power industry overnight.

But is there some lesser price that Americans and others can pay to learn the reality of nuclear weapons; to learn it not in some back corner of their minds but in their gut? Is there a Three Mile Island for the hydrogen bomb?

The possibility of that may be evolving in a legal case that went to court only three weeks before the Three Mile

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**Samuel H. Day, Jr.** is Managing Editor of *The Progressive*.



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LOS ANGELES TIMES SYDNEY

Island reactor ran amok. It involves an attempt by the United States government (successfully so far) to suppress a magazine article entitled, "The H-Bomb Secret."

United States of America vs. *The Progressive* presents the question of whether the First Amendment ("Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom . . . of the press . . .") should take precedence over the Atomic Energy Act, a 33-year old law which restricts what may be published or broadcast about nuclear weapons and the materials from which they are made.

It is a classic First Amendment test case. Only once before in the 203-year history of the republic has the concept of "prior restraint" been invoked. That was in 1971, when the Justice Department took *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* to court to prevent publication of the Pentagon Papers. The Supreme Court, acting with lightning dispatch, said no.

Underlying the First Amendment issue in *The Progressive* case is the question of H-bomb secrecy itself, and the purpose to be served — as *The Progressive* sees it — by opening up the nuclear weapons program to unfettered public scrutiny. Short of nuclear war itself, such public scrutiny may offer the only real hope of producing a fundamental appreciation of the consequences of continued production of weapons of mass destruction.

Should the First Amendment survive this test, and should the public thus be freed from the self-imposed restraints

which have thus far kept it from holding up the hydrogen bomb to the light of day, then the nuclear weapons program (like the nuclear power program) may meet its Three Mile Island. Should the effort fail, then we may well have to depend on nuclear war itself for the object lesson.

It is of course no secret that nuclear weapons are incredibly powerful instruments of destruction and that the United States alone has enough of them to wipe out human civilization. There are 25,000 to 30,000 in our stockpile, some of them powerful enough to destroy a city the size of Moscow.

Nor is it a secret that our capacity to wage nuclear war grows steadily as we continue to improve the speed, accuracy and versatility of our delivery systems. (The cruise missile, our newest delivery vehicle, can drop a nuclear warhead almost anywhere with almost absolute invulnerability.) Or that the use of nuclear weapons has become an inseparable part of our military doctrines, making it increasingly difficult for our armed forces to engage in major combat without resorting to nuclear war. Or that the proliferation of nuclear power technology around the world has brought a growing number of nations to the threshold of membership in the nuclear weapons club.

It is well understood, too, that the driving force behind all these tendencies has been the United States, with its design laboratories that have constantly pressed the outer limits of weapons technology, with its vast nuclear

weapons production program (\$3 billion a year for the warheads alone), and with its supreme and unchallenged confidence in the use (or threatened use) of nuclear weapons as an instrument of national policy.

Nor is it a secret that the net effect of all this, far from achieving the "national security" which serves as the rationale, has been to undermine the nation's security and the world's security by threatening both with extinction. There has been no dearth of dire warnings about this; every president since Harry Truman has admitted as much.

Still, the nuclearization of America has proceeded at an ever-quickening pace. Americans have known all along about the consequences of what they were doing — and yet they have not really known.

It was the desire to drive home the knowledge that led *The Progressive*, a monthly political magazine, and its author — free-lance writer Howard Morland — to report "The H-Bomb Secret."

As a serious journal deeply concerned about the nuclear arms race, *The Progressive* has made a point of raising the consciousness of its readers about this problem. A landmark article by Sidney Lens in 1976, "The Domsday Strategy," challenged the Cold War concepts which rationalize the projection of American atomic power around the world. As an author for the magazine, I toured the nuclear weapons production complex of the Department of Energy in 1978, noticed how thoroughly the laboratories and

factories had become interwoven in the country's economic and social fabric, and wrote an article entitled, "The Nicest People Make The Bomb." Many months ago *The Progressive* concluded that "arms control" had become a fraud and that the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II), for all its rhetoric about halting the nuclear arms race, was really a means devised by the super-powers for perpetuating their nuclear weapons programs and thus should be opposed.

As a young man who had grown up near a hydrogen bomb factory (Union

Carbide's Y-12 plant at Oak Ridge, Tennessee), served as an Air Force pilot in the Vietnam War, drifted into the anti-nuclear movement at Seabrook, New Hampshire, and begun making connections between "atomic power and the arms race" (the title of his slide show), Howard Morland was thinking along the same lines when he came to *The Progressive's* attention in the summer of 1978.

He agreed to undertake a research and writing project which he summarized in a letter to the magazine last July 7:

## Statement of Support

The following statement supporting *The Progressive* and the First Amendment was endorsed by the editor or publisher of *The Witness*, *The Nation*, *Columbia Journalism Review*, *Society*, *Village Voice*, *Harper's*, *The Atlantic Monthly*, *Ms.*, *Scientific American*, *Seven Days*, *Working Papers*, *The New Republic*, *Mother Jones*, *Inquiry*, *Win*, *In These Times*, *Texas Observer*, *Science for the People*, *Dollars & Sense*, *The Black Scholar*, and *Politics Today*, and by organization spokespersons for Committee for a SANE Nuclear Policy, Critical Mass Energy Project, War Resisters League, Friends Peace Committee, and American Friends Service Committee:

"In 1971, the Government of the United States moved against *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* in an unprecedented attempt to assert a right of censorship and prior restraint. This gross violation of the First Amendment was promptly and unequivocally rebuffed by the courts.

"Now the Government has mounted a similar attempt

against a small publication of political commentary.

"We believe that *The Progressive* is fighting to protect the First Amendment rights of every publication in America, including those with which we are associated.

"In a time when military policy is closely linked with technological capabilities, debate about military policy that uses technical information is part of a vigorous system of freedom of expression under the First Amendment. The Government's tendency to hide widely known technical processes under a mantle of secrecy in the national interest and prevent press commentary on these matters can only result in stifling debate, not in protecting the physical security of Americans.

"The facts at issue in the Government's dispute with *The Progressive* will be determined in the courts, but the principle of freedom of the press is one to be vigorously safeguarded by all of us. That is why we are pledging our full support to *The Progressive* in its fight against censorship and prior restraint."

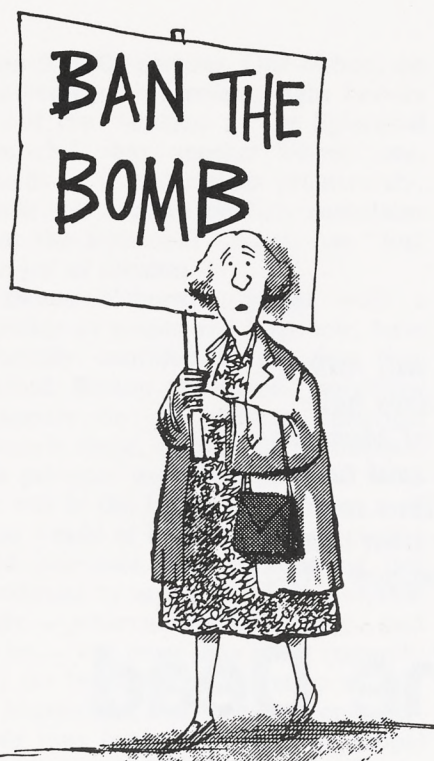
"We agreed that nuclear weapons production has prospered too long in an atmosphere of freedom from public scrutiny. *The Progressive* should raise the visibility of the nuclear warhead assembly line, which stretches in a great arc across America from Tampa, Florida, to Amarillo, Texas. Corporate connections should be explained. The Bomb should be described in sufficient detail to allow readers to see nuclear warheads as pieces of hardware rather than as score-points in a contest . . .

"By the end of August I hope to know as much as it is legal to know (and possible for a layman to understand) about thermonuclear warhead design. I will then trace each major component through its fabrication process, starting with the mineral ore and ending with final assembly of the warhead.

"Much of the research for this part is already completed but my preliminary findings must be verified. I have yet to learn what components determine the shelf-life of a warhead and, consequently, how often each warhead must be returned to the factories for overhaul.

"Some of the needed information is classified, of course, and holes in the story will have to be filled by educated speculation. It is important that this speculation be as close to the truth as possible in order for the narrative to be credible to knowledgeable readers. Speculation will be identified as such. Without revealing military secrets I should be able to describe a hypothetical warhead containing the known components of warheads in some plausible configuration and thereby tie the production plants to their product."

Six months later Morland's assignment was completed. Working and identifying himself as a writer for *The Progressive*, touring the plants of the Department of Energy, talking with scientists in and out of the weapons program and reading the voluminous literature on the subject, Morland had



finished his first major article about H-bomb secrecy.

His point was that there are no secrets except those which the Department of Energy keeps from the public for the purpose of shielding its weapons program from public examination and debate. As an illustration, he included a description of the Department's ultimate "secret" — the design principles of a hydrogen bomb — to show how they could be openly deduced by a resourceful and diligent investigator. (Morland himself had had only a smattering of science education in college.)

Morland's article has yet to be published. When the Department of Energy learned of its existence — through a draft copy passed on by a colleague of one of *The Progressive's* editorial advisors — it demanded deletion of the author's hand-drawn sketches and about 20 percent of the text. When the magazine refused to do this, citing its First Amendment right, the Government went to federal court in Milwaukee on March 9 and obtained

a temporary restraining order. The order, subsequently converted into a preliminary injunction, is now being appealed — an appeal in which the American Civil Liberties Union and other publications have joined. It is expected that the U.S. Supreme Court will ultimately decide the question.

In affidavits signed by three cabinet secretaries and a host of lesser federal officials, the Government claims that publication of parts of the Morland article — the parts it calls "secret/restricted data" — would gravely harm the United States by giving other countries clues about how to build a hydrogen bomb and thus contribute to the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

*The Progressive's* response, backed by the sworn affidavits of several nuclear weapons designers and other knowledgeable scientists who work outside the Government, is that there is nothing significant in the article that cannot readily be deduced from the open literature, including the encyclopedia writings of Dr. Edward Teller, the "father of the hydrogen bomb." (In rebuttal, the Government has classified some of the very exhibits, from scientific journals and popular magazines, introduced in court by *The Progressive* in its defense!)

What could have led the Government of the United States, manufacturer of the most devastating arsenal the world has ever known, to come down so vigorously on a small political magazine which plainly has no interest in teaching others how to make the H-Bomb?

Is it really to protect national security?

While many in the press and in the liberal community are genuinely disturbed at the thought of a magazine spilling state "secrets", a fear that the Government has been quick to exploit, knowledgeable scientists are incredulous at the notion. They know, as the Morland article itself points out, that in the principles of thermonuclear fusion, as in all science, there are no secrets, and that the ability to build an

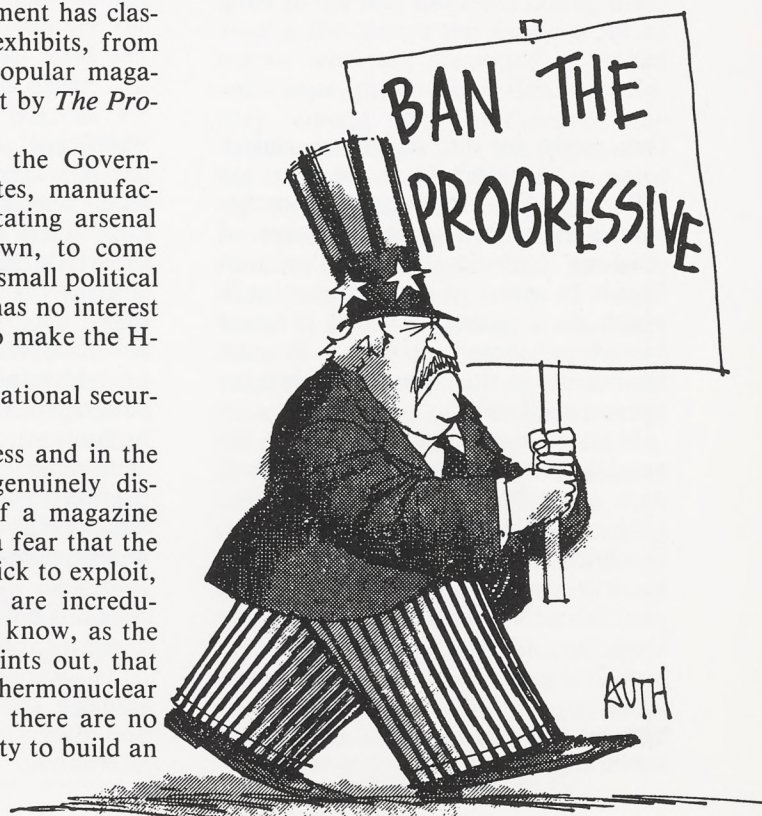
H-bomb depends not on the mastery of scientific knowledge but on the mustering of gigantic physical resources: Several thousand scientists and engineers for the designing and manufacturing, several billion dollars for the factories alone. A design group with that kind of backing would have little difficulty duplicating Morland's feat.

Is it really to prevent proliferation?

Those who share *The Progressive's* abiding concern about nuclear proliferation know the real proliferators are not political magazines but the agencies of Government itself. For a generation they have been the world's leading salespersons of atomic diplomacy and nuclear technology.

We at *The Progressive* don't claim to know the real reason for the Government's assault on Freedom of the Press. But we suspect, as others do, that it arises from the fear that the piercing of the veil of secrecy presents an imminent threat to an enterprise that cannot survive the light of public examination.

And that gives us hope. ■



Auth, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*

## THE STATE OF THE CHURCH Part II

*And a scribe came up and said to him, "Master, I will follow you wherever you go." And Jesus said to him, "Foxes have holes, and birds of the air have nests; but the Son of Man has nowhere to lay his head." Another of the disciples said to him, "Lord, let me first go and bury my father." But Jesus said to him, "Follow me, and leave the dead to bury their own dead."*

Matthew 8:19-22

# Let the Dead Bury the Dead

by William Stringfellow

One irony in the American church scene at the moment is the recession afflicting the traditional churches coincident with a gross inflation of religious curiosity and enthusiasm. This is an aspect of the predicament in which the Episcopal Church is found nowadays, though it has a broader implication in the culture than just the Episcopal Church.

Most of the so-called mainline denominations of American Christendom — Presbyterian, Methodist, Lutheran, United Church of Christ, Disciples, American Baptist — the historic churches of the Protestant establishment, along with the Roman Catholic Church, have suffered

significant statistical attrition in the past few years. Thousands of clergy have dropped out; the young are disaffected and no longer replenish church members who have died; attendance at church services is diminished; deployment of missionaries has been curtailed; fewer seminarians intend ministries in parishes and congregations (many do not even seek ordination); there is widespread discontent among laity exasperated with perfunctory consignment and some wander elsewhere; church funding is nowhere near keeping pace with the economic inflation. Yet, meanwhile, religious publishing — especially in the genre of pop religion — flourishes; cults abound; huckster preachers saturate television; private religiosity and idiosyncratic pietism have become alternatives to the churches for mul-

titudes; the fads and fantasies of the occult prosper; religious studies in colleges are popular electives, and many who have quit the conventional churches — both clergy and laity — can now be located in homes and communities extemporizing churchly life.

One suspects that the present disaffection with the established churches would be translated into more departures if it were not for either nostalgia or inertia among people who remain nominally church members, because the sort of privatism and pietism and religious diffusion, so manifest in sects and cults outside the churches, is also evident inside the churches, if with more muted enthusiasm.

In the Episcopal Church — schismatics aside — the depletion of the ranks of the church measures more

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**William Stringfellow** is a theologian, social critic, author and attorney.



than 500,000 persons. One bishop, on the verge of retirement, sighs heavily about the "malaise of the Episcopal Church," but another bishop succumbs to it and resigns prematurely, while still another publicly complains that the Episcopal Church has "lost the joy of mission."

(Some bishops, together with a number of priests and laypeople, have wistfully confided in me that they wished Bishop Pike could somehow reappear on the present Episcopal Church scene, despite the hullabaloo his presence usually occasioned when he was in the House of Bishops, as if *that* would at least bring back vitality and relevance. I have consoled this sentiment by saying that I am sure that Pike — wherever he may now be said to be — was more than likely researching the feasibility of his return to us).

Meanwhile, I have devoted considerable time lately to visiting Episcopal parishes, specifically in the South, Midwest and in the Northeast, and I hope to see more elsewhere in the country prior to the General Convention in Denver. My finding, so far, concurs with the bishop who mentioned malaise. The people of the church seem demoralized. The life of the Episcopal Church — with some noteworthy exceptions here and there — seems banal and literally mundane. Though some churchpeople are outraged (many of those outraged have already left the church), most seem bewildered. Others are simply overwhelmed in boredom.

Some clues about what prompts such feelings can readily be found in the local church press. I have also, lately, been reading diocesan newspapers from around the country. What redundant journalism! Attention is claimed in most of these, month after

month, by money pleas and pitches for ecclesial loyalty with an inference attached to both that they can be transliterated as devotion to Almighty God or as sufficient fidelity to the gospel of Jesus Christ. Neither is put in persuasive syntax. The incessant theme of money-raising is obscene *per se*: The gospel is concerned with disposing of money, with spending and expending money (and similar property, imminently), in straightforward response to evident human need. The gospel is offended and contradicted by the amassing, investing or hoarding of money and other property to endow the survival of the ecclesiastical institution or otherwise embellish the ecclesiastical fabric. Money is significant theologically insofar as it facilitates and, indeed, sacramentalizes the servanthood of the church for the world.

At the time that the so-called \$100 million Venture in Mission (VIM) campaign was originally foisted upon the church, I received a message from a high-ranking national officer of the church, who knew that I regarded the effort as sham, stating that VIM was not merely a fund-raising device but had, he said, a "spiritual" purpose. He never did elucidate what "spiritual" meant. (It is, anyway, a vague and ambiguous term which arouses the suspicion that it means nothing at all and is invoked to fill a void.) Still, VIM does have heavy *political* implications. The sums of money required to fund VIM are such that policy conditions are morally certain to be attached to contributions and, to the extent that happens, the General Convention of the church, already much diminished in its historic and canonical prerogatives by the present style of the church bureaucracy and management, will be

further obviated. Moreover, the commitment of VIM funds to endow the ecclesiastical status quo is apt to render the church management even less accountable to the people of the church because the offerings of the laity will be less significant. VIM, in principle, foresees a maintenance of the ecclesial apparatus whether or not the church retains a constituency of human beings ready and willing to support the institutional status quo.

I am aware, of course, that some of the urban bishops have disrupted, to some extent, the original design of the promoters of VIM. I only hope they, and others, press the issue at Denver to the point where responsible alternatives, including divestiture and expenditure of existing church endowments, together with the renunciation of tax privilege, can be considered so that there might be a recovery of the servant vocation of Christ's Church in the Episcopal Church.

At the same time, on the matter of money and priorities, one learns of the quiet purge that has been taking place among the clergy; the weeding out of priests who are suspected of social conscience, prophetic tendency or ministry among the dispossessed, the neglected, the rejected, the unpopular, the imprisoned. The excuse for coercing or terminating such clergy is, commonly, an asserted shortage for funding their salaries, or, as it is sometimes put, a surplusage of clergy. There is, in truth, neither. If anything, there is a shortage of clergy to fill vacant or abandoned positions and there is a plethora of new ministries for the ordained waiting to be undertaken. But there is a refusal to reallocate funding to support such ministries, and there is a practice of manipulating clergy compensation to conform clergy or eliminate those who do not conform.

The pitches, in diocesan newspapers and similar venues, for a simplistic and uncritical loyalty to the churchly institution provide a convenient atmos-

**If you missed** the May issue of THE WITNESS, which contains the first in the series of articles on the state of the church by William Stringfellow, you can get a copy by sending \$1.00 to THE WITNESS, Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002 — while they last!

(Please turn to Page 19)



Raisa Nemikin



Maria Cueto

### **The Vida Scudder Award**

Maria Cueto and Raisa Nemikin, former director and secretary, respectively, of the Episcopal Church's National Commission on Hispanic Affairs, who spent more than 10 months in prison (1977-1978) for refusing to testify before a Grand Jury investigating alleged FALN bombings. The women claimed the FBI investigation was harassing the Hispanic community and therefore had a chilling effect on their ministry and that their stance was based on First and Fifth Amendment rights. They were strongly supported by the National Council of Churches.

### **The William Spofford Award**

The Rev. Paul Washington of the Church of the Advocate, whose major ministry has been 17 years of service to the Black community of Philadelphia; a ministry extended to the national church by his many years on the Executive Council and his serving several times as a Deputy to General Convention.

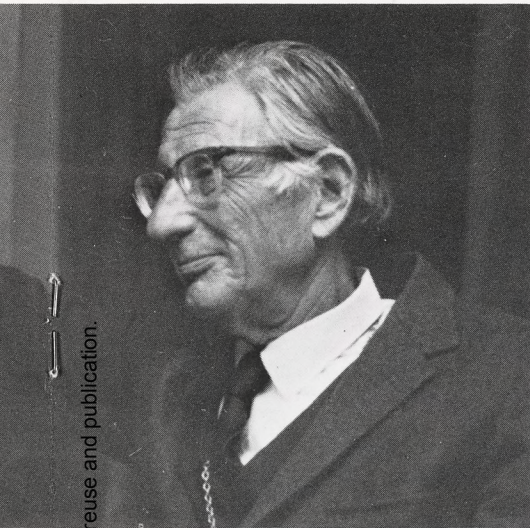
Paul Washington



Elizabeth and Daniel Corrigan

### **The William Scarlett Award**

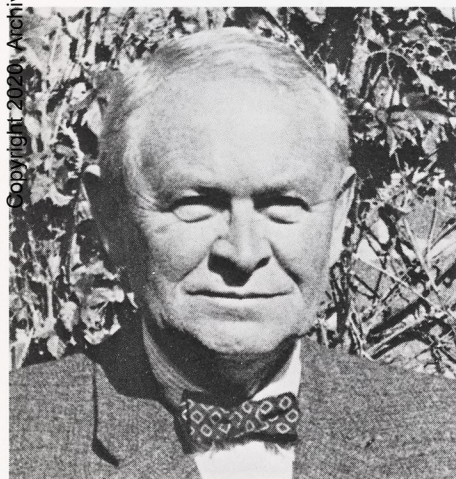
The Rt. Rev. Daniel Corrigan, Suffragan Bishop of Colorado, 1958-1960, and Director of the Home Department of the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church, 1960-1968. Under his leadership the Joint Urban Program was fashioned, responding to the social unrest of the 1960s and anticipating a major concern of the Church today.



### A Special Award of Merit

Dr. Joseph Fletcher, visiting professor of biomedical ethics at the School of Medicine, University of Virginia and Senior Fellow in the same subject at the University of Texas Graduate School of Biomedical Sciences. He is author of the influential book *Situation Ethics* and of the recently-published *Humanhood, Essays in Biomedical Ethics*. He taught at the Episcopal Theological School, 1944-1970 and was Dean of the Graduate School of Applied Religion, 1936-1944, a pioneering effort at continuing education for clergy.

Joseph Fletcher

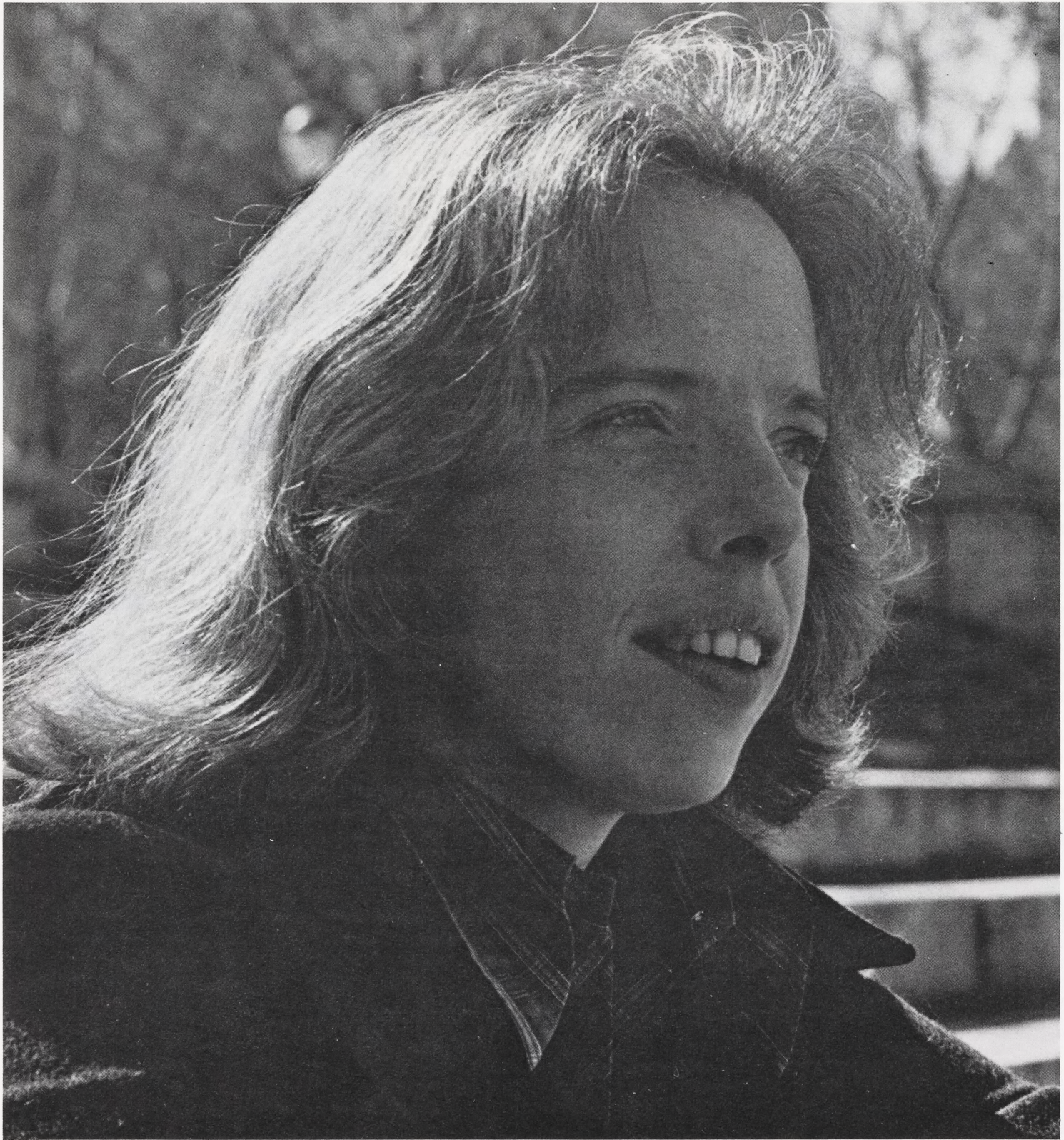


## Convention Dinner Honors ECPC Award Winners

One of the most noteworthy events at the General Convention in Denver this September will be a banquet/celebration sponsored by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company early in the first week of the convention. The purpose of the occasion is the presentation of the awards for outstanding service to the social mission of the Church.

The awards are given in honor of **William Scarlett**, Bishop of Missouri, 1930-1950; **Vida Scudder**, educator and social activist; and **William Spofford**, former editor of *THE WITNESS*. In addition, there will be a special award of merit given this year.

A nationally-prominent speaker will keynote this occasion which will celebrate the social mission of the Church and honor five persons who have contributed significantly to that mission. The next issue of *THE WITNESS* will give full detail of date, place and how to secure tickets for this outstanding event.



Photos by Tom F. Driver

# Theological Explorations of Homosexuality

by Carter Heyward

In the beginning, I AM WHO AM created everything that lived and grew and changed and wondered and tried and stretched and cuddled and recoiled. Every plant, every rock, every animal, every person. Everything created was to realize itself in organic relationship to everything else that was created and to realize the relationship of all created things to I AM WHO AM. The process of realizing oneself in relationship to other human beings, people began to call "sexuality." The process of realizing oneself and all creation in relationship to the Creator, people began to call "spirituality."

The Creator, I AM WHO I AM, could find no adequate word for any of these processes except *love*. I AM WHO I AM realized that loving means changing and becoming something new, and that in loving, the plants and the rocks and the animals and the people were changing and becoming a new creation, and that it was good. I

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**The Rev. Carter Heyward**, Assistant Professor of Theology at Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge, is currently on sabbatical at Union Theological Seminary. The article above is excerpted from a talk she gave in October 1977 at a seminar on homosexuality sponsored by the Massachusetts chapter of the Church and Society Network and the Diocesan Commission on Human Sexuality.

AM WHO I AM began to realize that even Creators change and that, in loving, I AM WHO I AM had become I AM BECOMING WHO I AM BECOMING.

Carter Heyward — an all American type of girl, good student, leader in extracurricular activities, president of this and that, active in drama, music and journalism, most likely to succeed, debutante, a young person with assorted ups and downs, run-of-the-mill problems, many dreams and pipe dreams, goals, fantasies, sexually and spiritually potent, a well-adjusted and intense child and teenager — I did not experience my *sexual adolescence* until my early 20s. This was not atypical among my female peers. What I mean by "sexual adolescence" is that I had no active sexual relationship even of a "petting" variety until I was 22. Prior to that, I had experienced only mild anxiety and curiosity about sex. I wasn't sure what it entailed. I imagined it to be rather disgusting and not something to which I should look forward. Theoretically, I had surmised that sex was basically wrong, except maybe in marriage, and I wasn't even sure about that.

During these teen years, when sex was for me a non-issue, I moved into what I would characterize now as my *spiritual adolescence*. I loved "God!" And even more than God, I loved the church and its priests, the vestments,

the smells and sounds and silences in the church. I prayed the Rosary. I made Confession. I was immersed in a spirituality that despises physicality. If I could not be a priest I would be a nun, and for several years I planned towards this vocation.

What spirituality had been for me as a teenager — *a yearning for meaningful relationship of deep significance* — sexuality soon became for me as a young woman. In both instances, my adolescence was marked by my needing to locate and secure an object for my yearning as quickly as possible and as indiscriminately as necessary. So, what the "God" of my spiritual adolescence had been — a wholly Other, magical, beautiful Superman, manifest in ecclesiastical splendor — so too did a variety of men and women become in my sexual adolescence, objects of adoration, of projection and of a complete absorption of my being.

I do not now look upon my spiritual and my sexual adolescence as unfortunate, but rather as necessary steps along the way in my own becoming. In fact, I consider with gratitude these experiences. What they taught me is that the yearning within me for meaningful relationship to help me validate my own being is, in fact, simultaneously a sexual and a spiritual yearning for relationship and that this yearning is not only good, but that which brings me to life, to risk, to courage, to com-

mitment, to passion, to vocation, to feelings, to sisters and brothers, and yes, to God!

The experience I can cite as an initiation into coming of age, spiritually and sexually, was my ordination to the priesthood in Philadelphia. The integrity in which spirituality and sexuality are realized as one flow of being relating me both to God and to my sisters and brothers has something to do with *self-validation*. It is "God with us" as opposed to a dependence upon validation by ecclesiastical mandate or by persons to whom we have given over the power and authority to tell us who we are, be they lovers, spouses or institutional leaders.

Coming of age, I find that I am resistant to "categories," including sexual categories like "homo-, hetero-, bisexual." I resist categories not primarily, I think, because of what may happen to me when people realize that I yearn for and find relationship — spiritual, sexual relationship — with people who are women; not because I believe my sexuality to be my private business (sometimes the opposite of "private" is not "public" but rather "communal responsibility"). Rather, I resist categories because, to quote a friend and student, "Being human — being sexual — is not a matter of 'qualitative analysis'" in which relationships of highest value become genital equations: Woman plus woman equals gay; woman plus man equals straight.

God's being is in loving; that is, in involvement in, immersion in, in passionate relationship to God's own creation, respecting, cherishing that which makes each member or aspect of creation uniquely who, or what, it is and is becoming. God is Godself defiant of categories and qualitative analysis.

God is not alone as lover — the one who loves. Fundamental to the doctrines of creation and incarnation is the human capacity to love. Being human means being self-consciously (not necessarily rationally) able to love and be loved: Involved in, immersed in,

related passionately to God and to human beings, respecting, cherishing that which makes each loved one uniquely who she or he is and is becoming — be this loved one male or female, black or white, old or young, sick or well.

Loving is one flow of being, stirred within us by the power of the Holy Spirit. One has only to read the prayers of Christian mystics like Julian of Norwich, Teresa of Avila and John of the Cross to encounter the *eroticism of agape*; the sexuality of spiritual love.

But what of the separations we have made between *eros* and *agape*? between sexuality and spirituality? between the flesh and the spirit? and, derivative of the same, between sexual orientation and sexual behavior?

What I believe to be the theological root of the problem is this: Today we still labor under a *dualistic* world-view in which lines of demarcation are drawn between the sacred and the profane, the religious and the secular, heaven and hell, God's realm and the arenas of this world. One example of this dualism is manifest in a press release by the Evangelical Catholic Congress, in which its leaders decry "the invasion of the church by the world," the implication being that the church is "good" and the world "bad."

Whether our Incarnational theologies are finally focused on Jesus as the unique and singular revelation of God to the world, or on Jesus as the representation of our own possibilities to bear Christ to the world, in Christ we perceive that that which we believed to be "divine" (out there, far away) and that which we believed to be "human" (us, here, now) are together in one real-

### Welcome California

With this issue of THE WITNESS we welcome to our forum of readers some 1500 Episcopalians from the Diocese of California.

The dualism is shown for what it was all along: A delusion. And the value-laden schism between sacred and secular, spirit and body, are seen to be false.



ity. In Christ, God and humanity are in a single glance, through a glass darkly, perceived to be in unity. The dualism is shown for what it was all along: A delusion. And the value-laden schism between sacred and secular, spirit and body, are seen as false.

To speak negatively of sexuality, which the larger body of orthodox tradition has indeed done, is to speak of a cosmos in which God and spiritual things exist "up there" and creation/humanity and physical things exist "down here." Spiritual things are above and are intended to overcome physical things. The Creator and the creation are seen to be at odds.

Historically, sexuality has been the living symbol of that which is physical, of this world, of the flesh, uncontrollable, orgasmic. Within the Judaeo-

Christian tradition, heavily influenced by Hellenism's Platonic dualism, sexuality has been posited as the enemy to spiritual development.

But theological propositions such as this do not fall out of the sky. They are rooted in experiences of sexuality and of spirituality. And one is left wondering what experiences prompted Jerome, for example, to say that since angels have no sexual organs and that since we are someday to become angels, we ought now to model ourselves after angels and act as though we have no sexual organs. I find myself wondering if sexuality is experienced as non-spiritual because God is experienced as non-physical. And, if so, how seriously did these early Fathers really take the Incarnation? Or is perhaps the fear of sexuality a fear of losing control? Ultimately of losing *all* control (dying)? Or again, is the rejection of sexuality built by these men upon a rejection of women? Indeed women are held, theologically, to be nearly synonymous with that which is "not God": Evil, tempting, uncontrollable, seducing men into "fall" and bringing men to death. It is hard to know which is cause and which is effect.

But it is not hard to know or imagine why homosexuality has been considered such an anathema. It is sexual. It is not in marriage (held to be the only possible legitimating parameter for sexuality). It is for pleasure in companionship rather than for the duty of procreation (seen to be sexuality's theological justification). Moreover, homosexuality is seen to be orgasmic, wild, uncontrollable, hedonistic. It is viewed by men as men's attempts to be "like women" (read sexual, physical, non-spiritual) and as women's attempt to reject men (read that which is good).

I would characterize homosexuality not as a matter of sexual preference nor simply as "sexual activity between persons of the same sex," but rather as a way of being in relationship to persons of the same sex that is rooted in one's yearning for relationship that is

meaningful. Like heterosexuality, homosexuality may find expression in acts of relationship that would naturally include touching and being touched by one's friend, one's lover, whether the touch be a physical expression as in an embrace or in genital contact; a matter of emotional vulnerability; an essentially spiritual affinity, or all three.

It is possible, of course, to deny one's homosexuality just as it is possible to deny one's heterosexuality, so that homosexuality would involve an aversion to, avoidance of, refusal to touch or be touched by, persons of the same sex — whether the touching be physical, emotional, spiritual. This denial, or refusal to be open to one's own sex, or the opposite sex, I believe to be unnatural, unhealthy, unholy.

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**Or is perhaps  
the fear of sexuality  
a fear of losing control?  
. . . Or, again, is the  
rejection of sexuality  
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upon a rejection  
of women?**



The fundamental ethical questions regarding sexuality — questions of commitment and loyalty between people, of mutual responsibility in relationship and of participation in the shaping of a society in which people can be nurtured with justice as individuals in community — are rooted, I believe, not in people's refusals to touch, to make contact with one another. Whether one's experience is homosexual, heterosexual or both, the immorality in relationship results primarily from a fear of really being known by and knowing another. Hence, the inability to make commitment; to be vulnerable to another; to be honest either in conflict or at peace; the inability to sustain interest in loving relationship once it is found; or to actively realize that loving does indeed involve fear and loss and death, and that these experiences within relationships are givens. They are reality to be entered into and experienced, not to be fled from. Loneliness, separation, promiscuity. The boxing off of genitals from really touching and being touched. These things are more often than not the results of our alienation from ourselves as lovers — of God, of each other, of creation itself.

We have a long way to go. It is a frightening time of spiritual and sexual transformation in which our consciousness of who we are — individually and collectively — is expanding. We must be careful. We must be tender. We must be open to new discovery. We must keep our courage, which is to say, we must keep in mind that God is with us. Whenever we believe that we are right, we must claim no authority over others, realizing that those who make no claim to authority over others are those in whom some true authority is perceived. We must not forget that we — like the lilies of the field — are becoming who we are becoming in the image of a God who is becoming. Finally, in this present crisis, we may find it helpful to remember that the Chinese ideogram for "crisis" is "a dangerous opportunity." ■

# SALT II: Is it Worth Supporting? No!

By Thomas J. Gumbleton

*Although the United States Catholic Conference reportedly voted last November to support the SALT II Treaty, it does not preclude individual bishops from stating strong exceptions to that position. On a matter of public policy of such magnitude, upon which the objections commonly voiced are purely pragmatic and procedural, THE WITNESS feels it is important to hear from a bishop who has principled objections to SALT. The Most Rev. Thomas Gumbleton, auxiliary bishop of Detroit and president of Pax Christi, USA, took the negative side in a debate recently in The Commonweal (the affirmative was upheld by the Rev. J. Bryan Hehir of the U.S. Catholic Conference in Washington, D.C.). The full debate is available from The Commonweal, 232 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. The article presented here is reprinted with permission.*

When I was invited to a briefing session for religious leaders at the State Department on Oct. 18, 1978, I went readily, because I had implicitly assumed I would support the signing of the SALT II Treaty. I was pleased to have an opportunity to learn more about the proposed treaty and to join with other religious leaders in the effort to build a base of support for SALT II in the churches and religious communities throughout the United States.

At the end of the morning session, after the facts had been carefully laid out about the incredibly large arsenals

that the Soviets and the U.S. would have under SALT II, one of the participants asked a question. "Do you mean that you expect us as religious leaders to support the kind of arsenal you are describing? That we should offer religious legitimacy for weapons outlined in your presentation?"

The government representative who had just been speaking, indicated his awareness that support for such weapons might be troubling to a religious leader. But his response was that the Arms Control Agency and the State Department could not make moral evaluations. Their responsibility was to guarantee the "security" of the United States by making sure that even with a SALT II agreement, our arsenal would not be inferior to any nation's.

The impact of that response for me was immediate and challenging. The more I thought about it, the clearer the situation became. The government expert indicated that he and his colleagues would not deal with the kind of concern raised by the questioner. In fact, he was saying that that was a moral problem, a religious question — not a political one — and religious leaders had to be concerned with such questions. He understood that.

But who really was asking that kind of question? We had been brought together to be briefed and we were already devising a strategy to form a Religious Committee of Support for SALT II. We were going to help "sell" SALT II. The very religious leaders who should have been raising the challenging questions about the rightness of our arms policy were simply being "drafted" into an army of support for the treaty. Those in government were not going to ask such questions. And it seemed that those in positions of religious and moral leadership were not going to ask them either.

But such questions must be raised. In my own reflection on the role of a religious leader and my responsibility to help people to face the moral implications of our government's decisions, I began to think again about that most fateful day in the history of the world: Aug. 6, 1945. Hiroshima. One bomb exploded over that city and incinerated 80,000 to 100,000 people in 9 seconds — men, women, children.

I remembered Pope Paul VI in his Peace Day Statement of 1976, describing that bombing of Hiroshima as "a butchery of untold magnitude."

I began to ponder the fact that SALT II would legitimate the destructive power of 615,000 Hiroshima bombs, the present American arsenal.

I began to wonder how I, as a religious leader, could offer support for an agreement that would sanction that kind of destructive power in the hands of any government. I was especially troubled when I recalled that President Carter, within the last year in speaking before the United



Nations, ruled out the use of nuclear weapons by the United States only against nations that do not themselves have such weapons. That statement left no doubt that we *do* intend to use them. And what is more, we intend to use them first.

On June 30, 1975, Defense Secretary James Schlesinger publicly stated: "Under no circumstances could we disavow the first use of nuclear weapons. . . . If one accepts the no first use doctrine, one is accepting a self-denying ordinance that weakens deterrence." That statement put the United States clearly on public record as being ready and willing to be the first nation to use nuclear weapons in a confrontation with another nation. This policy has not been modified.

I remembered the pastoral letter of the American Bishops "To Live in Christ Jesus." This letter clearly states the moral position that Catholics are to be guided by regarding not only the use of weapons of indiscriminate destruction, but also concerning even the possession of such weapons:

"The right of legitimate defense is not a moral justification for unleashing every form of destruction. For example, acts of war deliberately directed against innocent non-combatants are gravely wrong, and no one may participate in such an act. . . .

"At the same time, no nation, our own included, may demand blind obedience. No member of the armed forces, above all no Christians who bear arms as 'agents of security and freedom' can rightfully carry out orders or policies requiring direct force against non-combatants. . . .

"With respect to nuclear weapons, at least those with massive destructive capability, the first imperative is to prevent their use. As possessors of a vast nuclear arsenal, we must also be aware that not only is it wrong to attack civilian populations but it is also wrong to threaten to attack them as part of a strategy of deterrence. . . ."

I was among the bishops who overwhelmingly voted approval of that statement. Am I now ready to repudiate that stance? Am I now ready instead to seek throughout the religious community support of a policy of our government that so recently has been clearly judged immoral?

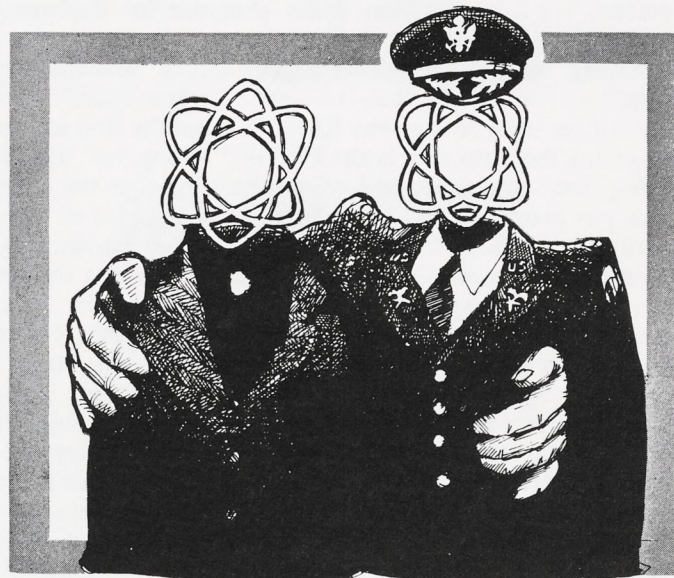
The argument has been raised that at least SALT II puts a "cap" on the permissible number of such weapons. Yet as I thought about that, it seemed that supporting such an agreement would be like supporting a "cap" on the number of torture chambers permitted to governments. I can't accept that anyone who firmly believes that torture is immoral would be ready to support such a position. Torture is wrong, and we could never give our blessing to the maintenance of even one such facility.

"But can't you support SALT II as the first step in the right direction? Here we are, deeply implicated in an immoral situation. We cannot extricate ourselves with one decisive action. It will take time, and we must do it one step at a time. SALT II is the first step in a journey of a thousand miles."

If only it were a first step. It is not.

Consider this report in the *New York Times* as recently as Dec. 13, 1978:

"George M. Seignious II, the Carter Administration's new director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, told reporters today that even if Washington and Moscow succeeded in working out a new strategic arms accord soon, the United States would



still have to press ahead with modernizing its nuclear arsenal.

"While noting that he 'wholeheartedly' supported the proposed arms agreement, he said that Moscow would be able under the accord to make improvements to its nuclear forces that would 'doubtlessly propel' the Carter Administration into some form of military response."

Business as usual under SALT II. The arms race goes on. This is really the failure of SALT II. It is not the beginning of the reversal of the arms race. It is not the first step. The simple reason is that the arms race is no longer a matter of numbers. When our arsenal can already destroy every major Soviet city 36 times over, it is at least irrelevant, if not ridiculous and perhaps even deceptive to talk about a "cap" on numbers as though this begins the process of reversing the arms race.

At this point in the arms race it is a race in technology and sophistication. It is a race to increase the destructive capacity of the weapons we already possess. It is a race to increase the accuracy of these weapons. As noted in the *New York Times* (Dec. 24, 1978), "In the view of many analysts, new arms agreements do not really limit arms competition, they only push it down different avenues."

SALT II will be no different in this regard from any past agreement. The Soviets, even with SALT II, will continue to plan five new land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles, a new strategic submarine and long-range bomber. And the same day that Secretary Vance went to Geneva to conclude the SALT II talks Zbigniew Brzezinski told reporters that the United States would soon have to embark on a multibillion dollar program for deploying mobile intercontinental missiles.

Clearly SALT II is not a first step out of an evil situation.

Another clear reason why SALT II is not the first step in reversing the arms race is the kind of "selling job" that is being done for it. Instead of emphasizing that the arms race has brought us to the most dangerous point of insecurity for all nations that the world has ever known, our political leaders are still trying to convince us that we can have security and peace through nuclear arms. The arguments made for the treaty strongly emphasize that we are not lessening in any way our dependency on nuclear weapons. Einstein put it accurately when he said, "The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything but our modes of thinking, and thus we drift toward unparalleled catastrophe." A genuine first step in reversing the arms race would require some change in our thinking. Without that, a mere "cap" on numbers and even some slight limit on technology will be meaningless. We are still hostages with the nuclear gun pointed at our head.

It is very late in the history of the arms race. Very serious people indicate that nuclear war before the year 2000 is not just a possibility, it is a probability. Religious leaders, I think, have a major share of the responsibility for this situation. Before 1976 what pope or bishop referred to the bombing of Hiroshima as "a butchery of untold magnitude?" Until 1976 — while the arms race had been going on for almost 30 years — where did we find that clear moral guidance from Catholic bishops in the United States, or very many other religious leaders, similar to the statement in "To Live in Christ Jesus" quoted above? It has been pointed out in a National Council of Churches pamphlet that Karl Barth, who was a leader in the German churches' resistance to Hitler, once declared the most vital issue facing Christianity has been the inability of the churches to take a definite stand against nuclear weapons. He compared it to the churches' inability to take a stand

against Hitler. By our failure in moral leadership we have acquiesced in that "drift toward unparalleled catastrophe" deplored by Einstein.

The call for us to support SALT II is "a moment of grace" when we must begin to give strong leadership and clear moral guidance. We must indicate to the President and to our people that we cannot in good conscience support SALT II.

There are some who will ask how can you align yourself with the opponents of SALT II who do not want any limitation on strategic arms whatsoever? The answer is simply that we are not in any way aligned with these opponents of SALT II. We do not agree with their understanding as to what will bring genuine security to our nation. Furthermore, I do not see any reason to engage in a debate with them over SALT II. We could win such a debate, but we would not have made any real progress toward reversing the arms race. I am convinced that a much better answer is simply to end formal negotiations and rely on unilateral demonstrations of arms restraint. Not only would this be in accord with our present moral teaching, but it would also be the most expedient thing to do — in the opinion of many specialists in and out of government.

If religious leaders and religious communities can be persuaded not to support SALT II, what can they offer instead in the effort to bring about genuine disarmament? I would suggest the following as an outline of a carefully-conceived effort to reverse the arms race.

First, the religious community should pledge itself to undertake a massive effort of education and conscience formation. We have a responsibility to begin to develop in ourselves and the whole community "a whole new attitude toward war," as Vatican Council II has called for. And we must really share the conviction of that same Council that "the arms race is an utterly treacherous trap . . . it is much to be feared that if this race persists, it will eventually spawn all the lethal ruin whose path it is now making ready." We must also share with others the moral judgment of the Vatican statement to the U.S. that "the arms race in itself is an act of aggression against the poor."

This is only the briefest sampling of the clear statements giving moral guidance on the arms race. Besides sharing these teachings we must pledge ourselves to seek out in prayer and faith what God has revealed to us, especially in Jesus, about the use of violence. Pope Paul in 1976, even appealed to us to consider as an example for our own time "what can be done by a weak man, Gandhi — armed only with the principle of non-violence." In 1978 Pope Paul urged us "to say 'no' to violence, and 'yes' to peace." We could prepare the way for the reversal of the arms race if we took very seriously our responsibility to teach and form

## State of the Church

(Continued from Page 9)

phere for purging unconformed and imaginative clergy. But the spread of such an ethos also risks an elementary confusion between the church and God which fosters idolatry of the church (which is truly pagan) and that renders the Christian faith merely religious. In one diocese, recently, I heard quoted something I had written about this peril in *A Private and Public Faith*:

"The religious suppose that only the religious know about God or care about God, and that God cares only for the religious. Characteristically, religion is precious and possessive toward God . . . and conducts itself as if God really needs religion, as if God's existence depends upon the recognition of religion. Religion considers that God is a secret disclosed only in the discipline and practice of religion. But all this is most offensive to the Word of God. The best news of God is that God is no secret. The news of God embodied in Jesus Christ is that

God is openly and notoriously active in the world. . . . (It is this news which the Christian Church exists to spread. Where the Church, however, asserts that God is hidden in or behind creed or ceremony . . . (or) confined to the sanctuary, then . . . the Church, forsaking the good news of God's presence in history, becomes a vulgar imitation of mere religion."

This religionizing of the gospel is, in fact, a form of secularization. The evidence is that it is a process very advanced in the Episcopal Church now, as well as some others, and that it furnishes the basis for the endemic disenchantment of Episcopalians with the Episcopal Church and its incumbent management. I would not overlook the similarity between this situation and that which can be found in virtually any (other) worldly institution at the moment. Nor would I deny there are impulses for the renewal of the integrity of the church, but, at the same time, I would want it recognized that the current Episcopal Church malaise

has a far broader context which is traceable as far back as the Constantinian Arrangement. That is when the church acquired such a deeply-vested interest in the status quo of the worldly regime and culture that it began to be preoccupied with its own institutional survival to the forfeit of its servanthood in the world. The Episcopal Church now needs poignantly and desperately to be freed from this Constantinian attitude. The rubric, for that, is the caution of Jesus to let the dead bury the dead while we follow Him. ■

(To be continued next month)

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Managing Editor Mary Lou Suhor is on vacation. The editor wishes to thank Brian McNaught, a Boston-based editor and freelance writer, for his assistance in the final preparation of this issue.

The front cover art is the work of David Woodford, a first year student at St. John's Seminary in Boston.

consciences in the light of this ever more urgent teaching about non-violence.

The second step the religious community can take is to promote a national effort to build a climate for conversion from an arms industry to exclusively peace production. The churches could join in a community effort to prepare for such conversion of our industrial capacity by educating our people to understand the interrelationship between the arms race and unemployment, and many other social problems in the United States. And very concretely we could actively support the "Defense Economic Adjustment Act," a Senate bill (S2279 in the 95th Congress) intended to move us from an arms-based economy to one based on peacetime civilian-oriented priorities.

Thirdly, the religious community must take the lead in positively building peace. Vatican II stated: "Peace is not merely the absence of war. Nor can it be reduced solely to the maintenance of a balance of power between enemies. . . . Instead it is rightly and appropriately called 'an enterprise of justice' (Is. 32:7). Peace results from the harmony built into human society by its divine Founder, and actualized by men (and women) as they thirst after ever greater justice." (*Gaudium et Spes*, #78)

There is not the space here to go into detail on the program of justice we could develop, starting with changes in our own lifestyle and our use of this world's goods, but there surely is no lack of steps we could take in the struggle to assure that every person on earth begins to have enough to eat, decent shelter, adequate education and health care, and all the things necessary to meet basic human needs. Instead of forming a religious coalition of support for SALT II, we could form such a coalition to pass the World Peace Tax Fund Bill. This bill would provide an entirely new resource for peace programs. It could be the first step in assuring that our resources are used in the "enterprise of justice" rather than the continued escalation of the arms race.

In 1963 Pope John XXIII, a few weeks before his death, published his widely acclaimed letter, *Pacem in Terris*. In it he reminded us that "there is an immense task incumbent on all men (and women) of good will, namely, the task of restoring the relations of the human family in truth, in justice, in love and in freedom." (#163)

We must stop the arms race now and undertake this task with the greatest sense of urgency because the finish line in the arms race is not peace but holocaust. ■

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