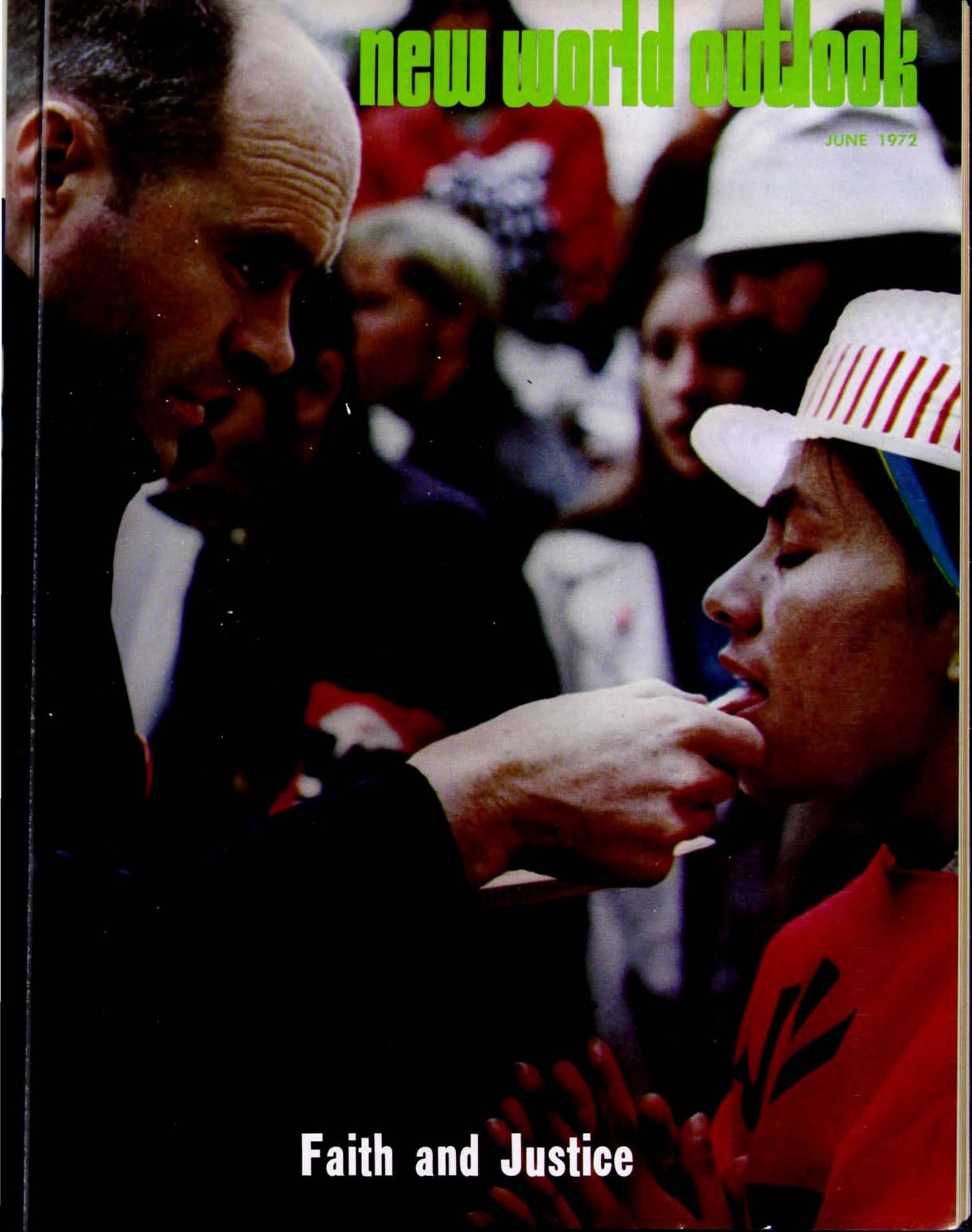


new world outlook

JUNE 1972



Faith and Justice

mission gram

Amid some talk about declining influence for councils of churches, EXPECT the influence of the World Council of Churches to increase gradually in Asia, Africa and Latin America—especially if it continues the kind of work most clearly represented in its Program to Combat Racism.

This program has “greatly enhanced the World Council in its integrity and its image,” Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, General Secretary of the WCC, told a meeting of the Advisory Committee of the Program to Combat Racism earlier this spring. Program grants of humanitarian aid to groups fighting against racial oppression—including liberation groups in southern Africa—put SUBSTANCE behind WCC pronouncements on racial justice . . . and won credibility for the WCC in Africa and other sections of the Third World.

Meanwhile, U.S. Christians hear little about the WCC except mentions in Sunday schools of aid programs—plus occasional and often highly prejudiced references to the WCC in some secular and religious media. U.S. Christians should BE CAREFUL to distinguish this anti-WCC rhetoric with its half-truths from the genuine Christian commitment and effective programs of the WCC in the Third World.

VOLUNTARISM—expect this to INCREASE in the overall spectrum of U.S. Christian mission efforts at home and overseas. The United Presbyterian Church is now putting more than 5,000 volunteers per year in the field . . . and voluntarism is increasing among mission agencies of other churches as well.

At least TWO NEEDS dovetail to create this development: the need of mission agencies with shrinking budgets to get the work done, and the desire of lay men and women to become involved. Potential volunteers may be inspired by missionaries, returning volunteers or literature on voluntary service—and may go to their local churches and other sources for assistance with costs and specialized material that may be needed.

But volunteers CANT REPLACE the full-time missionaries and national workers that give direction to the mission projects where volunteers serve. Most of these projects need a continuity of direction, with a sensitive knowledge of the language, people and customs of the area . . . whereas volunteers come and go.

WATCH for increasing church efforts on behalf of community health care—a movement picking up momentum overseas, and coming into increasing focus each year in the U.S.A.

INSTANCE: The Community Health and Development Project on Koje Island in Korea, sponsored by the World Council of Churches and led by United Presbyterian fraternal worker John R. Sibley, M.D. This project emphasizes preventive medicine and the delivery of health care at costs the farming community can afford. The buildings are simple, modular structures and operating costs are kept low. Korean physicians, nurses and assistants carry much of the work load.

A dentist from Hanover, N. H.—Robert C. Keene, D.D.S.—went as a volunteer to the Koje Island project for a month, assisting in dentistry and assessing the needs. Now, in line with his findings, a program of oral health will be conducted in the local schools.

EXPECT models of this sort to be studied more seriously by health and welfare specialists in the U.S.A as the costs of U.S. health care continue to skyrocket.

—Stanley J. Rowland, Jr.

new world outlook

New Series Vol. XXXII No. 10 • Whole Series Vol. LXII No. 6 • June, 1972

Letters	4
Editorials	5
God's Way of Righting Wrong Charles E. Brewster	6
The Earth Is the Lord's (Psalm 24:1) Despair and Hope in Appalachia Jerry DeMuth	8
Oil: For Whose Lamps? Leon Howell	14
She Will Wear Me Out . . . (Luke 18:5) From Protest to Program Mary D. Powers	16
Sell All That You Have . . . (Luke 18:22) The Rich Christian William Toohey	20
"Why Do You Not Deal Your Bread to the Hungry?" Douglas Tanner	24
. . . Hunger and Thirst to See Right Prevail (Matt. 5:6) A Loud Crier For Freedom Marjorie Hyer	28
Tomura Isaku's Struggle George W. Gish, Jr.	31
. . . the Things That Make For Peace. (Luke 19:42) The War's Real Outrage Prisoners of War Amnesty	32 35 36
Letters From Overseas	38
Films on Faith and Justice John C. Batchelor	40
Books	44
Special Report: The General Conference The Moving Finger Writes	45 46

COVER

Communion Service, Farm Workers Rally
Washington, D.C.
Toge Fujihira, Photograph

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Letters

ON THE CUTTING EDGE

A note of congratulation on your very fine April issue! I especially enjoyed (and thoroughly digested) John Cobb's, David Randolph's and J. Barrie Shepherd's contributions.

You seem on "the cutting edge" of the Church in mission in the new day. A great help as we seek "which way the Church" in the 70's.

(REV.) ROBERT MCBRIDE
Wagner, South Dakota

FINDING THE PROPER BALANCE

I have just finished reading the April issue. I find myself concerned over the article "Finding the Proper Balance" by David A. Seamands. Personally, I think he has something we need to heed!

We have all floundered for years trying to keep a proper balance between the spiritual and the material, or personal salvation and social action, but the new concept of mission which pictures our role as "the humanization of humanity" disturbs me. For years in missions and evangelism the emphasis was almost totally on a quite personal salvation. Now, we are making an emphasis which could very easily go too far in the other direction.

None of us like erraticism in the church, and we do need a personal salvation which issues into a proper concern and action on behalf of our fellow men. However—according to our Lord, this begins with a personal awakening to need—ours and our fellow man's.

Many a concerned pastor is having a difficult time trying to maintain an active budget in support of missions. The current trend is creating an "imbalance" which is resulting in considerable loss in giving. People are not inclined to give through the church to a type of program which the government could just as easily support. The element of personal salvation by One who is the *Only* Answer must not be made secondary.

Thanks again for the good article. We need more like it.

(REV.) R. A. LIPPMAN
Centralia, Illinois

DEEPLY CONCERNED

I agree with the basic philosophy of missions as presented by Dr. Seamands and have been deeply concerned about the humanistic approach into which our denominational mission board has drifted.

Quite frankly I have been encouraging "second mile" giving to other missionary work other than our own due to the philosophy our board is now pursuing. You may be sure that it is refreshing to see recognition given to the voice of the "evangelical" segment of the Church.

(REV.) EDWARD B. PARKER
Wishek, North Dakota

BASIC EVANGELICAL IMPERATIVE

I have been following the dialogue that has taken place between some of the evangelicals in our church and the personnel of the Board of Missions and have read David Seamands' article, which summarizes their point of view. I would like to go on record as wholeheartedly approving this position. I have felt for some time, and I hope you will understand the spirit in which this is stated, that the policies and the programs of the Board have become over-balanced in favor of social action programs. There is no question but what these efforts are of great value and even have been a

healthy corrective. However, I am convinced that they should not be engaged in at the expense of the basic evangelical imperative which lies at the heart of the Christian mission.

JAMES H. PYKE
Wesley Theological Seminary
Washington, D.C.

KEEN PERCEPTION

Thank you for publishing "Finding the Proper Balance." I thought Dr. Seamands wrote with keen perception about the problem of the new mission philosophy today.

We hear so much today about all the humanitarian things being done on the mission field today and so little about those being won to Christ from enslavement to sin. We rejoice in all the good things being done to educate, clothe, feed, shelter, etc., but how much we need to see man's need for salvation from inner sin. We are grateful for all those missionaries who are concerned not only for the betterment of man's outer life, but are deeply concerned and doing something about man's deep inner spiritual needs.

We pray that the activities and pronouncements of our General Board of Missions will reflect the proper balance in the mission thrust. We hope that many more such good articles will be printed.

(REV.) MILAN S. COLEMAN
Amherst, Nebraska

RIGHT ON

Right on! Finally! How blessed to read "Finding the Proper Balance." With the prophets of old many of us have been praying, "how long, O Lord, how long."

David Seamands surely speaks for a hitherto "silent majority" in United Methodist in this article. It is my firm belief that when our Board of Missions wakes up to its real task we can stop adjusting to declining income and start moving again with vision into mission. God help us that it may happen soon.

(REV.) ROBERT D. SNYDER
Shelby, Ohio

AMEN

All I can say is "Amen!" It's time we go back to the Aim of Missions of The United Methodist Church Discipline.

(MRS.) SYLVIA HURLEY
O'Neill, Nebraska

NEW MISSION PHILOSOPHY

I thank God that as a Christian I can express my concern for the new mission philosophy. And, more important, that the Holy Spirit will work in the lives of our Board of Mission to be true to the Aim stated in our Discipline. This is my prayer.

MRS. ROBERT POSPICHAL
O'Neill, Nebraska

GREAT IMPORTANT QUESTION

As a layman, may I voice my deepest approval of Dr. Seamands' words and his concern over this great and important question. With many others I have been deeply concerned with what Dr. Seamands so well ex-

presses and hope it will have the consideration which I feel it so richly deserves.

W. E. EDWARDS
Leipsic, Ohio

COMMISSION IS STILL RELEVANT

As a Methodist pastor of three decades, currently serving Dueber United Methodist Church in Canton, Ohio, a church with some 1,850 members, I would like to register my hearty endorsement of the position which Dr. Seamands takes in this presentation. Surely the great commission of Jesus Christ is still relevant in these days, and my sincere conviction is that the need of the world, at home and abroad, in this age and any day is that the full message of Jesus Christ shall be proclaimed and taught. Surely this includes the total man—physical needs, sociological concerns, but also an adequate solution to the sin problem.

We trust that increasingly our beloved church will honor the glorious message of God's redeeming love.

In the same issue (April), on page twenty, Mr. Victor Vockerodt makes a strong affirmation that the number one missionary act "would be witnessing to injustice." Surely such a position is vitally important but I believe that the proclamation of the saving grace of Jesus Christ far supersedes this concept.

(REV.) WILLIAM A. AMERSON
Canton, Ohio

A THEOLOGICAL CRISIS

The April issue has been read in full with great interest. Dr. Seamands has put his finger on the true nature of the crisis in missions. It is a theological crisis. It has to do with what we are persuaded is the primary and enduring motive for mission. If that motive is mere social engineering then there simply is no reason why church people should give more than their USA taxes to achieve the goals. If the motive for mission is tinkering with economic and political structures (for the understanding of which most of us are woefully unprepared) there is no reason why young adults should volunteer for the years of separation from home and family, for the agony of rigorous language study, etc., when they can quite as easily go to work in some Congressman's office in Washington.

Are you aware of what Campus Crusade is doing in terms of calling young adults to mission? Are you aware of the tremendous enthusiasm with which local churches respond to calls for financial support when one of their youth volunteers for Campus Crusade?

On March 2 Bill Starnes (field director for the Advance, United Methodist Board of Missions) preached in our church on missions. Had he been free to call for volunteers, knowing that (a) their response would have been met with response of equal interest on the part of our Board and (b) that funds were available to put them in the field, I believe that out of our congregation of a thousand or more (mostly university students), as many as twenty-five volunteers would have stepped forth.

The money and the personnel are, in my concerned opinion, available. Let the Methodist Board of Missions declare again that it feels under the divine imperative to obey the great Commission! Then we shall see the money and the personnel made available.

(REV.) CHARLES R. BRITT
Auburn, Alabama

Assassinations— Any Way Out?

The tragic shooting of Governor George Wallace raises once again many disturbing questions about violence in political life in this country. Already, there are suggestions that both Presidents and presidential candidates confine themselves to television appearances and formal appearances in well-guarded halls. Gun control advocates are pressing for stronger laws. Moralistic soul-searching goes on simultaneously with an increasing air of fatalistic acceptance of assassination as a hazard of public life.

Realistically, can any steps be taken to prevent public murder and assault? To determine that, let us look at the record of American assassinations and assaults.

Professor William S. Crotty of Northwestern University has done just that in a recent issue of *Society*. (The article was written before the attack on Governor Wallace but preliminary information there does not seem to break the pattern.) He points out the similarity of most would-be assassins. With few exceptions, they are not members of any conspiracy. Most were fringe members of society who were mentally unstable and had not succeeded in any walk of life. Their motivations, insofar as they can be determined, include a desire for historical notoriety and an acting out of personal fantasies. By and large, they strike at the office rather than the man.

Given this profile of potential assassins, it becomes clearer that assassinations can probably never be totally eliminated unless we have either a perfect or a totalitarian society. Since neither seems imminent, the best we can hope for are things which will lessen the risks.

One such thing is a change in public attitude from the present fatalism which wearily accepts violence as a part of public life. In this atmosphere, such needed improvements as stiff gun control laws are easily sidetracked.

Other necessary changes are not so easily come by. One of the factors in assassinations is the power and glamor of the office of the Presidency and its personalization in one man. This is a trend that concerns many students of American society for a variety of reasons but which is hard to counteract.

Eventually, the best insurance against assassins is a properly functioning society

not wracked by tensions. It is an ironic twist that while most American Presidential assaults are not overtly political, the best insurance against the feelings of frustration that can lead to such murders is a politics which builds up the general well-being of the nation.

Endangering the U.N.

The United Nations has gotten such a black eye of late from the press in the United States that there may be little public outcry against the House of Representatives' \$28.8 million cut in U.S. payments to the U.N. and its eight agencies. Piqued by the U.N.'s expulsion of Taiwan and the refusal of the Soviet Union and France—and now China—to pay in full their assessments, the House stipulated that the U.S. share of the U.N. budget not exceed 25 percent; it is now 31.52 percent.

Failure to pay its full share would put the U.S. in direct violation of a treaty obligation. This comes on the heels of Congress' vote to import Rhodesian chrome in violation of U.N. sanctions. Some critics of the U.N. have attempted to shift the onus of illegality to the world body by stating that the U.N. unlawfully ejected Nationalist China (which, by the way, was in arrears in its payments too). However, neither the People's Republic of China nor the Republic of China ever accepted a two-China arrangement and both claimed to be representing the same people; the U.S. did vote for seating the People's Republic in the Security Council.

A presidential commission has suggested, and the President has agreed, that the U.S. contribution to the U.N.'s general budget be cut to 25 percent—but that this be done over a period of years. The Lodge Commission wants the decreases to the regular budget to be matched by increased contributions to the U.N. voluntary budgets or funds. The appropriate and legal avenue is to seek from the General Assembly and its committee on contributions a 25 percent ceiling on any one country's assessment.

The U.S. contribution, while large percentage-wise, is in fact pitifully small, only \$320 million for all U.N. agencies. (This is about half the budget for the New York City police department.) It would be unfortunate if the U.S. now followed the lead of certain other great powers who have long balked at fulfilling their commitments.

Lost sight of in the fray are the real accomplishments of the United Nations in recent months: the coordination of disaster relief for India and Bangla Desh, the treaties on biological weapons and liability in outer space, the preparation for a major environmental conference in Stockholm in June and a conference on the law of the sea in 1973. The work of the U.N. is endangered at the very time it needs strengthening.

Faith and Justice

The interdenominational mission study on Faith and Justice this year will fall short of its goal if it simply becomes a grab bag of social action causes. It will equally fall short if it becomes a recital of dogmas, mostly in outworn language, to which the faithful are obliged to subscribe. The question is: in an increasingly polarized Church can we obtain a mixing of these two concerns so that both will be seen as one?

When the late Bishop James A. Pike was a chaplain at Columbia University and heavily involved in social action and counselling he was unaware of the change in his personal faith until a magazine asked him to write about how his mind had changed. He decided that we need more candor in saying what we believe and do not believe, and we need "fewer beliefs, more belief."

The concerns of justice, some of which are discussed in this issue, can aid us in determining priorities for our candor, in eliminating some of the man-made scandals of the faith so that we can see the real Scandal upon which Christian faith is built—that God really loves the world.

At the same time, a Martha-like busyness in social action can prevent us from taking stock of the ultimate questions of faith. We lose the chance to grasp what St. Paul called the "full wisdom and insight" lavished on us by God's free grace (Ephesians 1:8) and we seek for the world only a shadow of the unity which is to be found in Christ.

Jesus in today's parlance "got it all together" and summarized it best. Love God and love your neighbor. That is Faith and that is Justice and the two are inseparable. As Emil Brunner has written, "He alone, who is bound to God and through God to his neighbor, can really become a man."

God, we believe. Help our unbelief.

"But now, quite independently of law, God's justice has been brought to light. The Law and the prophets both bear witness to it: it is God's way of righting wrong, effective through faith in Christ for all who have such faith—all, without distinction. For all alike have sinned, and are deprived of the divine splendour, and all are justified by God's free grace alone, through his act of liberation in the person of Christ Jesus." (Romans 3:21-24 New English Bible)

Poor Paul. Women liberationists say he was an early male chauvinist. Homosexuals claim he practically started discrimination against gay people. Jewish scholars say he misrepresented first century Judaism by causing it to be labelled legalistic and self-satisfied. Civil rights and peace activists from Oliver Cromwell to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. have chafed under the text: "Every person must submit to the supreme authorities" (Romans 13:1).

Despite these problems in the study of Paul, some of which reflect the fact that he was simply a man of his time as well as an apostle, Paul's letter to the Romans is an appropriate companion to this year's Faith and Justice study.

Not that there is in Romans a list of correct positions on the boycott of lettuce, the bombing over Indochina, minimum base income proposals by the President, amnesty for draft evaders, or ITT in Chile. Paul was writing to a church he had never seen, to one he had had no part in founding. So, unlike for instance his standing with the church in Corinth, he had no platform of credibility from which he could preach various forms of involvement (as he did in I Corinthians, which is a veritable guide to urban church possibilities). He had first to establish his credibility with the Roman church as a bona fide apostle of the faith, an "apostle by God's call."

The result is a thorough explication of the role of faith, as opposed to "works," and a perspective from which to look at the various issues of injustice. Paul's letter to the Romans is not only thoroughly realistic—some would say pessimistic—about human nature, but it is equally forceful about God, the God who acts.

At a time in which human culpability and man's inhumanity to man

find everyday verification in the columns of Jack Anderson or the press releases of the Pentagon, the only surprise as far as Romans is concerned is why people should still be surprised about all this. "I told you so," could sum up Paul's view. All alike are "under the power of sin . . . there is no one to show kindness, no, not one . . . all alike have sinned and are deprived of the divine splendour . . ." etc. Not for Paul is there much benefit in naive notions about man's upward progress, or in the traditionally liberal point of view that a little education here and there will solve these problems. That sort of diagnosis, Paul might say, has gotten the world into trouble before. Evil can multiply before the people of good will can recognize it for what it is (as happened with the rise of Nazism) and the result can be "divine retribution revealed from heaven and falling upon the godless wickedness of men" (1:18).

It must be acknowledged that this sort of diagnosis can lead very quickly to simple escapism. This includes not only those whose response to social issues goes no further than hand-lettered signs on the side of the road or on subway walls, but also those of us who don't vote because "the system doesn't change" or "all politicians are corrupt." Or those of us who wouldn't help a person because "it wouldn't make any difference, anyway." Or those of us unconcerned about prisons because "they're getting what they deserve."

The Christian agrees that the situation as far as human nature is concerned is definitely critical. But he also says that something has been done about it. For Paul, that something is an entirely new order, a new age. If we substitute the word "man's" for the word "Adam's" (for Adam means man in Hebrew) we can see the force of Paul's thinking in such statements as this: "But God's act of grace is out of all proportion to Adam's wrongdoing. For if the wrongdoing of that one man brought death upon so many, its effect is vastly exceeded by the grace of God and the gift that came to so many by the grace of the one man, Jesus Christ" (5:15). That is, there is a New Humanity, a new Man in the place of the old Adam. A new order has begun. It was begun in Christ, specifically in the death and resurrection of Christ, and

romans on the way
"god's way"



it will not reach its fulfillment until the end of time (which Paul expected to be soon) but we already know something of it now. In a sense, it is coming but it is already here. In 3:21 the first word is *nuni*, now, and it means that what for others is only a future hope is for Paul a present reality.

The new order is a complete reversal of the former relationship between God and man. "We . . . exult in God through our Lord Jesus, through

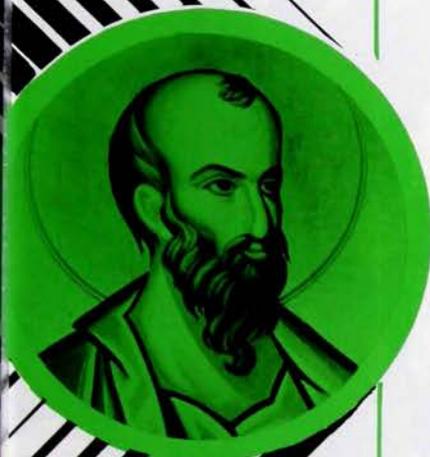
on God's righteousness. Now this does not refer to the fact that God is holy or pure. It refers instead to what God *does*. As in Psalm 98: "Sing a new song to the Lord, for he has done marvellous deeds . . . he has displayed his righteousness." God delivers people from oppression. And he also vindicates them, putting them in the right even when they don't deserve it. This is the force of Paul's usage of the word in Romans, and it is well translated by the New English Bible as "God's way of righting wrong" (1:17). Paul is not trying to say that what God does is make people "righteous." In fact, many of the old constraints of sin continue, as Paul could attest: "The good which I want to do, I fail to do; but what I do is the wrong which is against my will." But he does declare that God's action in Christ, when grasped by faith, puts people in a situation *vis a vis* God that it is *as if* they were "righteous." They are delivered from the oppression of sin because, although sin has its force, yet does grace have all the more force (but this doesn't mean you should sin all the more, says Paul).

Secondly, because God's righteousness is a *doing* kind of righteousness and because the initiative in overcoming sin is entirely God's, man's response must be of the same nature. Paul strikes this note at the beginning of his epistle with: "It is not by hearing the Law but by doing it that men will be justified before God" (2:13) and "for every well-doer there will be glory, honor and peace . . ." (2:10), continues it in his comparison between the old humanity and the New Humanity: "As you once yielded your bodies to the service of impurity and lawlessness, making for moral anarchy, so now you must yield them to the service of righteousness, making for a holy life" (note that, consistent with the foregoing view of righteousness, it is service that makes for holiness, not the other way around). And then, from chapter 12 on, Paul spells out the consequences of the faith in practical, ethical terms, including both acts and attitudes of service. "Love with sincerity, loath evil, cling to the good . . . contribute to the needs of God's people, and practice hospitality. Call down blessings on your persecutors. . . . Care as much about each other as about yourselves. Do not be haughty, but go about with humble folk. Do not keep thinking

how wise you are. Never pay back evil for evil. . . . Let us cease judging one another. . . . Let us then pursue the things that make for peace and build up the common life. . . ."

Finally, the new order is not a bunch of individuals running around doing their "thing" separately. It is the *body* of Christ, they are *together* the New Humanity. Paul, I think, meant this quite literally, even crudely, and would have been startled at the individualism that is emphasized in so much of contemporary Christianity—an individualism which is often at the expense of concern for social justice. For Paul, the connection of the new humanity with Christ was just as real as the connection of the old humanity with Adam: "As the issue of one misdeed was condemnation for all men, so the issue of one just act is acquittal and life for all men" (5:18). Scholars refer to this concept as "corporate personality"—the unity of individuals in a group so that corporately they act with one personality, or see the whole as more important than the individual parts. Perhaps today in America only the American Indian can explain the meaning behind this symbol, and thereby he might explain to the rest of us what Paul meant by the "body" of Christ. Scholars also say this is a "primitive" understanding of man, even though poets and philosophers and anthropologists have always emphasized our common life and destiny. As Professor John Knox says: "However important human individuality may be, it is individuality created within, and therefore largely limited by, the matrix of a common life." Clearly, it is in the direction of a renewal of the full meaning of the "body of Christ" and our corporate dependence, not in the direction of unchecked individualism, that we must look for impetus on the questions of justice today.

In the face of today's injustices Romans does not quite speak with the ringing voice of Old Testament prophecy, or even with the force of Jesus' parables. Nevertheless, it holds up for us a way in which persons of faith can perceive God's activity in the world, "righting wrong" and bringing forth a New Humanity which is the "first fruits of the harvest to come"—Christians who together are "now freed from the commands of sin, bound to the service of God." ■



by charles e. brewster

whom we have now been granted reconciliation." The New Humanity are those called by grace, who know themselves to be forgiven, who now regard themselves "in union with Christ Jesus" as being "dead to sin and alive to God" (6:11) and therefore "live in the life-giving law of the Spirit" (7:6). As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive.

There are several points here that especially deserve our attention. In the first place, the new order is based



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Jerry DeMuth

DESPAIR

AND HOPE IN

A miner sat on a swing on the porch of his home in a mountain hollow in Letcher County, Eastern Kentucky.

"I don't know why people don't do more for a coal miner," he commented. "I don't think they know what he is."

He's been working in the mines for some 30 years and is presently a foreman at one of the few remaining deep mines in the country. The mountains that rose above his home on either side were losing their beauty to the strip mines which are replacing the deep mines.

"I'm making good money now but I'd rather live back when I started in the mines," he continued. "People were happier, the country was beautiful then. Back then you could go out to any stream and drink the water. If you come back two years from now you won't even know this country."

He was speaking freely, but with the understanding that he wouldn't be identified. Mountain people usually don't like to talk openly to others. They don't trust strangers and there's always the fear that the coal companies might find out what they say—or that the stranger might be a company man—and they'll lose their jobs. Mining is all that there is for most people.

"Nothing can stand in the way of their mining coal," he went on. "That's the story of it all. All they're interested in is that block of coal. They don't care what happens to the homes or the people or anything.

"I just don't see any hope for the people here," he added.

Mining, as it always has been, is the only industry in the mountains. Before, the deep mines killed and maimed men through cave-ins, explosions and other accidents and destroyed miners' health through black lung disease from coal dust. Today, strip mines are destroying the land—mountain sides are removed, timber wasted, wildlife driven out, streams polluted—the mountains tumble down, covering roads and farms and streams, damaging homes and causing flooding.

Before, the mines destroyed the people. Now, the mines are destroying the people's lands and as a mountain carpenter remarked, "The mountains is all we have."

"The only recreation mountain people have had is hunting and fishing and strip mining wipes it out," said Arnold Miller, the 48-year-old director of the Black Lung Association and a victim of black lung from the 27 years he spent in the mines since he was 16.

Mountain people also hate the strip mines because they employ few people. It only takes one-fifth as many men working a strip mine to produce as much coal as a deep mine.

"They talk about creating jobs with strip mining," the Letcher County miner said. "You go to the courthouse in Whitesburg on any day when they're giving out food stamps and you can't get near the town. And then they talk of jobs."

Families whose property has been damaged by slides from strip mines have trouble collecting damages.

Three times slides have struck the property of the Bert Caudills in Isom, Kentucky. Rocks and mud have covered their fruit trees, barn, pig sty and part of their pasture, forcing them to sell their six head of cattle.

"We paid \$2100 for this property 14 years ago but all we've been offered after the slides is \$500," said Mrs. Ruby Caudill. "The insurance company wouldn't pay off. They said it was an act of God."

Heavy rains and storms caused the slides but the rock and dirt was piled up above their home by the strip mine company.

"You can go make a complaint but it doesn't do a bit of good," said a miner from a nearby town whose home was flooded last spring as the result of a strip mine operation. "The county judge is in the coal business."

Strip mining companies, under broad form deeds dating back generations, hold the mineral rights to many families' properties and can do anything necessary to remove coal and other minerals, even if it destroys a family's home.

"All the surface owner is, is a tenant," commented John Roberts, assistant director of the division of strip mining and reclamation of the West Virginia Department of Natural Resources. "There is no provision in the law where we can take action to get a surface owner damage."

APPALACHIA



Just as mountain families have little recourse when their property is destroyed, so do they have little hope when their health is destroyed. Most of the miners suffering from black lung have been denied benefits by the states and by the Social Security Administration which administers the federal black lung law.

"The Social Security Administration's regulations are absolutely unenlightened," said Dr. Donald L. Rasmussen, director of the pulmonary lab at the Beckley, West Virginia, Appalachian Regional Hospital. "They're precisely the regulations the coal industry has used all these years."

It is not unusual then that Dr. I. E. Buff, a black lung fighter from Charleston, West Virginia, should comment: "Miners have no faith in anything. They are used to being taken advantage of."

Some organizations, such as Save Our Kentucky, and some leaders, such as U. S. Congressman Ken Hechler of West Virginia, are fighting to ban strip mining and replace the process with well-regulated deep mines. Others are taking steps to provide mountain families with health care and jobs.

The Black Lung Association, Doctors Rasmussen and Buff and others are leading a battle for improved black lung benefit laws on the state and federal level as well as fighting so that miners with the disease can get benefits and new jobs. Dr. Rasmussen, through research at his lab, is also trying to show what is wrong with present black lung benefit laws regulations. Dr. Buff, who speaks several times a week before groups of miners, tries to tell them the facts of the disease and the benefit laws and also encourages them to press for increased benefits. So does the Black Lung Association.

More and more community workers, many with church related programs, are helping miners apply for black lung benefits and then helping them appeal when they are turned down.

Volunteer doctors staff on a part-time basis health clinics in such communities as Clairfield, Jellico and White Oak, Tennessee, and Frakes, Kentucky. They and others hope to affiliate all of these clinics with a nearby hospital.

Natural and man-made disasters have long been part of the rhythm of life in Appalachia. The latest disaster, the result of a flood which occurred when a coal waste pile across a tributary of Buffalo Creek in West Virginia gave way, left 70 persons dead. A strong faith sustains the Appalachian people. Today CORA, a coalition of 17 Christian communions and ten state councils of churches, is working to improve life in the area.





"The earth is the Lord's and th

In Whitesburg, Kentucky, volunteer Mennonite doctors, all doing alternative service, have staffed the Daniel Boone clinic at the Appalachian Regional Hospital for the past seven years.

"There are few health facilities in the area," said Dr. Bill Dow, who works at the White Oak, Tennessee, clinic. "What there are are just swamped and there's not adequate personnel.

"Most people when they get sick, they're not used to seeing anybody until their condition gets really bad. Then they got a problem on their hands. Just changing the emphasis from crisis medicine to early diagnosis and prevention is one of the biggest problems.

"People come in for one thing," explained the doctor, a Vanderbilt University graduate who is doing his internship at the clinic, "and then when we examine them we find out more.

"Hypertension is a predominant disease and diet has a lot to do with it. Dieting is one of the toughest problems you can deal with.

"A lot of kids have worms ranging from pin worms, which can't cause much harm, to round worms. Three years ago at a Head Start school near here they discovered that 50 per cent of the kids had parasites.

"I've seen a lot of chronic lung diseases," he added. "A lot of people come in for that. We also deal a lot with urinary tract infection."

Employment efforts in Central Appalachia are on a small scale but even the smallest employment project can have a large impact given the economic situation. In Breathitt County, Kentucky, employment increased 13 per cent in January 1971 when a small chair factory opened. It only employs five people but then

total employment in the county—excluding education, highway and other government service jobs—was only 39 people in three small industries.

The factory, the Sulphur Gap Chair Factory and Wood Works, began after Oscar Hensley, a local chairmaker, contacted the Rev. Ben Poage, head of the Grass Roots Economic Development Corp., about financing a larger operation. Technical assistance was supplied with the help of the Commission on Religion in Appalachia.

In Clairfield, Tennessee, the town's first non-coal industry, a wood pallet factory opened in June, 1971. It employs 14 people in the manufacture of the pallets which are used to store items in factories and warehouses so they can be easily moved by forklift trucks. The factory also helped establish a saw mill with three employees to supply it with wood.

The factory was started as a result of a year's work by members of the Federation of Communities in Service (FOCIS), a mountain-based group which was started five years ago by a group of former Glenmary Catholic Sisters.

"All there is around here is strip mining besides this," commented Charles York, the factory's foreman.

"The factory has brought a new life to the people," said Bobby Loveday, plant manager. "The parents of many workers here are either on welfare or food stamps and they could've done the same thing. This goes to show that they do want to work. I had to turn away 28 people who applied for work before we opened and they still come in here all the time looking for a job."

Other employment efforts are aimed at farming. The Grass Roots

Economic Development Corp. is helping set up co-ops which raise rabbits for sale as food while a Mennonite project based in Whitesburg, Kentucky, is also helping families raise rabbits for both food and research use. Some 16 counties in Eastern Kentucky are involved in rabbit raising.

The Mennonites, whose group includes members of other faiths, also have helped start tomato and potato growing co-ops—last year's potato crop was sold mainly to a nearby potato chip factory—and are helping families raise heifers and feeder pigs. The pigs are raised from birth to the time they achieve 40 pounds—the period when they need the most care—and then they are sold to northern grain farmers who raise them to slaughter weight.

Other religious backed programs also are involved in feeder pig operations.

About 5,000 persons in the mountains are involved in producing crafts for sale. The groups, many belonging to the Federation of Appalachian Craft Groups, include FOCIS's Model Valley Folk Arts in Clairfield, Tennessee, which makes totebags, and Hill 'N' Hollow Crafts, a Mennonite-rooted group in Whitesburg, Kentucky, which has 25 families mainly making stuffed dolls and animals.

Hill 'N' Hollow is an off-shoot of the Mennonite's Letcher County Family Services which provides homemaking, sewing, budgeting and other services not provided by official agencies. The craft program arose out of the need to provide families they served with additional income. Family Services also helped one man finance a woodworking shop and he now makes and sells cradles, coat racks, nut and salad

the fulness thereof."

bowls, bread boards and other wood crafts.

Even a craft project can as much as double a family's income since average income for a mountain hollow family is only \$1,000.

Factory and farm jobs are considered the most helpful for in addition to providing alternatives to mining they may help stabilize the population and slow the youth exodus. Presently 60 per cent of the population of the mountains is either over 65 or under 21 years of age.

"People don't want to leave the mountains," said the pallet factory's Loveday. "They leave because of jobs. I know people who've been gone 25-30 years and still want to come back."

Many women who have lost husbands in the mines—such as in the November 28, 1968, Farmington, West Virginia, disaster that killed 78 or the December 30, 1970, explosion at the Finley Brothers Coal Co. mine on Hurricane Creek near Wooten, Kentucky, that killed 39—have organized to try to change the destructiveness of the life that is forced on mountain families.

"Our purpose," said Mrs. Bonnie Roberts, head of the Survivors of the Hurricane Creek Massacre, "is to keep children in school and young men out of the coal mines. We want better educational opportunities and the development of jobs and industries so that people will no longer be forced into working the mines."

The many efforts now taking place in Appalachia may eventually bring about that change, end the defeatism and despair of the people and give them some hope. ■

Mr. DeMuth is a reporter for the Chicago Sun-Times and a frequent contributor to church publications.

CORA on Strip Mining

"The effects of strip mining on the environment and on people living in the affected areas are important and constitute a moral issue.

"Regulatory legislation, which is fair, uniform, enforceable and fully enforced is essential to protect the environment, the people and the communities affected and those operators who are ready and willing to assume responsibility for mining without damage to environment or people.

"The legislation should, as a minimum, ban stripping where reclamation is not possible. It should require genuine reclamation wherever stripping is permitted.

"Research should be pushed in search of less damaging techniques of mining and more effective reclamation techniques."

This is the position of the Commission on Religion in Appalachia (CORA), a coalition of seventeen Christian communions and ten state councils of churches working together to deal with the religious, moral and spiritual aspects of the economic, social and cultural conditions in Appalachia.

In its statement of concern, adopted March 15, CORA recognized that there is "no consensus" among Christians on the issue of strip mining. Those opposed to a total ban argue that strip mining is the easiest way to provide coal needed to meet growing demands for electric power. Proponents of banning believe stripping results in envi-

ronmental damage, undermines local economies, dislocates people and destroys natural beauty.

CORA calls on members of its constituent communions to study the problem, and politically support their conclusions, bearing in mind requirements of stewardship, ecological balance, community stability, and the well-being of the people of the region and mankind as a whole.

CORA's own Christian assumptions are fourfold:

"The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof; the world and they that dwell therein' (Ps. 24:1). God is the creator of the earth and of man. All resources of the earth belong to God. Their use by man must at all times be governed by His laws and guided by His purposes.

"Man is a steward, entrusted by God with the care and use of earth's resources. Private ownership of property is a man-made institution which, like all other human structures and institutions, must be disciplined and guided by the over-arching responsibility of stewardship.

"God, in His providence, has given us a planet contrived with remarkable ecological balance. A fundamental aspect of man's stewardship relates to the preservation of that marvelous and delicate balance.

"It is God's will that the resources of the earth be developed, conserved and used in ways which will bring maximum benefit, fulfillment and abundance of life to all his children, i.e. to all people."

"There is a growing concern in Asian churches about the use of natural resources. Natural resources like oil are finite, they are limited, and how they are used in a developing nation is clearly a theological question. They are God-given, not man-created, and they certainly should not be exploited simply by the rich. There's a growing dismay that the developed nations thrive off the resources of the underdeveloped nations."

Bishop Yap Kim Hao,
The Methodist Church of
Malaysia and Singapore

In the past two years the substantial continental shelves of Southeast Asia have become the scene of intensive oil explorations. The big international oil companies, as well as many smaller prospectors hoping to find "black gold," have poured men, money and machines into the area in a massive way.

The focus of what can legitimately be described as an oil boom has been Indonesia and the tiny enclave of Brunei in north Borneo, both with a long history of oil production. Indonesia, in fact, was fifth in the world in oil production before World War II. Japan drove south at the beginning of World War II precisely to gain control of Indonesia's Sumatran oil fields.

The most substantial current activity still lies in these two states, but Malaysia, Thailand and Cambodia have let concessions on most of their offshore waters and South Viet Nam is in the process of receiving bids. The Philippines, with good oil prospects, has not yet made significant oil strikes and has not decided whether to make a major governmental effort in explorations. Even isolationist Burma's national oil company has contracted with an American drilling firm for offshore drilling in its Gulf of Martaban. Singapore has blossomed in the past few years into the largest oil refining center between the

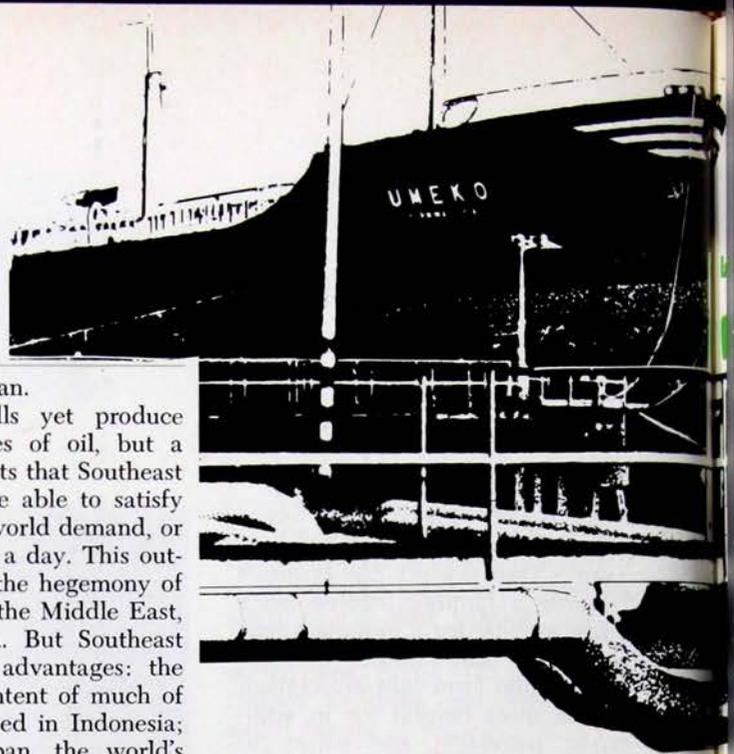
Middle East and Japan.

Few offshore wells yet produce commercial quantities of oil, but a careful survey suggests that Southeast Asia may by 1980 be able to satisfy about 10 percent of world demand, or seven million barrels a day. This output would not rival the hegemony of great producers like the Middle East, the U.S. and Russia. But Southeast Asian oil has other advantages: the very low sulphur content of much of the oil so far produced in Indonesia; its proximity to Japan, the world's major oil importer; and the opportunity for nations to diversify the areas from which they get oil (especially with the Middle East in constant turmoil).

But the simple presence of even major oil reserves is no panacea for underdevelopment; it only offers possibility. The list is sad and long of nations—the sheikhdoms of the Middle East, larger countries like Saudi Arabia, Venezuela and even Iran—where huge amounts of oil have been found but have profited primarily the oil companies and a few super-rich people. Oil possession is no guarantee of true national development.

Even within Indonesia, which is already producing almost one million barrels a day and where the oil industry is nationalized, there is considerable doubt whether even increasing the production many times over would help the country in the way that it ought. In the first place, Pertamina, the national oil company, has now plowed back as much of the oil or its profits as it might into Indonesia's economy. There is substantial evidence that Pertamina uses some of its increasing wealth to support the army and maintain the current administration.

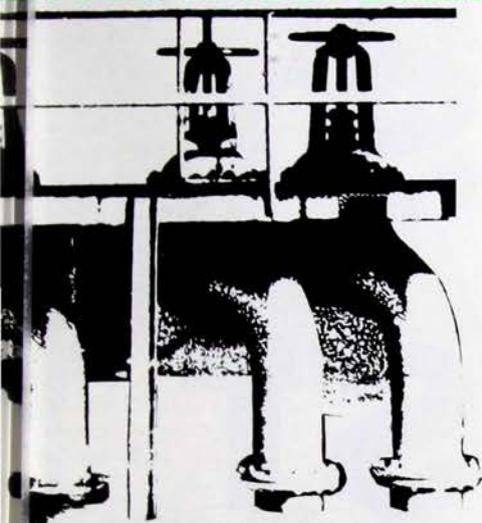
But more important, Indonesian oil, especially that likely to come from the new offshore activity, is being developed by Western international giants—ostensibly under Indonesian control. Indonesia will keep less than 40 percent of the oil and its profits



Vertical lines represent oil-producing areas; horizontal lines, exploring regions, and dots, prospecting areas.



OIL: FOR WHOSE LAMPS?



for its own use. The rest goes to cover the companies' substantial expenses and to maintain their handsome profits.

International oil is a closed system. Shell, Esso, Gulf, British Petroleum, Mobil, Texaco, Chevron and the like find and extract oil, refine, ship and market the products—picking up profits all along the way. And because of the nature of the system it all flows basically one way—from the underdeveloped world to the developed.

Ninety percent of the *exported* oil comes from the developing countries and most of it goes to the developed nations. The United States, the world's large oil producer, exports none. Until recently surpassed by Japan, the U.S. was the world's largest oil importer. (Asia, which has well over half the world's population, produces only three percent of the world's oil—including China's increasing output.)

A country like Indonesia, tempted by substantial income, ties itself into this system and finds almost all of its oil going to drive the industries of the West and Japan. Fifty percent of Indonesia's current production—which amounts to 70 percent of its exports—now goes to Japan and 15 percent to the U.S. Yet if Indonesia is ever going to develop its own industries rather than serve as a low-cost quarry and garden for industrialized nations it ought to use more of that oil—even at some cost in foreign exchange—at home.

Chase Manhattan Bank recently pointed out that if one takes all American oil use—in homes, gasoline, industries, power plants—and divides it by American population, it takes three gallons a day for each American to enjoy his way of life. If the world's estimated 3.75 billion people each used three gallons a day, the world would have to produce five and a half times as much oil. (1971 production was 48 million barrels a day.)

Obviously, that much oil is not available. It just won't go around.

Moreover, none of the alternative sources of energy—nuclear power, solar production, thermal energy, hydroelectricity—can replace oil as the primary energy for industrial progress for many years—probably many decades—to come.

Which raises the question: Should a developing country that finds oil sell most of its precious resource to the developed countries? The return in hard cash in the short run is attractive but how do the developing nations ever close the gap with the industrialized world if they provide the energy for others?

Another question: To what extent do we use our military might to keep pressure on the third world to allow us—and our European and Japanese allies—to use their natural resources to our advantage?

Obviously, if an Indonesia or Thailand or Malaysia produces large amounts of oil, they are going to be better off economically than if they have to continue to bring in ever increasing amounts of oil at ever higher prices.

Yet, given the nature of the world oil and general world economic picture, one can only be pessimistic about whether the discovery of substantial deposits of oil (and increasingly important natural gas) will mean very much for the liberation of people in developing nations.

These are important issues that lie at the heart of whether life for the masses of people in this part of Asia is going to be more meaningful and abundant. On the whole they have not been addressed by the tiny minority Christian community. But a few prophetic individuals have begun to ask how best a people breaks some of the bonds which have prevented growth.

It is a beginning. ■

Leon Howell reports frequently from Southeast Asia. He is co-author, with Michael Morrow, of a book, Oil in Southeast Asia: Profit Into Whose Pocket?, to be published soon.



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FROM PROTEST TO PROGRAM
Mary D. Powers

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AT A TIME when individuals around the country are expressing powerlessness to reform public institutions, a Chicago area group called the Alliance to End Repression has made some notable progress. It helped spark the grand jury investigation of the Fred Hampton and Mark Clark killings, introduced bail reform and opened the procedures of the Chicago Police Board to public accountability. And it is effectively mobilizing "concerned citizen power" to deal with a gamut of issues: community access to cable television; civil liberties in Cairo, Illinois; racial discrimination in the police department; selection of jurors for coroner's inquests.

The name of the organization conjures an image of young militants, but among the Alliance to End Repression's activists are middle-aged, well-groomed, and soft-spoken adults sharing responsibilities with bearded, denim-clad students working within the system. The name of the organization frightens off many people, but it really speaks to what we're trying to do.

"We have a kind of collective, non-charismatic style," says the Rev. John Hill, co-coordinator of the Alliance. "We are basically white, middle-class and nonabrasive. We don't grab microphones at meetings. We don't work in the streets. We're not into the 'crowd' kind of thing.

"We go directly to the decision makers responsible for our government institutions. We attempt to be as sharply honed as we possibly can. We do our homework. We move from protest to program. We push as hard as we can within the limits of legal procedures. And, what's especially important, we stay on the case."

The Alliance is a coalition of about 35 organizations, ranging from storefront community groups in Chicago's black and Latin ghettos to human relations units in the suburbs. Its origin can be traced to the fall of 1969 when a handful of Chicago leaders gathered to consider the growing repression of constitutional rights of the young, the blacks, the poor, and the dissenters. Among the leaders were representatives of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, the Northern Illinois Conference Board of Social Concerns of the United Methodist Church, the American Civil Liberties Union, the

Jewish Committee on Urban Affairs, the American Friends Service Committee, the Black Coalition for United Community Action, the Association of Chicago Priests, the Independent Voters of Illinois and some labor unions.

They decided that a new quality of defense was needed to counteract the growing threats to civil liberties. Repression was entrenched in the legal and criminal justice systems. At the same time it became evident that some public offices could be reformed simply by being required to comply with the laws and statutes governing them. A few months later, with the inclusion of other local leadership and the formation of issue-oriented task forces, the Alliance to End Repression called its first monthly council meeting.

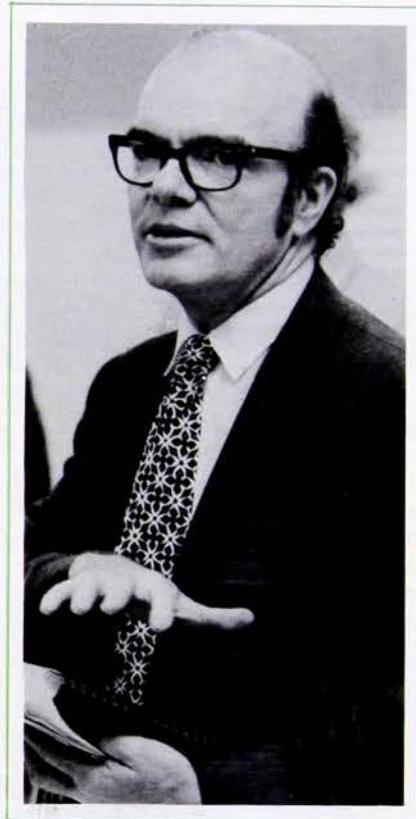
Bail Reform

One of the first and most far-reaching Alliance efforts was bail reform. Hundreds of students, social workers, teachers, clergy and community workers began observing and researching in the weekend Holiday Court, an eye-opening experience. Scores of persons accused of misdemeanors were being "processed" by the court. They found that the average bail hearing lasted forty-five seconds—forty-five seconds in which the judge decided whether the accused might be able to post bond or be sent to jail—often for months—awaiting trial, whether a family might have to join the welfare rolls because of a father's absence, whether a student might lose a semester in school, whether the accused's chances for future employment would be shadowed with a jail record.

Illinois takes pride in having abolished the bail bondsman system, prohibited excessive bail, and made adequate provisions for release on recognizance. (Release on recognizance bonds is granted on the probability of the accused returning to court; determining factors are stability in the community, family ties, length of employment, length of time lived in one place, etc.) Yet release on recognizance was rarely granted. A high proportion of prisoners in the Cook County (Chicago and some suburbs) Jail were awaiting trial.

Following the court-watching

Mary Powers is secretary, Alliance to End Repression.



John Hill, Alliance co-ordinator, speaks before the Civil Rights division of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration investigating racial discrimination in the Chicago Police Department.

phase, a group of about 25 persons comprising the Alliance's Bail Task Force worked for months and finally obtained reluctant permission from the court to initiate an interview and verification program. They enlisted the aid of volunteer lawyers to defend each accused person (all accused persons are offered representation) on the basis of the information obtained in the interview.

"Subjective judgments about whether the accused will show in court are inevitable," says a member of the Special Bail Project, "but we are careful, especially when interviewing repeaters, persons charged with weapons violations, and heavy drug cases."

Release on recognizance bonds are now granted liberally, money bonds are usually reasonable, and, as a result, the inmate population in the Cook County House of Correction is down 400 to 600 people on any given day. Most important, justice is dispensed on a more equal basis regardless of the financial ability of the accused. A follow-up program reminds the accused of his court date. An advisory board of lawyers and community leaders meets monthly.

Bailiffs and other court personnel have become most supportive. Last December when for the first time volunteers were allowed to begin interviewing at 7:30 a.m. instead of at

9 a.m., enabling them to verify much more information before the hearings began, excitement was as high among court personnel as among members of the bail project.

In December the program was extended from misdemeanor to felony court. The aim of the bail project is to see the program become fully institutionalized.

Police—Community Problems

Police problems have been a major focus for the Alliance since its early days. An ad-hoc task force brought together 69 organizations to petition for a grand jury and a special prosecutor to investigate the pre-dawn raid in which Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were killed in December, 1969. The requests were granted, and after many months, indictments were returned against several members of the raiding party and State's Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan. Although charged with conspiracy to obstruct justice, Hanrahan campaigned for—and won!—re-election in the March primary—something which probably could happen only in Chicago.

Racial tension is a constant factor in police-community problems. A small proportion—perhaps 17 percent—of Chicago's policemen are black and there are few black sergeants and lieutenants. There is strong feeling in the black community that the police department discriminates in its hiring and promotion practices.

"The Chicago police blame the Illinois Civil Service Commission for the lack of blacks in higher echelons," says Fred Glick, head of the Police-Community Problems Task Force. "But few of the 70 appointees in certain higher jobs which are exempt from the Commission are black."

The Alliance joined the Afro-American Patrolmen's League in requesting the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration to withhold funds from the Chicago Police Department until an investigation of discrimination is carried out. Police Superintendent James B. Conlisk, Jr. says that no racial identification is kept on department personnel. Fair Employment Practices Commission regulations forbid employers to query prospective workers about their race, he has argued. But Alliance members wonder how the department can comply with federal regulations forbid-

ding discrimination in hiring and promotion without keeping records.

An Alliance attempt to obtain information regarding the authorization of police budget funds for surveillance of peaceful demonstrations, campus rallies and civil rights marches also met with no success.

After futile attempts to get information from Superintendent Conlisk, the Alliance's Police-Community Task Force discovered the existence of a civilian Police Board and began attending monthly meetings.

"The board was as rubber stamp as anything you could imagine," recalls Mr. Glick. "The board had the power to name the superintendent of police, adapt police department regulations, review the budget, and review police disciplinary decisions. But the only thing it had ever done was review rules."

"The first meeting we attended lasted ten minutes. The board president read off the police department orders and rules by number only and the members—all appointees of Mayor Daley—approved them unanimously. We began asking questions. Board members admitted they had just unanimously approved rules but that not one of them could recall specifically what they were about or even the nature of things they concerned."

Civilian Investigator

During the several months of Alliance presence, attendance at police board meetings has grown to close to a hundred citizens. The Police Community Task Force has encouraged the presence at the meeting of people to give support to blacks, whites and Latin spokesmen who press suggestions and questions from the floor. Meetings have been moved from a small conference room with no provision for observers to a large auditorium.

The board now has agreed to make public the general orders and regulations of the Police Department and to consider the Alliance proposal that a civilian be added to the Internal Affairs Division of the Police Department which investigates "sensitive" cases in which police killings of civilians are involved. The appointment of such a person could be a first step to calm fears of the black community that the investigative division is set up to "whitewash" any irresponsible police action.



Police Superintendent Conlisk has agreed to monthly meetings regarding police-community problems. At a March meeting with Mr. Conlisk, Alliance representatives emphasized the high degree of public outrage and concern over police-community relations; if specific cases discussed at the meeting are handled without delay, neighborhood tensions could be allayed.

Preparation to attend meetings is essential, the Rev. John Hill explains. "Before we go into a meeting, we discuss goals, procedures, style, order of questions, contingency planning. When we call for members at a meeting, we want them to be effective. We have to distinguish between rabble-rousing and organizing people for effective action. Preparation also keeps us from manipulating delegations—just using them as 'warm bodies' to strengthen a show of concern. Our approach is to empower and educate people through involvement."

The same kind of careful homework and doggedness is characteristic of other Alliance task forces. The Legislative Task Force is developing grassroots pressure on Congress to defeat repressive bills and support human rights legislation. It has fought for repeal of the Emergency Detention Camp Law of 1950, the defeat of the school prayer amendment and defeat of anti-busing amendments.

The Media Task Force's representative recently testified at the Illinois Commerce Commission hearings stressing the need for community and civic groups to have access to cable television. Members are informing themselves regarding model ordinances.

The Prison Task Force is dealing with problems of inmates of county and state institutions. A Midwest prison action-conference is being planned and task force members are working with church and community representatives in five states to plan alternatives to incarceration.

Civil Rights in Cairo

The Cairo Task Force is attempting to focus public attention on the lack of law enforcement and subsequent repression in that racially torn town in southern Illinois. The Alliance initiated requests from church and interracial organizations to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights to hold hearings in Cairo. Responding, the



James Compton, acting director of the Chicago Urban League, is part of the Alliance delegation petitioning the LEAA Civil Rights investigating team for public hearings. Opposite page, Dorothy Mattox tells the investigating team of personal family tragedy.

Civil Rights Commission held hearings in March in Cairo. One area they investigated was the lack of response by local, state and federal governments to requests for protection of civil rights by the black citizens of Cairo.

Members of the Cairo Task Force spent several months researching and summarizing previous reports on the area's problems. They have produced a document on the need for responsible government intervention to protect the civil liberties and enforcement of justice for the citizens of Cairo. This document was prepared with the approval and cooperation of the black United Front of Cairo and may prove an effective tool for forcing accountability from those seeking public office in Illinois in the fall election.

Endorsements are being sought from church and civil libertarian groups with a dual purpose of adding weight to the recommendations to government officials and to inform concerned citizens as to these violations of civil rights in hopes that informed voters may change the situation in Cairo—and in other little-

known situations across the country.

During the months of editorial work, a major effort was made to involve churches and temples in a four-county area in collections of food and clothing for the people of Cairo.

All the efforts of the Alliance (and there are still other task forces concerned with jury reform, surveillance and political trials) involve the work of hundreds of volunteers with a full time staff of two—associate coordinators, John Hill and Betty Plank.

The key to success, as Father Hill explains it, is "presence." "The first thing is to be present—at the board of correction, the criminal courts, the board of county commissioners, the jury committees of Cook County, the City Council. The presence of people in itself restrains arbitrary judicial action. We must forego the old interpretation of Christian meekness."

Betty Plank added, "Presence and persistence. We are like the widow in Jesus' parable. We keep coming to the 'judges' and whether they believe in the rights for which we push or not, they give, little by little, to get rid of us. They know we won't go away." ■



THE RICH CHRISTIAN

William Toohy

THE CATHOLIC WEEKLY, *Twin Circle*, has a Question-Box-type column conducted by Father William Lester called "The Moral Angle." He was asked: "Is there a limit to how much money we can morally keep if we are rich? For instance, must a person give up everything after the first million dollars?" His reply: ". . . Judging from circumstances in the United States, it seems to me that a man may morally be a multi-millionaire here."

This was a very reassuring response, I am sure; you can imagine the sigh of relief that went up from numerous rich Catholics across the country. The only trouble is the fact that the answer is a dramatic instance of a blindness to reality and deafness to the gospel.

The effort we make to escape the real power of the gospel amounts, at times, to a conspiracy. We are very clever at watering down the word of God and diffusing the explosive power of God's challenging call. A perfect example of this is seen in our interpretation of his teaching about riches and wealth. God has said some very strong, very clear, very definite things on the subject.

From St. James, for instance, we hear: "You rich, weep and wail over your impending miseries. Your wealth has rotted, your fine wardrobe has grown moth-eaten. Your gold and silver have corroded, and their corrosion shall be a testimony against you."



St. Paul goes so far as to consider greed for this world's goods "idolatry"—depending on some creature instead of God for happiness and salvation. No one, however, has been so vehement in pronouncing against riches as Jesus. He claims that it is morally impossible for a rich man to be saved. So impossible is it, as a matter of fact, that "a camel could more easily squeeze through the eye of a needle than a rich man get into the kingdom of God."

For years men have tried to escape

the obvious meaning of Jesus' words. Hence we get beautiful rationalizations like the following: "In Hebrew the word for 'cable' is a variant of the word for 'camel'; so perhaps Jesus really meant cable. And 'eye of a needle' might refer to a particularly narrow gate in Jerusalem. We see, consequently, that it would not be so hard for a cable to pass through a gate in a wall." Unfortunately, this exercise in wishful thinking fails to gain authentic scholarly support; so one is stuck with Jesus' hard pronouncement. As [G. K.] Chesterton once put it, we can commission our most ingenious manufacturer to produce the world's largest needle and our explorers to search out the smallest camel, and still it will not help very much our effort to escape from the full import of Jesus' words: It is morally impossible for a rich man to attain salvation. "How miserable for you who are rich, for you have had all your comforts" (Luke 6:24).

Jesus makes the remark about the camel and the eye of the needle following his conversation with the young man who asked what he had to do to secure eternal life. When it was ascertained that he had already been keeping the commandments, he realized that this was not enough. He asked Jesus, "What is still missing in my life?" Jesus then told him, "If you want to be perfect, go now and sell your property and give the money away to the poor; you will have

riches in heaven. Then come and follow me." We try to water this down, too. We argue that, in using the word "perfect," Jesus was calling him to a very special vocation. We've tried to ease the challenge of the word of God by suggesting that Jesus was calling this man to take a special vow of poverty. But we find out that when Jesus said, "If you want to be perfect," it was precisely the same as saying, "If you want to be a Christian—if you want to be a disciple." Jesus called this man to follow him, as he calls all of us to follow him. As John McKenzie points out, "The man does not become a disciple, and the only invitation Jesus gives him is the call to renounce his wealth."

It's obvious that the disciples of Jesus realized the implications of his message; that's precisely why they were so amazed to hear what he said. They were astounded largely because they had been living under the delusion of a popular myth of that time (still very much with us)—the belief that riches and wealth were a sign of God's favor and pleasure. Now Jesus comes along and says that not only are riches and wealth not a sign of God's favor but a serious obstacle to entering the kingdom of God.

The disciples said to Jesus, "If this is so, then who can possibly be saved?" Jesus looked them straight in the eye and replied, "Humanly speaking, it is impossible, but with God anything is possible." We have exercised a final rationalization on this declaration, proposing that Jesus meant that by a miracle it would be possible for a rich man to remain rich and still enter the kingdom of heaven. But Jesus isn't saying this at all. When he refers to the impossible becoming possible through God's help, he means that though it is so extremely difficult for us to free ourselves from the wealth and riches to which we are so attached, we can, with God's inspiration, do what otherwise would be impossible.

Jesus makes another significant point about riches in the parable of the rich man who decided to build bigger barns for himself to store all his wealth. When Jesus speaks about this man being "asked for his soul," he isn't speaking about sudden death, but the daily account demanded from a soul, based on the response to the need for love. In other words, Jesus is not simply warning against hord-

ing great possessions, as though it is all right to be rich just as long as you keep spending. He is condemning being rich in the first place, a far cry from what some would have his parable mean, namely, a mild rendition of "Don't get stuck with a lot of wealth at the end, for you can't take it with you."

God's comments on wealth and riches as an obstacle to salvation confront us with a very clear and hard (and highly unpopular) teaching. Anyone who has tried to preach this aspect of the gospel can tell you about the cold reception it frequently gets from the congregation. I attempted to preach on the subject recently, and afterwards a friend came up and reported that she had sat just ahead of a woman who kept commenting throughout the homily, "That's ridiculous; what's he trying to push off on us; who's he trying to kid?"

Why *does* Jesus say what he does? Is it because he is trying to promote poverty (we have a war against it!) for its own sake? Is it because he's trying to suggest distrust and contempt for the goods of this world and material possessions in general? None of these. There is no merit in a kind of passive indigence, or ritual non-possession. As a matter of fact, similar attitudes have led to great aberrations in the history of the church. No, Jesus presents a very positive gospel; and he says what he does about riches because it follows from the commandment of love. It *has* to be impossible for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven. For if a man is to gain eternal life he must love his neighbor, and when you do that you don't have riches left over.

Being without riches and wealth becomes an unavoidable consequence. The whole thrust is outward, directed toward the need of others. A person who does this inevitably finds that it just so happens that when you try to be a Christian, you don't end up with riches. The gospel call is a call to gratuitously share with others, in the name of Jesus, the material goods we have—sharing them especially with those who most need them.

The basis for the whole gospel message of Jesus about wealth and riches is the crucial truth we have already emphasized—the relationship all men have with one another. The problem stems from our failure to recognize our relatives—all our relatives.

Let me give you an example. Imagine that I am solely responsible for the care of my two brothers and two sisters. Suppose you visit us in our home and you see us seated around the table, everybody nicely dressed, warm, comfortable, enjoying a wonderful meal—all except one little sister of mine, whom you notice, with horror, sitting at the table in a tattered dress, obviously diseased, quite literally starving to death. You find this incredible; you are unable to believe anybody who professes to love God could be so insensitive to the needs of his blood relation. Our problem, you see, is in failing to recognize that there are, in fact, many brothers and sisters of ours seated at our table in tatters, plagued with sickness, burdened with starvation.

Consequently, a Christian who is a rich man is really a blind man for he fails to see that there are children and people of all ages at his table in desperate need of help (recognize your relatives, for example, in the pictures we see of the suffering thousands in Vietnam and Pakistan). A wealthy man makes a travesty of Christian commitment if he fails to realize that he is a mere steward of God's creation, that the material possessions he has have been entrusted to him for distribution according to the needs of others. A wealthy and rich Christian is a contradiction in terms precisely because such a man fails to recognize that God has desired to share his creation equally with all men, all of whom, without discrimination, are his children. A wealthy man can find salvation only when he finds it in his heart to see that riches and wealth are not a sign of God's favor, but a sign of God's command to share with those most in need.

We fail to see that there is a great difference between a mere distribution of surplus, what we can spare, what is over and above, what will not really cost anything—there is a great difference between this and authentic giving, which is a matter of sacrificing. Jesus tried to illustrate this when he saw the widow drop two coins into the treasury. He said this about her: "I assure you that this poor widow has put in more than all of them (the rich people dropping their contributions into the treasury) for they have all put in what they can easily spare but she in her poverty has given away her whole living." The offering that

comes from superfluity and does not actually deprive the giver of something is, Jesus claims, of little account.

To our great shame, we have a long history of catering to the rich. We bow and scrape before those who bestow upon us their tax-deductible offerings of surplus, declaring them great philanthropists and humanitarians. We have been guilty of expecting a man to thank us for giving him an alms, when it is just the other way around: We should thank him for freeing us from what could very likely be an obstacle to salvation. We should thank him for allowing us to make restitution and do something about correcting the horrible imbalance of God's creation, a disproportion evident in the fact that 20 per cent of the world population controls 80 per cent of the wealth. The truth is especially shattering for Americans. We live in a country that, as Martin Luther King noted, is like a giant Dives, the rich man sent to hell for failing to minister to poor Lazarus at his gate. We also have failed to attend to the needy at our doorway.

Jesus' gospel is quite simple: He simply asks us to recognize the facts—that we are all brothers and sisters and need to care for one another. When one does this, there is no wealth left over to worry about.

We in the Church have not even begun to consider the implications of the gospel of Jesus about wealth and riches, precisely because we have hardly started to sensitize ourselves to the fact that we are all members of one family, responsible for the care of those who are truly our relatives.

When and if we do begin to wrestle with Jesus' teaching on riches and wealth, we will undoubtedly discover that it will mean something different for each of us, with respect to its specific implications. In other words, if you ask Jesus what his teaching implies for you personally, he enunciates the basic message (share freely with those who most need your love to the best of your ability) and leaves the particular details to your own conscience. Some of us who hate making moral decisions with personal effort would probably be delighted if Jesus would provide a handy checklist to satisfy all our questions—"Do I have to sell my jewelry? What price steaks can I buy? Can a Christian drive a Cadillac? What about summer

vacation expenses, a house at the lake and a boat?"—but he won't do it. Jesus does not spell out in neat blacks and whites all the specific ramifications for every person in every possible circumstance; he expects us to do some honest soul-searching on our own.

In doing this, of course, he flatters us: A sincere Christian, conscientious about loving all those who are his brothers and sisters, will do what he honestly believes is the most loving thing whenever action is demanded. But Jesus does more than that, thank God. He has promised us his Spirit, without which we could never act with the desired awareness and sensitivity. Consequently, with his inspiration and our sincere efforts we can, with a positive, loving, joyful, dynamic, gratuitous sharing, open our-

selves to those in need.

It is not a question of distributing what we have over and above (the superfluity), but of giving what we *are* (hopefully, a great deal). In freely and joyfully sharing with men in need, we reach and touch God, who said that this is in fact what we do when we minister to others, even the least of his brethren. We will come to see that, as a result, we have opened and reached out and touched salvation. That is when we will know—finally—what it really means to be rich. ■

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JOHN WESLEY AND
CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM

WHY DO YOU NOT DEAL YOUR BREAD TO THE HUNGRY?

In his book, *The Christian Socialist Movement in England*, G. C. Binyon lists John Wesley as one of three persons who played noteworthy parts in the religio-social life of the period in which socialism arose in England. I believe Binyon's designation is appropriate, and that Wesley's spirit would have continued to be a prominent force in the rise of socialism had his followers not strayed from the more rigorous demands of his ethical teaching.

The background against which Wesley's economic ethics appears is an 18th-century England more prosperous than it had been for many years. With an immense increase in national wealth, however, the inequalities of its distribution had been aggravated. The Christian ethical tradition had evolved by this time to a point where economic activity and evidence of prosperity were no longer regarded as subversive of true religion, but accepted, and sometimes even regarded as marks of divine favor. Wesley shared this tradition in sanctioning economic activity; he broke from it in refusing to accept the existence of wealth as a sign of providential favor, maintaining that riches,

unless employed for the benefit of the community, are indeed destructive of true Christianity.

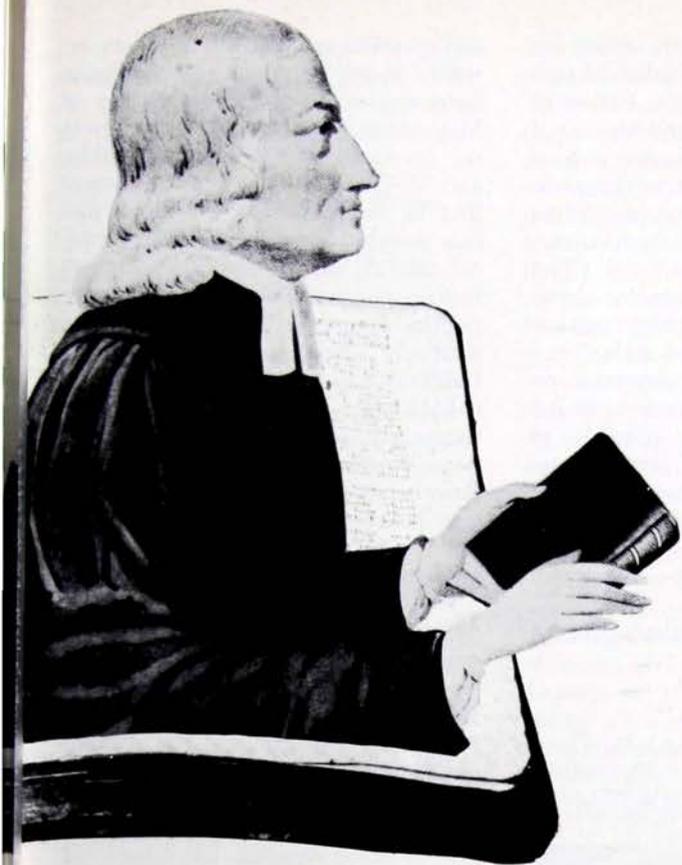
Wesley's approval of economic pursuits was conditional upon any surplus existing after one's basic necessities were provided for being given to others less fortunate. Methodists were encouraged to gain and save for the express purpose of meeting human needs and relieving social distress, seeing money as that "precious talent . . . which contains all the rest." As long as it is not at the expense of his own health or his neighbor's well-being, one is to gain all he can. He is to save all he can by avoiding all superfluous expenses involved in gratifying "desires of the flesh" (manifest in "elegant epicurism" as well as gluttony or drunkenness) and "the pride of life" (purchasing apparel or furniture to gain "admiration or praise of men"). Simple but adequate food, clothing, and shelter for oneself and one's household are proper objects of expenditure; but "whoever has sufficient food to eat, and raiment to put on, with a place where to lay his head, and something over, is *rich*" and is to use his "riches" for the relief of the poor.

The Proprietor of All Things

In calling for such a willingness to give away all above that which provides necessities, Wesley was not acting merely out of human sympathy and Christian compassion; this radical demand upon his followers sprang from Wesley's theory of ownership. In Wesley's mind, the proprietor of all things is God. Inasmuch as one has money and property at his disposal, it is because he has been entrusted with these goods "for a season" as God's steward. As a steward, one "is not at liberty to use what is lodged in his hands as *he* pleases, but as his Master pleases." And the way the Master pleases is clear:

"Do you not know that God entrusted you with that money (all above what buys necessities for your families) to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to help the stranger, the widow, the fatherless; and indeed, as far as it will go, to relieve the wants of all mankind?"

This position understandably led Wesley to defend seriously the communistic ideal of the primitive church and to consider inaugurating a similar arrangement of distribution among



By Douglas Tanner

the early bands and societies. (It also caused enough consternation during Wesley's lifetime to lead a critic to publish a pamphlet seeking to dissuade "all serious and well-disposed Methodists" from "their Notion of the Community of Christian Men's Goods," and after his death to impel Thomas Coke, in attempting to codify Wesleyan doctrine, to declare that "the riches and goods of Christians are not common as touching the right, title, and possession of the same, as some do falsely boast.")

On this divine-ownership ground, Wesley charged those who wasted or held onto their surplus with culpability for the dire straits of others:

"Many of your brethren, beloved of God, have not food to eat; they have not raiment to put on; they have not a place where to lay their head. And why are they thus distressed? Because *you* impiously, unjustly, and cruelly detain from them what your Master and theirs lodges in *your* hands on purpose to supply *their* wants! See that poor member of Christ, pinched with hunger, shivering with cold, half naked! Meantime you have plenty of this world's goods, —of meat, drink, and apparel . . . Why

do you not deal your bread to the hungry, and cover the naked with a garment?"

Those who fail to give all above that required to provide basic necessities for themselves and their families

"are not only robbing God, continually embezzling and wasting their Lord's goods . . . but also robbing the poor, the hungry, the naked; wronging the widow and the fatherless; and making themselves accountable for all the want, affliction, and distress which they may but do not remove."

Divine ownership makes the assertion that one can *afford* unnecessary expenses "the quintessence of nonsense" and "diabolical cant."

That wealth is laid up at the expense of the poor, contrary to God's commandment, constitutes for Wesley the first moral imperative to give it away. The second grows out of the corrosive effect that riches have on the Christian life. Wesley's warning on this matter is related to his concern for the salvation of persons' souls from the wrath to come, but it is more expressly addressed to the traps

which wealth sets in the way of Christian perfection. Regarding perfection as a true and workable remedy for social disease, Wesley describes the character of the process as meaning "not barely, according to the vulgar notion, deliverance from hell, or going to heaven; but a present deliverance from sin, a restoration of the soul to its primitive health, its original purity." Striving for perfection is striving "to have the mind that was in Christ, and to walk as Christ walked." And to Wesley, the response of the rich young ruler to Jesus' words is evidence that such a course is next to impossible for a wealthy person to set out upon, much less travel. Riches are a hindrance to humility, meekness, and loving one's neighbor as himself. Those, therefore, who observe Wesley's first two rules—"Gain all you can" and "Save all you can"—but disregard the third—"Give all you can"—"will be two fold more the children of hell than they ever were before," in both their temporal and eternal estates. The message is summarized in Wesley's statement: "If, therefore, you do not spend your money in doing good to others, you must spend it to the hurt of yourself."

Having established such a prin-

ciple, Wesley did not only exhort his followers to adopt it; he adhered to it himself rigorously. While a Fellow of Lincoln College, he figured his cost of living at twenty-eight pounds a year, and continued to maintain the same standard for the rest of his life, giving away all the rest of his ever-increasing income. In 1743, he wrote: "If I leave behind me ten pounds . . . you and all mankind bear witness against me that I lived and died a thief and a robber"; forty-seven years later, on the eve of his death, Wesley entered in his Journal: "For upwards of eighty-six years I have kept my accounts exactly. I will not attempt it any longer, being satisfied with the continual conviction that I save all I can, and give all I can—that is, all I have."

Dealing with John Wesley's political

The public preaching of John Wesley on Christian morality and the importance of sharing was often less than persuasive to his hearers.



theory raises another set of issues involved in any judgment on the affinity between socialism and the Father of Methodism. That Wesley himself was no revolutionary is unquestionable, and Wellman T. Warner's statement that he did not seem to realize just how revolutionary his economic-ethical position was is true. Wesley sets forth his consciously conservative political perspective in a pamphlet entitled "Thoughts Concerning the Origin of Power": "Now, I cannot but acknowledge, I believe an old book, commonly called the Bible, to be true. Therefore I believe, 'there is no power but from God: The powers that be are ordained of God.' (Rom. xiii:1)" His Tory background and his appreciation of the Hanoverian succession's identity with the cause of religious toleration were certainly strong factors in Wesley's defense of monarchy and particularly of George III. His opposition to the doctrine that power derives from the consent of the governed, however, derives from stated grounds that have intriguing political implications which confuse, if not contradict, his defense of existent power as divinely ordained.

Wesley opposed the doctrine of consent because of its immoral consequences. He considered the essence of political power that it be identified with moral purpose. And his awareness of the unsocialized state of most persons' wills—that they do not desire what they ought to desire—forbade him to look upon the prudential claims of self-interest as a source of moral purpose operative in republican government.

A noteworthy corollary was Wesley's view that the power to tax is an excellent instrument for the relief of economic distress which should not be made subject to the approval of an essentially selfish populace. The weakness in Wesley's position is that he failed to realize—or, at least, to deal with the implications of—the real state the King was often in. This allowed an unnatural linking of two divergent points of view in his attitude, one a moral emphasis and the other (the divine origin of existing power) a theological concept. The resultant confusion permitted Wesley's Tory prejudices to lead the theological concept to reign and the moral problem remained unsolved. The significant point remains, nevertheless, that Wesley claimed a politi-

cal concern in the identification of moral purpose in government. And we have seen already that morality, to Wesley, dealt with economic distribution.

Consequences for Social Ethics

To gain perhaps a closer view of the potential alliance between Wesleyanism and socialism, let us turn to Wesley's positions on social ethics.

We see at the outset that Wesley's views on the causes of poverty differed from the notions prevalent among his contemporaries. Generally accepted theories on poverty's causes were three: that the majority of persons were destined to be poor out of economic necessity; that the depraved natures of the laboring classes were responsible for their status; and that these two were interwoven with a third cause, the will of Providence. Wesley labelled "that common objection, 'They are poor only because they are idle,'" as "wickedly, devilishly false," and considered inequitable consumption of goods and lack of industrial virtues among *all* classes as the reason for poverty's existence.

This attitude separated Wesley from the mercantilists, as is apparent in his answer to the objection that if people dressed as plainly as he would have them do, it would affect trade adversely; Wesley indicates that such are God's commands, and no one need fear the consequences:

"If those who do observe them, employ the money they thus save in the most excellent manner, then a part of what before only served to fat a few rich tradesmen for hell, will suffice to feed and clothe and employ many poor that seek the kingdom of heaven. And how will those tradesmen themselves live? They will live like men, by honest labour."

Similarly, he is distinguishable from Adam Smith on the issue of land enclosures: Wesley saw these Acts as responsible for the great scarcity of common items of food; Smith denied this often-voiced opinion, claiming that if the demand for food had been great enough, enclosed pasture land would have been converted to corn fields. Wesley had seen a woman picking up sprats from a dunghill that she and her children might have something to eat, and could not have been convinced that the cause of her prob-

lem was an amoral one of inadequate demand for food.

Between 1772 and 1775, a depression, touched off by crop failures, struck England. Prices of basic foods rose rapidly. The situation led to the publication of the most comprehensive political-economic statement contained in Wesley's works. Originally written as a letter to *Lloyd's Evening Post* in 1772, "Thoughts on the Present Scarcity of Provisions" (which was printed only slightly revised in pamphlet form the following year) set out to "assign all the causes that manifestly concur to produce this melancholy effect." In this pamphlet, Wesley tells of having seen people gathering bones which dogs had left in the streets to make broth of them so as to have something to eat, then exclaims: "Such is the case at this day of multitudes of people, in a land flowing, as it were, with milk and honey! abounding with all the necessities and the conveniences, the superfluities of life!" Wesley accurately sees the precipitating cause of the depression to be the high cost of food, it "being so dear that the generality of people are hardly able to buy anything else" and therefore unable to provide a market for the economy. Among the causes of this dearness of food, Wesley cites: the use of bread corn for distilling; the consumption of oats by a markedly increased number of horses kept for gentlemen's coaches and chaises; farmers who used to breed sheep and cattle finding it more profitable to breed horses, both for the gentlemen's vehicles and for export to France; the monopolizing of farms which previously produced pork, poultry and eggs by gentlemen farmers who are above attending to little things such as breeding fowl and swine; and the "grand and general source of want"—luxury—demonstrated in the extravagant dining habits of the wealthy. Accompanying these factors in creating the depression, Wesley saw a rise in rents attributable to the gentlemen landlords' insisting on living as they were accustomed to, and exorbitant taxes related to an unnecessary national debt and borne by poor as well as rich.

Proceeding from causes to remedy, Wesley proposes an end to distilling; a reduction in the number of horses through taxing horses exported to France and laying an additional tax

on gentlemen's carriages; "letting no farms of above an hundred pounds a year" (a protest against enclosures); and "repressing luxury, whether by laws, by example, or by both." Realizing the improbability of such reforms being enacted, Wesley comes through as a true Jeremiah in the end of his *Thoughts*:

"But will this ever be done? I fear not: At least, we have no reason to hope for it shortly; for what good can we expect (suppose the Scriptures are true) for such a nation as this, where there is no fear of God, where there is such a deep, avowed, thorough contempt of all religion, as I never saw, never heard or read of, in any other nation, whether Christian Mohametan, or Pagan? It seems as if God must shortly arise and maintain his own cause."

Wesley recognized that God does raise up men to fulfill his purposes through social and political action, as is evidenced in his letter to William Wilberforce encouraging the latter's efforts toward the abolition of slavery.

That Wesley himself did not draw all of the potential logical conclusions to which his views may lead is undeniable. Even clearer is the fact that following his death, most of Wesley's followers who continued to officially represent Methodism would have nothing to do with such radical implications and largely dismissed their grounds, relinquishing a major opportunity for a church to identify with and influence the emerging character of socialism.

Furthermore, it would be grossly untrue to Wesley's writings to imply that issues related to economic distribution exhaust the content of his political values and that therefore any means of guaranteeing the absence of economic inequalities would be acceptable to him; Wesley would place a high premium on the retention of basic civil liberties. Inasmuch as the spirit of socialism may be defined as a demand for social and economic equality, however, which need not necessarily violate such liberties, Methodists cannot—indeed, must not—dissociate it from the teaching of their founder. ■

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marjorie hyer

A LOUD CRIER FOR FREEDOM

He is a small man—almost inconspicuous. His somber features are rarely lighted with a smile, almost never contorted into a frown. There is a quiet, reined-in air about him that promises a dogged persistence at whatever he undertakes, but never explosive violence. He speaks in assured tones of earnest reasonableness; even when addressing a gathering his voice never soars to the higher reaches of crowd-swaying oratory.

A country preacher, perhaps—the well-worn black suit and clerical collar give the clue—a man of God, certainly. But an African liberation leader—a man who has led a movement that shook governments on two continents? He hardly fits the stereotype.

Yet that is precisely what Rhodesian Methodist Bishop Abel T. Muzorewa has done. In December, 1971, he was elected head of the African National Council. The organization was established specifically to provide a voice for black Rhodesians in their opposition to the settlement of the six-year-old rebellion of the white-dominated Rhodesian govern-

ment against Great Britain. The settlement would have, in large measure, perpetuated the present structures of white supremacy of premier Ian Smith's government.

But terms of the proposed settlement, negotiated in November, stipulated that the agreement would not finally be implemented until it was proven to be acceptable to the majority of the people. To test that acceptability, the British government sent out a 25-member commission headed by Lord Pearce.

It is a fair measure of the failure of communications between Rhodesia's 250,000 white settlers and its 5.5 million blacks that the white power structure confidently expected that the blacks would do what was expected of them and quietly go along.

Quite the opposite happened. Invited by the Pearce Commission to react to the proposed settlement, they did so with one voice and one word: "No!"

Political activity among black Rhodesians had been largely dormant for some time. Leaders of the two major liberation groups, the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union and

the Zimbabwe African National Union, were either in jail or in exile. In any case the parties had largely dissipated any effectiveness they might have in squabbles among themselves.

When the ANC was formed its effectiveness depended in large part in not being identified with the old ZANU-ZAPU quarrels. Bishop Muzorewa was not only the first African to head the Methodist Church in Rhodesia (he succeeded the missionary Bishop Ralph Dodge whom the government had ousted for his opposition to white racism), but the first Rhodesian, black or white, to head any church in Rhodesia. He had earned his stripes in earlier brushes with the Smith regime, particularly in 1970 with his outspoken resistance to the Land Tenure Act which divided Rhodesia into "white" and "black" areas, and in the process uprooted many black Africans from their land. For his pains, the bishop was prohibited from entering any of the Tribal Trust Lands, the areas where most of his people lived.

At the press conference announcing the formation of the ANC and Bishop Muzorewa's selection to head it, he set the course for the new organization. He denounced the proposals as a "constitutional rape of the African by both the Rhodesian and British Government" and a "sell-out of the majority of this country to perpetual oppression and domination by a privileged white minority." He made it clear that the non-violent opposition to the proposals was the first order of business for his African fellow-countrymen. He called on "all sons and daughters of Zimbabwe, (the African name for Rhodesia) at home and abroad, poor or rich, educated and uneducated, young and old, to stop quarreling and bickering and causing divisions which continue to cripple our struggle for freedom."

With the arrival in Rhodesia of the Pearce Commission in January, the situation was thrust into the world spotlight by rioting resulting in the deaths of at least 30 Africans. According to the bishop, the riots were provoked by police who tried to deny crowds of Africans access to the Pearce Commission. The Smith government also made world headlines when it imprisoned, without charges, former Rhodesian premier

Garfield Todd and his daughter Judith. The Todds were eventually released, but under terms that amounted to virtual house arrest.

In the midst of all this turmoil in mid-February, Bishop Muzorewa made a quick trip to Great Britain and the United States where, among other things, he took his appeal to the United Nations Security Council. He is believed to be the first churchman ever to appear before that body.

Taking his seat at the wing-tip of the horse-shoe-shaped table—next to the delegation from the People's Republic of China, uniformly attired in impeccably tailored Mao jackets—the Bishop himself seemed momentarily awed by the situation. He was, he said, "a child of God, a person, husband of one wife, father of four sons and one little spoiled daughter. I am a person who needs liberation and I have cried very loud to be free."

His own credentials thus established, he launched like a skillful advocate into his case. The African National Council, he said, is "the only body in Rhodesia that has any right to speak for the vast majority of the population of that country." He described the ANC as "a spontaneous grassroots reaction" to the proposed settlement. He called the proposals

"a constitutional fraud, a prescription for increased racial bitterness, the making of an inevitable blood-bath and an insult to the dignity of every African in Rhodesia." He asked the Security Council to accept the African rejection of the proposed settlement and at the same time to restate the UN sanctions against trade with Rhodesia. Such sanctions, he stressed, were the major non-violent weapon possessed by the Africans in combatting the white racist Smith regime. He said that while Africans, too, suffered hardships because of the sanctions, they were willing to accept such difficulties "as a price for their freedom."

He pointed to the United States as one of the prime violators of the sanctions through the purchase of chrome ore, a move that has also drawn the ire of many church leaders and Africanists in this country. In his calm and reasoned way, Bishop Muzorewa wondered whether the UN should not investigate to see if the United States violated the law in its chrome purchase. "If it did," he continued, "it is time someone brought the United States before the International Court of Justice."

Later he again took up the issue of the chrome purchase when he met with the Black Congressional Caucus

Members of the Pearce Commission are greeted with placards stating "NO" as they arrive in a Rhodesian village to sample public opinion on the proposed British-Rhodesian settlement. All major Christian groups in the country have opposed the settlement which would, in the minds of the Churches, legalize a white supremacist regime and move the country into apartheid.



in Washington, with the people at the Africa desk at the State Department, and with the Africa subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

At the end of his whirlwind three-day trip to the United States he told a group of church leaders at the Interchurch Center in New York that he was "very encouraged" by the response he got to his visit here. He said it "confirmed the good faith" that Africans had in the United States. The point came as a surprise to some in his audience who had been extremely critical both of their country's foreign policy and its actions on civil rights.

"We are not blind to the problems you have here especially in race relations," the bishop explained. "But in spite of that, you do have a federal government that is generally democratic and has good reason to claim to lead others into freedom."

He said that when Africans, whom he described as "third class, not even second class, citizens in their own country" look for nations which can help them in their struggle for freedom, "we count America as Number One. So we were very hurt and disappointed" over the chrome purchase. He said he "would have liked to shed some African tears before your President" over the matter, but President Nixon was on his way to China at the time.

Before he left New York, the bishop met briefly for prayers with his co-religionists at the United Methodist Board of Missions office. He told how and why he became involved in what to some Christians may seem like no business for a bishop to be mixed up in. "When our country was challenged by the proposals, I was approached by the people to organize them. I was asked whether I would be chairman

of the ANC. It took me three weeks to pray and seek guidance to see if this was something I could do." Both his staff and his cabinet, he said, gave him "enthusiastic response and encouragement. That, together with the guidance I got, led me to undertake it."

He viewed the step as wholly appropriate for a clergyman, particularly a United Methodist one. "We have always felt that we are going under the banner of preaching the whole Gospel for the whole man. This is one of the opportunities for that kind of service."

There was some apprehension among many Rhodesia-watchers that the bishop's frank statements in the world arena of the United Nations might jeopardize his freedom when he returned to Rhodesia. So far those fears have proven groundless. Stepping off the plane at Salisbury airport, he was offered a "Welcome home, bishop," by customs officials (instead of a not-out-of-the-ordinary stripped-to-the-skin search) and passed through quickly to a waiting crowd of admirers who expressed their feelings by hoisting him on their shoulders and welcoming him home as "the father of Zimbabwe."

Back home, he has continued to divide his time between church business and the concerns of the ANC, which is being enlarged "to continue the fight for the defense of black interests."

The future is unclear for Bishop Muzorewa. In Rhodesia he has become a symbol. For black Africans he is a symbol of their humanity—before man as well as God—and the need to struggle to defend that humanity. For the Smith government he is a symbol of an obstacle to white supremacy rule. To the continent-wide All Africa Conference of Churches, which elected him president, he is a symbol of leadership against "racism and colonialism."

These symbols, brought together in one person, clash sharply and present a danger that the bishop knows well. At his meeting with churchmen in New York, a mission executive asked him if missionaries identifying with black Africans were not in danger of deportation.

The bishop paused a moment and replied evenly: "All of us are in danger these days. That's all I can say." ■

BELIEFS:

1. This Council believes in the power of the unity of the African masses in the imperative need for the opposition of those elements or forces which seek to sow the seeds of division among our people. Divided we will remain slaves and strangers in the land of our birth. United though we may suffer, we shall toil, but with dignity, until we are free. We should, therefore, be warned that our worst enemies are those who seek to divide us and those who labour to keep us in perpetual oppression, be they black or white.
2. We believe in the invincibility of numbers of the masses of men and women of goodwill in Rhodesia and that the African National Council is truly a grass-roots organization in its very scope, membership and spirit.
3. We believe in a government that will establish and promote the sanctity and practice of the essential human freedoms of conscience, of expression, association, religion, assembly and

movement of all people irrespective of colour, race or creed.

4. We believe in non-racialism, the universal brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God. This means forced segregation and forced integration violate the principle of free choice of association.
5. We believe in a non-violent, peaceful, orderly but permanent and continuing struggle to be waged within the Law and for the establishment of a constitutional government.
6. We believe that true peace and harmony among all people and economic stability of this country can only be assured for all time by the establishment of "the government of the people, by the people and for the people."
7. We believe that the rights and property of the minority should be protected; we do not however, believe in the minority's amassing of social, political and economic privileges at the expense of the freedom of the majority.

From the Manifesto Under the Banner of Unity of the African National Council.



tomura isaku's struggle

george gish, jr.

A missionary, he is director of Creative Arts for the audio-visual center of the National Christian Council of Japan.

Tomura Isaku's grandfather, the son of a farmer, was a soldier in the government troops that quelled the Satsuma Rebellion in 1877. During that time the young soldier heard a Methodist missionary preaching on the street and was inspired to become a believer in Christ. Returning from the war, he established a farm implement shop in Sanrizuka, holding meetings in his home until a church was built on his land. The church is now a local congregation of the Kyodan.

Ninety-five years later, Tomura Isaku, a third-generation Christian and a sculptor, is involved in another Sanrizuka Struggle—but this Isaku is a leader of the struggle. Since 1967 he has been the elected chairman of the Farmers Opposition League to the New Tokyo International Airport in his community.

The government decided to construct an airport on the farmers' land without consultation or official negotiations. The authorities' tactics were threats, violence and bribes. In the farmers' eyes, the government's unchecked industrial development policy is forcing land-holding farmers to become landless factory workers. Large government-sponsored corporations are a new land-holding class.

Many farmers also fear a renewed Japanese military role in Asia. The U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Treaty (known popularly in Japan as ANPO) allows both U.S. military and Japan Self-Defense Forces (Jiei-tai) to use civilian airports. One reason another Tokyo airport is needed is that American flights carrying men and supplies to Vietnam use the present airport.

The struggle erupted into violence last year. During the forcible land seizure last winter, over 1,500 persons were injured and 461 persons—mostly student supporters of the farmers—were arrested. Some 3,000 government riot troops joined hundreds of private guards employed by the Airport Corporation to "capture" six plots of land at one end of the 4,000-meter runway. When fifteen additional plots were to be seized six months later, a clash between riot police and farmers and students resulted in the death of three policemen.

I had seen a documentary on the struggle at Sanrizuka and was im-

pressed by the determination of the farmers to achieve justice.

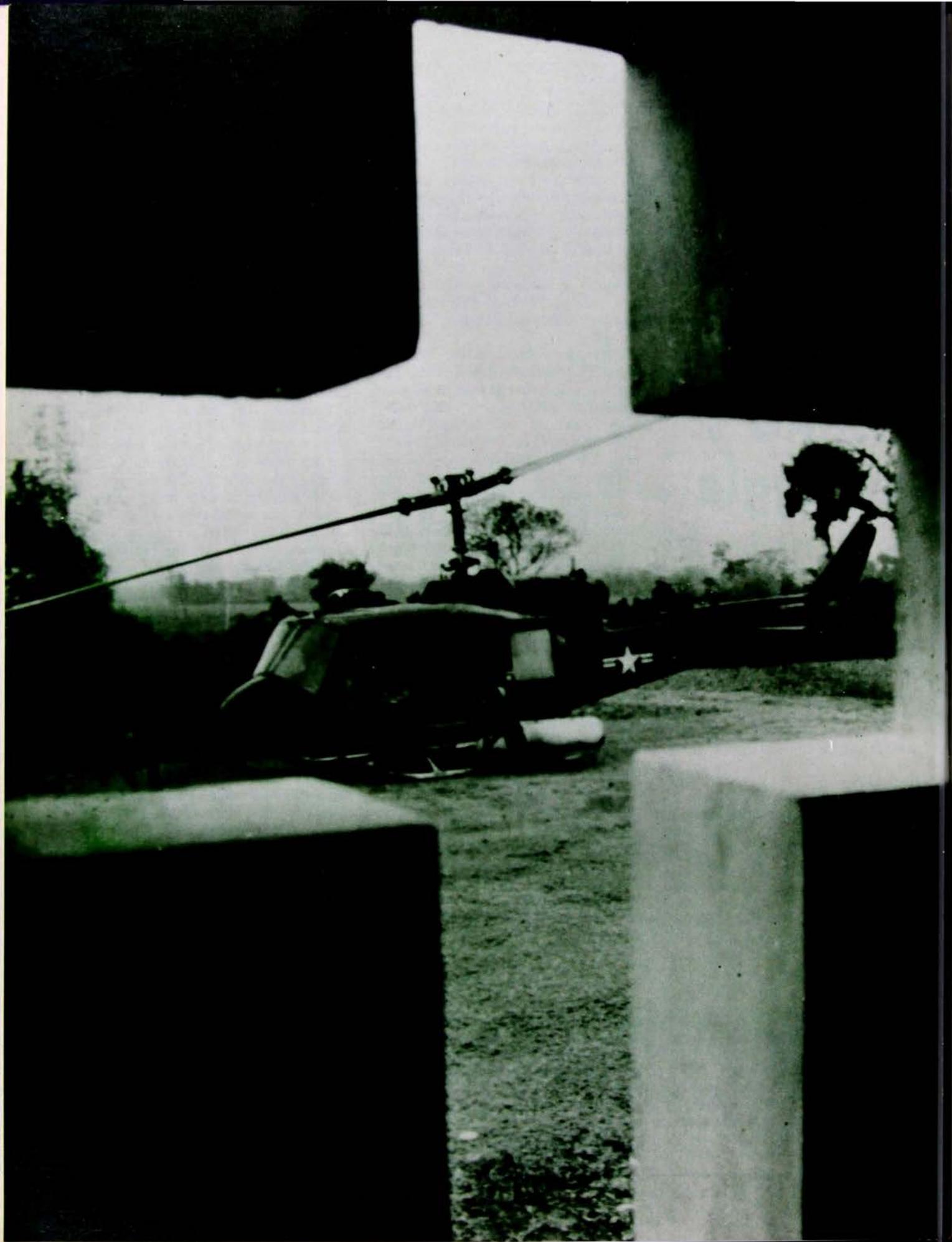
But I did not come to know Mr. Tomura until later when I was involved in setting up a Contemporary Christian Art Exhibit. The work of sculpture submitted by Tomura Isaku symbolized the terrible reality of the farmers' struggle. Entitled "Rupture A & B," both the shield of the government riot police and the "hammer" of the farmers were torn to shreds by the confrontation (lower left).

Mr. Tomura stated that it expressed his own broken spirit and feelings of anger at the oppression of state authority. He said he could no longer be a Christian who stayed within the neutral walls of the church, praying and singing hymns, without expressing his faith in action. (Unable to convince the local Kyodan congregation to join the farmers' struggle, Mr. Tomura has withdrawn his support and has been placed on the inactive membership role of the church.) Likewise he could no longer remain an artist who created works in his studio removed from this struggle. His works must be born out of his actions. In both his actions and in his art, he was trying to follow the Christ who gave his life on the Cross.

The day after Mr. Tomura was re-elected as a member of the Narita City Council in 1971, I visited Sanrizuka with two other missionaries. We drove around the airport construction site and saw the fresh grave of a farmer who had died of a heart attack during the first phase of the struggle. In conversations with farmers in the area, we found them filled with hope and a confidence and strength which I could not help but admire. Most important for all of them was their desire to be treated with dignity.

The farmers' resistance movement has continued for over six years. Although the government's tactics have forced many farmers to leave their land, there is still a dedicated group of leaders who are determined to continue their struggle, prepared to die on their land rather than give up the fight. And Mr. Tomura is trying in his own way to change the image of the docile Christian to one of the struggling Christian who opposes state authority in the struggle for human dignity. ■





A Laotian man, father of six-year-old Thao Sipa, told his story to Fred Branfman, an International Voluntary Service advisor interviewing refugees: "We are from Ban Ngoui. In July, 1969, we were all sitting in our small shelter out in the forest, when planes bombed around 11 a.m. Two people with us, a man aged 60 and a little girl aged 7, were killed lying in their beds. My son's hand was hit and his fingers flew up, embedding themselves in the roof."

There are between 5,000 and 200,000 Amer-Asian children in South Vietnam. Lanh, the daughter of a Vietnamese mother and a black GI, was discovered in a Saigon orphanage by the Rev. and Mrs. Hosea Williams of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Tiny Lanh was one of the 24,000 officially registered orphans in South Vietnam's 500 orphanages, only a fraction of whom are Amer-Asians. Vietnam's crowded orphanages simply cannot accommodate all the homeless children; a typical orphanage in Saigon has a staff of 16 Catholic nuns handling 1,213 children. Due to complicated adoption procedures, the Williamses couldn't take Lanh with them when they left the country. Shortly thereafter, she died from malnutrition and inadequate care.

A sense of hopelessness pervaded the dirty, overcrowded, understaffed convalescent hospital at Danang. Nguyen Nuoi, a 23-year-old militiaman, whose legs had been reduced to two stumps, sat dejectedly on his bed, waiting release from the hospital. Like the other patients, most of whom have been maimed by mines, he clung to life in the hospital, fearing loneliness, rejection and poverty on the outside. Meanwhile, the war went on; 302 South Vietnamese were killed that week in March; more than 700 were wounded.

At about the same time in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, an American Vietnam veteran, who had resorted to heroin to kill the pain in his mine-shattered leg, attempted a holdup of a grocery store to support his \$87-a-day habit. The American veteran, also 23, had been wounded by a land mine in Vietnam in 1968 and had been shuffled from one

"WOULD THAT EVEN TODAY YOU KNEW THE THINGS THAT MAKE FOR PEACE"

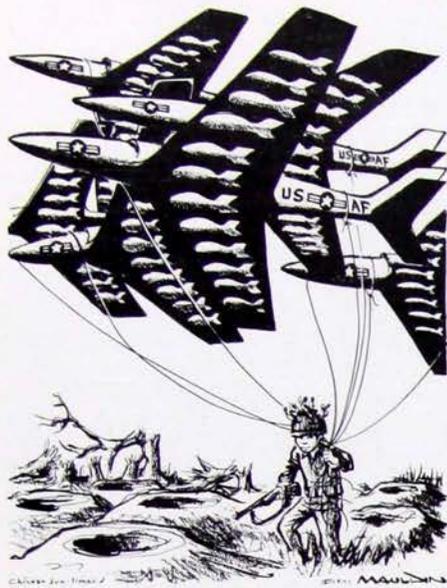


by ellen clark
and charles e. brewster

THE war's real OUTRAGE



The war's real outrage is the continuation of the killing and the maiming despite all talk of "peace." "If you knew the facts of the Indochina war, you would strive to stop it. . . ."



VIETNAMIZATION

hospital to another until he was out on the street. In Florida's Raiford Prison Tom Murray finally had his cancerous leg removed.

Wave after wave of American B-52's and fighter bombers struck North Vietnam on a Sunday in April. The raids were intended to knock

A South Vietnamese boy, scarred from a wound and surgery, hides in a doorway of a U.S. Marine hospital in Da Nang. Encouraged to show all of himself, he finally enters a room to be photographed. The boy was caught wandering in the hospital's hall, apparently looking for companionship.



out military targets, Pentagon spokesmen said. But civilians, hospital patients, even a sailor on an American frigate were among the victims. Tran Huu lost seven of his family, mostly children, when bombs hit workers' quarters in Haiphong. He and a couple of bloodied children survived.

The war goes on, generating more victims—soldiers and civilians, more orphans, more tragedies. Both sides are responsible for destruction and atrocities. "But we can't confess their sins," says theologian Georgia Harkness, "We can only confess our own."

The balance of terror is in the weapons of the U.S. We have dropped more than 7 million tons of bombs on an area the size of Texas—three times the World War II tonnage dropped on two continents.

In a statement the Rev. Philip Berigan asked—but was denied permission—to deliver to the Harrisburg jury, he summed up the outrage of the war and his conviction:

"Frankly, we came here to tell you the truth about ourselves and to share our lives with you. Central to

those lives is the command given by Christ before he died: 'Love one another as I have loved you!' Notice three things about the new commandment: 1) It is not an ideal, it is a command. 2) Christ would not command the impossible; he would give his Spirit to help us. 3) It transcends immeasurably the Golden Rule, since obviously no one was prepared to die for him. But he was prepared to die for us, and did.

"An early Christian hymn, quoted in Paul's letter to the Philippians, tells us that Christ, though God, emptied himself of his divinity, appearing in the form of man. He did more, becoming a slave who was obedient to death, even the death of the cross.

"Paul goes on to say in Corinthians that a man in Christ is a new man, a new creation, prepared by his savior's love to bear the burdens of his brother, American GI or Indo-Chinese, to resist this government or any government, which would dehumanize, injure or kill them.

"Samuel Butler once said that Christians are equally horrified to see their religion practiced, or to see it doubted. All over this land, some Christians have been horrified by our lives. Which is their choice except that most offer nothing real to stop the killing, to outlaw war before it ends civilization. Let them judge us; let any court or government judge us when they have a better idea. For this government has no intention of ending the killing, ending the Indochina war or the arms race. It builds ABM, MIRV, Poseidon and God knows what other doomsday weapons. It withdraws our troops, employs more mercenaries, computerizes the battlefield, steps up the bombing and changes the color of the corpses.

"If you knew the facts of the Indochina war, you would strive to stop it as we have, nonviolently and publicly. If you knew the facts of the arms race, you would realize our deadly peril, and would strive to stop it, nonviolently and publicly. . . .

"When peace comes (we are confident it will); when the Indochina war preoccupies historians rather than soldiers; when this indictment and trial have faded from memory, present anguish and division heal—then may we all pick up work to secure the peace." ■

PRISONERS OF WAR



Marine Sgt. James Warner was shot down over North Vietnam October 13, 1967. For two and a half years his family heard nothing from him. Since then, they have received 18 letters.

Mrs. Virginia Warner of Ypsilanti, Michigan, talked about her son's morale. "The letter before last that we got, he was really depressed," she said. "He said we should go to the bank and take out his money and use it to send his niece to college. Now his oldest niece is only eight years old.

"But his last letter was more hopeful. He talked about travelling through Europe on his way back to the States."

According to U.S. officials, there are 1,632 prisoners of war and men missing in action (March 26 figure). The U.S. says the North Vietnamese and its allies are holding 463 POWs. In December, the North Vietnamese stated that they had 343 POWs. President Nixon has said that the U.S. will keep a residual force in Vietnam and "continue the possibility of air strikes" on North Vietnam as long as the North Vietnamese retain American POWs. The U.S. charges the North Vietnamese with mistreatment of the prisoners.

To Mrs. Warner, who is a member of Families for Immediate Release, the argument that American troops must remain in Vietnam as long as there are U.S. prisoners of war is immoral. "Not one more per-

son should die in this war—not one more cent should be spent on the killing," she says. "I realize that my son was bombing, so they have every right to hold him prisoner. We prisoner families have been used like footballs—and we're running out of air." In the new escalation 15-20 pilots and crewmen are missing each week.

"We always hear about how terribly the North Vietnamese treat the prisoners, how inhumane they are," she continued, "but I wonder how well we would treat them if the situation was reversed and they were dropping bombs on us, every day, year after year. I don't think we're in any position to condemn anyone. It's time we got this war off our backs—but not off our consciences." The money, she thinks, would be better spent on such things as Veterans hospitals and improving conditions in U.S. prisons.

Mrs. Warner is a Baptist and believes that "prayer is the most powerful weapon." She is grateful that the people in her church are praying for Jim, but she is disturbed that many people in her area have been "lulled" into thinking that Vietnamization is "ending the war." The churches, she declares, must "wake up and do everything in God's name to stop the war. Christ said we should love our neighbor as ourselves and our neighbor isn't just the person next door; it's everybody in the world." ■



amnesty

Glenn Pontier is 25 years old, married, the son of a minister of the Reformed Church of America, and has studied one and a half years at his Church's seminary in New Brunswick, New Jersey. Two months ago he began serving a one year prison sentence for refusing induction in the armed services. He could have avoided the military entirely, dodged it or run away from it, even chosen alternative service, but he chose instead, in his father's words, "to confront the system of war."

Glenn "didn't want any part of the system," says the Rev. Raymond J. Pontier of Clifton, New Jersey, and that included the easy "outs" offered to white, educated, middle-class men. He was thoroughly opposed to what the United States was doing in Vietnam and Indochina, to the brutality and bombing and conduct of the war that had become clear by the time he made his decision to have nothing to do with the war and the selective service system. There is, says Mr. Pontier, a "frightening consistency" in Glenn's convictions and actions.

In a sermon last year—a sermon which he said he had to preach before he could preach any other—Mr. Pontier told his Clifton congregation that it was for reasons of Christian conscience that Glenn "refuses to take part in the hurt and hate and killing of war. . . . He has taken the church and gospel seriously. Here he learned about the

Jesus who incarnated love and compassion and caring. Here he was taught the commandment, "You shall not kill." Here he heard that the greatest commandment is to love God with total commitment, and to love your neighbor as yourself"

Approximately six weeks ago, Brian Wells, of Mankato, Minnesota, was released from federal prison in Oklahoma after serving 21 months for destruction of draft files. His parents, Mr. and Mrs. Wayne Wells, who are in public education and are members of the First Presbyterian Church of Mankato, feel that Brian came to his opposition to the war not only out of his church experience but also through two summers of work in the inner city in Chicago where, like Glenn, he realized the unfairness of a system which too easily chooses the poor and the non-white to fight and die and too readily allows the educated and advantaged to go on their way. Refusing to "hide behind his 2-S deferment," Brian attempted to destroy draft records at the local selective service office, breaking in after hours, and was specifically intending to destroy the records of his younger brother (who, ironically, now has a lottery number of 365, guaranteeing exemption). He turned himself in and became one of the twelve or thirteen United Presbyterians who have been jailed for lengthy periods of time for draft refusal or other actions directly related to the war.

"The correct word is not 'amnesty,'" says Mr. Wells. "We should be talking about forgetting and forgiving and Christian love."

Mike Simmons, one of the relatively few Blacks who have refused induction and served prison sentences, became convinced that the draft unduly penalizes the poor while he was working in Georgia with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. After serving two and a half years in Lewisburg federal prison he is now living with his wife, Gwenn, in a Philadelphia suburb where he is devoting his energies to prison reform.

Although Glenn, Brian and Mike disobeyed the law, it can also be argued that they honored the law by accepting its penalty and going

to prison. Approximately 500 men have spent extended time in prison because of their refusal to participate in the war in Indochina. Amnesty—which, from the Greek, means "erasing from memory," oblivion—is clearest for them because, as theologian John C. Bennett says, it would be "a belated accommodation of the state to the claims of conscience" and also a way of saying that as far as penalty is concerned "enough is enough."

Adds Mr. Pontier: "These prisoners are men and women who could add immeasurably to the good of our nation in terms of its social ills, men and women who seek to correct human hurts, who are dedicated to service. But the compassion and imagination of the nation has not gone beyond sending them to jail for their refusal to kill. That is what the war in Indochina has done to our own souls."

For the more than 70,000 who have chosen exile (including deserters) it must be admitted that the case for unconditional amnesty is less clear. But, as Dr. Bennett argues, "Do we want to institute a process by which about seventy thousand consciences have to be examined? Would it not be better to annul all legal claims on these citizens as a part of the attempt to liquidate the results of a ghastly governmental error that was also a cruelly immoral decision?" Many draft evaders, however, have no desire to return to the United States, with or without amnesty, and most would probably also agree with "voluntary refugee" Michael Hendricks, now living in Quebec, that the real issue is not amnesty but "the continuation of the killing and murder by our government in Indochina." On the other hand, Mike Simmons believes that a sizeable minority of draft evaders living abroad, especially among those discriminated against in job hiring, would welcome a chance to return.

As for deserters, it admittedly would be folly for the government to "legalize" desertion while the draft is in existence. The bills currently before Congress sponsored by Senator Taft and Representative Koch, pointedly omit deserters from the possibility of amnesty. But it must be asked if this is not a form of "class discrimination," because

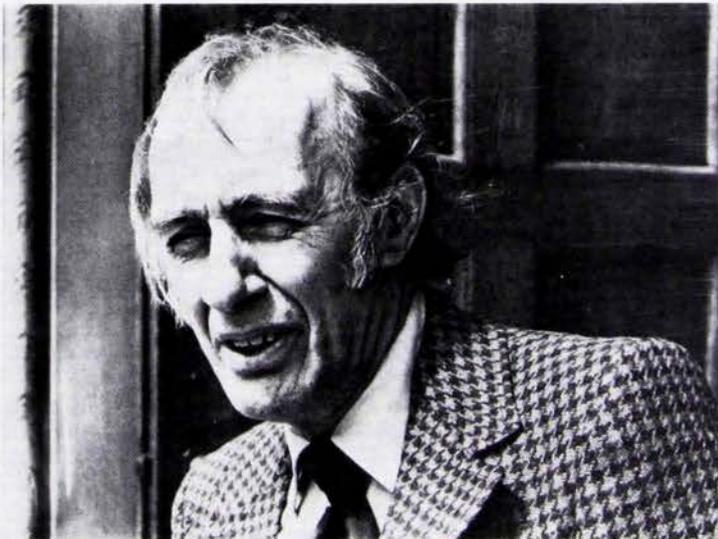
in contrast to draft evaders who generally come from middle class, educated homes, deserters overwhelmingly come from working class homes and had fewer opportunities for draft deferment. Should they be penalized also simply because of timing—that they came to their opposition to the war and had their “eyes opened” only after joining the military? “We must remember,” says Dr. Bennett, “that in so many cases we are dealing with very young men without any sophistication about the issues of war in general or about the meaning of this war. They learned about this war from experience.”

According to the Harris Poll, 65% of the American people now consider the war in Indochina to be “morally wrong.” Some of these, as recent books show, include those who helped shape the war in the mid-sixties. If the majority in this case is correct, what responsibility does the state have toward those who were, in effect, guilty of “premature morality,” who were simply ahead of public opinion? Furthermore, in the light of public opinion on this war, it makes no sense to offer amnesty on the condition of three years’ national service, as is the case in the Taft and Koch bills. There cannot be only a partial “oblivion,” nor should persons be penalized for having to act on their consciences (vis-à-vis the draft)

while the rest of the public could take its time to make up its mind on the war.

From the standpoint of faith, the Christian must consider not only the morality of a given war but the extent to which any war lays bare the human condition—“all have sinned and fallen short of the glory of God.” To consider amnesty for some persons when the judgment of God is clearly on all of us is to fail to face the full evil of war as well as to grasp the fullness of God’s mercy. There is a sense in which, as Dr. Charles West of Princeton Seminary says, “those who have resisted this war are witnesses to what God is doing and not only to their own consciences.”

Finally, to declare amnesty before the end of the killing, the bombing and the maiming is certainly to indulge in a luxury which, like the issue of the return of prisoners of war, must await the end of hostilities. But, also like the POW issue, Christians have a responsibility to *begin* to consider the best ways in which reconciliation can be effected and a nation torn by crises of conscience as at no time since the Civil War can begin to be healed. Christians assert that in the final analysis reconciliation can come only from God, from whom perhaps we all need to seek an “erasing from memory” of past sins. ■



Rev. Raymond Pontier, above, whose son Glenn is serving a one year sentence as a “prisoner for conscience sake,” notes that “this is what the war in Indochina has done to our own souls.” Michael Hendricks, left, who considers himself a “voluntary refugee,” believes that ending the war is the first priority.

URUGUAY

The hymn, "Over This Earth," contains what we believe to be the hope shared by churchmen in developing countries the world over. Its author is Argentine and at present is presiding as Methodist Bishop of

the Central American area. He worked with Delbert during the years in which "Cantico Nuevo," the hymnal now used in many Latin American countries, was being compiled. We have not had the pleasure of knowing the composer of the melody.

The Delbert Asays

Mr. Asay teaches at the Methodist school in Montevideo; his wife, Mary Helen, is an English teacher and vocational nurse. There are 2,000 Methodists in Uruguay.

OVER THIS EARTH

F. J. Pagura
Tr. by Delbert Asay

Muñoz Allanca
Arr. by Delbert Asay

1. O - ver this earth, sweat-drenched by toil, *¡Qué ve*
 2. Na - tions once wea - ry moaned in dull dis - pair;
 3. Not oth - er worlds to con - quer He de - sires,

Through time - less years of hu - man blood and pain,
 Now through His spir - it shall they soon re - vive,
 But the strong fort of this hu - man - i - ty.

Now we see the sun a - rise with ra - diance clear
 For He comes our souls and bod - ies to re - pair.
 Hearts re - newed com - plete with - in us He in - spires

As our lib - er - a - tion God to us makes plain.
 He to earth brings peace; new jus - tice makes a - live.
 Where hate dies and love reigns in pure san - i - ty.

Christ at last a - sun - der breaks o - pres - sion's self - ish chain.

Full re - demp - tion for each na - tion now shall reign!

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TAIWAN

Less than three months after the publication of "Public Statement on Our National Fate" by the Executive Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (see Letters, March), the Nationalist government expelled one of the most respected veteran missionaries cooperating with that church.

Dr. H. D. Beeby, Acting Principal of our college [who helped draft the statement], together with Mrs. Beeby, was officially notified by the chief of the local foreign affairs police on orders of his superiors in Taipei that their alien residence certificates, which were due to expire sometime during the first week of this month, would not be renewed. No reason was given other than that Dr. Beeby was regarded as being "unfriendly" to the country. Behind-the-scenes efforts to have this order rescinded were fruitless.

One of the scenes a T.V. cameraman shot was a moving union farewell service for the Beebys in the oldest and largest Presbyterian church in Tainan. The general secretary delivered a courageous message, and Dr. Beeby responded with a touching valedictory speech. All through the service not a few kept wiping their tears away with their handkerchiefs. After the service a long line of sympathizing wellwishers shook hands with the Beebys under the glare of T.V. lights.

The following morning the student body and the faculty of our college accompanied the Beebys to the train station on foot. There they were joined by other friends, including some missionaries. All eyes, especially those of plainclothesmen, were upon the Beebys. The throng broke out in singing "We Shall Overcome." We learned that when the train made regular stops at Changhua and Taichung, friends were there to bid them farewell. In Taipei, where they got off, Dr. Beeby held a news conference.

What does all this mean? Firstly, Dr. and Mrs. Beeby's repulsion has given the Taiwan situation as depicted in the public statement referred to above much-needed additional international exposure. Secondly, it has made many less hesitant in affirming

that the Church's proper role involves a sense of responsibility for society and its future. Thirdly, it has created a sense of solidarity, which transcends human fear. Lastly, however much the Church still needs the wisdom and encouragement of the Beebys, now that they are gone, the Church will have, more and more, to fall back upon its own resources which in Christ are still largely untapped.

Juanita and Han Tan

Professor Tiat Han Tan teaches church history and his wife, Juanita, teaches music at Tainan Theological College. The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan has 170,243 members and adherents with 882 organized congregations.

PAKISTAN

Pakistan's new President, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, is making rapid and profound changes. Thirteen years of military dictatorship have ended. The new leaders are younger men determined to implement the drastic economic and political reforms promised by their Pakistan People's Party, the majority party in West Pakistan.

The year 1971 was a tragic year for Pakistan. In March the promised meeting of the newly elected National Assembly was postponed. East Pakistan, frustrated in its desire for autonomy, set up a parallel government which functioned a short while until President Yahya Khan cracked down on the rebels with strong military action. You know about the bloody civil war which resulted, the fleeing of millions of refugees, and India's interference which finally led to full scale war in December.

West Pakistanis were stunned by the surrender of East Pakistan, followed by the cease-fire in the West. Humiliation turned to anger. President Yahya had to quit. Mr. Bhutto rushed back from the U.N. to "pick up the pieces" and to begin rebuilding a "new, strong, prosperous, and more purposeful Pakistan."

The despair of 1971 is changing into confidence and hope for 1972. The President says that "the nation has been fed on lies for 13 years," so he has promised to "let the people know the truth." Foreign magazines, banned for months, are again available. The press is free, even though

martial law is temporarily being retained so that economic reforms may be implemented quickly. The "22 families" who have monopolized and exploited the resources of Pakistan and stored their unauthorized wealth abroad were ordered to bring it all back to Pakistan by January 25. Certain basic industries which were private monopolies have been nationalized, but competitive industries will remain as private enterprises. Land reforms have been promised soon. Government officials have been warned to stop corrupt practices and serve the people efficiently. The people, including students and workers, have been urged to work hard and honestly for their country.

During the December war, our school was used as a temporary hospital, so we stayed in Lahore with John and Peggy Acton. Day and night heavy artillery thundered on the Lahore front a few miles to the east. We shared the excitement and fear of the people as Indian planes roared overhead and dived to drop their bombs. As we ran for shelter, Peggy kept up our spirits by calling, "They've come for morning coffee!" or "They smelled our good curry and pilau, so they've come for lunch!" Among the civilian casualties was the pastor of a village church near Raiwind, who was killed when a Lahore suburban railway station was destroyed by a direct hit.

We were able to move back to Raiwind on December 23, so we had a happy Christmas, Jeanie's last in her childhood home. But on December 26 we heard that the United States had resumed bombing raids over North Vietnam using hundreds of warplanes in each attack. With our new realization of the dreadfulness of even a two-week war, we felt deeply for the innocent civilians of North and South Vietnam who have been suffering year after year while our own country continues to wage war there. Why?

Marvin and Mary Keisler

Mr. Keisler is guidance counselor at Raiwind Christian Institute and supervisor and manager of the Village Education Service of the Lahore Diocese of the new united Church of Pakistan.

Mrs. Keisler helps in Christian Education and in leadership training for the Women's Fellowship of the new church. Both are United Methodist missionaries.

FILMS ON FAITH & JUSTICE

by John C. Batchelor

The following 16 mm films, collected from various sources, deal with the general theme, "Faith and Justice." This list is in no way definitive but it does illustrate the breadth of the field of films available on "Faith and Justice."

The Holy Outlaw. 58 minutes. B&W. New Yorker Films, 2409 Broadway, New York, New York 10024. Rental: \$85.

The Holy Outlaw is a long, discursive, quasibiography of Father Daniel Berrigan, S.J. that was made for National Educational Television in 1970 by Lee Lockwood and Don Lenzer.

The film focuses and pivots on two interviews with Father Berrigan conducted sometime during the four months he was a fugitive from the F.B.I. in 1970, having disappeared just before internment stemming from a federal conviction for burning draft records in Catonsville, Maryland. Tacked on to these two interviews are various other conversations with Berrigan's friends and relatives.

Quite apparently, *The Holy Outlaw* is a study of how one man's faith moved him to seek justice. Ironically, in Father Berrigan's case, in doing so he felt it necessary to become a fugitive from the state's justice in order to search for what I think it is fair to call a higher justice. While the film is an obvious pastiche of events of different importance, by struggling with the questions of war, peace and conscience, it more than qualifies itself as an excellent experience.

Scabies. 7 minutes. Color animation. Mass Media Ministries, 2116 North Charles Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21218. Rental: \$15.

Scabies is a cartoon that on the face of it presents a man, looking very much like a contented captain of industry, who itches and coughs himself to non-existence because

thousands of little men keep crawling out of his clothes, mouth and everywhere until he disappears.

Zlatko Grgic, the film's creator, intends much more, of course. *Scabies* is an unobvious filmic allegory about how we are all made up of parts that cannot be ignored or exterminated without disaster. The cartoon man represents all corporate bodies (states, societies, etc.) that seem able to handle external threats yet collapse because of insensitivity toward internal dissidence. There is more, but just enough to sermonize that the future is for those who can change and that we must all acknowledge our comrades.

It would be easy to write that this film is for the young. Suffice it to say that for those who need the lesson *Scabies* delivers.

A Note From Above. 2 minutes. Color animation. Mass Media Ministries, 2116 North Charles Street, Baltimore, Maryland, Rental: \$10.

A Note From Above is cute, simple and tastefully short. The gag is that some churchfolk, seen only as greedy, outstretched arms, receive a series of notes that float down from above. Each note directs a certain course, paralleling the Ten Commandments, until one incorrect note orders: "Thou shalt kill." Too late, a note of correction follows.

Blind faith, *A Note From Above* tells us, always ends badly.

The Man Who Had to Sing. 10 minutes. Color animation. Mass Media Ministries, 2116 North Charles Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21218. Rental: \$15.

The oddball (dissenter, exception, rebel) is championed in *The Man Who Had To Sing*. Unfortunately, 10 minutes is too long to bear a single-minded story about a little boy who sings one tune all the time and alienates himself from everyone. Although this theme invites multiple interpreta-

tions, eventually it has only one message: Men always destroy those who refuse to conform. Justice, we are told, is for those who bend.

The cartoon's creator, Milan Blazekovic, holds a viable though somewhat simplistic position, and perhaps if his pitch was 8 minutes shorter I would have enjoyed the preaching more.

I + I = 3. 10 minutes. Color animation. Mass Media Ministries, 2116 North Charles Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21218. Rental: \$15.

I + I = 3 borrows so much from George Orwell's $2 + 2 = 5$ that the cartoon's creators, Bronke Ranitovic and Zdenko Gasprovic, risk unoriginality.

In the film, a giant ogre insists that $1 + 1 = 3$ and refuses to let a smaller ogre correct the error to $1 + 1 = 2$. Their conflict continues, with many ingenious battles reminding me of the Roadrunner cartoons, until the larger ogre triumphs only to discover a still bigger ogre who insists $1 + 1 = 4$.

There is nothing wrong with being obvious this way, and my main complaint about *I + I = 3* is that it is overlong for its joke to sustain it. In addition, the message, that the winner writes the history books, is so loaded that only the young can benefit from the film.

A Problem of Power. 45 minutes. Color. United Methodist Church, any Cokesbury Regional Center, Rental: \$15, Sale: \$250. United Presbyterian Church, any regional distribution center, Rental: \$5.

A Problem of Power is an excellent, effective study of Colombia today. Intelligently produced and directed by Herbert F. Lowe and Sumner J. Glimcher, ably assisted by William L. Wipfler, the film concentrates on the plight of the vast majority of Colombia, the peasants, and how everyone's solution so far has failed utterly to help them. These failed efforts include

capitalism, socialism, Russian Marxism, Cuban Marxism, Maoism and anarchy.

With this in mind, *A Problem of Power* turns to the hope that the young priests of the Roman Catholic Church can effect a change for the better through involvement. To accent the necessity for change, several telling interviews are presented with peasants, landowners, priests, bureaucrats and professionals.

The film begins and ends with an ironic look at a pompous state-religious ceremony in the streets of Bogota. The urban peasants, transplants from the countryside, line the curb and watch the state-religious elite pass by. *A Problem of Power* says quite bitterly that without justice for individuals, the faith that the peasants and certain churchmen have in the future is all that holds Colombia together.

TAUW. 26 minutes, 30 seconds. Color, English subtitles. United Methodist Church, any Cokesbury Regional Center, Rental: \$12, Sale: \$240.

Tauw is the name of the hero of this vignette in the life of an unemployed, likeable young man in Dakar, Senegal, an autonomous republic on the extreme western shore of Africa.

Tauw is caught in the depressing conditions of his country, often described as a developing nation, with a 95 percent illiteracy rate and recur-

ring reversals in economic and domestic affairs. In one day's story, Tauw's life mirrors that of Senegal's, as we see him struggle with growing pains and a missing sense of purpose. Eventually, he opts for striking out on his own, with no real prospects and his pregnant girl-friend in tow.

Tauw was made by Ousmane Sembene, himself a Senegalese from Dakar, the nation's capital, and he used mostly non-actors for this strikingly bittersweet presentation of his nation and people. Sembene and *Tauw* say to me that they have faith in their strength and destiny and that they will one day achieve.

Them People. 43 minutes. Color. United Methodist Church, any Cokesbury Regional Center, Rental: \$12.50, Sale: \$260.

As a study of welfare, *Them People* is uneven and confusing. But as a look at exactly who it is that welfare affects, *Them People* excels.

There is much talk, and some of it difficult to understand because of poor recording quality. However, a common theme emerges from all the interviews, round table discussions, seminars and cinema verité walking tours of poverty areas: that there is a vital need in this country that is not being met, the poor are living miserable, hopeless lives. *Them People* has no answers, it places the problem before you and asks for your help.

Set in Colombia, the film, A Problem of Power, focuses on the problems of Latin America and the effects North American policies—governmental, business, and mission—have on the life of our neighbors to the south.





The welfare system is the subject of the film, *Them People*, shot in Cleveland, Ohio.

A question that recurs throughout *Them People* strains the faith that we citizens of the United States have in the rule of law and laissez-faire capitalism: "If you have never lived in poverty, how can you know how they feel?"

The Hangman. 12 minutes. Color Illustration. United Methodist Church, any Cokesbury Regional Center, Rental: \$6. Contemporary-McGraw Hill, 330 West 42nd Street, New York, N.Y., 10036.

The Hangman is a vivid, frightening illustration of Maurice Ogden's poem by the same title dealing with the destructive apathy and thinly veiled bigotry of mankind.

As the narrator recites, each illustration carries us into the story of a terrifying hangman who constructs his scaffold before the town's hall of justice and proceeds to execute first a foreigner, than a lone dissenter, Jew and black, until he picks off the whole town, his scaffold growing with each murder. All the while, the hangman

proclaims that he has come to hang the man who serves him best, and the other hangings are just warm-ups. Finally, the narrator alone remains and is told that he is the man for whom the scaffold was built, for it is his apathy in watching others die while merely recording their passing that has served the hangman best.

The Hangman, created by Paul Julian and Les Goldman, is so effective that no one could fail to benefit.

A Church for This Moment, *Caribbean Ferment*, *Nigeria Now*, *Strategy for Strangers*. Each 15 minutes. Color. Presbyterian Church in Canada, Board of World Missions, 50 Wynford Drive, Don Mills 403, Ontario, Canada. Inquire for rental.

These four films employ the same interview format in exploring the problems and futures of different Christian churches in Japan, the Caribbean, Nigeria and India. As a series, they are an unqualified success in personable, informative studies of the Christian world mission. Canadian

television professionals conduct the interviews, and though there are dead moments, the general effect is striking.

Particularly powerful is *Caribbean Ferment*, an interview with the Right Reverend Harold Sitahal of Trinidad, Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Trinidad, and the Reverend Haimdat Sawh, minister of the Guyana Presbyterian Church, Guyana. Both men, articulate critics of colonialism, irrelevant church doctrine and the status quo, tell us boldly: in a black situation, white must become black to help; political independence does not mean economic independence; the economic wealth of North America is, in part, at the expense of South America, and you can't have peace without equality.

Strategy for Strangers focuses on the difficult situation of the Korean Christian Church in Japan as presented by Dr. In Ha Lee, moderator of the church. The Korean immigrants in Japan, Christian and non-Christian, suffer, we are told, compromises and outright bigotry from the Japanese, with little or no recourse. Some people have suggested to Dr. In Ha Lee that the Koreans should accept their plight because they might awaken the sleeping giant with their cries of injustice. Dr. In Ha Lee firmly disagrees, and he believes that his church's work is helping to bridge the differences.

In *A Church for This Moment*, Bishop Bhandare of the Church of North India describes some of the pains of uniting the different Protestant mission churches in North India into a viable, independent church.

Nigeria Now offers the most poignant moment in the series, when the Reverend Nwachuku Eme, Clerk of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Nigeria, humbly recounts the desperate time of the recent civil war. He was moved to lead his clan into the forest in order to escape the marauding armies. Of the original 35,000 with him, only 19,000 survived to return to their devastated homes and lands. ■

GRACE AT POINT ZERO, by Loren E. Halvorson. New York, 1972: Friendship Press, \$1.75.

GET OUT THERE AND DO SOMETHING ABOUT INJUSTICE, by Margaret E. Kuhn. New York, 1972: Friendship Press, \$1.95.

GUIDE ON FAITH AND JUSTICE FOR ADULT AND YOUTH GROUPS, by L. Wayne Bryan, New York, 1972: Friendship Press, \$1.35.

The text which sets the tone for the study of "Faith and Justice" is Loren Halvorson's *Grace at Point Zero*. Written from the intriguing vantage point of 1986, the book remembers the moods and events of the early seventies, and follows them to their imaginary culmination in a new and hopeful national direction. Looking back upon the United States bi-centennial in 1976 as a turning point from pain to healing, from "breaking down" to "breaking open," the author projects for us a fresh vision of national possibilities. His purpose is to evoke, or at least provoke, the latent resources of healing and reconciling buried deep in the heart of God's people.

A series of vignettes, presented as research reports by young people in a Human Resources Center in 1986, point out that these times we are struggling through may contain the seeds of salvation as well as judgment, life as well as death. This risk of faith, this precarious vision that the future belongs to us because it belongs to God, is "grace at point zero."

The mid-seventies is described as the time when the church faced the fact that the course of human society rests in human hands, and began to move from judgment to renewal. Released by forgiveness, Christians became free to experiment with new styles of being the church in the world. They understood at last that "there is no private life for the people of God."

Though he is disconcertingly optimistic in his view of the future of both the nation and the church, Halvorson does a commendable job, in a fresh and unique style, of pushing the reader to a critique of the past, an examination of the present, and a projection for the future. The use of a scenario gives us enough objectivity to be able to view our own times with repentance and celebration.

Margaret Kuhn, in *Get Out There and Do Something about Injustice*, takes this

"stereo" understanding of the church, in which its life is guided by both theological reflection and social analysis, and converts it to very concrete case studies and action suggestions. In her analysis of the events of recent years which have profoundly stirred and shaken local congregations, she unfortunately fails to include the rising expectations of women in relation to decision-making roles in the church, though she mentions other special interest groups such as blacks, Mexican-Americans, Indians, youth, Third World peoples, and Pentecostal-fundamentalists.

Ms. Kuhn introduces a timely and helpful exploration of the meaning of ministry, with its implications not only for the ordained clergy, but in an even deeper sense, for the laity. She has chosen two case studies of ministries which express a concern for both faith and justice, and which are carried out in large part by lay persons: the farm worker movement, and the attack on the health care "empire." *Get Out There . . .* will doubtless prove to be a very practical tool for groups who seek specific guidance for action alternatives.

Wayne Bryan's *Guide on Faith and Justice* also offers concrete program and action suggestions for the study. Using both the Halvorson and the Kuhn texts as basic input, he provides a course outline, complete with study, audio-visual, worship, and activity suggestions.

There are four additional Friendship Press resources especially designed for the study. *See It! Do It!* by David Ng is a wealth of information: vignettes, photographs, songs, Biblical and theological materials, drama bibliography, etc. *Let Faith Be Your Camera* by J. W. Patterson, a flipchart of photographs and art, is supplemented by brief guidance material. Justin Vander Kolk's *To Set Things Right* provides a Biblical setting for exploring the relationship between faith and justice, while *Confronted!* by Myra Scovel contains four dramatic discussion starters on faith and justice in India.

Any group willing to dig into these various segments of the Faith and Justice "package" should have little excuse for a single-track approach to the study.

PEGGY HALSEY

MILITARY CHAPLAINS: FROM A RELIGIOUS MILITARY TO A MILITARY RELIGION, edited by Harvey Cox. New York, 1972: Clergy and Laymen Concerned, 162 pages, paper, \$2.45.

Although this is hardly an objective study, it should be read by every chaplain in the armed forces, any serious student of the complicated church-state issues involved, and those concerned for the witness and mission of the church.

Dr. Cox questions whether the

church's representatives can be faithful to the Biblical tradition, especially the prophetic calling, while living within and under the pressures of today's military structure, policies, and ideology. Dr. George H. Williams' chapter on "The Chaplaincy in the Armed Forces of the United States of America in Historical and Ecclesiastical Perspective" draws together much valuable historical information. His treatment of the period 1918-1971, which saw many important developments, is unfortunately truncated.

From this point on, the quality of the chapters on "Sociological Impressions of the Chaplaincy," "Military Religion: An Analysis of Educational Materials Disseminated by Chaplains," "Being a Chaplain in Today's Military," "Is the Military Chaplaincy Constitutional?" fall far below the balance, honesty, and competence of the introductory portions of the book. Dr. Robert McAfee Brown concludes the collection of essays with a penetrating and temperate treatment of the rationale for ministry to the armed forces concluding that the "presence" of the church in such a ministry is not in question but the form of the presence is wrong.

I commend the book for serious study because it brings together the sporadic but pointed criticisms of the chaplaincy. Such a critique sharpens our sensitivities in an area of compromise and tension—whether one opts for the present form, some revisions of the present form, or some type of civilianized chaplaincy.

The basic assumption of most of the authors is that the ministry of the church in the military is too compromised or muzzled to justify the continuance of the chaplaincy within the military structure.

Other assumptions are that the primary purpose of the military is massive violence to persons and countries, and that the military establishment is almost by nature evil. The pressure to accept these pacifist assumptions has been strengthened by the highly questionable rationale for the tragic and costly war in Vietnam and even more by the question of its morality.

However, unless you are willing to say that armed forces are unnecessary in today's world of tangled power-politics, then you are forced to accept the necessity of the military. You recognize that by far the greater portion of their time is spent in simply "being there" as a deterrent in civil or international order. The war in Southeast Asia heightens our revulsion at this eventuality of military power but does not remove the necessity of armed forces in today's world.

One other assumption of many parts of the book seems to be the single-eyed criterion that unless the chaplain is effectively critical of command for any breach of morality (in the broad sense) or the international conventions of war,

unless he supports all conscientious objectors (of whatever stripe?), then the chaplain has failed and the structure renders a genuine ministry impossible. The priestly and pastoral functions are recognized and appreciated, but the question of the lack of the prophetic seems to be the one important criterion. Actually all three must be upheld, and the fact is that many chaplains strive to fulfill the prophetic office now within the structure. The civilianization of the chaplaincy would seriously reduce the ability to fulfill the priestly and pastoral functions and not necessarily guarantee an overall ministry that would be more prophetic.

The methodology of the middle portion of the book is often very questionable. Nothing is easier than to find among the thousands of people, in all their varieties of motivation, who have served as chaplains the quotes to prove a particular point of view. Of course there are chaplains who have had bad experiences in the military, commands which are difficult to live with, chaplains who were not equipped or were afraid to work with command without serious compromise, chaplains who make an easy simple identification of God—country—duty—war. Balancing statements, perspectives, and questions are admitted to the text only begrudgingly.

The same is true with the quotes used from religious literature disbursed on some military stations. Admittedly, some of the literature is very poor and promotes national idolatry, but it is not by any means primarily or consistently of that stripe. With dozens of possible sources for this literature it is not surprising that some of the literature is as culture-bound as it is. It is stated that some libraries were examined, but the only library having any considerable collection of such materials (General Commission on Chaplains and Armed Forces Personnel) was not used.

Even Dr. Williams, at the end of a fine chapter, moves from documented history to his own hypothesis, for example: "... it is a fairly safe bet that among military officers any protest from a chaplain, no matter how circumspect, will be 'too much.'" From wide personal experience and contact I have no alternative but to say that is a gross overstatement! His reasons for assuming that the chaplaincy will more and more be a "dumping ground" for less able ministers are equally ungrounded.

The chapter on constitutionality lacks in thoroughness and balance and often resorts to very specious arguments. One also wonders why the United Presbyterian position paper (1965) "The Practice of Having Ministers of Our Church Serve as Military Chaplains Paid by the State" was ignored except for one introductory paragraph that suited the author's purpose.

The main questions, however, are does the chaplain's presence legitimate the total military operation (the bad as well as the good)? do the structure, the policies, and the ethos of the military so mute or compromise, consciously and unconsciously, the chaplain's witness as a minister of the gospel as to render genuine ministry impossible? The answer to those questions depends finally upon the integrity and courage of the individual chaplain as an obedient servant of Jesus Christ rather than upon the structure.

EDWARD BRUBAKER

WHY CONSERVATIVE CHURCHES ARE GROWING, By Dean M. Kelley. New York, 1972: Harper and Row, 179 pages, \$6.95.

Churches which are reasonable, responsible, cooperative with other churches, interested in dialogue, non-dogmatic, democratic, receptive to outside criticism and concerned about social justice—these churches are declining.

But churches which make unreasonable demands on their members, cooperate with nobody, are dogmatic and authoritarian, avoid dialogue, don't care what anyone thinks of them who is outside the fold, and preach an outmoded theology with only a narrow concern, if any, for social justice—these churches are growing.

This is the observation of Dean Kelley, Director of Civil and Religious Liberty for the National Council of Churches, whose new book should keep a host of "humane, intelligent, personable, modest and committed" church leaders in mainline churches awake at night wondering if in fact church decline and decay are a consequence of modernization. And, if so, what happens now? Kelley's statistics document the decline of the major mainline denominations which are at the heart of the ecumenical movement and in the battle for social justice. Also, in churches which have separate liberal and conservative branches, it is the conservative in every case that is growing, while the other is barely holding its own or declining.

Kelley's judgment on the declining churches is not that they are too religious, but that they are not religious enough. They are not providing their members with adequate or convincing answers to the ultimate questions of the meaning of their lives. The growing churches are doing that, even if in ways that are offensive.

Among those churches overflowing with vitality are the Southern Baptist Convention, the Assemblies of God, the Churches of God, the Pentecostal and Holiness groups, the Mormons, Jehovah's Witnesses, Seventh-day Adventists, and Black Muslims. The Southern Baptists

passed the Methodists in 1967 and have been increasing the gap since.

Perhaps the mainline churches can take a cue from the success of these groups, while avoiding their obvious excesses. Kelley suggests this may mean being more specific on commitment and on who is or is not acceptable in the fellowship of believers. None of the growing churches have a "diffident, believe-and-let-believe" approach. It may mean a more strenuous interpretation of discipleship and of what it means to be a Christian. When, for instance, a university Christian group decides there is nothing wrong with having Jewish students as full members but throws out a group which has a different view on the war, it is time to reassess the whole operation.

More important, the churches must concentrate on the question of meaning. There is this remarkable statement: "If a religion should set out deliberately to benefit the whole society by patriotic preaching or welfare services or social action, but *did not make life meaningful for its members* (italics his), it would benefit the whole society less than if it had contented itself with ministering its unique function to those who looked to it for that ministry." And that is from a man who has long been identified with progressive causes.

Does this mean the ecumenical churches should lay off social action? No, because that is certainly a part of the Gospel. But it does mean recognizing that the churches "are not social-action barracks where the troops of militant reform are kept in readiness to charge forth at the alarms and excursions of social change. Rather, they are the conservatories where the hurts of life are healed, where new spiritual strength is nourished, and where the virtues and verities of human experience are celebrated." Furthermore, Kelley argues, resistance to social justice in the mainline churches is partly a result of the insufficient emphasis on meaning and discipline, so that members react not on the basis of the Church's teaching but on whether they feel their own personal secular interests threatened.

Kelley's study sometimes moves too easily from analysis to hypothesis and is very likely overdrawn, but there is plenty of solid material here for debate and personal soul searching. C.E.B.

Ms. Halsey is Secretary for Financial Promotion of the Women's Division of the United Methodist Board of Missions. . . . The Rev. Edward Brubaker was a chaplain in World War II and for six years served as chairman of the United Presbyterian Department of Chaplains and Service Personnel. He is now pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Wichita, Kansas.

special report: the general conference

By Betty Thompson

Legislators of The United Methodist Church met in Atlanta for their quadrennial General Conference and again affirmed their stress on Wesleyan theology, Christian social principles, and connectionalism.

The 10.5 million member denomination, second only to Southern Baptists in numbers, is the most pluralistic of the mainline Protestant denominations. Its large black, Hispanic American, Asian American, and Indian caucuses were much in evidence and received sizable funding though not as much as requested.

The United Methodist Church has traditionally been missionary and the results of more than 150 years of aggressive mission work were evident in the representatives of more than 50 overseas churches of Methodist or Evangelical United Brethren origin.

National missions interests were highlighted when the Black Community Developers, a project of the Fund for Reconciliation, were introduced and it was announced that nine had decided to enter the ministry.

Women were more in evidence than ever before. Wearing buttons proclaiming United Methodist Women 13%/54% (referring to their representation in the General Conference as contrasted with their membership in the church), the women had their own caucus. In the words of Miss Doris Handy, a vice-president of the Women's Division of the Board of Missions, "the hand that serves the rolls and rocks the cradle" is capable of wielding the gavel.

No women wield the gavel nor do laymen or local clergymen at the General Conference. The presiding officers are the bishops who are not enfranchised by the General Conference. Among the requests of the women granted by the Conference is the removal from the church's Book of Discipline of all male-oriented language. This includes references to bishops as "he" and "him." But more important was the establishment and funding of a Commission on the Role and Status of Women to implement participation of women at all levels of the church's life.

Another group which gained ground was youth. Age limits were lowered for annual and general con-

ference membership and the Judicial Council, the church's supreme court. For the first time youth were represented on the powerful agenda and other committees which control the conference. And while without vote, their voices were audible and attended.

The study commissions appointed in 1968 consumed the major part of the General Conference's time. A theological study commission brought a Doctrine and Doctrinal Standards Statement which found ready acceptance among the widely diverse group of laity and clergy. Adopted with only 17 dissenting votes, the statement allows for pluralism but establishes as basic criteria Wesley's guidelines of Scripture, Christian tradition, experience, and reason.

Most controversial, as expected, was the new Social Principles Statement, a 4,000 word document dealing with sexuality, drugs, national and world affairs. A statement on Vietnam which calls on American leaders "to confess what we have done in Indo-China has been a crime against humanity" caused one of the most anguished debates at the conference. The conference unanimously endorsed a Bishop's Call for Peace and Self Development of Peoples which will receive high visibility in local congregations in the next four years.

The liberation struggles of African peoples were upheld as the conference heard from courageous Bishop Abel T. Muzorewa of Rhodesia. The conference also spotlighted South Africa, Namibia, Angola, Mozam-

bique, and Guinea Bissau as areas of special concern and discouraged American concerns from business in those areas.

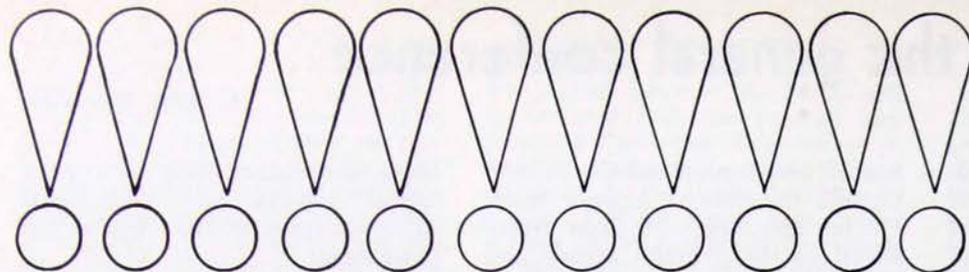
The Conference marked the end of a shameful era when it set July 1, 1973, as the termination date for its last four racially segregated annual conferences. At one time the church had a non-geographical Central Jurisdiction for blacks.

Although the church voted to remain in the Consultation on Church Union and the often beleaguered National and World Councils of Churches, the issues of ecumenism came in for far less attention than the restructuring of the denomination itself. A reduction in the number of boards and agencies to eliminate overlap and competition has resulted in four program boards: Church and Society, Discipleship, Global Ministries, and Higher Education and Ministry.

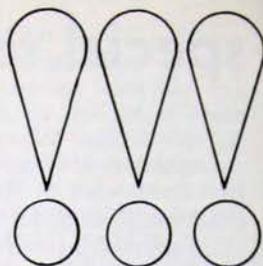
Of the vast amount of time spent on restructuring the chairman of that commission, the Rev. Dr. Dow Kirkpatrick, said "an incarnational religion cannot consider structure irrelevant to mission . . . The call of Christ's church comes out of the future . . . Our church intends to be obedient." And in the closing devotion, the president of the Council of Bishops, O. Eugene Slater, cited the new doctrinal standards statement as perhaps the most important happening of the two-week meeting. "Renewal does not depend upon structure alone, but an understanding of who we are, and an understanding of God through Jesus Christ."

Mrs. Coretta King talks with Bishop Muzorewa.





The
Moving
Finger
Writes



WOUNDED EVACUATED

RNS Photo

Wounded South Vietnamese soldiers are carried from a helicopter in Pleiku, South Vietnam, after a firefight in the Central Highlands.

BLAKE HITS BOMBING IN NORTH VIETNAM

Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, general secretary of the World Council of Churches, has scored the resumption of U.S. bombing raids over North Vietnam. The action, he said, threatens to take the world "yet further down the road of destruction."

World Council headquarters released the text of a letter Dr. Blake sent to Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy, general secretary of the U.S. National Council of Churches, urging American churchmen to "continue their efforts to stop this senseless war."

Dr. Blake, an American and a United Presbyterian clergyman, said the bombing of North Vietnam "clearly makes impossible the release of the several hundred Americans being held prisoners of war in Indo-China and of those thousands of political and military prisoners held in South Vietnam."

Resumption of the air raids, he continued, makes the world believe that the U.S. is "incredibly" still seeking only a military solution in Indo-China.

(RNS)

UNION CARBIDE HEARS DEBATE ON RHODESIA

Stockholders and officers of Union Carbide heard a one hour panel argue vigorously against the company's resumption of chrome importation from Rhodesia, but the company will continue to import the chrome anyway.

Rep. Charles Diggs (D.—Mich.) expressed "outrage" that Union Carbide should be an "accomplice in breaking international economic sanctions against Rhodesia."

Union Carbide met the day after the Senate Foreign Relations Committee unanimously approved a bill that would repeal an earlier Congressional measure (1971) lifting a ban on the importation

of chrome from Rhodesia, which is still under U.N. sanctions. Church groups, southern African agencies and the Black Caucus in Congress insist that the U.S. is in violation of its endorsement of the U.N. sanctions by lifting the ban. A suit is in progress.

A move to nominate United Methodist Bishop Abel T. Muzorewa of Salisbury, Rhodesia, as a director was overruled because the bishop is not a stockholder.

Union Carbide President William S. Sneath said that his company "agrees with the decision of Congress to allow the importation of chrome which we feel is indeed in the best interest of the nation's security and recognizes that sanctions against Rhodesia have not been effective."

A representative of the American Friends Service Committee noted that the protesters outside the building were demonstrating for "law and order" while the company stockholders and officers inside represented "international law-breakers."

(RNS)

A WALK TO JERUSALEM RAISES RELIEF FUNDS

A 22-year-old Briton has returned to London after walking 2,000 miles to Jerusalem and hitchhiking back. The objective of his trek was to raise \$24,000 for relief for Christian Aid, the service agency of the British Council of Churches, and the Evangelical Alliance Relief Fund, known as TEAR.

Mark Sharman, a former Communist, was converted through the evangelical Campus Crusade for Christ, and now hopes to work full-time for that organization. He is a graduate of Reading University.

At TEAR offices in London, Sharman said that his walk to Jerusalem took 21 weeks, an average of 17 miles a day. He carried a folded tent, a cooking pan, two harmonicas and a Bible. Over 600 sponsors, including Anglican Archbishop George Appleton of Jerusalem, had agreed to pay a certain sum for each mile Mr. Sharman walked.

"It was on the basis of God's promises as contained in His Word that I thought

and walked and lived, because I had committed myself to a task in which no man could help me," Mr. Sharman said.

"But it was my joy to ask God's help at all times and to see Him meet all my needs without fail, whether it was for guidance when I was lost, or for food when I was hungry, or for a place to sleep when it was too cold to stay outside," the young Christian added.

In other news of peripatetic Christians, the 60-year-old Anglican Archbishop of Sydney, Australia, has gone into training for a 10-day walk over the treacherous Kakoda Trail in the Alan Stanley Ranges of New Guinea. The project is designed to raise \$1 million to establish a capital fund for the Diocese of New Guinea in anticipation of New Guinea's independence.

(RNS)

UNITED METHODISTS TOP BANGLADESH AID GOAL

In less than five months, United Methodists have surpassed their goal of \$1 million for relief and rehabilitation in Bangladesh.

As of March 31, members had given \$1,010,764, R. Bryan Brawner, denominational treasurer, reported in Evanston, Ill. The appeal for funds was issued in November by the United Methodist Council of Bishops.

Mr. Brawner said he expected that more contributions will be received. The funds will be expended through an ecumenical agency on the scene in Bangladesh.

WINTER, OTHERS APPEAL A DEPORTATION ORDER

Anglican Bishop Colin O'Brien Winter of Damaraland, South-West Africa (Namibia) and three associates, have petitioned a court in the Namibian capital, Windhoek, for permission to appeal the court's prior refusal to intervene in a deportation order affecting the four plaintiffs.

Bishop Winter, David de Beer, lay treasurer of the Damaraland diocese, and two other church workers, the Rev. Stephen Hayes and Miss Antoinette Halberstadt, were expelled from Namibia last March by the government of South Africa.

Namibia is not part of South Africa, but is administered by South Africa, in defiance of the United Nations and the International Court of Justice.

The ouster followed open expression of support for tribesmen of Namibia's "black homeland"—Ovamboland—who at the turn of the year staged a strike

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RELIEF SUPPLIES FOR BANGLADESH

Months after gaining their independence in a costly civil war, the people of Bangladesh still depend on relief supplies for much of their day-to-day existence. Church groups and relief organizations have responded with millions of dollars worth of food, clothing, medicine and other supplies.

At left, supplies are unloaded from a plane at a Bangladesh airport. At right, a woman feeds her child from a pail. The child's swollen belly is a sign of malnutrition.

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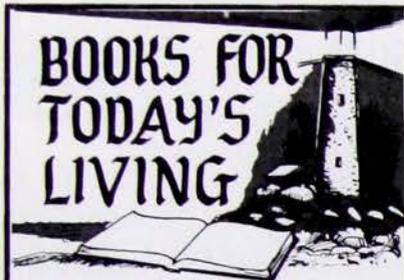
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against a white-dominated contract labor system.

Lawyers for the absent plaintiffs told the Windhoek court that the deportation orders were "inconsistent" with an immigration act of the South African Parliament. The act protects persons born in South Africa against deportation from South-West Africa, the lawyers argued.

Mr. Beer, Mr. Hayes and Miss Halberstadt are white, South African-born citizens.

The grounds for Bishop Winter's appeal were not given in the broadcast report. The bishop is British-born.

(RNS)

EVANGELICALS ARE WARNED AGAINST 'PACKAGED PRODUCT'

Evangelical church leaders face the danger today of "handing down a neatly



RNS Photo

In the studios of Miami's radio station WIOD, the Rev. John Huffman talks with a listener during his Sunday evening open-phone talk show. For four hours each Sunday, the young pastor of the Key Biscayne Presbyterian church uses the talk show format which has proved successful at other radio stations. But his program is unique in that he applies the guidelines of a Biblical faith to personal problems faced by listeners who call in.

In addition to helping numerous people—Mr. Huffman handles anywhere from 20 to 40 calls during his show—The John Huffman Program has proved to be a boon to WIOD. Last June, surveys showed that the radio station ranked sixth among Miami-area stations during the Sunday evening period. By last November, after Mr. Huffman started the program, WIOD had more than doubled its audience and had climbed into third place in that time period.

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packaged product to youthful leaders," according to a Florida pastor.

Addressing a dinner at the 30th Anniversary Convention of the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE), the Rev. John Huffman of Key Biscayne Presbyterian church—church often attended by the Nixon family—said that evangelicals have "allowed our faith to be institutionalized to the point where we often neglect soul faith."

He challenged the leaders of the 3 million-member association to look beyond yesterday's accomplishments and intensify their efforts in today's changing world, citing the Jesus Movement as an example of how flexible Christians should be in presenting the Gospel.

The 31-year-old Southern Presbyterian minister told members of the Board of Administration that at least five dangers lurk before the NAE leadership:

—The danger of passing on an inherited religion to young leaders.

—The danger of a defective Christian education which institutionalizes faith.

—A lack of confidence in the Bible as a source of daily guidance and inspiration.

—Fear of change . . . and,

—The danger of being so busy with the Lord's work that they neglect their own families.

DR. WILMORE IS APPOINTED TO BOSTON U. THEOLOGY POST

Dr. Gayraud S. Wilmore, Jr., has resigned as chairman of the United Presbyterian Division of Church and Race to become Martin Luther King Professor of Theology at the Boston University School of Theology.

Since its inception in 1963, the noted black clergyman has been executive head of the United Presbyterian

Church's race agency, which was founded as the denomination's primary unit on all matters regarding race.

Dr. Wilmore's resignation was accepted with "deep regret" by the Rev. Kenneth G. Neigh, general secretary of the Board of National Missions. He said Dr. Wilmore was "one of the most valuable leaders in the United Presbyterian Church and a man whose theological insights and commitment to the Gospel will be missed by the entire denomination."

A frequent contributor of articles to religious and secular publications, Dr. Wilmore is the author of several books, including *Black Religion and Black Radicalism*, scheduled for publication by Doubleday in August.

From 1960-1963, Dr. Wilmore was professor of social ethics at Pittsburgh Theological Seminary. Earlier he was associate secretary of the Department of Social Education and Action of the United Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.

(RNS)

ASSEMBLIES OF GOD PLAN SOUTH VIETNAM MISSION

The Assemblies of God denomination is launching a mission program in South Vietnam. The government of Saigon has authorized the program, which will begin with the opening of a chapel near a hospital caring for dependents of war veterans.

"We are in full sympathy with the present (South Vietnam) government and its stand against communism," said John Hurston, the missionary who is directing the work. "We are praying that the government will be able to stand against the onslaught of communism."

Mr. Hurston said there is a "spiritual vacuum" in South Vietnam.

(RNS)

"AMAZING GRACE" TOPS BRITISH POP "CHARTS"

"Amazing Grace," one of the best known hymns in America, has become the most popular song in England and continental Europe. A recording, made without lyrics, by the band of the Royal Scots Dragoon Guards, topped the charts in mid-April.

Meanwhile, in Japan, where a "Jesus Christ boom" is anticipated, one of Japan's largest manufacturers of synthetics and clothing has registered as a trademark a tiny emblem containing the drawing of Jesus Christ appearing on the cover of the currently popular record

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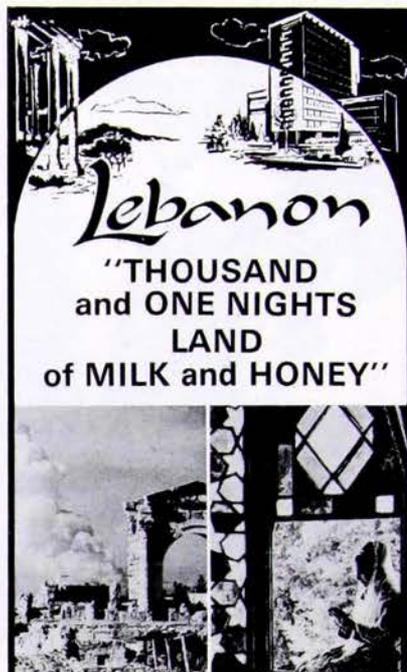
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COURT CLEARS ANGLICAN DEAN

Anglican Dean Gonville A. French-Beytagh is congratulated by well-wishers in Johannesburg after he was cleared on charges of violating South Africa's Terrorism Act. The South Africa Appeals Court in Bloemfontein threw out his conviction and a five-year prison term ordered by a lower court in the much publicized case. The dean was convicted on Nov. 1, 1971, on charges of inciting persons to break laws and to prepare for violent revolution. The former dean of St. Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg left for London soon after the Appeals Court decision.

"Jesus Christ, Jesus Christ" sung by Peter McLaine. In the three months since the half-size disc was introduced onto the Japanese market more than 100,000 copies have been sold.

SOCIOLOGIST UNIMPRESSED WITH "JESUS MOVEMENT"

Dr. Robert Bellah, a sociologist of religion at the University of California (Berkeley), is not impressed with the "Jesus movement." The professor says the "Jesus People" are simply "narrow fundamentalists in blue jeans and long hair."

He talked of the movement while in Nashville to deliver the annual Cole Lectures at Vanderbilt University. He noted that the Jesus movement is diverse and that some of its aspects may prove to be positive. But at the present, he said, the chief characteristic is "reaction formation."

The emphasis on individual salvation of the movement, he said, leads to repression of other values, including those of other religions, philosophies and ideologies. "Jesus People" too often tend to say that "the whole world is split into people like me and those who are wrong," Dr. Bellah commented.

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