

# the catholic peace fellowship Bulletin

December 1978

## PRAYER AND REVOLUTION

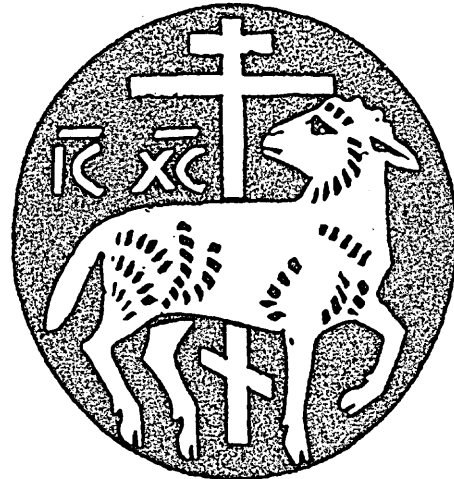
by Charles McCarthy

Nothing is more likely to incite fratricide and sororicide among the saints than Catholic peace and justice people suggesting to Catholic charismatics that the latter are giving a false witness to the gospel by their indifference to social misery e.g. war, torture, oppression, injustice, hunger, etc. This in turn induces the charismatic folks to note with a certain amount of rhetorical flourish that the Catholic peace movement manifests an attitude toward prayer than can most charitably be described as tepid. Both accusations are of course false since both are generalizations that cannot be completely sustained by the evidence. However, the problem each illuminates within the particular Christian movement is real.

Not all, but many Catholic charismatics are oblivious to the social gospel. Not all, but many Catholic peace people view prayer as an occasional nonessential secondary activity. I cannot personally address the social "hardness of heart" void in the charismatic movement since I am not a charismatic. But having given a substantial segment of my adult life to what can loosely be referred to as the Catholic peace movement I feel qualified to at least offer some informed reflections which, I hope, will be helpful in generating both dialogue on prayer and prayer. Consider what follows then not as a doctrinaire statement on the faults of the Catholic peace movement but a process of "worrying out loud" by one who believes the Catholic peace and justice movement to be one of the most redemptive aspects of the present-day Church. Of course it should go without saying that what is presented here in terms of the Catholics involved in social justice issues is probably applicable to the activists in other churches and in non-church affiliations. But ecumenical etiquette requires that one confess the beam in his or her own eye first.

Sometime around 303 A.D. the Emperor Diocletian embarked on his persecution. The contemporary testimony of Lactantius is gruesomely vivid: "Christians of both sexes and of all ages were thrown into the fire; not one at a time, but whole groups of them were bound together and burned; others were flung into the sea with a great stone tied to their necks... the prisons were full to overflowing while new kinds of torture were an hourly invention." Other Christians, called "mining confessors," were conscripted to be slave labor in the imperial mines. In order to thwart escape, the government first mutilated them by cutting out their right eyes, then branded them with hot irons and severed the tendons of their left feet. The historian Eusebius records that during this persecution "the orgy of beheading and punishment by fire went on for so long in a single day that the deadly blade became blunt and killed by its weight. The executioners became exhausted and took turns at their work... But immediately when sentence was pronounced on one group another came forward to the tribunal and acknowledged themselves Christians and remained steadfast in the face of dangers and torments of all kinds."

Modern Catholics have no active memory of these martyrs. The horrible words recorded by Tertullian "Throw the Christians to the lion" are today devoid of all religious content and have become the punch-line in jokes about competing interests of unequal ability. God forbid that the Jewish community ever loses its memory and becomes so lax toward the sufferings of its past that the sentence "Throw the Jews to the ovens" is reduced to a glib cultural wise crack. Jews are to be congratulated and praised and thanked for keeping alive the fact that at one time there was a man, a state and a culture that taught that Jews had no right to live. Catholics on the other hand are in need of something other than congratulations and praise for creating a community where the iron Roman dicta "non licet esse Christianos"—Christians are not allowed to exist—is all but forgotten except for the mindless mechanical commemorations of a few celebrity martyrs.



One of the consequences of this communal loss of memory is the loss of communal knowledge about the spirituality which accompanied Christianity's nonviolent struggle against Rome's totalitarian regime. Such knowledge could be very helpful in our time—a time which Dorothy Day calls the "Age of Technological Dictatorship." It could be helpful because the first three centuries of Christianity represent the most successful nonviolent campaign against a hostile state that the world has ever seen, and therefore the spirituality of that campaign deserves the closest scrutiny and respect. After all, it is at least possible that the spirituality of the Catacomb Church has as much to offer a Christian theology of liberation as does Marx.

One prominent characteristic of the spirituality of the oppressed Church of the first three centuries of Christianity is that She prayed often and intensely and conscientiously. This should not be surprising since prayer increases faith and faith increases courage. In times of great risk, great courage is demanded and therefore great faith is needed. From Nero to Valerian (c. 65 A.D. to 260 A.D.), attendance at Christian worship was a capital crime prosecuted with varying degrees of enthusiasm. Yet the record shows a personal and a collective spiritual life that

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## CELAM III

by Jim O'Callahan

A great deal is at stake when the Third General Assembly of Latin American Bishops (CELAM III) meets in Puebla, Mexico early in 1979. The theme for discussion, set by the Vatican Curia, will be "Evangelization in the present and in the future of Latin America."

When this same body met ten years ago in Medellin, Colombia, its task was to adopt the conclusions of the Second Vatican Council to present reality in Latin America. In the spirit of Vatican II it was an open conference attended by bishops, theologians and observers from all over the world. Its conclusions, though hardly noticed in North America, were very important for Latin America where the influence of Catholicism pervades every level of personal, social and political life.

Medellin marked a major turn in the course of the Latin American Church when it identified evangelization of the poor as the primary role of the church today. It is the poor who challenge the church and define its evangelical task. The bishops declared that not only must the church act and speak in defense of the voiceless and the oppressed, and denounce unjust political, economic and social structures; it must also embody the poverty of Jesus Christ, itself becoming a "poor church." They recognized that violence is embodied in unjust structures and begets the counter-violence of popular resistance.

The bishops at Medellin specifically identified the sources of oppression as "institutional violence, the neocolonialism of the national oligarchies and the external neocolonialism of the 'international monopolies and the international imperialism of money'." They called for "global, daring, urgent and basically renewing change." In so doing they challenged the legitimacy of the church allying itself with the ruling classes and oligarchies of Latin America, and gave new legitimacy to "liberation theology" and the "comunidades de base" already at the work of renewal and liberation of the poor through societal structural change.

It seemed reasonable to expect that the Church at Puebla would continue to encourage this approach to evangelization which has reached hundreds of thousands through popular religious structures and identification with the poorest of the People of God. But as preparations progressed for Puebla, this was not the case. In spite of worsening economic conditions and government repression which had inspired Medellin, preparations for CELAM III took a different direction from that of CELAM II. A different team of experts was resorted to. Fear and criticism of liberation theology was expressed. Documents were prepared in secrecy with little reference to events since Medellin. Participation was to be restricted, as far as possible, to delegate bishops.

The Preparatory Document (P.D.) for Puebla was drawn up by theologians appointed by Mons. Alfonso Lopez Trujillo, Auxiliary Bishop of Bogota, Colombia, Secretary General of CELAM, and an avowed opponent of liberation theology. Distributed in December of 1977, it drew severe criticism from all over Latin America as well as from groups of theologians in Germany, Canada, and the U.S. It was seen as an attempt to manipulate the agenda of CELAM III and discredit liberation theology. Ultimately it was rejected but only after much heated protest. "It was a dismal document full of fears" which failed to capture the vitality and prophetic spirit of the

Latin American Church and which cut at the heart of Medellin.

This P.D. differs from Medellin in its underlying vision of the church. Specifically, it envisions Latin America as a Christian culture in the inevitable process of "development" from an agricultural-urban society to an urban-industrial society. In this transition it faces the threat of losing its Christian character to the secularizing influences of liberal capitalism on the right and atheistic socialism of the left. The role of the church is to combat secularism while affirming development and to infuse the newly emerging industrial society with Christian values. It anticipates the continuance of the institutional church and a powerful influence in a new society, a New Christendom, (a Christian Democratic state?) It overlooks the social costs for the poor, the polarization of classes and the dependence on dominant countries inherent in the models of industrial development for Latin America.

In the Puebla document the poor are no longer the protagonists of history, challenging the church and defining its evangelical task. The protagonist in Latin American history becomes "the people" without distinction between rich and poor. Poverty is defined in spiritual terms in generalities that few people or none are excluded from it. The common characteristic of all the people is "Western Civilization." The common threat—secularization. The evangelical mission of the church, then, shifts from the liberating evangelism of the poor to the evangelism of "culture." The poor are invited to conformism and a resigned faith in Divine Providence.



Opponents of liberation theology appear to regard the grass roots church itself as a threat to their concept of the church's evangelical mission. The "comunidades de base" have turned away from developmentalism and Christian Democracy to liberationist models based on cooperative effort and popular participation. They call for decentralization of authority in the church and a lifestyle of evangelical poverty. Because they begin with a political analysis and reflection, use Marxist tools, and are concerned with the material needs of the poor as well as the spiritual, they seem to risk introducing secularism and atheism into the Church. The Vatican shares this anxiety that the liberationist church may be reduced to nationalistic political cells cloaked in religious rhetoric.

These misgivings feed into the view of the several military governments that have declared themselves the custodians of Western civilization (including national values and Christian culture) and are not above using force to preserve it. To this end and with the help of foreign "friends" they have developed the doctrine of "national security" to deal with those who would "subvert" these values by opposing government policy or calling for social change.

The ideology of National Security regards present day society as a battleground between two irreconcilable foes—Communism and Western civilization (which include national values and Christian culture)—locked in mortal combat. The battle is fought at every level of human experience, cultural, political, economic and religious. It is a state of permanent warfare; a total strategy. Every action, even every thought contributes to

the struggle. Constant vigilance is necessary to defend against infiltration of enemy influence. The State, as the repository of civilization, is supreme and is accountable to no one. All citizen activity should contribute to the support of the State. Opposition to or criticism of government policy is "subversion."

This doctrine is rooted in the Pan-Germanism of the last century. It guided the Nixon-Kissinger policy of "Vietnamization" in the 1960's. It characterized U.S. training of Latin American internal security police over at least a decade. It prevails in at least seven South American countries today and its influence is felt in many others in Central and South America, as well as in the United States. In addition to the suppression of constitutional rights it accounts for countless cases of arbitrary arrest, prolonged detention without charges, disappearances, "death squad" killings and torture.

Despite the endorsement of Medellin and their commitment to nonviolence many exponents of liberation theology and the "comunidades de base" have already suffered severe reprisals for their beliefs and activities. It is clear to see how vulnerable they would be if the support of the Church is withdrawn at Puebla.

It is not yet clear which vision of the church will prevail at Puebla. A renewal of Medellin's commitment to the liberation of the poor would indicate a realistic recognition of the process of secularization in society and would be an institutional endorsement of the centrality of the popular church which seeks to be a sanctifying leaven for all the people in a secular world. A withdrawal from that position would support those who wish to see a "new Christian culture." It would be regarded as an endorsement of those political forces which, in the name of Christian culture and "development," overlook the poor, encourage the penetration of multi-national capital, and look to the doctrine of "national security" to insure social stability. It would marginalize the "comunidades de base" and abandon them to charges of subversion.

Puebla will give a good indication of the tone of the new papacy toward Third World liberation and the mission of the Catholic Church in the world, the secularization of society, collegiality in the Church, ecumenism and commitment to the spirit of Vatican II. A strong papal hand at Puebla would be a step backward from the support that Vatican II tried to give to decentralization of authority and to collegial decision making among the regional Bishop's Conferences of the world. Third World church groups in Asia and around the world which have adopted liberationist models are waiting to read their own futures at Puebla.

Yet the people look forward to Puebla with hope. The initial "preparatory document" has been replaced by a new "working document" which, though no great improvement over its predecessor, will at least reflect input from the grass roots and the various bishops' conferences. They believe that their cries for justice will be heard and that the church will move forward from where Medellin left off. But even if that does not happen they will continue to struggle and pray, resisting and organizing, trusting that the God of the Poor will remember their oppression and that liberation will finally come.

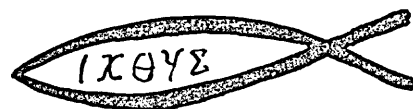
*Jim O'Callahan writes on Latin America for the CALC Report and is a special representative for CPF to CELAM III.*

## PRAYER AND REVOLUTION

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leaves no question as to prayer's central significance in confronting evil as manifested in the barbarities of government and the delusions of society.

The loss of active memory about our martyred brothers and sisters in faith has caused us to forget that each was a unique person who at one time heard the challenge "Art thou a Christian?" and who lived daily with the ever-present possibility of some social enemy or upset child or envious sibling issuing the challenge. These were men and women who at least heard and probably saw the spectacle of other living men, women and children being torn limb from limb by wild beasts or smeared with pitch and turned into torches. To think that prayer was anything but intense and central in the life of each of these first Christian revolutionaries is to misperceive Christian tradition and historical reality.



Today there are large numbers of Christians in Latin America, the Soviet Union, Africa, Indonesia, the Philippines, South Korea, Indo-China, etc. who live in a Catacomb Church. State torture and death are forever lurking in the shadows waiting to mutilate the bodies and spirits of any who dare proclaim the gospel in its fullness. These Christians, I am sure, pray with a level of sincerity and seriousness that would put to shame the prayer life of the average peace and justice person in the American Catholic Church. Question: Can we be in solidarity with the oppressed of the world unless we pray as intensely for them as we would pray for ourselves in the same situation? Admittedly prayer is not the sole Christian means by which solidarity is achieved, but it is a necessary means for Christians.

Furthermore, without prayer it is unlikely that we will be able to honestly stand in solidarity with the oppressed at any level. Thomas Merton in *Contemplation in the World of Action* makes the following assessment of peace and justice activities devoid of prayer:

He who attempts to act and do things for others or for the world without deepening his own self-understanding, freedom, integrity and capacity to love, will not have anything to give others. He will communicate to them nothing but the contagion of his own obsessions, his aggressivity, his ego-centered ambitions, his delusions about ends and means.

How long would a newcomer have to be involved with the Catholic peace movement before seeing the state of being Merton describes? How many have, in one way or another, left the Catholic peace movement because they experienced the movement as a contagion of obsessions, of aggressivity, or ego-centered ambition and of delusions about means and ends, i.e. experienced it as a patently hopeless use of life's time?

"My greatest weapon is mute prayer," said Gandhi. Was the great Experimenter in Truth dealing in hyperbole or did he mean that his greatest weapon was prayer? If he was using hyperbole was he not doing so in order to at least make the point that serious prayer is an essential part of any non-violent revolution? Would Gandhi have

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been Gandhi without his intense prayer life? Pray to love and love to pray: without following this dimension of Gandhian consciousness, is any other aspect of Gandhi's thought achievable or even honestly pursuable?

Helder Camara rises each morning at 2 a.m. to pray. Dorothy Day has probably written as much on prayer in her column in the *Catholic Worker* as on any other subject. Yet despite the example and unequivocal exhortations of the best of the best, the Catholic peace movement does not seem to possess a prayer life consistent with the gravity of evil it is confronting. It is almost as if it were trying to carry on its war against the powers of darkness with one of its most potent weapons in mothballs.

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With some or all of these thoughts motivating them, a group of about twenty people from the Catholic Peace Fellowship gathered in June for a day (10 a.m. to 10 p.m.) of prayer and reflection at the Trappist Monastery in Spencer, Mass. The day alternated between silent and oral prayer, and spiritual reading and discussion. It included such traditional approaches to God as a Litany of Christ the Prisoner, the Stations of the Cross of Non-Violent Love, Vespers, and the Eucharist. An essay entitled "The Son of Man Must Suffer" by John L. McKenzie and a slide show from the American Friends Service Committee called "Sharing Global Resources" were the immediate external source of input that initiated the dialogue in the program. For most present it was the first time that they had gotten together with Catholic peace people from geographical locations other than their own for this kind of day. And all who were present were grateful to the Catholic Peace Fellowship for sponsoring it.

Of course nothing materially or spiritually momentous occurred, which is probably just as well since there appears to be an inverse relationship between the momentous and the ultimately significant. But if religion is persons responding to that Existence in virtue of which they themselves exist, then something good and meaningful did happen. For here were 20 people who more or less agree on a way of responding to the mystery of Existence and who came together to confess to each other and to The Other their failures in responding in that way, to ask each other and The Other for assistance in living that way and to thank each other and The Other for the gift of being aware of that way. Yes, something happened—something that would be impossible in a dead universe where No One was listening and where No One cared.

When the day ended, it was dark and raining and I remember thinking how appropriate that was. No one had achieved satori or "peaked in the Spirit," but I do think everyone received a little help in persevering in the process of redeeming a world through the cross of Christ, the cross of Suffering Love.

"Religion begins," says Abraham Heschel, "with certainty that something is asked of us, that there are ends which are in need of us. Thus religious living consists in serving ends which are in need of us." Prayer is not a luxury for the Catholic peace movement but a matter of life and death. It is an absolutely valid and an absolutely necessary means to combat unlove and untruth. Without prayer the Catholic peace movement can not serve the ends which are in need of it. Let us pray.

*Charles McCarthy is a teacher-theologian, specializing in Christian nonviolence. He is also an attorney.*

## PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST?

by Tom Cornell

At the close of the Camp David Summit cables were sent in your name to President Carter, to Prime Minister Begin, and to President Sadat congratulating them on their achievement of a framework for peace, calling attention to the need for a *comprehensive* settlement and reminding them of the centrality of the just claim of the Palestinian people to self-determination. Even at first flush it was evident that massive obstacles remain in the path of peace. Still it seemed good to acknowledge the forceful leadership of President Carter in pursuit of such an elusive peace. He had all but jailed the two Middle Eastern leaders at Camp David and forced them to drop false rhetorical claims and the shield of *subalterns* and come to the first stage of a process which, pray God, is irreversible.

Massive obstacles remain. One is implicit in the word *comprehensive*, which means that Syria and the other Arab states must be involved in any permanent settlement. Initial Jordanian and Saudi denunciations were for public consumption purposes only. The agreements are much to the advantage of the conservative powers. King Hussein wants very much to reassert himself on the West Bank. Saudi Arabia does not want to foot the bill for Egypt forever, and it welcomes a weakening of any forces tending toward socialization (such as the PLO) as the royal family guards its exclusive hegemony over the life of the country. We can expect Jordan and Saudi Arabia to inch toward support of Sadat, isolating the confrontationists. Another is the meaning to be assigned to Palestinian self-determination. Another is the Soviet factor. The State Department is very pleased with that part of the Kissinger legacy that successfully excluded the Russians from a determining role in the Middle East. The suspended Geneva Conference on the Middle East had been co-sponsored by the US and the USSR, and at one time the possibility of a peace jointly *imposed* by the US and the Soviet Union was a serious option, and one preferred by some experts in the area. "Better an imperialist peace than a democratic holocaust," as one put it privately. It is really unlikely that the Soviets could gain any long-term strategic advantage in the Middle East. Islam is not compatible with Marxism, and the real interests of the Arab states are jealously guarded. Egypt is an example of how Arab states might welcome aid from outsiders but throw the foreigners out when they get too pushy. Keeping the Soviets in the picture might force the State Department to work harder but the peace to be obtained would be more secure if the Soviets and Syria had a direct stake in its attainment.

The Palestinians have been the football of the Middle East since the establishment of the State of Israel in 1947 and the Palestinians went into their own *diaspora*. When asked, almost all Palestinians you meet on the street, in shops or universities or town halls tell you that "the PLO represents us." But Israel will not deal with the PLO "terrorists." It can not be denied that the PLO has committed atrocities of terrorism, but neither can it be denied that the Irgun did likewise. And after all, peace must be made by the people who are making war upon each other. On the other hand it is not always clear, and it may become less clear what is meant by "the PLO represents us."

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# Mobilization for Survival

by Bill Ofenloch

The Mobe capped its first year this past May with a series of generally acclaimed activities in New York City around the United Nations Special Session for Disarmament. An International Religious Convocation arranged by the Religious Task Force brought 300 religious leaders to New York for a series of talks, workshops, religious services and processions including a dramatic one through the devastated South Bronx and one across 42nd St. to the U.N. Pax Christi arranged a special concelebrated Eucharist at Holy Family Church across from the U.N. after the final rally. The church was packed to overflowing.

The next day, May 27, a mass rally at Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza right across from the U.N. drew 15-20,000 to call for disarmament. In what was widely considered an uplifting rally, speakers from around the world called upon the governments of the world to disarm and for the peoples of the world to demand that they convert military production to meet human needs. The rally concluded with a mass die-in. Thousands of people lay down for ten minutes or so to simulate the effects of war particularly nuclear holocaust.

On June 12 a Sit-In for Survival protested the complete lack of movement by the United States government towards disarmament and continued slippage closer to nuclear war. After a lengthy planning process and affinity group structuring in order to have an effective non-hierarchical demonstration, participants gathered near the Public Library and marched ten blocks over to the U.S. Mission to the U.N. Approximately 400 people were arrested for sitting or attempting to sit down near the Mission. This was the largest civil disobedience action in New York in memory and was marked by cordial exchanges with the police and widespread media coverage. We have learned that the pressure was felt in the White House.

## Mobilization National Conference

The second national conference of the Mobe was held in Des Moines, Iowa, over the weekend of Sept. 16-17. A special religious mini-conference started off Friday's activities. Bishop Maurice Dingman from the Des Moines diocese welcomed the participants. An important result of the mini-conference was the decision to try to get various church bodies which have the resources to develop literature and materials around the nuclear and conversion themes from a religious viewpoint.

The major part of the conference was taken up with consideration of the strategy and structure of the Mobe. After reports from task forces on these two areas, regional caucuses met and discussed them and sent representatives to work out various compromises which were ratified by the entire conference. To help implement the four general goals of the Mobilization which are: *Zero Nuclear Weapons, Ban Nuclear Power, Stop the Arms Race and Fund Human Needs*, four interim goals were adopted to help focus and encourage our actions. These are: 1) Moratorium on nuclear power and weapons, 2) Commitment to meet human needs by redirecting tax funds from military to constructive social programs through substantial annual cuts in the military budget, 3) Attainment of full employment through conversion of local military and



Photo by Dana Grubb

Fathers Dick McSorley, S.J., and Paul McLaughlin (on left) and Bishop Walter Sullivan (on right) marching across 42nd St. on the way to the rally at the U.N. during the International Religious Convocation.

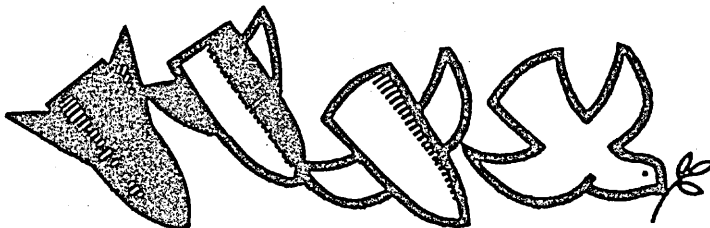
nuclear energy programs, and 4) Immediate end to all arms sales and military assistance to foreign countries.

A time line as follows was adopted:

- November 11-19: Nationwide actions to commemorate Karen Silkwood.
- Winter, 1978: Nationally coordinated Holy Season activities.
- January, 1979: Launch U.N. "Year of the Child" with petition campaign on this theme.
- February 18: Demonstration against arms bazaar in Chicago.
- March-April: Meet Human Needs Spring—local activities on human needs, conversion and transfer.
- June 3-4: Nationally coordinated community actions at nuclear, military or corporate sites to coincide with international anti-nuclear activities.
- August 6-9: Demonstrations commemorating Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
- Fall, 1979: National Demonstration in Washington, D.C. and possibly on west coast (tentatively Oct. 27) to have mass rally and civil disobedience in conjunction with no nukes groups.
- December, 1979: Third national conference.

There was vocal discontent with the structure of the Mobe by folks who favor a more decentralized movement but after extended discussion and debate it was decided to continue the present structure with a few modifications.

To find out more about the Mobilization for Survival and local groups in your area write to the national office at: 1213 Race St., Philadelphia, PA 19107.



## Paul VI, John Paul I, R.I.P. John Paul II, You Are Peter!

by Tom Cornell

The traditional wish for long life, *ad multos annos*, for our new Pope, and prayers for the peace of the souls of his two immediate predecessors mix in our hearts and memories of the past two months. Television images of the funeral of Pope Paul, the election of Cardinal Luciani, his installation as Pope John Paul and then his funeral, the election of Cardinal Wojtyla and his installation as John Paul II: it seemed that television cameras had set down roots somewhere near Trajan's Column. How many millions watched, believers and unbelievers? So the imagination of the world is drawn to Rome, whether the Pope and his claims are honored or not.

My first visual memory of St. Peter's Square is from the old Pathe Movie News films of the liberation of Rome, General Lucius Clay leading the Anglo-American forces down the Via della Conciliazione to the key of the Square and the Bernini colonnade, and Pope Pius XII at the balcony of St. Peter's Basilica greeting and blessing the beginning of the end of the war in Europe. On a late afternoon in October, 1967, I took that walk, from Hadrian's Tomb past the souvenir shops, hotels, churches and the U.S.O. to Piazza Pio Dodicesimo, entering the key and traversing the Square in air suffused by cinnamon light that harmonizes all the colours there and that seemed to suffuse me too. Romans sat sprinkled around the colonnade, reading their newspapers, taking the last rays of the oblique sun, feeding the birds. The Square is theirs, and it is mine and ours, and it's the most beautiful man-made place I have ever seen. Days later, Pope Paul gave the members of the Lay Congress his blessing from his bedroom window over the Square. A delegate from Texas standing at my side excoriated him roundly, for what I don't remember. No pope could satisfy the demands of some of the "progressives." Honor is due Pope Paul for his courage in preserving the Faith, for his rapid development of the teachings on peace and justice, for *Populorum Progressio* and the Bishops' Synod, for the implementation of the spirit of the Council on his Way of the Cross. A period of change is always painful, but most of all for the one who must control that change; we will reap the fruits of Paul's sacrifice henceforward.

Pope John Paul had a wonderful smile to put a world at ease. He reminded me of a bowl of polenta, the hearty corn-meal sprinkled with Parmesan favored by his countrymen of the North, poor man's fare, plain and honest, also the object of jokes in my family recalling hard times. He put aside the papal tiara as a symbol of temporal power, and had little time but to set the stage for his successor, a priest once set to forced labor by the Nazis, a bishop who has led massive demonstrations of nonviolent civil disobedience in his own land, who has faced implacable foes and won their admiration. His working class origins and character are etched in his face. He is an intellectual, a student of phenomenology, but there is nothing effete about him. He looks tough, no Santa Claus, a kind but firm father. We can look to great things from him in terms of East-West ecumenical relations and in improved *modus vivendi* in Communist countries and so the promotion of peace. And he will establish limits of change within orthodoxy and unite the Church on a yet more solid basis. That is our prayer as it must be the prayer of those who love the Church and who love peace.

## Advisory Board

In the long sought process of setting up an advisory board for CPF, a group of twelve predominantly New England area folks met at the end of September at the Community for Non-Violent Action in Voluntown, Connecticut. Joanne Sheehan and Rick Gaumer who were the mainstays at the CPF office for many years are living there now. (See note elsewhere in this *Bulletin*.) Discussion revolved around the future activities of CPF and the possible directions we might choose. This was only a preliminary meeting to try to lay the groundwork for an advisory board and a better working relationship among local groups, individual members of CPF and the national office. However, several good concrete proposals were developed.

Foremost among these proposals was the idea of an organizers' newsletter. More frequent than the *Bulletin*, cheaper and easier to put out on mimeograph, this newsletter would go to 300 or so key organizers throughout the country to inform them of particular issues or events and to help them develop coordinated activities. People hoped that a closer network might develop and be helped by such a newsletter. Regional groupings were also considered as a favorable arrangement to facilitate communication. New England already has an office at the Center for Reflective Action, Mont Marie, Holyoke MA 01040, staffed part-time by Kathy O'Connor and Jane Morrissey. If you would like to get this newsletter let us know at the office.

Another proposal that will be investigated was to have a presence at the national meetings of the Church, such as the NCCB, to raise the peace concerns. This might be in the form of a demonstration or vigil. Cooperation with other groups such as Pax Christi, CCUM or the Catholic Worker was seen as a way to utilize our resources more effectively.

Everyone saw disarmament as the pivotal peace issue, one which can integrate all the other peace and justice concerns. So many of the injustices in poverty and hunger result from the emphasis on arms production and research by the United States and almost every other nation.

The twofold goals of CPF were agreed to be to educate people about these problems and possible Christian responses to them and secondly, to move an ever increasing number of people to create just conditions and peace in their own lives and in the world.

The Catholic Peace Fellowship, as you know, has the double focus of education about and activist participation in the non-violent movement for radical social change. Through the *Bulletin* we try to acquaint you with various aspects of this movement. This particular issue was put together by Bill Offenloch and Tom Cornell. We are very grateful to those who contributed to this *Bulletin*. We are also grateful to the FOR which did the typeset. Articles and comments are welcomed at our office—339 Lafayette St., N.Y.C. 10012. Our telephone number is (212) 673-8990.



# CALL TO RADICAL DISCIPLESHIP

## Historic Meeting of Historic Peace Churches

by Eileen Egan

Radical discipleship for a time of crisis, particularly war tax resistance, was embodied in the resolutions adopted by 300 delegates, at the "New Call to Peacemaking" Conference held at Green Lake, Wisconsin in October 1978 by the historic peace churches—Brethren, Friends (Quakers) and Mennonites. The Conference was the culmination of two years of preparation through grass roots meetings involving 1,500 persons in 13 areas of the United States.

Other resolutions arrived at during the historic gathering at the Baptist Assembly Center in rural Wisconsin called for radical changes toward a peacemaking lifestyle, greater efforts for conversion from militarism to a peace economy and for the world-wide abolition of nuclear weaponry, and the proclamation of the peace witness as an integral component of the gospel of Jesus. The aim of the first common effort of the three churches was the expansion and revitalization of their peace witness, and the clarification of "what we can affirm, proclaim and do together as historic peace churches."

Speaking to the delegates in opening the four-day meeting, Dale W. Brown, Church of the Brethren theologian, urged war tax resistance as "an important symbol. It raises ecclesiastical questions of support, and defines the peace witness in broader terms than what our 17 or 18-year-old youth do in response to the coercive power of the state."

No issue produced more concerned debate in 27 Small Group Meetings, as well as in general gatherings, than that of the protest and civil disobedience involved in refusal to pay the tax portion which funds the military and the arms race. Brown also exhorted the delegates to greater activism, in particular, to active witnessing against nuclear proliferation. "Brothers and sisters," he reminded the participants, "are opposing nuclear insanity by again laying their bodies on the line, the railroad tracks. They resist the transportation of weapons of death as a witness to life in such a way as to bring harm and even imprisonment to themselves while attempting to remain nonviolent in their relationship with others."

Nonviolence, he stressed, remains the way of God, but while in some circumstances, it takes the form of nonresistance, in others, it takes the form of resistance.

Impassioned support for war tax resistance came from John K. Stoner of the Peace Section of the Brethren in Christ Church, a body within the Mennonite tradition.

"We are praying for peace and paying for war," he said. Pointing out that the church has done only part of its duty when it declares that the arms race is wrong, he asked the church, which calls on the government to take risks in disarmament, to assume the risks of war tax resistance. Difficult as it might be to arrange for the withholding of the individual's war tax portion, it could be done. The cost of such discipleship would rise, since peace church payrolls would be involved.

"The Catholic Worker Movement," he stated, "and other prophetic voices in various denominations have long advocated war tax resistance, but have been truly voices crying in the wilderness."

The final statement of the Findings Committee, based

on recommendations of Small Group Meetings and on general debate, reached an irenic compromise. It called upon the peace churches only "to seriously consider refusal to pay the military portion of their Federal taxes as a response to Christ's call to radical discipleship." Church communities were urged to support war tax resisters with spiritual, emotional, legal and material aid, to give priority to the war tax issue and to dialogue with those employees who opt for such resistance.

Biblically-based nonviolence in personal life, in the struggle for justice and in the face of conscription for war was discussed in three lectures to general meetings by Ronald J. Sider, theology professor and member of the Brethren in Christ Church.

"The radical, costly character of Jesus' call for love of enemies certainly tempts us to decisively weaken Jesus' message by labelling it an impossible ideal, relegating it to millennium or limiting its application to personal relationships," said Sider in "The Cross and Violence." He concluded that there is no aspect of Christian life, public or private, that is not bound by the words of Jesus.

"If God in Christ reconciled his enemies by suffering servanthood, then those who want to follow Christ faithfully dare not treat their enemies in any other way..." Sider asserted. He cited as a tragedy that many of those who accept the "biblical understanding of Christ's vicarious cross fail to see its direct implications for the problem of war and violence." It was the resurrection that strengthened the discouraged disciples—and all disciples—to live by the costly message of the cross.

The limited power of the state over the individual conscience was emphasized in Sider's lecture on "Christ and Power." "To announce Christ's lordship to the principalities and powers is to tell governments that they are not sovereign," he stated. In his final lecture, Sider called for a lifestyle dedicated to an active but nonviolent struggle for justice, including living among the poor in inner cities, in Appalachia or in unjust third world settings. He dreamed of great numbers of Christians courting suffering and imprisonment because of their fight against injustice, and of a "movement of biblical Christians so sensitive to the holy Spirit's guidance... that they will know when to work within existing structures and when to build new structures."

THEY ARE NOT TO TAKE UP ARMS  
OR CARRY THEM ABOUT FOR ANY  
REASON.

St. Francis - in his rule for a Layman's  
Third Order

Duncan Wood, for 25 years Quaker International Affairs Representative to UN bodies in Geneva, was an example of Quaker witness to the structures of political power. In his talk, "Building the Institutions of Peace," he termed the world expenditure of a billion dollars a day on arms "wicked, wasteful and suicidal," and saw it as threatening humankind with a "holocaust." He urged cooperative programs for a more peaceful society as well as greater church involvement with the United Nations. Wood's hope was for an eventual peaceable kingdom, a hope based "in our faith in a God of love who did not put us into the world to face us with insoluble problems, or to prepare for our own destruction but to make us demonstrate our love for him in our love for one another."

At the closing meeting, the conference decided to send a delegation to meet with President Carter in

(Continued on page 10)

# join us

## PRINCIPLES OF THE FELLOWSHIP

Those who choose to associate themselves with the CPF/FOR as members, while not binding themselves to an exact form of words, do basically agree upon six principles outlined in the FOR's Statement of Purpose:

- † They identify with those of every nation, race and religion who are victims of injustice and exploitation, and seek to develop resources of active nonviolent intervention with which to help rescue them from such circumstances.
- † They work to abolish war and to create a community of concern transcending all national boundaries and selfish interests; as an integral part of that commitment they refuse to participate personally in any war, or to give any sanction they can withhold from physical, moral or psychological preparation for war.
- † They strive to build a social order that will utilize the resources of human ingenuity and wisdom for the benefit of all, and in which no individual or group will be exploited or oppressed for the profit or pleasure of others.
- † They advocate methods of dealing with offenders against society that will be founded on understanding and forgiveness, and that will seek to redeem and rehabilitate the offender rather than impose punishment.
- † They endeavor to show reverence for personality - in the home, in vocational relationships, in school and the processes of education, in association with persons of other racial, credal or national backgrounds.
- † They seek to avoid bitterness and contention in dealing with controversy, and to maintain the spirit of self-giving love while engaged in the effort to achieve these purposes.

The Fellowship's unity is of those who share a common vision and a common task: the vision is of a just and peaceful world; the task is nothing less than the permeation of the whole process of social change with the spirit of human kinship.

THE CATHOLIC PEACE FELLOWSHIP, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012

☐ Please enroll me as a member of both the Catholic Peace Fellowship and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the ecumenical body of which the Catholic Peace Fellowship is a part. I agree with the principles, as outlined above this card, and want to join in working them out.

☐ Please check here if you are already on the mailing list, but are now becoming a member.

**Signed** ..... **Date** .....

**Name (please print)** ..... **First** ..... **Middle** .....

**Address** ..... **Last** .....

**City** ..... **State** ..... **Zip** .....

**Occupation** ..... (If student, mention school)

☐ I am a student in ☐ high school ☐ college ☐ seminary; I expect to graduate ..... ☐ I also pledge \$ ..... to be paid on ..... (date)

☐ I enclose \$ ..... as a contribution, of which \$5 is for my subscription to FELLOW-SHIP Magazine

☐ Commitment to the principles of the Fellowship of Reconciliation is the only membership requirement, although it is supported by the voluntary gifts of members and friends.

☐ Contributions to the Fellowship of Reconciliation are deductible for income tax purposes.

☐ Though I cannot join the Catholic Peace Fellowship/Fellowship of Reconciliation at this time, I am interested in the services available and would like to be placed on the mailing list.

**CHECK ONE ONLY**

## NICARAGUA

The crisis in Nicaragua has been temporarily quieted as General Somoza has crushed the armed resistance to his regime. But the crisis remains, as does the question very important to our brothers and sisters in Latin America, "What has nonviolence got to offer?"

World news media have centered on the violence. It is more easily photographed than the more important forces under the surface. An alliance has been formed between business, labor and the Church to remove the Somoza regime. A general strike very nearly succeeded.

In previous decades we might have feared direct U.S. military intervention in favor of "stability," reinforcing a regime previously imposed by the U.S. military. (FOR members will remember John Nevin Sayre's foray into the Nicaraguan mountains in search of Sandino, just ahead of the U.S. Marines.) Today we need not fear direct U.S. military support of the dictatorship. In fact the stated policy of the U.S. is one of non-intervention, and for that we are grateful. However, explicit withdrawal of support for the regime might well be the needed extra ingredient in the situation bringing about the desired effect, the removal of President Somoza and the establishment of a more representative government.

Toward that end we urge specifically 1) the recall of the U.S. Ambassador to Managua, 2) the withdrawal of the five member U.S. Military Advisory Group and 3) the suspension of economic assistance programs (which have shored up the tottering regime) and of military assistance programs (which have enabled Somoza to maintain his grip and most recently to kill hundreds of high school and college students, among others).

## PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST?

*Continued*

At this point it seems that the powers involved seem willing to undercut the PLO, and there is a question of justice involved here. Still the PLO might emerge under another name or in another political configuration, acceptable to Israel for purposes of negotiation. In any event, perfect justice is unobtainable. It is said, "Fiat justitia, ruat caelum," let justice be done even should the heavens fall. Only a fool would let the heavens fall, and in the Middle East conflict this is no hyperbole. The vital interests of all the world under the nuclear cloud are involved. We must welcome real steps toward peace, support the President in this effort and try to forestall the dangers inherent in his policy by seeking the most justice possible for the Palestinians. Israel must know that there is no more blank check from Washington, that it must withdraw its West Bank settlements and that it must cooperate in the establishment of an independent Palestine on the West Bank and in Gaza. Of course no mini-state of such dimensions can succeed for long without a high degree of interdependency developed with its neighbors, Israel and Jordan. Perhaps the terms *state* and *autonomy* do not accurately denote the realities that are to be. Who after all has autonomy?

A factor inhibiting optimism is that of armaments. The U.S. has supplied about three-fourths of all arms shipped to all parties to the Middle East conflict in recent years, roughly two-thirds of all U.S. arms transfers, representing a cost of \$10 billion per annum. This is to increase under the new accords; the U.S. is to build two new air bases in the Negev to replace those Israel will lose in the Sinai. The level of armaments in the Middle East is already insanely high. It is ludicrous, but not out of character, for the U.S. government to harbor the delusion that more of the same may lead to peace.



## J.P. Stevens Boycott

One of the marks of our Church is the concern our people have for "poor and working folk." Most of us moved from difficult days but remember how we were helped. Among the most neglected and deprived workers today are textile workers in the southeastern states of Georgia, Alabama, Virginia and the Carolinas. These areas are glaring examples of poverty conditions: low wages, poor medical service, widespread illiteracy, inadequate housing, high sales and income taxes, unfair tie-ins between business and public officials, etc. Add to this resistance to unions and gifts of land, buildings, utilities, roadways and sewage facilities to companies willing to move from northern areas, already hit hard by economic problems.

One company, J.P. Stevens Textiles, typifies these social and economic evils. The company has frustrated workers' rights to unionize more than any company in the nation. The company does practically nothing to remedy conditions that are unhealthy (Brown Lung diseases and deafening noise levels) and unsafe (uncovered blades and unanchored machines). The company discriminates against its older, women and black workers in job assignments and pay scales. The company has been involved in price-fixing, tax evasion and electronic surveillance.

As the second largest textile company in the world with 83 plants, J.P. Stevens can shift its production easily from one plant to another. Hence, they can break any strike to get more than \$3.50 an hour, \$50.00 a month pension, more vacation and holiday time, etc. Therefore, a national boycott has been invoked on J.P. Stevens products. If you help, you will be joining many national and diocesan groups throughout the country (Catholic Charities, National Federation of Priests' Councils, National Assembly of Women Religious and National Council of Churches). Your cooperation may also convince the company to take seriously the one-year old offer of the Southeast Catholic Bishops to help ameliorate the situation.

### SHEETS & PILLOWCASES

Beauti-Blend  
Beauticale  
Fine Arts  
Peanuts (comic strip figures)  
Tastemaker  
Utica  
Utica & Mohawk  
Designer Labels:  
Yves St. Laurent  
Angelo Donghia

### TOWELS

Fine Arts  
Tastemaker  
Utica

### CARPETS

Contender  
Gulistan  
Merryweather  
Tastemaker

### TABLE LINEN

Simtex  
HOSIERY  
Big Mama  
Finesse  
Hip-Lets  
Spirit

### BLANKETS

Forstmann  
Utica

## Literature Notes

We are in the process of revising the Peace Education Packet. A few items on disarmament and on nonviolence have been added. The packet is \$2.50. With two books: *Economics and the Gospel* by Richard Taylor and *Signs of Shalom*, it is \$6.00, plus 20% for postage.

The Sojourner's Study Guide for Churches, "The Nuclear Challenge To Christian Conscience" is highly recommended. It is \$1.50 (discounted, for quantities) from Sojourners Magazine, 1029 Vermont Ave., NW Washington, D.C. 20005.

The Mobilization for Survival will have an updated packet of 40 articles and resources out shortly for \$4.00 plus postage. See the address in the article on the Mobe.

*A book of days, a book of hope.*

## WHILE THERE IS A SOUL IN PRISON

One 1979 desk calendar is both practical and idealistic: the War Resisters League calendar. Measuring 5½" by 8¼", it has a page for each week and is handsomely produced with many striking illustrations. Its spiral binding enables it to lie flat.

But much more important is its text, which is written by Martin Luther King, Robert Lowell, Judith Malina, Dave Dellinger, Rosa Luxemburg, Emma Goldman—all prisoners at one time in their lives. The "ordinary" prisoners are here too, speaking to us no longer as numbers but as coherent beings. Reminding us that prison itself is a crime.

Handsome, practical, moving and more. The 25th annual WRL calendar includes listings of peace organizations and periodicals, important dates in the history of the movement for social change, and a prison reading list.

This is a meaningful 1979 calendar for you and an important gift for your friends. Send \$3.50 (or \$13 for four copies) to:

War Resisters League  
339 Lafayette St.  
New York, NY 10012

## Corporate Death Merchants

A campaign of the Interfaith Coalition on Corporate Responsibility and the Mobilization for Survival Nuclear Weapons Task Force focuses on the companies which produce the major components of nuclear weapons. They have picked six of these corporations to be the targets of stockholder resolutions primarily from Catholic religious orders and Protestant bodies which demand disclosure of the companies' involvement in nuclear weapons trade. Different types of demonstrations are also planned to press these companies to eliminate their involvement. You can obtain more information from ICCR at 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10027 or from the regional contacts listed below with each corporation.

**Rockwell International.** Rocky Flats Plant (produces the plutonium triggers for all U.S. hydrogen bombs and was the target of major demonstrations last Spring and an ongoing nonviolent blockade.) Contact: Pam Solo, Rocky Flats Action Group, 1428 Lafayette St., Denver, CO 80218.

**Bendix Corporation,** Kansas City Plant. Contact: John McCormick, 449 E. 55th St., Kansas City, MO 64110.

**General Electric,** Pinellas Plant in St. Petersburg, Florida. Contact: AFSC, 1515 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19107.

**Monsanto,** Mound Laboratory in Miamisburg, Ohio. Contact: Martha Henderson, AFSC, 915 Salem Ave., Dayton, OH 45406.

**Union Carbide,** Y-12 Plant in Oakridge, Tennessee. Contact: Beth Mullin, 125 Indian Lane, Oakridge, TN 37830.

**Dupont,** Savannah River Plant in Aiken, South Carolina. Contact: Palmetto Alliance, 18 Bluff Road, Columbia, SC 29201.



## Parvum Gaudium

Anne Sheehan-Gaumer was born to Joanne and Rick at CNVA Farm in Voluntown, Connecticut, October 29. Little Annie weighed eight pounds at birth, after an uneventful home-delivery. All are well, thank God. Many prayers for you, Little Annie, from a large and far-flung family.

## Historic Meeting of Historic Peace Churches *continued*

connection with the Mideast peace initiative and in view of his statement on nonviolence being at the heart of Christianity. Statements in four general fields were adopted by consensus: Strengthening the Local Base, Peacemaking Lifestyle, Confronting Militarism and Witness to Peace. The momentum of the "New Call to Peacemaking" will be continued through periodic conferences, publications of "New Call" materials, peace caravans and possibly a peace fund. New efforts are to be made to "share with Christians of all denominations and ecumenical bodies the biblical and theological interpretations and challenges to action which have emerged in this Conference."

This writer, who had just finished a study of peace witness of the early Christians, found how strongly the members of the historic peace churches echoed the language of the Christians of the first three centuries. In their refusal to relegate Jesus' command to love their enemies to personal relationships, in their refusal to suspend the Sermon on the Mount for the durations of wars and in their refusal to participate in organized killing, the Brethren, Friends and Mennonites brought to mind the ringing peace statements of Origen, Lactantius and many others. Both early Christians and members of the peace churches have no part in the "just war" tradition, borrowed from Roman thought, a tradition which has allowed Christians to be dragooned into the carnage of history.

A young Mennonite told me how only recently he had been able to have contact with Catholics, some of them committed to nonviolence, and how he appreciated ties with the ancient traditions of the old church. We both

agreed that the Catholic Church was also a historic peace church, except that its peace witness went further back into history—to the first three centuries of the Christian era. Since the fourth century, its peace witness has come through the gospel nonviolence of monks and clergy and individual Christians.

If the small membership of the historic peace churches (less than half a million in the U.S.) has made so powerful a witness to peace and reconciliation, how great will be the witness of great hosts of Catholic Christians when they return to the gospel nonviolence which was displaced by the "just war" intrusion.

*Eileen Egan attended the "New Call to Peacemaking" Conference as a fraternal delegate representing the Catholic Peace Fellowship and the Catholic peace community. She is an Associate Editor of the Catholic Worker and UN Representative of Pax Christi, the International Catholic Peace Movement.*

## Shelter for the Homeless

The Community for Creative Nonviolence in Washington D.C. is continuing their program of night hospitality for the homeless during the cold winter months. This ministry has been growing for the past two years to meet the needs of all the women and men who are out on the streets sometimes dying from the cold in the nation's capital. Two area churches have helped them out with space. The city's Department of Human Resources had agreed to open a large, staffed shelter after a wave of shocking publicity last winter but hasn't. This year CCNV intends to convert the National Visitors Center into a night shelter which shouldn't interfere with its normal daytime use. The government has not agreed to this proposal yet.

the catholic peace fellowship

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