Land & The Bible

Bishops' Pastoral Letter on Economic Justice

Certainly all Georgists were heartened that the Roman Catholic bishops, in concert with distinguished Catholic laymen, felt strongly enough about economic justice to issue a pastoral letter on the subject in November.

At the same time, most Georgists certainly felt disappointed that their views were not better reflected in the document.

Several points need immediate emphasis:
- --The pastoral letter is only a draft, not a final version.
- --Those who have seen only news reports may obtain the complete draft.
- --Comments on the draft are welcomed, but there is a deadline.
- --Thanks to the pastoral letter, new opportunities for public discussion or economic justice may be opening.

To obtain a copy of the draft letter, send $3.50 to:

Origins
1312 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

Some suggestions for those who are contemplating the idea of sending in their comments:

1. Because the letter came under considerable initial criticism, for some of its goals as well as for some of its proposed strategies or policy directions, it seems both fair and politic to take note of points of agreement, and to underscore those about which you may feel deeply.
2. State major points as clearly and succinctly as possible, if possible in the first paragraph, or at least on the first page. Readers are likely to face a deluge of material, so brevity is bound to please them.
3. Organizations and individuals with established reputations in the fields of religion and economics probably will get a better hearing for their comments than those who are less well known. Work in concert with such groups and individuals if you can--in your city, in your profession, in your church--and get them to incorporate your ideas. If you still want to give greater emphasis to certain points, you may do so. In short, comments may be made both individually and by groups.*
4. The deadline by which drafts must be received is February 15, 1985. They should be addressed to:

   Archbishop Rembert G. Weakland
   Office of Domestic Social Development
   1312 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
   Washington, D.C.

extended to March 1 if anybody still wants to get in some licks.

Because the draft pastoral letter generated an avalanche of news items and commentaries, it appears that letters to the editors, magazine articles, and talk show interviews that are focused specifically on economic justice now have a better-than-usual chance of receiving priority attention.

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*The Center for Public Dialogue has worked closely with the Center for Theology and Public Policy, an interdenominational group with strong Catholic ties. We are making our comments and presentations through this organization.

"Consider the rich, how they become so. Either they or their ancestors before them have taken from others, and that which they have taken, the others have lost. The very essence of their richness is that there are many poor. If all were rich, there would be no sense in wealth, no power in it, for there would be none willing to serve. It is plain to anyone who can think that richness means possessing material things and excluding others from possession thereof. Of such is the kingdom of Mammon.

"And what is the kingdom of God? In the region of the mind the situation is exactly the opposite; the wealth of one is the wealth of all, and the highest joy of possession is that the thing possessed may be shared by all and be of benefit to all, with no diminution to anyone. ... my pleasure is in communicating to you ... and exactly proportionate to my success ... is my own gratification. ... each gives something which all mankind may enjoy forever, and no one's pleasure in "As You Like It" or in the "Fifth Symphony" or in an understanding of the movements of the planets is any less because at the same time millions of other people are having that same pleasure."

--- Upton Sinclair, THE GOOSE STEP, 1922, p.383

Dear Mase — Among enclosures I sent you "Prop. Taxes & the Frequency of Urb. Renewal" so any economists the bishops employ can get their teeth into some meaty stuff.

Hope all goes well.

Walt

P.S. Any response to my Oct. query about using our documentary among academics?

CENTER FOR PUBLIC DIALOGUE
10615 Brunswick Avenue, Kensington, Maryland 20895
(301) 933-3535 or (301) 933-0277
WALTER RYBECK, Director

February 18, 1985

Archbishop Rembert G. Weakland
Office of Domestic Social Development
131 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Archbishop Weakland:

First of all, a sincere thanks to you and your colleagues on the Ad Hoc Committee on Catholic Social Teaching and the U.S. Economy for bringing fundamental economic issues so clearly to the fore.

Your Pastoral inspired the enclosed response. It presents concepts already expressed in theological terms but which I believe would profit from being spelled out in current economic terms, plus specific language changes to your draft.

Your impressive witness list appears to exclude a school of land economists and social philsophers running from Thomas Paine and Jefferson to Lincoln and one of my mentors, the late Paul H. Douglas. Among the leading lights today are C. Lowell Harriss, Mason Gaffney, Robert Andelson, Richard Lindholm, Fr. William C. Byron, Will Lissner and Steven B. Cord. Their attention to land-to-people relationships in urban situations, and their overarching concern with justice, lead to approaches that elucidate points not fully resolved in your first draft.

If our Center, which works with these land economists, can be of any assistance in your next draft, we would be delighted to cooperate in your important project.

Along with a sketch of my background, I am enclosing a few items that may shed further light on land policy as it affects poverty, unemployment, housing shortages and income inequalities.

With appreciation for your good work and all best wishes,

Sincerely,

Walter Rybeck
Director

encs.

Royce Hanson
~~612-377-2854~~
612-376-3551.

RESPONSE TO
THE BISHOPS' PASTORAL ON
"CATHOLIC SOCIAL TEACHING AND THE U.S. ECONOMY"

by Walter Rybeck, Director
Center for Public Dialogue
Kensington, Maryland

Many people lose or question their religion because they cannot reconcile a just God with monstrous social injustices. The Pastoral does a great service in stressing that the fault lies with human institutions that deprive multitudes of their rights to nature's marvellous bounties.

Some of the basic ethical guideposts cited to correct social inequities may carry more weight if they are spelled out with more precision. That is the intention of this commentary.

THE EARTH IS THE LORD'S. The Mosaic law prescribed the Jubilee so no family could be deprived of its portion of the Lord's earth, and thus of its independence and freedom. Even those who through foolishness or misfortune lost their land could not deprive future generations of their birthright because Jubilee provided every fifty years for a restoration of justice--that is, a return to each family of its share of the land.

So inspiring was this concept to the landless people of the Old World who settled America that they inscribed the watchword of the Jubilee on their Liberty Bell: PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT THE LAND AND TO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF.

America's vast endowment of land seemed so endless we lost sight of its importance. If some owners preempted an excess of land along the Atlantic coast, there was always more beyond the Alleghenies to the Great Plains and the expanses of the West. Not until this century was America virtually all fenced in. Even today many incorrectly think land problems are peculiar to Latin America or Asia, but of no consequence in our nation.

In reality, the concentration of ownership of America's land--of God's land--continues unabated. To fail to deal with this, to fail to find Twentieth Century equivalents of the Jubilee, is to ignore a prime contributor to the misery of slums, to growing hordes of homeless and jobless, to urban decay and to crisis among farm communities.

Private property is sacred. THEY SHALL NOT BUILD AND ANOTHER INHABIT; THEY SHALL NOT PLANT AND ANOTHER EAT. We own what we produce. By that definition, clearly everything is not private. Since God, not man, created the earth, no man can own it. The earth which we all need to survive must be common property. Since all people are equal in God's sight, we must all be entitled to an equitable share of this common property.

The private monopolization of what belongs to mankind in common is profoundly serious. THOU SHALT NOT STEAL. That this theft is legal does not make it right, any more than legalized slavery made it right. The land question may well be the central moral as well as economic issue of our times.

Because churches themselves are landlords, it is meritorious that many religious leaders are championing the landless and seeking ways to restore their birthright to them.

We applaud the idea that if you give a starving person a fish, you feed him for a day; but teach him how to fish, and you feed him for a lifetime. But what if the man or woman is denied access to places to fish? Inequitable land policies, urban even more than rural, increasingly have this effect.

Causes of involuntary joblessness are not so mysterious as some proclaim. Suppose we find people starving and out of work while they are immediately adjacent to a large fertile area that is walled off and lying fallow. It seems obvious that these people should be allowed to enter the walls and work for the food and other products the land will bring forth.

What is so obvious in a rural scene we often miss in an urban setting. We are so accustomed to seeing idle and underused city sites that we fail to link their tremendous unused productive capacity to the bitter deprivation of large masses of adjacent city dwellers.

To correct our distorted land policies, what form should our "new Jubilee" take? It does not need to be invented. It already exists in various forms and degrees as a land tax or "land duty." The British got it from the Danes and we imported it as the property tax. Our typical property or real estate tax is far from ideal; with good reason, it is often criticized. Yet it must be mentioned because it provides an easy starting point for a gradual transition to the kind of land tax that would restore the right of all to their share of God's earth.

Such a transition has actually begun in seven Pennsylvania cities, including Pittsburgh, Harrisburg and Scranton. They changed the conventional property tax into a "two-rate property tax." Tax <u>rates</u> on land are increased while rates on housing and other buildings are substantially lower. The rates on buildings range from one-half to one-sixth of those on land values. [The impressive social/fiscal benefits of the two-rate property tax are detailed in a documentary, <u>A Tale of Five Cities--Tax Revolt Pennsylvania-Style</u>, produced in 1984 by the Center for Public Dialogue.]

In New Zealand and Australia, a majority of local taxing bodies have gone further. They eliminated taxes on housing altogether, basing the property tax on land values alone.

Shifting taxes off buildings, labor and production, and on to land values, should be considered for inclusion in the next draft of the Bishops' Pastoral for ethical and practical reasons.

In complex modern societies, and even in simple rural ones, it may do great injustice to present owners to subdivide the land and parcel it out to others. And there is no need to perennially redistribute land. If every holder of land pays into a social fund the annual current value of his or her land, reflecting the special advantages of each particular holding, then the rest of society is compensated for any inequalities of opportunity: special privileges, in essence, are wiped out. Those with more valuable land indemnify those who live or work on poorer land.

What is the profit in holding land if its increases in value are constantly taken back by the community? Practically none, and that is the point. Under such a tax, one holds land chiefly for its productive capacity, not for speculation. Even modest applications of land taxes have had remarkable success in breaking up huge estates--in Denmark and in certain irrigation districts of California, for example. No coercion was used: this mild remedy permitted highly productive small holdings to take root; excessively large sparsely-used holdings became uneconomic.

Land values are an especially suitable object of public finance because they are created, not by title holders, but rather by 1) nature, 2) the people as a whole, and 3) government. Nature of course includes the inherent, God-given qualities of the land--fertility, minerals, views, proximity to harbors, and so forth. Second, the press of population gives value, which is why a site in central Manhattan is worth so much more than one in Piqua, Ohio, or why a square foot of downtown Dallas is worth more than acres on the outskirts. Third, land values are greatly enhanced by roads, schools, and other public works. Government-financed infrastructure in effect creates its own revolving fund, but failure to recycle ths fund to the taxpayers who created it allows landlords in prime locations to reap gigantic windfalls.

In short, for the public <u>not</u> to collect values created by God or society is to let a favored few collect something for nothing. Because some reap great wealth with no effort, this helps explain why multitudes are deprived of their just wages. Further, when governments fail to collect socially-created values, they must tax privately-created values.

Why is high taxation of incomes so widely accepted? It is mainly intended as a corrective for widespread inequities, to restore a semblence of justice. This is far better than nothing. But a strategy of patching up bad effects is inferior to preventing them. With special privileges for landlordism removed, government need not play Robinhood, always trying, with far less success than proponents anticipated, to redistribute wealth to those from whom it was improperly taken in the first place.

Reducing high tax burdens on labor and production would restore America to conditions that once stimulated our dynamic economy. (Current "free economy" rhetoric often makes this point but then fails to recognize the vital distinction between the rewards of enterprise and those of special privilege.) A high land tax would restore easy access to land. The new "frontier" would be the present wastelands of our cities, in many of which one-fourth of the privately held land is not used at all.

Following are **suggested** changes in the Pastoral letter. The draft is courageous and uplifting, and it is my hope that certain stated goals can be given greater clarity and specificity. Yet even if not a syllable is changed, the document will continue to deserve highest praise for its moral fervor, its sensitivity to pressing needs and its clarion call to higher principles in our economic life.

p r o p o s e d c h a n g e s o r i n s e r t s
Keyed to **origins** vol. 14, no. 22/23
["existing text" in quotes, suggestions underlined]

INTRODUCTION 8. (line 6) "Our nation is one of the richest on earth" not only because it is well-endowed with natural bounties, but also because our people until recently had free or easy access to these resources.

10. (add to end) Even where fundamental changes are needed, incremental and politically palatable approaches may suffice.

26. (line 5) "The Scriptures contain many passages that speak directly of economic life." None is more basic than the Commandment, "Thou shalt not steal," calling on us, where necessary, to correct notions of what is yours, what is mine, what is ours.

33. (line 4) To avoid confusion over what is justly private property ("goods," in conventional terminology, produced by labor) and common property (resources found in nature), let it read: "We find a constant affirmation that xxx this earth is common property...etc." (line 25) For the same reason, delete altogether "Therefore everything is in common." [Note: communists err in thinking nothing is private, while extreme capitalists err in thinking nothing is public or held in common.]

39. (add to end) We are challenged to find modern equivalents of the Jubilee, to assure that none of God's people are denied access to their birthright, their share of nature's resources.

52. (line 16) Can a better quote be found? This, out of context, is easily misinterpreted. People should be persuaded to give up privileges, not sacred or unalienable "rights."

70. (add end) To put notions of "communal solidarity...personal dignity...reciprocal duties..." etc. in unmistakable terms: We

are our brothers' and sisters' keepers; not that we must care for them in a patronizing way, but we must not obstruct in the least their rights and opportunities to care for themselves.

75. (line 19) "Though the economy is massively dependent on xxx [delete natural resources] technology, money..." etc. Explanation: land, labor and capital are the major factors of production; as the discussion here is between labor and capital, "resources" does not fit either of these categories.

(add to end) Since there can be no production of goods or services without land on which and with which to work, access to land must be affirmed as an essential human right.

79. (add to end). Claims to economic benefits, to food, shelter, medical care and the like are derivative rights--dependent upon opportunity to work. This right of equal opportunity must therefore be kept uppermost in our concerns or all else will fail. Where there is insufficient production, neither laws, sermons nor good intentions will put food on the table or provide decent shelter for families. (This point, touched on in #81, may be lost in that context.)

85. (last sentence) "This sinfulness...has also become embedded in certain of the economic institutions and cultural presuppositions of our society." Would be more effective to give examples, such as the concentrated ownership of energy resources, the speculative holdings of downtown and urban fringe lands, the overtaxation of savings, the tax inducements for excessive borrowing...etc.

93. (12th line from bottom) Consider changing: "Whole nations are prevented from participating in the international economic order because they lack both the resources to do so and the power to change their disadvantaged position." Less-developed nations often are well endowed with resources. In Ecuador, for example [where I lived for a year], they say, "We're a rich land but a poor people." In fact, large land owners enjoy fabulous wealth. One cannot understand the great deprivation of the hard-working underprivileged without reference to the economic power of the overprivileged. Third World countries typically permit the worst kind of feudalism and monopolization, leaving their populations virtually enslaved.

97. (add end) Attempts to achieve a kind of rough equity through re-distribution after exploitation occurs have not proved fruitful. Distributive justice requires equity day by day, not as a repair job. From the outset, labor must reap its full wages, owners of capital must obtain their fair profits, and society must collect the rental value of land (exclusive of the value of improvements on the land).

100. query: "institutional relationships...enable certain persons and groups TO PARTICIPATE MORE ACTIVELY AND POWERFULLY in

economic life." Why hide these home truths in foggy phrases? Why not put it boldly in biblical language: ...TO STEAL FROM THE WEAK AND THE POOR.

101. (last sentence). "Social harm calls for social relief." Add: And to cure social ills, we must diagnose and name them.

110. (last sentence) Instead of "Justice...demands such minimum guarantees," Justice will let such minimum benefits--and more--flow forth like a fountain. [Justice should not be perceived as a sacrifice when its benefits are patently so immense.]

115. (line 6) "Persons who own property, who invest their financial resources and who manage enterprises..." Suggest deleting property owners from the same company with enterprisers since their contrary interests are a big source of current problems. (If this means "building owners" rather than landlords, it is better to be specific.)

117. (first sentence) "The responsibilities of the business and financial sectors--and indeed all sectors of society--are expressions of the duty to exercise faithful stewardship over the resources with which God has blessed us." Language here and in 118 should not perpetuate a notion that a few may properly serve as stewards over land belonging to all.

119. (last sentence) The idea of "common property" is as specific as it is important. To call private property common property (using the phrase to connote public sensitivities) promotes confusion about both types of property. Deleting this sentence would strengthen the paragraph.

158. (add to end) God has given all healthy people the ability to work and a bountiful earth on which to labor and meet their needs. Instead of looking to business or government to "create" jobs, we need to focus on eliminating unjust conditions that obstruct people's natural ability to find work and improve their working conditions.

173. (line 9) Seek "regular, long-term employment...[through] public investment for...roads, bridges and harbors." Caution: Much infrastructure is capital-intensive rather than labor-intensive. Also, until the gigantic windfalls infrastructure gives to adjacent landowners are halted, much of our public works budget is wasted because speculators block the development that these facilities would otherwise promote.

176. (add to last sentence) "...as well as joint action between them to make certain that nobody can continue to profit from unemployment and large pools of people who are so desperate they will work for less than a human wage.

179. (line 19) "a zero unemployment rate is clearly impossible..." It may not be! Let's shoot for full employment with no

ifs, ands or buts. If the Bishops accept an arbitrary rate of 3 to 4%, on what basis can we challenge those who accept 8 to 10%?

206. (add to end). One place to start is examination of our federal, state and local taxes as they affect land so we do not continue to trade the Jeffersonian ideal of a society of smallholders for a land-starved, poverty-ridden society.

212. (add end) At the same time we need to adopt tax structures that will help eliminate causes of these severe inequalities.

280. (add end) Identifying corporate responsibilities does not imply a lack of responsbility by the counties themselves. Each nation should correct laws that encourage exploitation, not only by foreign firms but often by their own nationals as well.

307. (add end) Understandable disenchantment arose from aid programs that made the rich richer and the poor poorer, so it is imperative that aid programs be enlightened as well as generous.

332. (third sentence) "...the moment has come to examine in greater depth the need for true justice...so that the poor in our country and the peoples of all nations will benefit more fully from God's gifts." This focus on poverty in the midst of plenty should lead all concerned Americans to take a new look at an issue that has been neglected during the last half century--the critical role of land policy in shaping a just society.

Ideas from and about Laborem Exercens, 9-15-81

1. Criticizes "materialistic and economistic thought which treated human work as a merchandise, or man as a mere instrument of production."

That is a good criticism of neoclassics. But macro, emphasizing full employment as a goal, likewise gives primacy to human labor. There is no nonsense about unemployment being leisure and voluntary. Work is seen as good for a person.

Macro is about how the dignity of labor may be realized.

Genesis is a gospel of work, and Jesus reaffirmed. So did Vatican 2, and so does Laborem Exercens, the first encyclical to bear solely on this topic. "Man must work. . .because of his own humanity, which requires work in order to be maintained and developed. Man must work out of regard for others, ... for the society he belongs to, ... (LE 16).

By clear implication, this condemns living without working, as a rentier. Later we find property ownership justified only as a medium for letting a person work -- just like Veblen.

Employment is "a fundamental right of all human beings." (18).

2. "Indirect employers" refers to the whole labor market demand side, and the institutions that affect it.

3. Work should not be so separated from relation to the family.

4. "It is characteristic of work that it first and foremost unites people. In this consists its social power: the power to build a community". (20)

5. Opposition of capital to labor is inherent in seeing both as mere "production factors" or "impersonal forces". The "economistic perspective" is "an error of materialism ... a conviction of the primacy ... of the material, and ... places the ... personal ... in a position of subordination to material reality." (13).

6. The "riches of nature" include "those beneath the ground, those in the sea, on land or in space".

7. He is not proposing a "third way", but to "go beyond".

8. Property "is acquired first of all through work in order that it may serve work" (14) Means of production "cannot be possessed against labor, they cannot even be possessed for possession's sake, because their only legitimate title of possession ... is that they should serve labor ..."(14)

There is a right to private ownership of means of production, but "the right to private ownership is subordinated to the right to common use. (We may stress here that the Pope does not only mean the riches of the earth and of the oceans, but also of space, ...)" -- text on p.31 of Schotte's Reflections on LE.

9. p.34 of Schotte sounds like P&P: "Despite the impressive level of economic growth ... some 800 million people in the Third World remain caught up in absolute poverty, ..."

10. And the cause? "a disconcerting fact of immense proportions: the fact that, while conspicuous natural resources remain unused, there are huge numbers of people who are unemployed or under-employed and countless multitudes of people suffering from hunger" (18).

"In certain developing countries, millions of people are forced to cultivate the land belonging to others and are exploited by the big landowners, without any hope of ever being able to gain possession of even a small piece of land of their own ... Land which could be cultivated is left abandoned by the owners. Legal titles to possession of a small portion of land that someone has personally cultivated for years are disregarded or left defenseless against the land hunger of more powerful individuals or groups" (21).

ECONOMICS FOR A PEACEFUL PLANET

Tel. 864-1014 | Henry George School of Social Science | 3410 19th Street San Francisco, CA 94110

Friends of the Earth, Scotland, Ltd.
LAND TENURE & TAX POLICY

Proposals to collect for public purposes the economic rent of land and natural resources have been adopted by various "green party" efforts, such as the Ecology Party in Great Britain, the New World Alliance in the United States, and the Values Party in New Zealand. This statement by Friends of the Earth, Scotland, carefully develops the connections between environmental objectives, land tenure, and economic rent policy.

Resolutions:

Friends of the Earth, Scotland, recognizes that economic forces, propelled by human greed and envy, are at the root of environmental problems, and that it should therefore adopt an attitude towards national economic policy based on justice.

Friends of the Earth, Scotland, recognizes the ideas of Henry George as providing the basis for a more environmentally beneficial economic system, and therefore favours the full collection of land rents for government revenue in place of all taxation.

Supporting Statements:

*** As land is the source of all life and wealth, it is both irreverent and imprudent to buy and sell it as if it were merely a commodity. Nor can anyone rightfully claim outright property in gifts of nature.

*** Land rent collection would break down the multi-nationals, whose monopoly of capital is based on land monopoly, and so would help to establish the "small is beautiful" society. Veblen!

*** Land speculation is the primary cause of business slumps, which are often the cause of war, the greatest environmental threat of all. As there is a natural limit to ground rent revenue, unlike taxation, the State would have less money to blow on armaments and the waging of wars such as Vietnam and the Falkland-Malvinas, where genuine national security is not at risk.

*** It is unlikely that environmental degradation will cease until the exploitation of man does. Georgism would restore economic justice in that land rent collection would give everyone equality of access to the gifts of nature, while the abolition of taxation would restore the right to the full product of one's labour and capital. Involuntary unemployment would be ended, since the right to use land is the essential prerequisite to the right to work.

Further Discussion:

In the resolution statement the word "land" is used in its economic sense, i.e. all natural resources, forces, and opportunities, and hence includes all plant and animal life.

The full collection of ground rents is currently Ecology Party policy. Their manifesto declares, *the prerequisite for ecological reforms is a fundamental change in our system of land tenure. Without this, the economic pressures of the present land system (including land speculation) will defeat all attempts to remedy ecological and allied problems.*

The detailed case for the implementation of Georgism can be found in Shirley-Anne Hardy's booklet entitled The Land Question, summarized on the back of this document.

(Policy statement prepared by George Morton, Sec., Friends of the Earth, 53 George IV Bridge, Edinburgh, Scotland EH1 1EJ and edited for this publication by Alanna Hartzok, address above.)

Number 3 Spring 1983

Subscriptions: $5.00

Source Document: The Land Question by Shirley-Anne Hardy

Land as a Marketable Commodity: Land is the source of all life and wealth. It is therefore both irreverent and imprudent to buy and sell it as if it were just a human artefact such as cars or TVs, something of transient value. As Chief Seattle said, *The Earth is our mother. How can we sell our mother, or even give her away?* Land should not be amenable to outright ownership, since as the saying goes, we belong to Earth, the Earth does not belong to us. Note that State ownership of land remains outright ownership, and so is no improvement on the present situation.

Big Business: Land rent collection would break down the multi-nationals whose monopoly of capital is based on the monopoly of land. As Winston Churchill put it, *Land monopoly is the mother of all monopolies.* Land is an essential factor in ALL production, with industrial and commercial sites vastly more valuable than farmland.

Big business, be it private or State enterprise, produces in its hierarchies a sense of alienation, an abdication of personal responsibility, an "I was only following orders" mentality. An example of this is when a farmer is bought out by some financial institution, which appoints a farm manager. That man will do things to the soil and to the environment generally, which his predecessor would not have done at any price, because he is only an employee, a cog in a machine. Georgism is the best way to bring about the "small is beautiful" society and rural repopulation.

War: Many people believe that the greatest environmental catastrophe of all would be nuclear war. We must therefore recognize that the usual purpose of modern warfare is the appropriation of rents from the conquered populace. Shackle slavery has been supplanted by wage-slavery, which is a more effective means of exploitation. The usual cause of war is economic depression, war normally being very good for business, and a way of diverting the attention of a disgruntled citizenry; the principle cause of the boom-and-slump business cycle is land speculation, which forces the price of land beyond what the entrepreneur can pay.

How are modern wars financed? Involuntarily, by the taxpayer. The bottomless pit of taxation, whose only theoretical limit is where the people can barely subsist, means that the modern State can embark on global military adventures, such as Vietnam and the Falkland-Malvinas, where genuine national security is not at risk. However, there is a natural limit to ground rent revenue which would make such escapades much more difficult.

Economics and Psychology: The most general argument for Georgism, and perhaps the most important one, is the beneficial effect its implementation would have on human nature, by bringing about economic justice. The abolition of taxation would restore the right to an equal share in the gifts of nature. We should also note that since the right to work entails the right to land, the necessary prerequisite of production, Georgism would put an end to unemployment by restoring equality of opportunity to work.

In the final analysis we cannot stop exploitation of the environment without first putting an end to human exploitation. Fortunately, both problems have the same origin, they are two sides of the same coin. To quote Shirley-Anne Hardy, *Let us remember that the pressures upon those who are themselves exploited, to exploit in turn the environment, are great. And equally, since power is ever corruptive, those to whom we have permitted the exploitation of men without regard, should not surprise us when they proceed to the exploitation of the environment in turn.*

And to quote Henry George, *The ownership of land is the great, fundamental fact which ultimately determines the social, the political, and consequently the intellectual and moral condition of a people.*

The polarized distribution of wealth which is the inevitable result of land monopoly, produces at the one extreme a neurotic greed, conspicuous consumption, ostentation, fear of want, and a "devil take the hindmost" attitude in our society; and at the other extreme a standard of living sufficiently low to ensure that the majority of the population has no time for environmental considerations. As Bertold Brecht put it, *First comes grub, then morality.*

Veblen!

Human nature is not perfectible, but social maladjustments such as permitting land monopoly, ensure that it is degraded, with the environment suffering as a consequence. What makes the predatory instinct in man so dangerous isn't the fact of its existence, but the fact that our social structures allow it far more play than it need have.

A policy of full collection of land rents in place of all taxation would assure sufficient revenue for all legitimate governmental purposes while promoting the conservation, restoration, and rational use of the Earth.

CENTER FOR ECONOMIC JUSTICE

Mitch Chanelis
Director

15 Jan '85

Dear Mase,

thanks for the 'epistle to the (C)atholics'.

I think that, if you haven't seen it already, you'll find the Friends of the Earth, Scotland statement of interest.

I've been active in the 'green' movement recently and am working for an endorsement of georgean economics.

Regards,

Mitch

PS note new address.

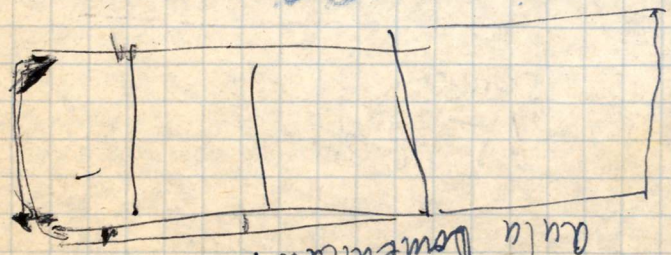
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Laura

Robert Pung SVD
St. Louis
Divine Word Missions.
Pontifical Peace + Justice Comm.
Palazzo San Calisto
Nr. Chiesa Sta. Maria Trasfevere (trans-Tiber)
698-7191

10:30 A. Bill will be there.
625-7735

Hughes Aircraft

Mr. Farullo Office 389325 (or 389 010)
Res. 376 5457

Society of Jesus 656 9841
Elena Bartoli 655 800

Commisk. on P+J. Piazza San Calisto #16
Msgr. Murphy Off. 698 7191
Res. 537-3719

Meeting: Santa Sabina Church
Colle Aventino
Casa Domenicani

Brueggeman, thoughts.

1. Tell true stories, let them impact the consciousness of the community.

2. a. Promise of land
b. Gift " "
c. Dis-ease of our reaction to getting land.

~~Israel~~ Israel reacted better to a + b than c.
c corrupted them, divided them. (Easier to meet common enemy than to share a surplus. George found ideal way to share surplus.)

✓ 3. City of endless choice + no commitment has failed. Has not met human hunger for a sense of place.

4. 'Place' means a place in society, w. roots.
'Space' means elbow-room w/o responsibility, wandering: escape, detachment — no reference group.

5. In Egypt, land led to slavery. Does it always? Qu. remains unanswered.

✓ (If you don't share the surplus, you become slave to the state that grows up to 'defend' it — and

use it as base for wider conquests.)

6. Solomon took control of the land. Br. gives impression that this 'unjust' — which he never defines — led to Jeremiah's complaints re evictions. Br. doesn't mention enclosure, cancer.

7. After Persian conquest, 4th cent., Jewish leader Ezra, overseas taxes levied — went to Persia.
Jews tried to hold land by direct moral unjust, under foreign king. But lost again.

✓ 8. Inheritance of land is collective, not individual right. Strong in George, + in bible.

9. p. 191 Need to reconcile Christ + Marx.
(George already did it.)(or began it)

10. Rise + fall of civilizn
Promise + gift of land brings vigor, unity + community.
Misuse of land ~~ends~~ ~~common~~ divides + weakens community. Specifics lacking — + clear defn. of how to do it.

11. Prevailing concept of taxes: tax conspicuous success. This means success in a social context.

Alt. concept: tax ~~as~~ as tool of land mgmt.

12. Fall of nations, subject of perennial fascination – rightly so. Br. links it to mismanagement of land.

~~Not~~

Relation of Israel to land as a unifying theme in understanding Bible.

11. Prevailing concept of not taxing unused + excess land – the kind Jeremiah condemned.

✓ Unused land is not just vacant; it is isolating, hence anti-social, anti-community.

✓ Hyper-individualism, endless choice + no commitment, is not just or primarily an urban product. It is sprawl that rep. escape from society.

55 mins., 7 x Wed.

1. Intro. + Survey
   Land as Gift
   Temptation
   Task. The challenge of stewardship
   Threat. Penalties for misuse

2. Remembrance II

3. Property
   How does God's gift become man's property?
   ~~X~~ Bible refs.
   Church positions
   Current events
   Obligations of ~~man~~ holders (strangers + sojourners): stewardship

~~X~~.

4. Abuse of stewardship.
   Enjoyment
   Neglect
   (Pollution
   (Exhaustion?)

5. Stewardship + Public Policy
   Dividing the land + its revenue.

6. Justice + Stewardship

7. Tasks of the Church.

Ideas. Catholics + land reform.

The rich shd. have no right to preempt superior land from comm. needs. Neither shd. the very poor.

The mkt. is not above modifying. It only expresses consumer will + this is the product of fallible people. But let us have done w. the modifying on a conscious + general level, systematically — then work w. the mkt.

City of endless choice + no commitment — has led to sprawl, -- flight from problem of city. Quest for "space" instead of "place".

If people don't share their surplus, they become slaves to ~~the~~ the state that grows up to defend it — + use it to force wider conquests.

Tax not to punish conspic. success, but as tool of land mgmt.

Mgmt. not just for impersonal commercialism, but for community:

Keep comm. together, avoid rural isolation + sprawl.

Old bldgs. need to be cleand:

1. They burn + kill people.
2. They provide little service/ acre.
3. " have poisonous lead paint on walls.
4. " blight surrounding land.
5. " sap the comm – pay no taxes.

Bill Van Frankenhuijsen
Patricia Frost
Robert Pung

Taxn. deals w. shares. Central concern of church. Is appropriate church shd. take position.

Mode of taxn. affects distribn. of wealth. Engrossment is a concern of church.

Mode affects viability of family businesses. Church has stood for family farm, esply. Take as case study, bearing in mind same case goes for small urban business.

Church stands for neighborly coops, mutual aid. ∴ against absentee ownership.

Take Goldschmidt; Veblen; Odell; Webb - Evenson; Montmarquette.

Surplus in ag. ~~invites~~ attracts absentee
a. Rent
b. Spec.

Church as moral authority for intl. sharing. How to share? Rank by L.V./cap. Those w. more contrib. more to central fund, disbursed to those w. less, -- to the indiv. people directly, or thru edu. — not thru their govts, probably corrupt & even if not, inappropriate.

Moral equiv. of war is needed -- only the church can supply it.

The surplus in ag. (from any land) invites inv. by absentees.
"Free income" – Veblen.

Ground rent, ec. rent.

+ ΔV, aka. unearned Δ, unjust enrichment at the cost of the rest of the comm.

absentee: land as inv. where that conflicts w. land as a medium for owning, working vocation.

Discredits work ethic; disrupts comm. neighborliness.

Raises credit needs.

Distorts dev. of tech. Tech. accommodates large holdings, ~~rather~~ + engrossed for spec. reasons. (Public tech. from A.F.S. also distorted.)

Scatter rural pop: destroy rural church.
Wm. Bradford, re Plym & Duxbury.
Nebraska etc. today.

In caricature of mkt. system, land is pure article of commerce – and absentee invt.

Cold heartlessness, indiff. to human needs, is characteristic of absentees. Operating land has to be done by people on the spot. They are more likely to treat employees & tenants humanely.

If S.T. were a nation, how long before it wd. be at war w. neighbors over wtr?

Specs. buy cheap outside city, get city to extend police. Oil cos. use nation same way. Thus land leads to war.

"Rent-seeking"

If furs. paid their own taxes, U.S. defense not needed.

Cath. Church supported U.S. in Vietnam. (Who was Pope?) Identified w. French, Catholic south.
Now, big change!

Our dependence on Carib. oil soared from .18 to .45 in last 5 yrs!

Sta. Barbara, Fr. Allan McCoy et al., Franciscans, ca. 1-85.
Recurrent efforts at land reform

Solon
Licinius
Gracchus (cf. Matt 8:20)
Jubilee
Mir
Ejido
N.E. Towns
Preemption + Homestead

(1) Argentina - "reconstituted themselves irrevocably."

(2) "Natural Subdivision" resulted from local taxes of alien absentees, U.S. frontier.

(3) Covenant, or social compact, calls for compensation. Taxes have triple effect on landholders: taxes, goods, + jobs. Thus limit rights of property. A performance standard. Stewardship. Trustees, not owners. Tenants.

(5) Organic thy. is Catholic. Michael Lavelle, Jesuit economist. Justice.

(4) One tax is both prog. + favorable to incentives.

Prelim. Bishops pastoral ltr. came out in Nov. Tax section yet to be added.

a. Reconcile justice + efficiency
b. " pvt. prop. + social claims.

(1) Engrossment is an abuse of stewardship.

(2) Force is a denial of community. Sharing is the alt. to continual strife. Tax, is the most practical means of sharing.

(Other means: morcellement; X-subsidy;

Isaiah 5:8 .. House to house
30:18 God of justice
10:2 poor, widows + fatherless have rights
11:4 justice + equity for poor + meek
24:5 trans gression broke "the covenant".

Ezek 29:3
29:9-10 } The Nile, I made it.

Lev 25:10, 13, Jubilee
:16

Some key ideas summarized. 4-12-85

1. The privilege of holding God's land is abused when carried so far as to conflict with the rights of labor, by engrossment, neglect, or waste, or speculation.

2. Land systems should promote neighborliness and community by helping (letting?) people live & work in proximity.

1. Land as an investment must not be allowed to override the use of land as a medium for vocation, or the interest of the rest of the community. The right to transfer ownership of land should not be carried so far as to make land purely an article of commerce, or to disinherit ~~the~~ any infant, each ~~all~~ of whom ~~alone~~ possesses an inalienable right to share in the benefits of God's gift.

3. The cause of peace is not served by any institution, ~~that~~ such as granting ownership to prior occupation, that encourages engrossment of land by persons, firms or nations. The cause of peace is not served by ~~foci creation~~ firms which use their overpowering wealth to acquire land in ~~less~~ weaker or poorer nations, and call on their nation's armed forces to enforce

their privileges

4. Nations with superior ~~wealth~~ natural endowments should ~~share those~~ find ways to share the benefits with under-endowed peoples, lest they themselves become enslaved to the ~~states~~ militarys that grow to guard & expand their excessive shares in God's gift. Only The Catholic Church has the moral authority to preside over international sharing on a significant scale.

5. Taxation deals with sharing. Sharing is a central churchly concern. The old Testament even goes into some specific sharing formulae. It seems appropriate, therefore that The ~~Vatican~~ Holy See should at least allude to tax systems as vehicles of sharing, and enunciate some general principles

4. Only religious faith can supply the "moral equivalent of war" required to overcome selfish resistance to such sharing.

6. The surplus yielded by land (its net product, or rent) is what attracts absentee investors, & is engrossment. The surplus attracts investors, and then serves them ~~the means~~ for further engrossment, especially when the surplus rises over time. This is why equal divisions of land prove temporary, and large holdings reconstitute themselves

inexorably, in the absence of land taxation. Only
sustained socialization of rent can overcome this tendency.

1. Two men went up into the temple to pray.
~~The Pharisee went to~~
God, I thank thee that I am not like other men ... Luke 18:10

2. The word killeth; the spirit bringeth to life

3. The Bible is in Latin, Greek & Hebrew. We'll tell you what's in it — you can't see it.
Medieval priesthood
and may God help you if we don't like you.

4. Reagan & Bennett proclaimed '83 to be years of Bible. Seems fitting ∴ we shd. apply to our lives.

Nile

Eg: 29

mercial production. Agrarian life, from which most farmers came, is quite different from today's typical agribusiness. Here in central Illinois, people have quit keeping animals, gardens are shrinking, farmhouses are being abandoned and plowed under. Sure, people fish and hunt, float down the creek, get drunk, and have a mellower pace of life. But in just one generation, we are seeing the family farm die.

Small farmers, like the proud Native Americans, will slowly be swept from the continent. Multinational cartels will provide our food, hydroponically grown in the dead soils of Iowa, Illinois, and Indiana. There is no movement, no persona, no program or administration to stop the inevitable.

Stephen W.R. Blessman
Mason City, Illinois

In 1933, there were about 6.8 million farmers in the United States. In 1982, there were 2.4 million. Some politicians call farmers "the backbone of the nation." If that is true, the United States has lost almost two-thirds of its backbone after fifty years of Government farm programs.

C. A. Pinkenburg
Hoisington, Kansas

Daniel Zwerdling's "Down on the Farm" was right on the mark in observing the drastic situation of many farmers today. However, I do not think Zwerdling stressed the root cause of the foreclosure syndrome.

The Chamber of Commerce and its friends have worked for this moment for almost forty years and their goal is within grasp. Multinational conglomerate corporations intend to own our farmland and the producing lands of the world. They are within reach of their goal. At any given moment these corporations can call in their chips and the game is over. Farmers of all kinds are more than $215 billion in debt and the situation is getting worse with no remedy in sight, certainly not in the short term.

It's about time farmers and Americans of all kinds got together and saved our family farms. Otherwise, we are another step closer to the Global Corporate State.

Paul Kabat
Bemidji, Minnesota

There are farmers around who have not expanded their acreage, whose equipment is old and modest, who are skeptical of the propaganda promulgated by the Department of Agriculture, the universities, and the farm supply companies. The integrity and beauty of these people's lives furnish vital and exciting examples of agriculture as a noble and satisfying way to live. And their topsoil has not gone down the Mississippi.

Lee Hoinacki
Cobden, Illinois

Going Public

Kim Moody's interesting piece, "Going Public" (July issue), touches briefly on our book, *Beyond the Waste Land, A Democratic Alternative to Economic Decline.* He writes that most of the ideas in our alternative program for a democratic and egalitarian economy come from Sweden, and that the Swedish economy is "in a state of crisis similar to our own." He prefers what he considers a less reformist single focus on the public provision of jobs.

In fact, very few of our programmatic ideas are derived from Swedish experience; certainly no more than a handful of the seventy or so detailed programmatic suggestions listed in our Economic Bill of Rights bear a Made in Sweden label.

Moody is right that the Swedish economy is currently limping, but only by comparison with the blistering pace it set during the rule of the Social Democrats which ended in 1976. In terms of growing living standards, reduced hours of work, freedom from the threat of unemployment, or the growth of wages, Sweden has far outpaced the United States. Productivity in industry grew by an average of 4.8 per cent a year from 1960 to 1982, compared to 2.6 per cent in the United States. In the more recent period which Moody feels is more relevant, industrial productivity in Sweden grew by 3 per cent last year; it fell by 1 per cent in the United States.

Most Americans would probably love to trade in the disaster of Reaganomics for the problems of the Swedish economy, but we do not view it as a model for progressives in the United States today. Our approach is more decentralized than that of the Swedish Social Democratic Party and focuses considerably more on democratic control over investment (including both selective nationalizations and community investments).

Disagreements aside, Moody's forceful advocacy of a massive public employment program is a real contribution to the on-going debate on economic policy. It deserves serious attention. But the success of any progressive program—Moody's, ours, or anyone else's—will depend on its ability to mobilize the vast majority of Americans, for without mass support, the claims of capital cannot be denied.

Samuel Bowles
David Gordon
Thomas Weisskopf
Amherst, Massachusetts

One of the reasons the Left turns to variations on old themes (such as tax incentives and penalties) is that we aren't able to break out of the mindset that can envision only two economic systems—all-out, profit-worshiping capitalism, or overly centralized, bureaucratic public ownership of everything.

The American people need to be sold on the idea that there is a middle way—one that leaves some space for entrepreneurial types to exercise their individualistic drives without letting them run off with the till.

The middle way is economic democracy, which means that capital is not the only investment in the American economy and therefore cannot have exclusive decision-making power. As Ralph Nader has suggested, let's pass a law giving the Federal Government responsibility for all corporate licensing. Then, as the Citizens' Party proposes, let's force corporations to function under boards of directors composed of equal numbers of workers, community residents, and investors.

If a corporation decides to relocate within United States borders, bolt the country looking for cheap labor to exploit, pollute the air and water, ignore worker safety, produce shoddy goods, or bust the union, it will do so with the knowledge and permission of the people whose lives it directly affects.

That is democratizing the economy. Tax manipulation is not.

Kathryn Anderson
Minneapolis, Minnesota

The October letters to the editor responding to "Labor's Uphill Struggle" (September issue) were excellent. It is heartening to see so many indications that the porkchoppers and organization men have not won completely, and that there remains a viable cadre of militants in the American labor movement.

The letters serve to bolster my confidence in the young militants to build a resurgent, effective labor movement from the pitiful facsimile that now exists. I have renewed confidence that, by the turn of the century, the corporate power structure will be on its last legs. The first decade of the Twenty-first Century should bring an end to the exploitation of the workers for private gain and the advent of production for consumption instead of profit.

Ted R. Means
New Orleans, Louisiana

The editors welcome correspondence from readers on all topics, but prefer to publish letters that comment directly on material previously published in The Progressive. All letters may be edited for clarity and conciseness.



SOME CONGRESSMEN CHATTING WITH THE PRESIDENT ABOUT THE WAR POWERS ACT

ARNOLD ROTH

man of great vision. Within the tragic tension between the two, so this fiction goes, lies the real Kissinger.

Hersh sets out to destroy this shabby myth, and in so doing exposes Kissinger as one of the major war criminals of our time. Nossiter writes, "Even so, it is less than just to blame Kissinger and Nixon, as Hersh does, for the 'dead and maimed' in Vietnam, Cambodia, Chile, Bangladesh, Biafra, and the Middle East." Nossiter is wrong. It is the truth. Kissinger and Nixon are to blame for millions of dead and maimed. There can be no doubt.

If Hersh is obsessed with Kissinger, it is because of writers like Nossiter who cannot and will not understand the evil the man has done and continues to do, and who, in spite of themselves, are seduced by Kissinger's nightmarish worldview.

Mark T. Kimbrell
Arlington, Virginia

Whatever Seymour Hersh has done or failed to do, he does not deserve Bernard Nossiter's condescension. Nossiter's attempt to discredit Hersh sounds too much like the traditional American middle-of-the-road approach to politics, which manages to give legitimacy to those who are clearly in the wrong.

Nossiter's review of *The Price of Power* seems to reflect a genuine belief in the Nixon-Kissinger artificial diplomacy, which achieves nothing but the maintenance of the status quo.

Sandra H. Necchi
Fall River, Massachusetts

Bernard Nossiter's review of *The Price of Power* was superb. He properly criticized Seymour Hersh for undocumented reporting.

Even exposing bad guys requires fairness and objectivity. Hersh's book performs a needed service, but is flawed at times by hysteria.

Irving F. Friedman
Cloquet, Minnesota

Down on the Farm

Congratulations to *The Progressive* for Daniel Zwerdling's article, "Down on the Farm" (September issue). For too many urban dwellers, farm policy (or the lack thereof) is both confusing and seemingly unimportant. Its major thrust, they believe, should be to keep food "cheaper." As Zwerdling illustrates so well, however, Federal farm policy will not even do that in the long run, for our present overdependence upon monocrops for export and heavy utilization of chemicals for herbicides and pesticides will soon begin to escalate the cost of food because of declining yields and increasing environmental costs of dealing with contaminated water and eroded fields.

The National Catholic Rural Life Conference would like to emphasize even more strongly than Zwerdling that our present farm crisis is the result of both overreliance upon the "bigger is better" philosophy *and* Federal policy which deliberately aids the big and wealthy farmer at the expense of moderate and small family farmers.

What is happening on the land reflects what is happening in the larger American society. Small and moderate family farmers are being squeezed out of farming, and concentration of land ownership is proceeding at an alarming pace. The descendants of those who fled feudal Europe in the hope of acquiring land of their own are dangerously close to a future in which they bequeath landlessness to their descendants. In less than fifty years, the only "family farmers" left will be those who farm someone else's land as tenants.

The process is *not* inevitable, though. It depends upon our courage and our will to act.

We can begin by remembering that Thomas Jefferson's dream of a democratic republic was founded upon widespread ownership of land. Jefferson believed that without *economic* independence people could not be *politically* free. Such economic independence came from possession of productive land, and not from "owning" copious amounts of consumer items. If we really understood and believed in Jefferson's reasoning, we might come to the conclusion that a land reform policy in the United States is overdue.

Second, we need to reform the clear bias of Federal policy toward big and growing farm operations. The tax laws are a good place to start, for they provide clear incentives for nonfarm investors (such as dentists and airline pilots) to acquire farmland for tax purposes. Not only does such an incentive place more and more land in the control of persons who have no real intention of personally farming it, but it also drives up the bidding for farmland so that beginning and small family farmers cannot afford the land they need to stay in farming.

Gregory L. Cusack
National Catholic
Rural Life Conference
Des Moines, Iowa

Daniel Zwerdling is right in his basic analysis, but I disagree with his implication that farmers' troubles began in 1980. I'm not quite sure when or why they began, but it was probably when farmers surrendered their self-sufficiency for com-

Henry George School of Social Science
5 East 44 Street
New York, NY 10017

Address correction requested

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Delaware.

Applied Economics, part two of the study, is being offered Wednesdays at the school and Thursdays at Ogletown. Democracy and Socialism, an advanced course open only to graduates, is offered Thursdays at the Birthplace.

SAN FRANCISCO

Economics for a Peaceful Planet, a basic course, is being offered at the Henry George School. The fall term started October 4. The course is also available at the Tamalpais School in Mill Valley and the State Farm Office in Berkeley. Classes are offered on Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Fridays, respectively.

JACK SCHWARTZMAN ADDRESSES ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

Jack Schwartzman presented a paper on "Henry George and the Ethics of Economics" at the Fresno conference of the International Institute of Social Economics on August 18.

Citing the "moral tone" of George's masterpiece Progress and Poverty, Professor Schwartzman stressed George's "philosophic quest for justice" and natural law.

"Ethics is not merely a polite injunction of behavior...or a rigid commandment of obedience," he said, summarizing George's economic and moral philosophy. "It is the Golden Rule itself.

"'Single tax', 'land value taxation', 'communal collection of rent' -- these are merely methodical phrases; they are but the means to the end itself; and that end is justice."

Send bible stuff

Mitch Chanelis

c/o C.E.J.

54 Temple Pl

Boston 02111

617-451-0458

Isaiah 13:12

Psa 115:16

Lev. 25:23

Eccl 5:9

Isa 11:1-9

Tim 5:18

Col 1:13-23

Rom 8:18-23

Acts 3:19-21

Eph 1:10

BUSEY - Box 7 - Manitou Springs - Colorado 80829

October 29, 1984

Dear Mason:

Now, four months after you produced and mailed the masterpiece, I have your July 1 epistle to John Strasma, wherein you praised him mightily for a great paper, and then proceeded to tear it to bits. The reason for this long delay is that during August 1 - October 22 we were away in Europe, beginning with the Cambridge conference.

At any rate, I did enjoy your polemics, but without reference to the Strasma paper am unfortunately unable to find anything wrong with your blast.

My Latin American Political Guide, 18th ed., will appear here too long. I'll try to remember to send you a copy,* so that I can get a dose of your comments. Meanwhile, with this go best wishes. It has been a long while since last having any word from you, or vice versa.

Yours sincerely,

Jim

James L. Busey

*If I don't within a year, remind me. - j.

SYNOPSIS: LAND, JUSTICE AND THE BIBLE

A seven week course, offered by Margil Wadley and Mason Gaffney, January and February, 1984

The relationship of Israel to land is a unifying theme for understanding The Bible synoptically. The Bible is seen as a history of man's relation to land, and through land to God and to other men. Land is first a promise; then a gift; and last a management responsibility: much is demanded of him to whom much is given. Justice is demanded of those to whom land is given. Stewardship of land is economic -- providing jobs for the dispossessed, products for their consumption, and support for government and church -- and ecological, husbanding God's gift for future generations. The Bible treats land as a collective heritage: tenure of land is individual and family-based, but prophets admonish kings to uphold equal rights for the weak, the fatherless, the dispossessed and the alien. Means are sought and explored here to use Biblical wisdom and inspiration to guide modern land policy, and to resolve the conflict of capitalist and Marxist social philosophies. The Bible teaches that land well stewarded brings a people joy and community; but mismanagement divides, weakens and may destroy us.

AGENDA
for the
Meeting of members of the Henry George organization with the Franciscans

Date: Thursday, December 27, 1984

Location: Santa Barbara, California

Place: Fransciscans' Santa Barbara Mission

Schedule: 11:00 - 12:00: Social Hour hosted by the Henry George members
12:00 - 01:00: Lunch provided by the Franciscans
01:00 - (or when lunch finished) Meeting starts

Attendees: (i) Members of Henry George oganization

Professor James L. Busey,Ph.D.
Professor Mason Gaffney,Ph.D.
Dave O'Brien, Meeting chairperson & Asst. Proj.Dir.
Marion Sapiro, Assistant Project Director
Stan Sapiro, Project Director

(ii) Members of Franciscan organization

Father Alan McCoy (Refer to enclosed bio.)
Father Salvador Parisi (Meeting coordinator)
Father Louis Vitali (Present provincial (superior) of Western States Franciscans) Fr. Vitali's attendance will depend on his schedule demands

Discussion & Topics at meeting:

Invocation: Fr. Salvador

Introductions: Georgists - Dave O'Brien
Franciscans - Fr. Salvador

Description of Project: Stan Sapiro (It is anticipated that after this brief introductory explanation of this Henry George Project that there will be many questions and answers exchanged until it is mutually agreed that there has been a meeting of the minds relative to the purpose, thrust and aims of the project.)

Feasibility Of and entrees for:
(1) Presentation to Jesuits in Rome
(2) Presentation to Vatican staff in Rome
(3) Interview of Georgist on "Search for Justice" TV Series.
(4) Submission of comments on Bishops' Pastoral letter on economy
(5) Presentation to Franciscans in Rome
(6) Other ways of achieving the aims of this project

USG
USISG } Peace + Justice

In Rome

Fr. Anselm Moons

Reflections on Pastoral letter, due in Feb.

5/9/84

Mason:

Thanks for your note and interesting parallel. I know of no one who has spotted it. It seems to confirm an observation made long ago by Baltzmann, namely, that there was in late antiquity a significant number of wisdom sayings that could be adapted for specific situations.

Don

P.S. I just looked Matt 6:20 up in The History of the Synoptic Tradition and B. does indeed identify it as coming from the tradition of secular wisdom (p. 102).

RESOLUTIONS

SUBJECT: CHRISTIAN COMMUNISM

AUDIENCE: THOSE WHO BELIEVE THE BIBLE IS THE WORD OF GOD

EMBLEM: THE CROSS AND THE SICKLE

A

WHEREAS, The second edition of Webster's New International Dictionary defines communism as follows: *"Any system of social organization in which goods are held in common, as Brook Farm was an experiment in communism,"* and

WHEREAS, In the Bible, The Acts 4:32, it is revealed that the apostles practiced communism as follows: *"And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul: neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common."* and

WHEREAS, The above phrase: *"were of one heart and of one soul"* can be interpreted as a classless society later recommended by Karl Marx and

WHEREAS, The apostles, while practicing communism, performed miracles: *"And fear came upon every soul: and many wonders and signs were done by the apostles"* (Acts, 2:43) now be it therefore

RESOLVED, That God is a communist otherwise He would not have provided the apostles with the power to perform miracles which were instrumental in recruiting 5,000 converts to communism.

B

WHEREAS, Like Marx, Christ was a revolutionary who said in Matthew 10:34 *"Think not that I come to send peace on earth, I come not to send peace, but the sword."* and

WHEREAS, Both Christ and Marx were opposed to the status quo and both advocated the brotherhood of man and

WHEREAS, Christ, like Marx, was critical of the rich when He said in Matthew 19:23, *"Verily I say unto you, That a rich man shall hardly enter the kingdom of heaven"* and

WHEREAS, Both Christ and Marx were humanitarians who had compassion for the underdog; Christ for the poor and Marx for the exploited factory worker of his day and

WHEREAS, Marx stated: *"Religion is the opium of the masses."* and Christ stated in Matthew 6:5,6 *"And when thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are: for they love to pray standing in the synagogues and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men. Verily I say unto you, They have their reward. But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly."* Herewith is proof that both Marx and Christ were opposed to organized religion, so be it

RESOLVED, That the example set by Christ prepared the way for the establishment of communism by the apostles, and be it further

RESOLVED, That communism need not necessarily be atheistic, but quite to the contrary, communism can certainly be Godful and be it

RESOLVED, That Marx could have been sent by God to enhance and perpetuate the mission of Christ on earth.

C

WHEREAS, The socialist countries have no unemployment, no inflation, no recessions, free medical and dental care from cradle to grave, free education through the university level, rent that requires only 5 percent of family income, no runaway shops to the underdeveloped countries, a planned economy and while capitalist economies do not provide these humane benefits of the socialist bloc, be it

RESOLVED, That if Christ were living today He would praise these benefits in the socialist countries and deplore the fact that these benefits do not exist under capitalism.

D

WHEREAS, Christ owned nothing but the clothes on His back and in Matthew 6:19 said *"Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth"* and therefore, like communists, did not believe in the ownership of private property or the profit motive and

WHEREAS, The Vatican has accumulated wealth estimated to be in the billions of dollars, be it

RESOLVED, That the Vatican is anti-Christ.

E

WHEREAS, When Christ was approached by the wealthy young man who asked how to become perfect, Christ in Matthew 19:21 said unto him: *"If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor and thou shalt have treasure in heaven and come follow me."* and

WHEREAS, The wealthy Vatican is not following Christ because it is not giving its wealth to its impoverished masses in Latin America and elsewhere, be it

RESOLVED, That the Vatican is anti-Christ.

F

WHEREAS, Since Christ said in Matthew 23:9 *"And call no man your father upon earth: for one is your Father, which is in heaven."* be it

RESOLVED, That since priests are addressed as "father" the Catholic church is anti-Christ

G

WHEREAS, Christ said in Matthew 6:7,8 *"But when ye pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathen do: for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking. Be not ye therefore like unto them: for your Father knoweth what things ye have need of, before ye ask him."* and

WHEREAS, Saying the rosary is a form of repetition, be it

RESOLVED, That the rosary is anti-Christ

As for the atheism of Karl Marx one can only conclude that God works in mysterious ways His wonders to perform. Pray that the pope will write the Vatican's first encyclical against fascism. For an introduction to communism it is suggested that one read saint Thomas More's classic short book "Utopia." Comments and questions welcomed: Richard Hildebrandt, 3000 Monroe Ave. NW, Grand Rapids, MI 49505.

'THE POST' XMAS HOAX

The Streetniks Of New York

GERALD JONAS

New York Post, December 21:

BAG KIDS IN THE BIG APPLE

Felipe Ramos is 7 years old, give or take a few months. He keeps all his treasured possessions—from a bent safety pin to a faded Lotto ticket dated June 29, 1983—in a crumpled Bloomingdale's shopping bag that he never lets out of his sight.

Felipe lives on the street. He's one of New York's growing legion of "bag kids"—the ultimate symbol of a society that simply doesn't care.

The story in yesterday's Post by Investigative Reporter Elmire McGill that as many as 250 "bag kids" may be living full time on the street—without parents, schools or permanent addresses—prompted Mayor Koch to label the situation "an outrage." "I'm shocked," he said, "that the police, the schools and the sanitation department, over which the Mayor's office has only limited authority, should have fallen down so badly on their jobs."

Gov. Cuomo, expressing "outrage," said that the problem, while severe, was by no means grave. "It's in the city's ballpark, and I intend to see that they shoulder their responsibility by taking no action on the state level until I'm assured that all local funds have been exhausted."





HDB *Editor Michael West and Wolfhart Pannenberg*

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…y of mean-
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…damental significance" for under-
standing the relation of religion to the experience of meaning. Though creativity is involved in apprehending the meaning of something, still the meaning of the whole resides in the particulars themselves. Understanding is not just a sophisticated form of fantasy—it is how one relates to being.

In this way Pannenberg can assert that all our experiencing presupposes the meaningfulness of reality, and each context implies a wider context within which it has meaning. *How* we grasp meaning implies something about *what* we grasp. In sum, a "totality of meaning . . . is implicitly presupposed in all everyday experiences of meaning, oriented as they are around individual experiences of significance."

3. *The Meaning of One's Life*

The structure of meaning unifies the otherwise disparate array of human activities. Whether we are communicating, solving problems, making a living, or discovering meaning in nature, art, or history, that semantic structure of reality and its apprehension in context pertain. In each event, we anticipate meaning and search for significance.

For Pannenberg, then, there are no "bare facts," no events apart from their context and the meaning apprehended …end the significance inherent in the events and forms of history." The meaning of our lives lies in a final future, which forms the horizon for all the events within it and which pulls us toward fulfillment, toward being our true selves.

God is our "final future," the ground of that anticipated totality.

Our lives have meaning not in what we have achieved, not in who we are or what we know, but in that anticipation of and striving for significance that marks human endeavor. In that sense the meaning of our lives is presupposed in each event; the whole of life is proleptically present in each episode. "We travel through the history of our lives in the light of some continuing presence that travels with us." Our personal history, and human history generally, is God's progressive self-revelation and delivery to us of a free future in which to discover ourselves and God. As Pannenberg puts it, "the God of the coming kingdom, is . . . the power of the future, of the essential future of man, and is therefore the origin of the freedom through which men transform their traditions and renew their historical world." The source of personal and social liberation, then, is God.

4. *A Culture of Loneliness*

As he climbed the hundred or so steps that lead to Boston College's upper campus, there to deliver a lecture in the Humanities Series, Pannenberg noticed the tower of Gasson Hall, which dominates the upwhen one's complacency bursts do still-unarticulated questions of ultimate meaning and value emerge. While one's plane is in flight, one hardly thinks of landing gear.

The absence of God Pannenberg traces only partly to the explanatory sweep of science and the modern impulse for autonomy. Secular culture emerged from the ashes of a hundred years of religious wars that devastated Europe following the Reformation. Since its beginning, then, modern society "has had to achieve its unity in the face of a plurality of religious traditions and inherited world views, and did so by declaring these conflicts to be private matters. But for religion to be reduced to a private matter is in contradiction to its essential function, that of maintaining an immediate awareness of the meaningful unity of reality as a whole and of its divine origins."

Privatizing solved the problem of religious intolerance through the modern principles of religious tolerance and individual liberty, though at the cost of a societal and personal rootedness. In a sense, we have purchased liberty at the cost of freedom, that is, at the cost of personal enabling reassurance of our worth in a framework of meaning. Subsequent alienation of persons from society and from themselves, Pannenberg states, has gradually resulted in a culture of loneliness, in which the search for personal meaning can become a desperate frenzy.

ing the individual as well as society. And that is precisely what we experience in our secular society, the consequences of denying religion its proper place in human life."

Pannenberg returned to the theme in his Boston College lecture: "The most incisive consequence of the presumed religious neutrality of the state and of the public culture may be that all agencies that provide meaning to human life become a matter of purely subjective discretion, from religion through art and higher education and all the way to morals. People become accustomed to relate to all of them by way of a consumer's attitude that destroys the awareness of meaning. Therefore secular culture, the more it develops without restriction, produces the experience of meaninglessness first in public life and finally also in individual life. The dissolution of the traditional institutions of social life including family and marriage for the sake of promoting the emancipation of the individual leaves that individual to the fate of increasing loneliness in the midst of a noisy machinery of 'communication,' an experience described time and again by modern literature. . . . That loneliness is most obvious and most paradoxical in the transformation of erotic relations into changing, temporary, and exchangeable partnerships. As a consequence of that increasing experience of loneliness, fewer persons are able to develop a sense of personal identity in the course of their individual lives, and that



In fact, I feel that the IRS is an isolating mechanism insofar as individual citizens are required to render their taxes quietly, not as persons but as numbers. In my resistance I feel more connected with my faith, my better self, as well as with a whole community and tradition of war resisters. I am refusing anonymity, claiming responsibility as a person, making peace with myself.

In this simple act of noncooperation, I have broken the government's ritual of enforced passivity. I am no longer letting the responsibility be distributed among many, no longer letting the crimes being prepared remain anonymous. I have decided to turn around, to take a small step toward repentance from those sins of greed, murder, and idolatry in which we are called to complicity. I seek to hold onto the radical faith of Jesus, which tells me I am the light of the world, that my faith *can* move mountains, that the peacemakers and those who are persecuted in the cause of right are blessed. I am convinced that, as Jim Douglass has written, "Our own sin can, through a revolutionary insight, be converted into an undiscovered energy for change."[11]

No, I do not believe my action will dismantle the Pentagon or the war economy. I hope it might help empower other persons—friends, family, students, political and religious leaders—to examine their own conscience and loyalties; but I am acting with the conviction of truth, not the expectation of success. Gandhi counseled us to renounce the fruits of our actions, and Jesus, who saw his nonviolent witness mocked and rejected from a cross, told us to seek first God's Kingdom. Or as the "hopelessly impractical" Thoreau wrote:

> Action from principle—the perception and the performance of right—changes things and relations—it is essentially revolutionary. . . . If one honest man in this state of Massachusetts, ceasing to hold slaves, were actually to withdraw from this copartnership, and be locked up in the county jail therefor, it would be the abolition of slavery in America. For it matters not how small the beginning may seem to be: what is once well done is done forever.[12]

So it is not so much a question of changing others as it is of changing me, of converting my own sin into energy for change. My stand as a conscientious objector resulted in my working for two years in a state mental hospital. That experience, at the age of 22, changed my life, my way of looking at the world, as I came to know and identify with the rejected ones we lock up in institutions. My stand as a war-tax resister has challenged me to stand, not only at the gates of nuclear weapons factories and military bases, but with the homeless and hungry people on our streets. I have realized that the bargain I am offered as one who benefits from the wealth and resources we acquire, in large part at the cost of poverty and starvation in the third world, is an unjust bargain and must be rejected. I feel called to help redistribute those resources among the poor of the earth, beginning with myself, by adopting a simpler lifestyle, divesting myself spiritually and financially from that covenant with death that endangers our planet.■

1. See *Boston* ... vember 28, 1983, ... glect of East Timor."
2. Isa. chs. 1, 3, 28.
3. *An Ethic for Christians* ... *Aliens in a Strange Land* (Waco, Word Books, 1976), pp. 72–73.
4. William Durland, *People Pay for Peace* (Colorado Springs, CO: Center Peace Publishers, 1982), p.12.
5. Sidney Lens, "Militarizing Democracy," *National Catholic Reporter*, November 11, 1983 (first in a three-part series).
6. *Boston Globe* editorial, November 3, 1983, p.18, "Atrocity and Mistake."
7. Quoted in Philip Berrigan, "The Gun Is Legal," *Sojourners* 12 (May 1983), p.29.
8. Art Laffin, "Law on Trial," *Sojourners* 12 (May 1983), p.32.
9. Durland, *op. cit.*, pp. 83–89.
10. John K. Stoner, "The Moral Equivalent of Disarmament: A Call for Church War-Tax Resistance," *Sojourners* 8 (February 1979), pp. 15–17.
11. Jim Douglass, *Lightening East to West* (N.Y.: Crossroad, 1983), p. 95.
12 *On the Duty of Civil Disobedience* (N.Y.: Milestone Editions, n.d.), pp. 303, 305.







Illustrations by Elaine Dunham

respect this "contract" and have sought, in my work with both civic and religious groups, to be an advocate of democratic values. Unfortunately, we have seen this contract widely usurped by the "shadow government"[5] of a national-security state that has removed itself from popular control. This shadow government was responsible for the invasion of Grenada and the murder by air attack of two dozen Grenadians in a mental hospital;[6] it trains and supports the security forces in El Salvador and Honduras that massacre innocent civilians; it enforces the system by which the Pentagon procures for outrageously high prices weapons systems developed by arms manufacturers; and, through our official government, it asks for our support in the form of taxes. As this national-security state was insisting upon building nuclear weapons and the sovereign right of the President to launch us into nuclear war, I began to see that we are living under a far worse tyranny than that which sparked the revolutionary cries of "No taxation without representation!"

One of the tougher questions I was asked (and continue to ask myself) is, "Aren't you irresponsibly threatening the orderly process of government with anarchy? Couldn't this kind of action set a precedent for other issues, such as tobacco subsidies or legalized abortion? Where do you draw the line?"

My refusal to pay war taxes is not done lightly or out of a philosophy of anarchy. I am not opposed to paying for such services as public education, medical care, housing assistance, transportation, and peaceful scientific research or for those nonviolent activities of our military personnel (such as the Coast Guard) devoted to lifesaving and human safety. Tax resistance is not tax evasion. I have not retained the money I withheld but redirected it to an alternative fund. In the true spirit of civil disobedience, I expect to be penalized for my refusal. I believe an important sign of the authenticity of one's dissenting convictions is one's willingness to resist openly as well as to suffer the consequences. This would certainly be true if a citizen felt that consenting to legalized abortion or tobacco subsidies through payment of taxes would be a grave violation of conscience. While the issue of war taxes involves considerably greater numbers of threatened lives as well as budget expenditures, the same question is relevant: Do the services for which we pay our government ultimately enhance or devalue the quality of life?

As for disrupting the "orderly process of government," I have tried to indicate how our shadow government, in the name of national security and in a highly orderly fashion, has already abridged our human rights and political voice as citizens. As Judge Seymour Hendel told the Trident Nein during their trial for damaging a Trident submarine: "You might very well be right—that we are preparing the legal destruction of the planet."[7]

Sometimes, as in Nazi Germany or in Poland today, individual citizens are justified *and compelled* by international law to disrupt the orderly process of government. The Nuremberg Charter imposes upon citizens "the duty to violate domestic laws to prevent crimes against peace and humanity from occurring."[8] Article VI of the U.S. Constitution provides that any treaty to which the United States is a party "shall be the supreme law of the land," superseding domestic laws and the Constitution itself. The Nuremberg Principles (unanimously adopted by the U.N. in 1950 after being introduced by the United States) forbid "crimes against peace," involving the planning and preparation of wars in violation of international treaties; they forbid "war crimes," such as the murder and ill-treatment of civilian populations and the wanton destruction of noncombatant areas; and they forbid "crimes against humanity," such as murder and torture. Insofar as the building and planning for use of nuclear weapons (whether in the name of deterrence or counterforce) threatens our civilization with total annihilation; and insofar as murder, torture, and destruction of civilian areas in third-world countries are being actively supported by U.S. military aid, individual citizens are compelled by international law and the Constitution to take steps toward prevention of these crimes.[9]

In Whom Do We Trust?

Jesus was a threat to Roman and Jewish authorities, a threat to the orderly process of secular and religious government. His open defiance of inhumane laws and of moneychangers in the Temple led to his crucifixion. When asked by the Pharisees if it was lawful to pay taxes to Caesar, Jesus answered: "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's" (Mk. 12:17). I believe that Jesus, in pointing to Caesar's image on the coin, meant that money is in the domain of Caesar, but that the things that are from God—namely, our life, our freedom, and our ultimate faith—are not in the domain of Caesar. Our loyalty to Caesar is subject to our loyalty to God. The claim of absolute authority made by the state and its laws cannot override the absolute authority of God's higher law.

In discovering the limits of my contractual allegiance to government as a citizen, I was likewise affirming my primary relationship of covenant with God as a person of faith. In seeking the ultimate basis of my objection to paying war taxes, I came to the core of our Judaeo-Christian heritage, the Two Great Commandments.

The Great Commandment, the love of God, calls us to revere the source of all life and to refuse to pay tribute to idols. But our nation, despite the slogan on our coins, increasingly calls us to put our trust not in God but in weapons of mass destruction, gods of metal. We are called to believe in the myths that peace, freedom, and security are not God-given but ensured by a "nuclear umbrella." This is the idolatry of the state, which claims to control life and death. When we pay our taxes without protest, we are rendering more than Caesar's minted currency—we are paying tribute to Caesar's gods, sacrificing our life, our freedom, and our faith in a covenant with death.

It is time that people of faith understand the nature of the state creed we are called to affirm. It is time we recognize that taxation is an offertory by which, in the absence of dissent, we attest to our obedient conscription to state religion. It is time to ask to what extent our loyalty to the state has overriden our ultimate loyalty to God. John K. Stoner writes, "In a day when the authority of the church is disobeyed everywhere with impunity, it is. . . . a shock to observe the fanaticism with which Christians insist that Caesar must be given every cent he wants."[10]

Love of God is one with love of neighbor. War taxes not only raise the question, "In whom do I trust?" they raise the question: "Who is my neighbor?" As I have tried to indicate, our government's expenditures are increasingly geared toward the maintenance of an affluent minority at the expense and further oppression of the earth's poor. Our government has chosen to make war on enemies of its "strategic interests," which happen to include innocent civilians in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Grenada, not to mention the millions of innocent civilians in the Soviet bloc who are labeled "enemy." The oneness of God leads us to the truth that humanity is one, that we are all God's children, that we are called to love even those people our government brands as enemies, as expendable. Most of us have read and heard so many shocking reports of human rights violations in countries our government supports that we often overlook widespread human rights violations here at home. While we build Tridents and send arms to El Salvador, the erosion of support for prenatal care has led to increasing infant mortality, malnutrition, and retardation among children living in poverty. As Jesus said. "As you did it to one of the least of these, you did it to me." Our covenant with death leads to the devaluing of life, not only the lives of our neighbors but our own, for we are all counted among the "acceptable numbers" in the minds of defense planners.

In explaining the basis of my personal witness, I am not advocating that we all rush off and become war-tax resisters, only that we consider our loyalties and follow our conscience. I realize that many people who might envisage such an action feel constrained by occupational and family responsibilities as well as by the very same moral and legal values I have cited. I am not saying that I have found the answer and have thereby cleared myself of moral responsibility. On the contrary, I feel as though I have just begun to discover the questions that lead toward greater responsibility.

Spiritually based war-tax resistance is not simply an action. It is likewise a process of reflection that requires a great deal of initial inquiry, fact-finding and soul-searching, as well as a continued effort to question one's postion. My willingness to seriously consider tax resistance was greatly due to several individuals I had chanced to meet and talk with in previous years.

The Power and Truth of Personal Witness

In the summer of 1982, I met with a dozen long-time war-tax resisters at the Avon Institute in New Hampshire. Many of them were Quakers, but many other faiths were also represented. I was surprised to find that most of the people were in their 50's and 60's and could hardly be called political extremists. Jim and Julia Wallace, a Baptist couple from Cambridge, especially impressed me with the simple truth of their position. They were not intent upon sabotaging the democratic system but in living out their faith in Gospel nonviolence. They helped to dispel many of the misconceptions I had about being thrown in prison and harassed by the IRS. And they stressed that war-tax resistance is not a static or irreversible position. One may begin by enclosing a note with one's 1040 form, withholding a token dollar from one's payment, or refusing payment of the telephone tax, which goes toward military uses. Each person or couple has to decide what is an appropriate expression, given their convictions and financial constraints. Some, like Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen, are able to withhold roughly 50 percent of their taxes in oppostion to all military spending. Others have withheld the percentage for current military spending (35 percent) or a lower percentage for nuclear weapons research and development. Because of their pacifist convictions, A.J. Muste and Dorothy Day refused to pay any taxes whatsoever. Many, especially Mennonites and Brethren, have done war tax resistance by choosing a simpler, self-sufficient lifestyle below the taxable income level. Wally and Juanita Nelson of Deerfield, Massachusetts, have lived this way since 1948.

Jim and Julia Wallace also helped me see the power and truth of their personal witness, especially as I faced those nagging questions to which I alluded earlier: "Isn't your effort rather isolated? What possible effect do you hope to have on the Pentagon? Won't the IRS eventually seize the money you owe and levy stiff fines and interest?"

Others may differ, but the important reality for me is that I am not voluntarily giving my war taxes to the government. They are seizing them against my will. My aim is not to drain the military budget but to register my dissent.

(Continued on page 12)

THE ECLIPSE of MEANING

Religion and Self-Discovery in Pannenberg's Recent Thought



J. Michael West

"A meaningful life no longer appears to modern man as a matter of course."

When Wolfhart Pannenberg began the first of the lectures that brought him to Boston last fall, the very skies seemed to agree with his gloomy assessment. An autumn storm had swaggered into Boston, and as nightfall washed the city in shades of grey, its rain overwhelmed the drainage systems, completely soaking pedestrians and then taunting them with wicked gusts of wet wind.

Still, a hundred people had come to hear Pannenberg, the German theologian whose nearly 30 years of work have challenged a generation of religious thinkers. Pannenberg is a heavyweight thinker, and in his essays he spars with the likes of Barth, Bultmann, Tillich, Rahner, Teilhard, Wittgenstein. Currently Professor of Systematic Theology and Director of the Ecumenical Institute at the University of Munich, Pannenberg lectured at Boston University, Boston College, and at Harvard Divinity School, where he delivered the Ingersoll Lecture on Immortality. Previous Ingersoll Lecturers include William James, Josiah Royce, C.H. Dodd, Alfred North Whitehead, Hans Jonas, Paul Tillich, Amos Wilder, Wilfred Cantwell Smith, Eric Voegelin, and Elisabeth Kubler-Ross, among others.

1. *The Question of Meaning*

In each of the lectures, Pannenberg's topic was *meaning*, the intangible something that informs our lives, fuels our action, and colors our feelings. What cause have we to assert that our lives have meaning? The meaning we apprehend—is it created by us or merely found by us? Why is there a contemporary crisis of meaning in people's lives? What are its sources and dimensions?

Merely to pose such questions suggests a Promethean ambition, but one need not be a theologian or philosopher to question one's own meaning. Whenever we experience the pain of loneliness or separation, the alienation of not belonging, or the anguish of guilt or confusion, we naturally pose the question of meaning. As we witness the palpable unfairness of undeserved suffering, random violence, or the persistence of evil in ourselves and our society, we question meaning. And when idealism bursts and we stand in awe at our self-deceptions or at the sheer scale and seeming insolubility of present problems, we cannot help but question meaning. Though formulated by philosophers or theologians, the meaning question seeps in through all the cracks in our everyday living. It is our problem, ourselves as problematic.

Not that our lives have no meaning at all—fragments of meaning inhabit separate compartments of our lives. One's lover or spouse, one's work, one's interests, one's art or craft, one's faith—each may hold some portion of one's allegiance, affection, or love. No one compartment or realm, no one level or phase, however, can by itself fill the hunger that lies at the center of our being. In fact, each day one can read of suicides whose worlds of family, church, and vocation were full but who nonetheless judged their lives to be void of meaning. How can this happen? How are we to understand meaning and its role in unifying, informing our lives? What subtle strand of meaning weaves all the fragments together?

Our questions indicate that the problem of meaning has three aspects: identifying the sources of meaning, integrating the different realms of meaning, and confronting the question of an overarching significance in human living.

Although North Americans might identify Pannenberg with his pathbreaking work on the concepts of revelation, history, and resurrection, the problem of meaning has become more central to Pannenberg's thought in the last ten years. In many ways it discloses the style and impulses as well as the chief motives and aims of a complex thinker as he confronts the central dilemma of an age.

2. *Bicycles and Totality*

A clue to the problem of meaning lies in remembering how one learned to ride a bicycle. No one muscle or grip or way of leaning could get one started or keep one balanced and riding. Nor were verbal instructions very helpful; the novice is irritated when told to lean into the turn or to keep peddling even when the bike is beginning to topple. What matters in learning to ride is when the separate physical skills and muscular exertions all come together. Concentrating on any one of them actually endangers a precarious balance. The particulars—of vision, leaning, peddling, holding on, and turning—are subsumed in a single constellation or whole that in turn gives meaning to each unarticulated

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world, in good part because at every level, shop floor to top management, it is substantially overstaffed. Work simplification, job descriptions, organization charts all now tend to reinforce the great American phrase, "That's not part of my job."

So we have the most exquisite division of work, not only under union contract (as management like to suppose) but throughout the ranks of management itself. And we have highly paid men and women unhappily doing trivial work, and we are only beginning to discover that unnecessary costs mean uncompetitive costs, and loss of markets, and, of course, finally loss of jobs, with persistently high unemployment.

Back to the Old Testament: "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." This ancient wisdom is being rediscovered in a few very exciting spots. With reasonable confidence, I think we can say that the result in several corporations is that at least a third fewer persons can perform the same operation better, faster, with fewer mistakes, higher quality, better pay, a say in how the work is done, and a rewarding feeling in the job, all with lower prices for consumers.

The promises from Proverbs!

Perhaps at this point you would like to puncture my not-so-innocent enthusiasm by asking, "Yes, but who's going to employ all these people we don't need for today's work?" That's a fair question, and there are at least three comments to be made in return. The first is that they may not be employed anyhow, if lower-cost producers drive them from the marketplace. The second is a return question: Are there today no unmet needs in the society that need filling? Are there no new products that might be imagined to make life easier or more fun? Is there no hunger to be relieved, or poverty to be addressed? The third is an admission: Change is coming so rapidly that there will be inescapable hardship. Ancient skills will disappear as did the skills of cottage industry on the coming of the Industrial Revolution. The old will suffer most and will be least amenable to retraining. Our nation has a high and most prudent responsibility to see that the hardships of the rapid change are shared equitably, top to bottom, and not borne only by those least able to bear them.

We went through such an experience once, only at a much more gradual pace. In 1800 over 85 percent of our working population was employed in agriculture. Today it is less than 2 percent, and very few persons any longer know how to sharpen a scythe. This time the speed of change is out of our control. We have only the privilege of reacting to it, extracting benefit from it if we can. The power to arrest it, or slow it down, I believe, is not ours.

How shall we react to it humanely and intelligently? How shall we avoid social chaos and personal tragedy in the face of its lightning speed? I think that here is where our religious commitments could give us a nudge, if we will permit them to do so. They might help us to bring our corporate and national behavior into line with those everlasting laws which each of us knows all too well, laws which we are too fearful to practice in so much of our corporate conduct.

To mention just a few, we can modify our concept of the job—from one which reduces each job to its very simplest, to one which utilizes the full intelligence, capacity, education, and experience of the job-holder. There is a "wisdom of the workplace," largely untapped by American industry. Utilizing it to the full will avoid costly error. It will lower costs, and improve quality, and it will produce men and women who are fully challenged and excited about what they do, because they have a say in what they do and in what happens to them, and because they are consulted. This may indeed be the new definition of "full employment": men and women who are for the first time fully employed.

Religious commitments may also urge us to find new profitable work for those displaced and to commit our own capital to such ventures.

There are some further implications of this way of working. We are beginning already, I think, to see the disappearance of *rank*. The concept of the "supervisor" is becoming less than useful. "Rank" has usually meant, in the final analysis, "Never mind what you think. Do it. I'm the boss." Rank sets little value on the "wisdom of the workplace" and undervalues opinions of subordinates, precisely because they are subordinate. The principles of rank in the future can be very costly indeed.

The very word, "supervisor," in its etymology means looking over (someone's shoulder) to see that he does his work right. In our present work culture, the responsibility for doing accurate, quality work is not that of the person doing the work. It is the responsibility of the supervisor, who is there to check on him. The worker's responsibility is to satisfy his boss, a fundamentally humiliating, depersonalizing way to spend your life.

I think this is changing. Instead of a pyramid of rank and supervision, I believe we are moving toward a division of responsibilities. In such a world, each person becomes responsible for what he or she does.

Inspectors, technicians, those who carry multiple responsibilities are there—not to boss—but to help, to train, to bring to bear other resources, to offer judgment. We are beginning to discover the wisdom of each person's accepting full responsibility for doing well, efficiently, and on time, the task assigned, and for giving full cooperation to all others who are a part of his or her workstream.

It is only a guess on my part that this kind of change is developing in America. Old habits are hard to change, and we may not change. If we fail to change, I think it is the end of us. After all, we have already lasted longer than Athens did.

If we change too slowly, we shall become an impoverished nation, highly paid in dollars of no value. But, if we lead change, then once more all the promises can be ours.

These are no new thoughts. In 1927, fifty seven years or two generations ago, Owen D. Young, head of General Electric, spoke these words here in Cambridge, at the opening of the Harvard Business School:

> I hope the day may come when these great business organizations will truly belong to the men who are giving their lives and their efforts to them, I care not in what capacity. Then they will use capital truly as a tool and they will be all interested in working it to the highest economic advantage. Then an idle machine will mean to every man in the plant who sees it an unproductive charge against himself. Then every piece of material not in motion will mean to the man who sees it an unproductive charge against himself. Then we shall have zest in labor, provided the leadership is competent and the division fair. Then we shall dispose, once and for all, of the charge that in industry organizations are autocratic and not democratic. Then we shall have all the opportunities for a cultural wage which the business can provide. Then, in a word, men will be as free in co-operative undertakings and subject only to the same limitations and chances as men in individual businesses. Then we shall have no hired men. That objective may be a long way off, but it is worthy to engage the research and efforts of the Harvard School of Business.

Then, too, we must deal with this question of unemployment, which I regard as the greatest economic blot on our capitalistic system. There is no answer except that the managers of business have not yet learned how to make their system function so that men willing and able to work may do so. There is no limit to the consumption of the world. It is limited only in its individual compartments. We cannot wear more than so many clothes, and so we may have over-production in individual lines. But there are innumerable wants of men yet unserved, and as long as culture grows, these wants will outrun our capacity to produce the things to satisfy them. The world does not owe men a living, but business, if it is to fulfill its ideal, owes men an opportunity to earn a living.

How sad for the generations of workers in the intervening years, how sad for our country, that neither the Harvard Business School nor the American business community heard the words of Mr. Young! Had they listened the Golden Age might already be within our grasp.

I am unable to wind up these remarks without a comment for the benefit of the young about the criteria for employment which all this implies. In a world where more and more persons must be self-motivated, must essentially do their work unsupervised, must gain knowledge of the whole process of which they are a part, and must selflessly work for the perfection of that process, and for the success of their neighbors, in such a world the customary criteria—college degrees, class standings, professional certificates, even experience—while still important, will nevertheless take second place to unfamiliar words like character, commitment, trust, loyalty, faithfulness.

Perhaps this is a good place to turn again to Proverbs:

> Let not loyalty and faithfulness forsake you.
> Bind them about your neck.
> *Write them on the tablet of your heart. . . .*

and the promise:

> It will be healing to your flesh, and refreshment to your bones.

Is this where "religious commitments" and "corporate decisions" intersect? If it is, I can tell you it will be hardest of all for the chief executive officer and the university-trained manager to understand, to accept, and to accommodate to the change required.

Demanding loyalty, faithfulness, and trust from their employees is natural and easy. Can managers in turn learn what it means, *themselves* to offer commitment and trust first, before they receive it, taking the high risk in confidence of the promise?

The affairs of men and women are today in greater disarray than at any time I can remember. That is not at all to say that once there were the good old times. Rather, we have come to a time, through our own cleverness, when the whole race is crowded together, elbow to elbow, by the airplane, the city, the telephone, TV, and now the computer. There remains little individual or national privacy.

No one did this to us. We did it to ourselves.

If we allow ourselves to yield to aggressive irritation and recrimination, we are surely done for. If, however, we are somehow able to act, individually and collectively, in reasonable accordance with that great phrase, "the best that is in us," we might even construct for ourselves a Golden Age. That is the promise, and it is the right and duty of religion in every age, not alone to cry "repent, lest you perish," but to remind us of the promises as well. ■

Bring No More Vain Offerings

Tax Resistance and Personal Witness



Ben Tousley

Last Easter I sent a check to the New England War Tax Resistance Alternative Fund to support organizations working for peace, human rights, and welfare. The amount of the check represented 18 percent of the federal income tax owed after withholding and deductions. To the IRS (and to friends, family and Congressional representatives) I sent a three-page letter explaining why I had chosen to withhold this portion of the tax as a witness for peace, as a protest of war preparations, and as an act of responsible citizenship. In deciding to redirect this small amount from the federal budget to a human needs fund, I joined some 10,000-20,000 U.S. citizens engaging in war tax resistance.

While I had become a conscientious objector during the Vietnam War and had for the past decade expressed opposition to our society's increasing militarization, I felt the need to take a further step in clearly registering my dissent. Though praising my integrity, friends and family questioned my judgment in taking on such seemingly immoveable systems as the IRS and the Pentagon with a practice so obviously doomed to failure. "Doesn't this undermine our democratic system? Won't the IRS ultimately get what they're after and sock it to you with interest? Aren't there better ways of registering your dissent, like writing letters or lobbying?" they asked. Their questions merely echoed the serious doubts and fears that had surfaced since I began to consider war-tax resistance. They were the reservations which come largely from having been raised in white, middle-class America, relying on a way of life to which many of us owe our economic comforts, our college education and, to a certain extent, our health and happiness.

The bright side of this way of life Martin Luther King, Jr., celebrated in his "I Have a Dream" speech—a land of *equal* opportunity, freedom for all, and the right to a fair share of our resources—and is a vision I have been eager to support and defend since the days JFK spoke of a New Frontier. But there is a dark side to our way of life that, as a person of faith, I cannot support and defend, but must resist. I hope the reader will bear with me if I seem to be dwelling on this dark side and if I speak about God for a while in secular terms.



Ben Tousley, M. Div. '82 and a resident of Somerville, is a counselor in campus ministry at Merrimack College, North Andover, Massachusetts.

The Price We Pay for Our "Vital Interests"

It has taken me many years to begin to understand the price affluent American citizens pay in exchange for the government's defense of our alleged "vital interests." While I have long been opposed to the federal government's lopsided appropriations for military spending (roughly 53 percent of the total budget), the Reagan administration outraged me with its blatant sponsorship of military suppliers and its contempt for the poor and handicapped.

Nevertheless, it seemed easier to ignore the fact that it is from individual citizens, such as myself, that the government procures the vast amounts needed for the murderous escalation of the arms race. Though our nuclear arsenal's overkill capacity is already equivalent to the power of 200,000 Hiroshima-sized bombs, our government is currently adding MX and Cruise missiles, B-1 bombers, and Trident submarines, which clearly place us in a perilous first-strike position.

Nevertheless, it seemed easier to ignore the fact that it is from individual citizens, such as myself, that millions of dollars in military aid go to support murder, torture, and repression in such third-world countries as El Salvador, the Phillipines, and Indonesia. When I learned that our government had supplied 90 percent of the weapons Indonesia used to invade the tiny former Portuguese colony of East Timor in 1975, it was easier to curse the Ford administration than to accept personal responsibility. After all, it was Rockwell International's Bronco aircraft, not mine, that was used for the incendiary bombing in 1977 and 1978 that caused the wholesale murder of civilians, destroying crops and causing mass starvation.[1] It was the Carter administration, despite its human rights rhetoric, that chose to ignore the civilian massacres and concentration camps—not me, or so I thought.

But it has not been so easy to ignore the face of Reaganomic injustice at home when the increased taxes we are asked to pay for war preparations result in a direct theft from the hungry, the homeless, the elderly, and the handicapped of our society; when the infant mortality rate among the poor is rising; when severely handicapped citizens are arbitrarily cut from disability rolls; and when a Presidential commission denies the widespread hunger and homelessness in this country. The price we pay as affluent American citizens makes us the hungriest people in the history of this earth—our greed has become so tremendous we would rather destroy ourselves then share our wealth with the poor.

Like so many others, I at first felt powerless to change these injustices. But it slowly dawned on me that my outrage came from the knowledge that these injustices were no one's if not my own responsibility, that I was a part of the sinful complicity which had permitted our government to claim such power. The words of Isaiah spoke directly to my country and to me:

> Bring no more vain offerings. . . . Your hands are full of blood. . . . It is you who have devoured the vineyard, the spoil of the poor is in your houses. What do you mean by crushing my people, by grinding the face of the poor. . . . Because you have said "We have made a covenant with death, and with Sheol we have an agreement; when the overwhelming scourge passes through it will not come to us; for we have made lies our refuge and in falsehood we have taken shelter."[2]

During the war in Indochina, I became a conscientious objector to military conscription to register my dissent from the war machine that was destroying life there. As I began to consider tax resistance more than a decade later, I realized I was still subject to military conscription: by paying taxes without protest, I was offering my tacit consent to the death squads of undemocratic regimes that imprison and terrorize their people, to the manufacturing of more nuclear and "conventional" weapons designed to destroy life on our planet, and to the budget priorities that are "grinding the face of the poor." Simply stated, if I myself would not kill, torture, or steal, how could I pay someone else to kill, torture, and steal?

As William Stringfellow has observed:

> If it is tempting to suppose that remote proximity abolishes responsibility for the killing, it must be remembered that the use of apparently anonymous automated weapons exposes the common and equal culpability for slaughter of those who pull the trigger and those who press the button with those who manufacture the means and those who pay the taxes.[3]

Praying for Peace and Paying for War

I had to face the conflict—I was praying for peace and paying for war. My "vain offerings" could not wash from my hands the blood of collective irresponsibility or remove the lies I had made my refuge and the falsehood in which I had taken shelter. My legal obligation as a U.S. citizen to pay taxes was being questioned by my moral obligation as a U.S. and world citizen to protest war preparations and genocide. Once again, I turned to the great tradition of civil disobedience in this country; it calls upon individual citizens to hold on to the truth of their conscience and be willing to face fines and imprisonment to register their objection to unjust laws. In the words of William Durland, "unquestioning obedience to government is not part of citizenship in a democracy; it is rather the stuff out of which all dictatorships are made."[4]

In our republic, individual citizens consent to government, rendering support in the form of taxes, jury duty, voting, and civic responsibility in return for services which are supposed to enhance the collective quality of life. I

Synopsis of LMTC Course on
CHRISTIAN ECOLOGY: BIBLICAL PERSPECTIVES ON LAND AND JUSTICE

The history of Inheritance of the promised land by the Israelites will be a springboard for discussing the philosophical reasons for contemporary abuse of natural resources and the environment. An economic analysis will be applied to various classical and neo-classical solutions to the problem. Testing the adequacy and morality of these proposed solutions against Christian doctrines will then provide guidelines to Christians and the Church for their moral obligation to speak and act in defense of Natural Resources----God's gift to all humankind in perpetuity.

LESSON I [Jan 18,1984]
Israelite Inheritance of the Promised Land

LESSON II [Jan 25,1984]
Land as Promise, Gift, and Responsibility

LESSON III [Feb 1,1984]
Property---Personal, Public, and Common

LESSON IV [Feb 8,1984]
Abuse of Property---Misuse and Land Speculation

LESSON V [Feb 15,1984]
Ethics, Justice, and Land Stewardship

LESSON VI [Feb 22,1984]
Stewardship----the Remedy?

LESSON VII [Feb 29,1984]
The Task of the CHURCH in Society

Land, The Law & The Prophets

What The Bible

Bible Prophets on Land Stewardship

Land as Promise, Gift and Responsibility

Prophets, Kings & The Land

High Court Takes Up Land Reform in U.S.

Law Breaking Up Hawaii Estates Is Major Test of Property Rights

By JIM MANN, *Times Staff Writer*

WASHINGTON—The Supreme Court agreed Monday to decide whether a government program of land reform is constitutional, thus setting up one of the most important tests of private property rights in decades.

The justices will hear an appeal by officials in Hawaii of a lower court ruling that the state's land reform law, passed in 1967 to break up the holdings of major landowners such as the famed Bishop Estate, violates landowners' property rights.

In addition to its constitutional significance and its importance for Hawaii, the case, which will be decided next year, may have implications for American foreign policy. Supporters of the Hawaii law say it might be awkward for the United States to encourage other governments to undertake land reform programs—as it is now doing in El Salvador—if an American land reform program were declared unconstitutional.

State Buys Two-Acre Tracts

Under the Hawaii law, the state uses its powers of condemnation to buy tracts no more than two acres in size that are contained within estates of at least five acres. The state then sells these parcels at cost to persons who have been living on the property. The holder of a large amount of land could be forced to sell two-acre tracts for each person living on his property.

The Fifth Amendment guarantees that private property will not "be taken for public use without just compensation." It has long been settled that, as long as they pay for the property, state and local governments may take possession of private property for such purposes as building roads or bridges or for carrying out urban renewal programs.

The principal constitutional issue in the Hawaii case is whether a government program of land reform is a legitimate "public use" under the Fifth Amendment. In 1979, Chief U.S. District Judge Samuel P. King of Hawaii concluded that it was and upheld the Hawaii Land Reform Act. But the U.S. 9th Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco voted 2 to 1 last March to strike down the law on grounds that land reform is not a "public use."

"When we strip away the statutory rationalizations contained in the Hawaii Land Reform Act, we see a naked attempt on the part of the state of Hawaii to take the private property of A and transfer it to B solely for B's private use and benefit," Judge Arthur L. Alarcon wrote for the appeals court.

Alarcon, a one-time aide to former Gov. Edmund G. (Pat) Brown who was appointed to the appeals court by President Jimmy Carter, concluded that "it was the intention of the framers of the Constitution and the Fifth Amendment that this form of majoritarian tyranny should not occur."

The Hawaii law was challenged by trustees of the Bishop Estate, the largest private landowner in Hawaii. The estate holds the land once owned by Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop, the last member of the Hawaiian royal family, who died in 1884.

The estate is a tax-exempt charitable trust with an estimated $1.5 billion in assets. It is charged with educating children whose ancestors were native Polynesians. While retaining title to its land, the estate has leased substantial parts of its property for residential development.

In passing the land reform measure, the Hawaii Legislature complained of the "acute and widespread social and economic hardship" caused by this pattern of land ownership. The Legislature pointed out that Hawaii's population was growing rapidly and that there was a "critical shortage" of residential land available for sale.

Court Interested in Property Rights

Over the last few years, the Supreme Court has shown an increased interest in issues involving property rights. The justices have indicated that there may be some limited circumstances in which official actions that severely restrict the development or use of land may be considered akin to the government's taking control of the property.

But the Hawaii case presents the justices with a more far-reaching dispute over property rights—a case of the sort rarely seen at the court since the days of the New Deal.

In urging the high court to hear the case, Harvard law professor Laurence H. Tribe, who was retained by the Hawaii Legislature to defend the land reform program, told the justices that the appeals court decision "usurped state legislative power in a manner unprecedented in this century." The main issue in the case, Tribe contended, "is whether the U.S. Constitution freezes our 50th state into its feudal past."

By contrast, Washington attorney E. Barrett Prettyman, representing the Bishop Estate, told the justices that there was no reason to hear the appeal because "the issues in this case . . . are unique and cannot be expected to recur" (Hawaii Housing Authority vs. Midkiff, 83-141; Portlock Community Assn. vs. Midkiff, 83-236; Kahala Community Assn. vs. Midkiff, 83-283).

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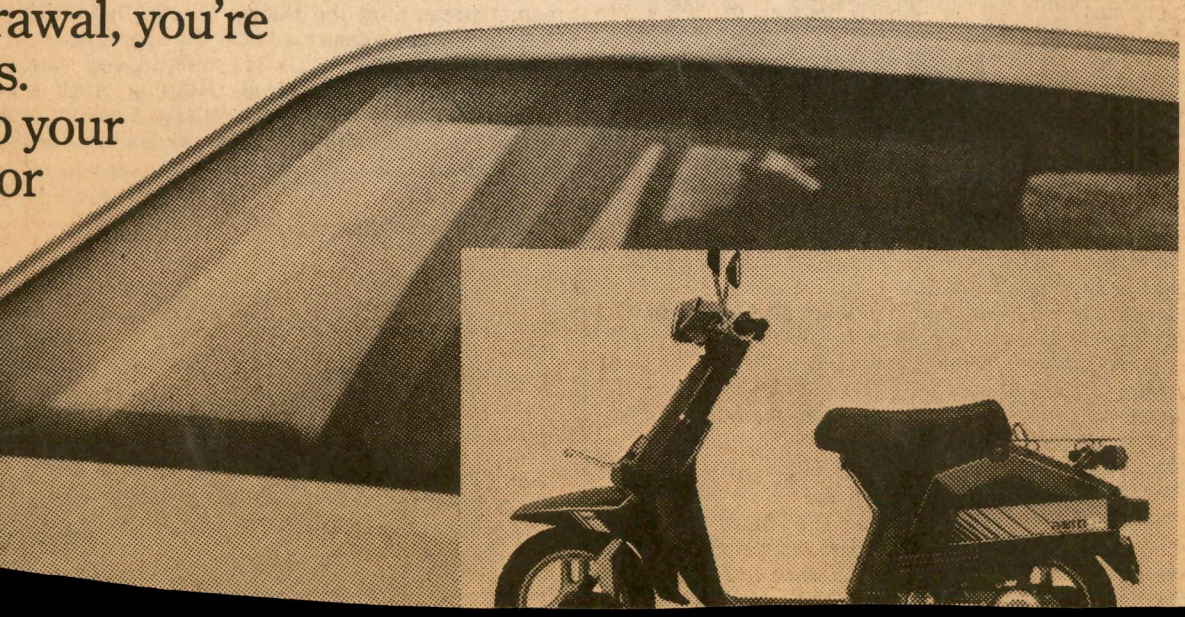
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Parallel structure; parallel thought?

"The wild beasts that roam Italy have their dens and lairs to shelter them, but the men who fight and die for Italy have nothing but air and light. ...it is for the wealth and luxury of others that they fight and die. They are called masters of the world, they have no clod of earth to call their own."

--Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, ca.133 B.C.

"The foxes have holes, and the birds of the heaven have nests; but the son of man hath not where to lay his head."

--Matthew 8:20, ca. 30 A.D.

Catholic priests, nuns prompt O'Neill to oppose Latin policy

By PHILIP TAUBMAN
New York Times News Service

WASHINGTON — No one in Congress has been more caustically critical of the Reagan administration's policies in Central America than the speaker of the House, Thomas P. O'Neill Jr.

Unlike most of his colleagues, O'Neill has flatly opposed both security assistance to El Salvador and aid to the rebels seeking to topple the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. Even those Democrats who have consistently attacked President Reagan on his policies have supported some military aid to El Salvador.

The fervor of O'Neill's criticism, which has puzzled many fellow lawmakers and angered the White House, turns out to be grounded in theology as much as politics. The theology of liberation, to be precise, a doctrine recently criticized by the Vatican that has been used to justify the activism of Roman Catholic nuns and priests in Latin America over the last 15 years.

O'Neill's connection with the doctrine comes from his links to nuns and priests who have worked in Central America, many of whom come from his congressional district in Cambridge, Mass. While some members of Congress base their foreign policy positions on elaborate briefings by aides, consultation with colleagues or public opinion polling of their constituents, O'Neill depends on the activist nuns and priests to help shape his views on Central America.

Religious groups, particularly Roman Catholic clergy, have played a significant role in the debate over Central America policy. Although the church hierarchy has not been outspoken, many Catholic organizations have opposed President Reagan's policies in the region and have devoted considerable effort to trying to encourage opposition in Congress.

In O'Neill's case, the pressure has been unusually intense and effective, in part because his district has a large Catholic population and it is good politics for him to oppose the administration's policies, but also because he has great confidence in the judgment of the nuns and priests who have lobbied him. O'Neill is himself a Roman Catholic and attended Dominican primary and secondary schools in Boston as well as Boston College, a Jesuit institution.



Thomas P. O'Neill Jr.

"I have a connection with the Maryknoll order," O'Neill said recently. "I have great trust in that order. When the nuns and priests come through, I ask them questions about their feelings, what they see, who the enemy is, and I'm sure I get the truth. I haven't found any of these missionaries who aren't absolutely opposed to this policy."

O'Neill's aunt, Eunice Tolan, was a Maryknoll sister until her death in 1981 at the age of 91. "My aunt was revered by the order, so I have a great association with them," he said.

One of O'Neill's main sources of information about Central America, particularly Nicaragua, has been Peggy Healy, a Maryknoll nun based in Managua. She corresponds regularly with him and stops by his office whenever she is in Washington, according to O'Neill's aides.

In a letter she sent to O'Neill in May, Sister Healy said: "The war that is happening in Central America right now and which threatens to escalate and bring even more disaster, challenges us — all of us who believe in Jesus — to follow the word of Paul in Ephesians: 'So stand your ground, with truth buckled around your waist and integrity as a breastplate, wearing for shoes on your feet the eagerness to spread the gospel of peace and always carrying the shield of faith so that you can use it to put out the burning arrows of the evil one.' "

Sister Healy thanked O'Neill for supporting a cutoff of U.S. aid to Nicaraguan rebels and bemoaned the approval by the House of additional security assistance to El Salvador.

She also urged O'Neill to make sure that Congress monitored developments in El Salvador to see whether Duarte followed through on promises to alleviate the abuse of human rights.

Closer to home, O'Neill has been pressed by the Nicaraguan Action Group, an association of Cambridge women, more than half nuns, who oppose Reagan's policies. The group began lobbying O'Neill in 1981.

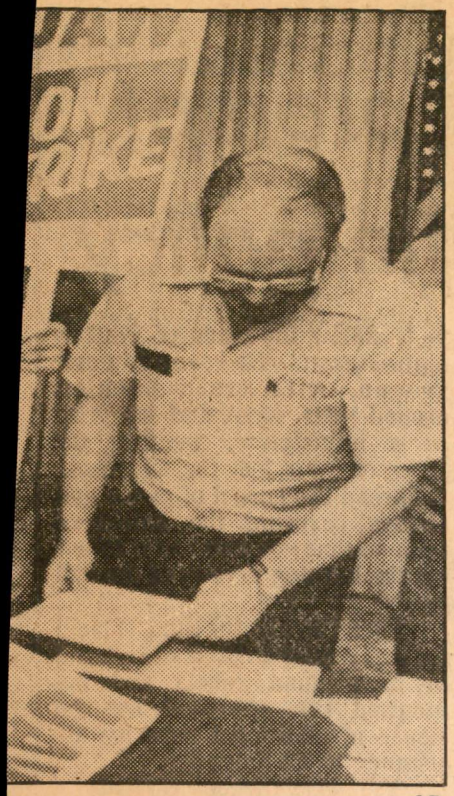
"We realized that Mr. O'Neill was key to what happened in the House," one of the group's members, Sister Jeanne Gallo of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, said.

"Many of us were in his district. The group decided to work on educating him about Central America and work on him to move things through Congress to help end human rights abuses," she said.

To dramatize their cause, the group held two sit-ins at O'Neill's district office in the federal building in Boston. In response, O'Neill agreed to meet with the group and has often been in touch with it.

Anne Shumway, another member of the Nicaraguan Action Group, said: "We've been very pleased that he listens to us. He is a good Catholic and trusts people in the church who give him information. He's also a humanitarian and feels he should act on the things he learns."

The churchwomen said they had no regret about their political activities, despite criticism of such activism by the Vatican.



AP

nd. UAW locals throughout the meetings this week.

r the ditch'

The IUE represents 25,000 GM workers at nine plants, principally in the Ohio cities of Dayton, Moraine and Warren. Its contract also expires at midnight tomorrow, but it contains a clause mandating three days' notice of a strike call. When the UAW struck in 1970, the IUE members waited to be laid off, rather than strike.

The UAW yesterday said it had extended its contract indefinitely with Ford Motor Co. as negotiations continued with GM. Ford talks will not shift into high gear until after an agreement is reached at GM.

UAW spokesman Karl Mantyla said three days' notice is required to cancel the extension.

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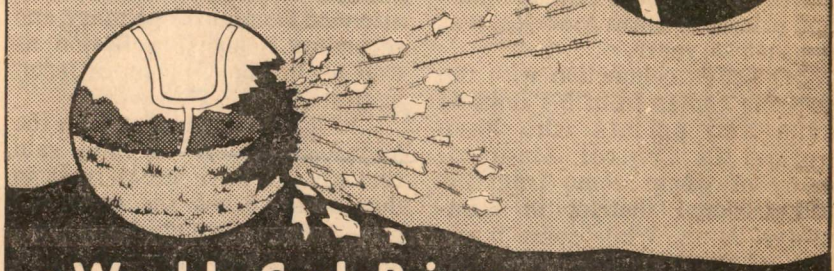
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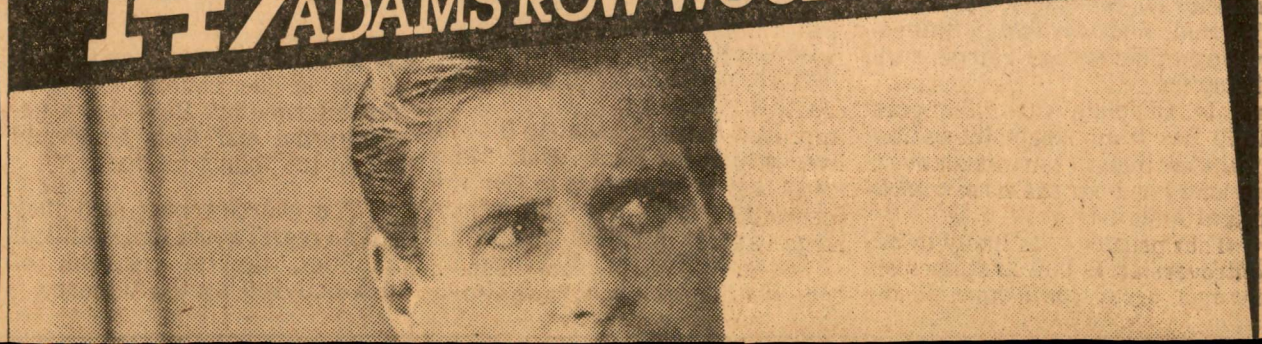
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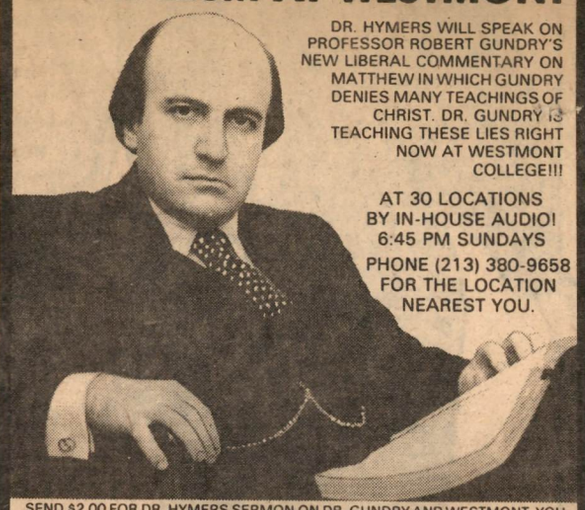
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Signs of the Times, #1

NF – Land + Religion

ECONOMICS FOR PEACE EVENT

On May 26 the School sponsored ECONOMICS FOR PEACE at the Croatian American Hall conveniently located beside our office building. About thirty participants viewed the Franciscan Communications filmstrip The Gift of Land and heard panelists representing the following organizations: tions:

Maryknoll Fathers, American Friends Service Committee, Citizens in Solidarity with the People of El El Salvador, Northern CA Land Trust, Institute for Food and Development Policy, and Earthstar Radio which taped the event for possible broadcast. Earthstar's Shari Morgan provided some high-minded entertainment with her songs of peace.

The following is from the talk given by Maryknoll Father Jim Curtin who has spent most of his life working with the Indians of Guatemala and is deeply familiar with the brutal massacres that have been occurring in Central America:

The land is sacred to the Indians and there was a meeting of Indians of eight countries in Sept. 1979 in Mexico who echoed the thoughts of Henry George: "The land is a mother for us. It is our inheritance as a homeland. It includes the water, the trees, the mou mountains, all those things that make it function as the earth. The land is the farmworkers sustenance, as it is for the whole of society. It is the heart of the nation. The land is our life; it is the source and protection of our life. On it we stand, we walk, we rest. When we have land we are happy because we have food. We feel co committed to its production. We feel we are persons. The land belongs to everyone, because its only owner is God."

After quotes from Popes Paul VI and John Paul II regarding landed property rights Father Curtin continued:

Peace is above all, a work of justice. It presupposes and requires the establishment of a just order in which men can fulfill themselves as men, where their dignity is respected, their legitimate aspirations satisfied, their access to truth recognized, their personal freedom guaranteed; an order where man is not an object, but an agent of his own history. Therefore, there will be attempts against peace where unjust inequalities among men and nations prevail.

Universal love is that which in solidarity with the oppressed seeks also to liberate the oppressors from their own power, from their ambition and from their selfishness. The liberation of the poor and the liberation of the rich are achieved simultaneously.

LANDLINK PROJECT

The LANDLINK PROJECT was begun in September 1982 in response to interest by CBS News in the question of concentration of land ownership in America. The following organizations were contacted: Appalachian Alliance, Kentucky Fair Tax Coalition, National Catholic Rural Life Conference, Rural America, California Institute of Rural Studies.

Subsequently, CBS did a documentary which focused on the Appalachian region in particular. Purposes of the LANDLINK PROJECT are as follows:

* To continue to draw media attention to this challenging issue;
* To network with organizations and individuals who are working on issues of poverty and inequitable land tenure;
* To support their efforts in establishing a tax structure which would collect the economic rent of land and natural resources as the basis of public finance, while eliminating taxes on productive labor.

We are seeking funding to support the further development of the LANDLINK PROJECT. For more information please call the School at 415-864-1014.

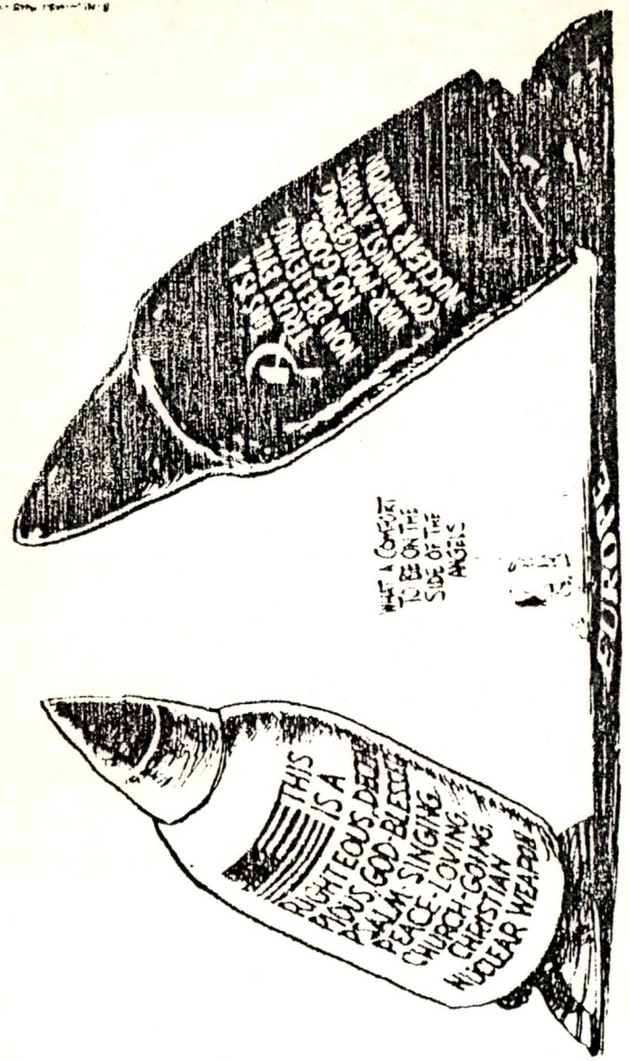
TUNE INTO THE GREEN QUARTER!

From time to time Earthstar Radio's GREEN QUARTER carries programming of special intrest to HGS members. Recently board president Fred Foldvary was interviewed on his book THE SOUL OF LIBERTY. Vice president Eric Moncur created a dynamic program on the green belt along the Great Highway. Another show was developed from a telephone interview with Landlink Project participant Joe Szakos (did you know that one coal company in eastern Kentucky owns 81,000 acres yet pays only $74 a year in property taxes?) KFAX Radio 1100 AM dial every Saturday evening at 11:15 PM. For further information call school.

MEMBER POLL: Cable channel 25 has aired a videotaped portion of a panel discussion from our June '82 conference. We intend to do a few more programs for cable TV and so we're wondering how many of you get the cable system. If you do, please give us a call to tell us so at 864-1014.

PENNY'S BUILDING LATEST NEWS:
Chronicle AM: August 16th SF Supervisor Carol Ruth Silver proposes to condemn and tear down the long empty building at 5th and Market and convert it to a mini-mall and park. Silver noted the key site pays only $50,000 a year in taxes.

Examiner PM: August 16th Bob Lurie, owner announces plans to rehabilitate the 5 story Baroque-Renaissance building into retail and office space.



CALENDAR OF EVENTS/EVENTS
HENRY GEORGE SCHOOL NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

SEPTEMBER

2 *HAPPY BIRTHDAY HENRY GEORGE*
7 - Wednesday noon meetings begin
2 at the school
19 - Meeting Board of Directors
3410 19th Street
23-25 - Booth 'Nuclear Disarmament-
Moving Forward' Conference
Fort Mason, 10 a.m. on
28 - Marin membership meeting
Tamalpais High School
Camino Alto at Miller

OCTOBER

1 - Picnic Petaluma Cheese Factory
12-5 p.m.
4 - Classes in SF, 3410 19th St.
thru Dec. 6th.
5 - Classes in Marin, Tamalpais HS
Camino Alto at Miller
thru Dec. 9th.
7 - Classes in Berkeley-Albany
State Farm Office
1551A Solano
thru Dec. 9th.
17 - Meeting of Executive Committee
at the school office

NOVEMBER

8 - MYLES HORTON, 'Progress and Poverty
in Appalachia,' Croatian American
Hall 3416 19th St (Mission) 7-9 p.m.
21 - Meeting of Board of Directors
at the school office
24-26 - Presentations to teachers and Booth
at National Council of Social Science
Teachers, Hilton Hotel, SF

DECEMBER

15 - CLASS GRADUATION PARTY

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When people first came to the West, particularly from the owned and fought-over farmlets of Europe, and saw so much land to be had for the signing of a paper and the building of a foundation, an itching land-greed seemed to come over them. They wanted more and more land—good land if possible, but land anyway. . . The early settlers took up land they didn't need and couldn't use; they took up worthless land just to own it.
—John Steinbeck, *East of Eden*

HOW DO YOU FEEL NOW ABOUT PROPOSITION 13? See page 7

Bishops Taking Aim at Capitalism

Catholic Clerics Will Study the Morality of U.S. Economics

By RUSSELL CHANDLER, *Times Religion Writer*

SOUTH BEND, Ind.—The nation's Roman Catholic bishops, who waded into the thick of political controversy last spring when they issued a statement condemning nuclear arms, are now preparing a letter that will scrutinize the morality of capitalism and recommend changes in U.S. economic policy.

The major church document that is taking shape through a committee of five bishops and their advisers appears to be a highly controversial analysis of U.S. employment, welfare, trade and industrialization policies, with a view toward making these policies more beneficial to workers and the poor.

According to comments made by some committee members, the letter is almost certain to call for the creation of jobs for the unemployed as a national moral imperative, and may well criticize some aspects of capitalism.

The five bishops charged with drafting the pastoral letter on Catholic social teaching and the American economy closed a three-day symposium here on Wednesday after hearing a wide variety of viewpoints from several dozen experts in labor, economics and theology.

The symposium drew nearly 250 observers, underscoring a growing interest in the letter and the American bishops' current determination to speak out on social issues.

Economic injustice has been an increasing concern both at the Vatican and by many Catholic hierarchies at the national level. In 1980, the U.S. bishops issued a statement that took sharp issue with some Marxist ideology in light of Catholic teachings, and the pending letter on capitalism was commissioned then as a companion piece.

The first draft will not be released until November, 1984, and the final version will not be voted on by all the bishops until a year later. But the issues the letter will address have already touched off fears among conservative Catholics and others that the bishops are "meddling" in non-spiritual affairs and that the letter may sound like an endorsement of the Democratic Party.

"I think the nuclear statement was a Sunday school picnic compared to what is going to come out of this," said the Rev. Oliver Williams, one of the organizers of the symposium, which was held at the University of Notre Dame.

"It's going to hit in the pocketbook. The bishops may have a hard time convincing the (middle- and upper-class) people in the pews."

Archbishop Rembert G. Weakland of Milwaukee, head of the drafting committee, said he was upset with those who believe that the bishops should not deal with economics.

"We Catholics have as much right as anybody to speak out . . . on issues of the quality of life and transcendent values," he said.

Hearings on the proposed pastoral letter have been held over a two-year period and have included a total of about 50 economists, sociologists, government officials and labor and business experts.

Those who spoke here this week included two former Cabinet members, two high-ranking General Motors Corp. executives, and economists and moral theologians representing both liberal and modestly conservative viewpoints.

"We're trying to get a balanced point of view," said Archbishop Thomas Donellan of Atlanta, a committee member.

Construction Suspended

they will not pay.

Getting developers to kick in for public improvements became San Diego city policy in 1980, after the city opened up much of its northern acreage for development. The council sought the fees to shift the load for public improvements, such as parks and roads, onto newcomers by figuring out a special assessment for every house, condominium, apartment and acre of industrial and commercial property.

Trying to Prevent Marches

"We were trying to prevent a situation where constituents would march down to City Hall later saying, 'We want our park! We want our fire station!' and the council then has to find some money to do it," said George Simpson, assistant director of the city's Engi- Depart-

own auditor refused to release $10,000 to cover the administrative costs of figuring the fees for a development called North City West, a planned community for 50,000 on the city's northern boundary.

The auditor said he withheld the funds because he believes the assessments are "special taxes." Backed into a corner, the city essentially took the matter to court.

That suit joined another challenge from a San Diego developer in North University City who also objected to the assessment scheme. A Superior Court judge ruled against the city in April and told the city to stop "imposing or collecting" the fees because they were unfair taxes.

While they appealed the court decision, city officials tried to get around the legal roadblock by en-

and commercial land.

Most major developers have signed the agreements, but the E. F. Hutton Life Insurance Co., which plans to build a 90,000-square-foot office building on 14.4 acres in North University City, recently challenged the city's authority to collect the fees.

The company balked at paying $163,000 for public improvements in the area and threatened to sue when city officials did not release a building permit.

San Diego City Atty. John Witt said he brought the challenge to the attention of the City Council during closed sessions Tuesday. He said council members agreed to proceed with the emergency ordinance.

"It's not fair to those who are willing to participate in the financing of these improvements to have others get away without it," Witt said.

Peter Enticknap, E. F. Hutton's vice president of real estate, said Wednesday afternoon that he was

COCAINE: Two Convicted

Continued from Page 3

With Weaver, a hulking man, at his side, Hoelker went to Lang's apartment in early 1982, demanded the money and then beat his one-time partner when he did not get it.

On March 9, 1982, still trying to get the money, Hoelker visited Lang again, this time with Linn. The two men forced Lang to drive with them to an isolated spot in Orange County. There, Linn held Lang at gunpoint and forced him to sign a life insurance policy application listing Hoelker as the beneficiary.

Once the $150,000 policy was issued, according to testimony, Hoelker and Linn planned to have Lang murdered. That never took place, and the policy was not issued.

At about the same time, Hoelker and Linn struck up a plan to sell cocaine. Again, Weaver was enlist-

But before the deal could be completed, Weaver went to Drug Enforcement Administration authorities to tell them of the pending deal, which led to Hoelker's arrest.

Represented by attorney Michael T. Kenney, Hoelker insisted from the witness stand that he was investigating Weaver, because he thought Weaver was himself involved in drug sales. He claimed that Weaver confided that he made his money by posing as a drug agent and stealing narcotics from dealers.

Hoelker claimed he warned Weaver, "If you're telling the truth, I'm going to take you down."

Hoelker said that was why Weaver lied about him.

Drug Enforcement Administration officials said Hoelker is the only agent ever convicted of selling drugs in the Los An-

Ezek. 45

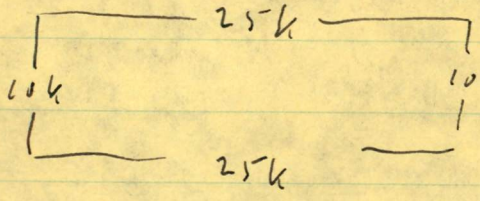
cubit = 18"

long cubit ≅ 21". This is the msre. used.

$25\text{k cu.} \times 20\text{k cu.} = 500\text{ kk cu.}^2 = 500\text{ m cu.}^2$

$1\text{ sq. cu.} = 21'' \cdot 21'' = 441\text{ sq. in.} = 3.06\text{ s.f.}$

$\therefore 500\text{ m s. cu.} = 1.53 \times 10^9\text{ s.f.} = 35{,}124\text{ acres} = 55\text{ s. mi.}$



Consecrated priests, sons of Zadok.

Why the land?

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What is LSC?

The Land Stewardship Council of North Carolina is an ecumenical, non-profit religious organization founded in June 1980 in recognition of the increasing need to educate North Carolinians in the spiritual and ethical principles of good land stewardship. North Carolina is blessed by God with a variety of abundant natural resources—soil, water, minerals, forests, and wildlife. Proper management of these resources is essential to our mental and spiritual well-being as well as for our physical sustenance. Enriching the knowledge that private citizens and public officials have about land—its use, care, conservation, management, and planning—is a prime concern of the Council. It wishes also to heighten the sensitivity of the Legislature and government officials to the urgency for the wise use and protection of North Carolina's land and other natural resources based upon Biblical principles which summon God's people to obedience.



Why the land?

In the *Coastal Area* of North Carolina polluted sounds are closed to shellfishing, wetlands and woodlands and family farms are increasingly lost to corporate farming operations, land holdings by black families are diminishing, rivers are polluted by the runoff of chemical and industrial waste, and mounting beachfront development leaves our coast increasingly vulnerable to ocean forces. In the *Piedmont,* green spaces and farmland between cities are being lost to urban development, city centers are deteriorating, flood plains are being developed, and air and water pollution is increasing. In the *Mountains* there are increasing problems of second home development, absentee ownership, flood plain development, stream diversion, channeling, and pollution, and loss of farmland. These are but a few examples of the way the creation is being abused in our state. And there is little apparent effective action being taken to abate and rectify these conditions.

We have been given dominion over nature, but that dominion is to be characterized by stewardly service, not exploitation. We must fulfill the command of God to "till the garden and keep it," to carefully watch over and preserve the creation and handiwork which has been entrusted to us.

"Near Boone" *on cover by Bob Timberlake* *©Heritage Company, Incorporated of Lexington, North Carolina.*

What is LSC doing?

The Land Stewardship Council began operations in December 1980. An Executive Director oversees the Council's activities from an office in Raleigh's Grace Lutheran Church. A statewide Advisory Committee helps to educate the Council and leaders of the religious community as to the issues involved and to develop a comprehensive program. Educational opportunities will be provided for the citizens of the State through pamphlets and papers, articles for newsletters and magazines, multi-media presentations, and a speakers and teachers bureau. The Council is called to speak with a prophetic voice, advocating the wise use of North Carolina's land resource in accordance with ethical and spiritual principles of good stewardship. All of the activities engaged in by the Council have an ecumenical thrust, maintaining a broad basis of support from the religious community.

The Basis of LSC

The Land Stewardship Council believes that there are general ethical norms drawn primarily from the Scriptures which can and should guide the religious community in its response to the question of land use. A single thread runs throughout all the teachings on land in the Bible. These can be summarized in Genesis 2:15: "The Lord God placed the man in the Garden of Eden as its gardener, to tend and care for it." In accordance with this Scriptural teaching, the Council believes that a proper relationship of man to nature is one of equilibrium; mankind is not above and superior to the ecological system but is intimately and integrally a part of it. Man must treat nature with the respect and care befitting a creation of God recognized as "good" by the Creator.

If you have further interest:

A more comprehensive Ministry Statement has been published by the Land Stewardship Council. If you would like to receive this document, please contact or write to the Council at the address below.

The Land Stewardship Council of North Carolina
5010 Six Forks Road
Raleigh, N.C. 27609
(919) 781-5197

Salvadoran Killers Tell Their Stories

Death Squad Members: 'Over the Edge'

By LAURIE BECKLUND, *Times Staff Writer*

They call it Door of the Devil, a craggy spot not far from downtown San Salvador where the earth ends, plunging into a sheer, mist-filled ravine.

Late at night, trucks drive to the edge, and a young girl who lives near the trash heap below can hear their engines idle as she lies in bed. She listens for gunshots. When the firing stops, the trucks roar off.

The next morning, fresh tire tracks line the mud barely a foot from the precipice; the drivers knew their way. Below, along the muddy path that goes by the young girl's house, last night's work lies amid last week's trash.

It takes a minute to recognize the human body in this form—a silhouette in the trash or parts of a body caught on crags high up the ravine in the fog.

"It's always a little foggy, and there are these big rocks you can stand on top of to throw somebody over," a young former police intelligence agent said.

"You start by putting psychological fear into them. Blindfold them, put another detective in with you and pretend to shoot him if he won't talk. If he's a good guerrilla, he'd rather die than say anything. If he talks, he goes to Mariona (prison). Those that don't, die. Many won't talk . . . and then you toss them over."

The young policeman—call him Federico—said he murdered 16 people and tossed several of their bodies off those rocks. He said he did it as part of his job with the National Police in the Center for the Analysis of Information (CAIN), one of El Salvador's most important intelligence agencies.

His rank was never high. Yet, in his own world, he was part of an elite. He never had to investigate an ordinary murder, he said, only "subversives." Although he has left the security forces for personal reasons, he still carries credentials that he says will get him out of almost any trouble.

Throughout El Salvador, in military garrisons and police intelligence offices, there are men like

Please see SALVADOR, Page 18

WEATHER

U.S. Weather Service forecast: Today—low clouds clearing to hazy sunshine. Tonight and Tuesday—low clouds with partial afternoon clearing.

	Highs	Lows
Sunday	67	49
Today's forecast	near 65	near 50
Tuesday's forecast	mid 60s	low 50s
Dec. 18 last year	69	52

Record high Dec. 18, 1917	86
Record low Dec. 18, 1895	35

Complete details, Part II, Page 4.

one in nine has no regular source of care, according to a major survey of the nation's health care. The report sponsored by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation concluded that "the United States has not yet fully achieved the goal of universally accessible health care. There are still large gaps . . . and the burden falls disproportionately" on blacks, Latinos, the poor, the poorly insured and "a growing class of have-nots, the unemployed," said Dr. Robert Blendon, an official of the foundation, which specializes in health improvement and medical care.

Veterans and the handicapped should have no more than a limited advantage in applying for state and local government jobs, the Montana Legislature decided after debating the job-preference issue during a six-day special session. Last June the state Supreme Court interpreted the current law as giving an absolute preference to veterans, the spouses and dependents of disabled veterans and the handicapped. Until then, the preference had been used only as a tie-breaker between equally qualified applicants. The new bill keeps that distinction. A preference holder will get the job only if that person is "substantially equally qualified."

[illegible] of dollars in contracts for companies that employed him immediately before and after his government service, the New York Times reported. Sawyer, who was appointed in April, 1981, and quit two years later, took unusual steps to award a $1.13-million contract, without bidding, to John J. McMullen Associates of New York City, the newspaper said. Sawyer had quit the presidency of McMullen, a small marine architectural concern, to take the Navy job. While in the Navy Department, Sawyer also was a supporter of the Electric Boat division of General Dynamics, the newspaper said, and when he left the Navy he joined General Dynamics as executive vice president.

The Duluth, Minn., school board narrowly approved a new contract with striking teachers after the teachers voted overwhelmingly in favor of the agreement. After an 18-day walkout, school will resume today for the district's 25 schools and 15,000 students, administrators said. Teachers had been without a contract since July. The new contract, as outlined at the board meeting, includes a 14.9% increase in salary and fringe benefits over two years. The salary increase alone amounts to 5% for the 1983-84 school year and 4.4% next year.

Banner

—It doesn't happen every [illegible]— that a person sorting donated clothes finds $6,320 in a pocket and returns the money to the owners. So a news photographer went around to Horizon South, a residence in Oglesby, Ill., for mentally handicapped adults, to take a picture of laundry worker **Marilyn Argubright,** who found the cache. "Oh, I knew I couldn't keep it," said Argubright. "It wasn't mine." Then, as she held up another suit coat in reenactment for the photographer, out fell $2,320 more. Her fellow workers, after a stunned pause, then rapidly rifled all the other clothes donated by the same two elderly sisters and found another bundle—$12,552—pinned inside a skirt. That brought the grand total to $21,19[illegible] The cash was returned to the sisters from the Chicago suburb of Skokie. **Mary** and **Bonnie Zand.** "I don't know what to say," said Argubright when asked about the incident. The Zand sisters, who operated a women's apparel store in Spring Valley, Ill., that was closed several years ago and whose leftover clothing was eventually given to Horizon South, had an opinion. "This is all blown out of proportion," Mary Zand said.

SALVADOR: Rightist Death Squad Members Describe Motives

Continued from Page 1

Federico who specialize in investigating, informing on, interrogating and sometimes killing "subversives," according to a wide range of sources interviewed by The Times during an investigation lasting several months.

Once convinced that he would not be identified, Federico spoke openly in an interview. Only at the end did he say—as if remembering an old concern he had pondered long before and set aside—"A policeman starts, he's OK, a regular guy, and after a year he's a criminal, and after a little more time, he's a murderer."

There are many occasional killers in El Salvador, those who have taken advantage of moral and political chaos to settle a score. But, although no one knows for sure, Times interviews with sources closest to the killing indicate that there may be at most 500 regular members of death squads, men like Federico, who kill on the job or who kill for spending money on the side.

This is a story about a few of the death squad regulars, what they say about how they kill and why.

A 40-year-old man recalled the moment that he made his decision. It was a time of dizzying loss of balance for him; the solid ground of church, business, and society was slipping away under his feet. One day, in the middle of an inconsequential conversation, anger overtook his fear. This new anger was deep and rich; it could not be satisfied by anything but revenge.

> 'Something inside you says, "By God, I'm not going to take that any more."'

"All of a sudden—and this is very personal, for everybody it's different, but this is the way it was for me—something inside you clicks very softly and says, 'By God, I'm not going to take that anymore.' All of a sudden, something sends you very cleanly and very precisely over the edge."

His name here will be Vic Morales. Most of the other names used in this story also are pseudonyms.

Morales said he was recruited into what he called "activities of a different kind" by Roberto D'Aubuisson, then a major in National Guard intelligence and now president of El Salvador's constitutional congress, head of the extreme right-wing Arena Party, and that party's candidate for the presidency.

Like most of his colleagues, Morales spoke openly and, insofar as was possible to determine, honestly, about what he knows about death squads. He and the others refused to divulge details of specific killings or current operations, matters Morales referred to as "anti-Communists' military secrets." Morales, in fact, said he never did the killing himself.

Deep down, he said, there are some aspects of the killing that even he, who believed in it, could not handle. Like the dozens of beheadings by the Squadron of Death in western El Salvador two years back that had been carried out with the precision of a slaughterhouse. "There's logging interests in that area," he said in vague explanation. "They must have shot them first—at least I hope they shot them first—before somebody put them through the machine."

Four years ago, as civil unrest escalated, he said, prominent businessmen began forming their own vigilante groups. "Everybody had different names" for their groups, he recalled. "And then other people would like what they were doing, so they'd go out and do the same thing and use the other guy's name." Military officers soon began directing their operations, he said, adding, "Nobody has the immunity they do for carrying weapons around."

The Squadron of Death, whose militants wore dark clothes and masks marked "Escuadron de la Muerte," or simply, "EM," was the most notorious.

It began as a Ku Klux Klan-style brotherhood of businessmen and proprietors of restaurants, transit companies, hotels, and at least one funeral parlor, according to a foreign source with extremely close ties to both the military high command and the extreme right. Military officers, although a minority among members, were in charge, the foreign source said.

"They found real guerrillas," Morales said, "and put a single bullet through their heads. Their bodies would turn up completely clothed, not one shoe missing. 'You're a Communist,' they would say, and boom, they would shoot them and throw them out somewhere . . . . They did things so well that everybody started admiring them and imitating them."

The logo was picked up by police and soldiers. The National Police designed rubber stamps to ink "EM" on their victims' foreheads, according to one source.

The Squadron of Death eventually became something of an intangible image that safeguarded the identity of the officers and soldiers involved. "They didn't kill the guys—the Squadron of Death did," explained a U.S. analyst. "The Squadron of Death becomes lightning or bubonic plague or quicksand—this thing everybody knows is evil, but nobody knows who does it. It has the same effect as saying the wrath of God came down on you and did it."

Please see SALVADOR, Page 19

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... JUST IN TIME FO
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diamond of fine white color, s
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"BUCHE GIROD" LADIES
22 gem quality di
band.
LOVELY
go

SALVADOR: Righteous Anger Leads to Revenge

Continued from Page 18

The killing got easier after the first time, said Ed Garza, a name that is also a pseudonym. But it never got easy, and now he says he is out of it altogether.

"Nobody likes to do it," he said. "After you do it, as a rule, you go out and get a couple drinks and get drunk. For three, four or five days, I wouldn't talk to anyone. I didn't like anyone to know I'd done it. Like my children . . . . I suspect that they know, because I'd be gone for a night and they'd know an attack was carried out, and I'd come back the next day and grab some clothes and walk out."

Garza is known as an *amigo del cuartel*, a "friend of the barracks." The phrase is a term of scorn, used by civilians of means to refer to their peers who curry the favor and the friendship of military officers. Most wealthy civilians eschew the company of military officers, whom they distrust and look down upon.

Not Garza. He admires military men, and he boasted here and there in an interview about colonels he is close to, saying he is one of the few civilians the military has allowed to participate with them in actual operations.

He recalled one operation in which several "cells," most of them military and police from different parts of the country, joined forces to destroy a guerrilla hideout in San Salvador.

"A lot of people died," he said. "Who were the right ones? Who were the wrong ones? . . . . Anybody in that house to me was an enemy . . . . In Vietnam, the Marines didn't go in and knock on the door and ask, 'Are you the Viet Cong?' "

'Who were the right ones? The wrong ones? Anybody in the house to me was an enemy . . .'

Death squads, as Garza and others described them from the days in 1980 and 1981, were not bands of killers but committees of what he called civilian "patriots" who conducted secret investigations to identify "subversives." In most cases, their decisions were passed on to military contacts, who carried out their judgments.

The group led by Garza met every week or two to put together an agenda of names of suspected Communists. The names were not those of guerrillas but of public figures and personal acquaintances. "The intellectual is the man who is dangerous to me, more than the man who actually shoots the gun," he said.

A typical agenda might have included a Chamber of Commerce member who spoke too favorably of land reform, a troublesome employee suspected of being a union activist, and a Cabinet minister. Personal vendettas were satisfied along the way. But no suspect got off because he had a friend or relative in the group, Garza said with pride.

Between meetings, each member carried out an assigned task. Some sent bodyguards or employees to spy on the suspects. Others asked friends in military intelligence for files on the target. Everyone tried to talk with the suspects themselves, if possible, to get a personal feel for the strength of their anti-Communist convictions.

At the next meeting, each member presented his findings, and each subject was evaluated.

"How solid are his anti-Communist feelings? How does he speak out at meetings? Is he really talking free enterprise, or is he talking socialism or fascism?" Such were the questions asked and answered.

To no one's surprise, most of their suspects were adjudged to be Communists.

"If you investigate people like we did, you find very few people who have not been involved in the Communist movement," Garza said. "Almost everybody has Communist ties if you look for them hard enough."

Once the decision was made, he said, "There was only one way to get them out of the picture, which was to get them out of the picture."

A pleasant, amiable young man who will be called Frank here speaks English peppered with American slang. He wore a pistol in his belt during a series of interviews.

Frank calls himself a "counterterrorist," the anti-Communist counterpart of a leftist terrorist. "Communists tell you this: 'I have nothing to lose except my life,' " he said. "I feel the same."

Like most upper-middle-class and upper-class businessmen, Frank was educated at the country's finest schools, including some run by the Society of Jesus, the Jesuit order. As an adult, he returned to bomb some of those same institutions and about 30 other targets as well.

"You do it because, because . . . who the hell else is going to do it?" he said. "If we don't do this, in five or eight years, the United States will be the same way. You have to live it to understand it. You have to suffer the effects of terrorism to realize you have to act the same way against them."

Frank and his associates set themselves apart from military men like Federico, whom they generally look down upon as mindless murderers. "None of us was trained to do that kind of thing," another member of Frank's counterterrorism group said in a separate interview. "We thought too much about the consequences of what would happen. The military did that . . . .They don't stop and think about the morality of their actions."

The goal of the civilian terrorists is to banish leftist ideas and supplant them with their own; to ban leftist books and replace them with their own; to eliminate leftist leaders and replace them with their own.

In this battle of the minds, they believe that their most adept enemies are not guerrillas but priests. Jesuit priests, D'Aubuisson said scathingly in an interview, are the "worst scum" of all. The "Black Pope," he said, invoking the ancient nickname of the head of the order, may have masterminded leftist guerrilla operations not only in El Salvador, but in Cuba and other countries as well.

Frank knows the Jesuit conspiracy theory and accepts it as gospel. Like many Salvadorans of his class, he feels deeply, personally betrayed by the Jesuits.

His friends gave Jesuits money to build a college for their children—the private University of Central America—that would shield them from leftist influences at the public university. "The university was created to educate the children of the wealthy," said a Jesuit spokesman who lives at one Jesuit residence that Frank said he had bombed. "But it began to opt for social change."

The new university proved a greenhouse for germinating reform proposals and center-left dissidents. A few radical priests quit and became guerrillas. The Jesuits, with their superior educations, seemed to have near-magical powers to contaminate the minds of almost anyone they touched, rightists felt.

Frank confessed sheepishly that he himself had been duped by their "socialist" textbooks that preached "paternalistic government."

It was hardly surprising that when Frank and his cohorts decided to take up arms, they headed for his alma mater. "We didn't know where in the hell to go," he said. "So we started with UCA."

Working as businessmen by day, and as occasional terrorists by night, they roamed the streets in bullet-proofed vans freely after curfew, armed with heavy weapons and carrying ski masks and the names of sympathetic officers who could get them out of a scrape if necessary.

Their idea was to "expose" closet Communists by blowing up their homes and, they hoped, scare them into fleeing. While their above-ground colleagues published denouncements in right-wing papers, the terrorists bombed the Catholic radio station and newspaper. They put the last remaining dissident newspapers out of business. The staffs wound up dead, jailed or in exile.

"We would sometimes drop a little piece of paper (with the name of a death squad on it)," Frank said. He professed not to recall the names he or military terror teams used.

But newspapers would record them as death squads: the Anti-Communist Front for the Liberation of Central America (FALCA), the Organization for the Liberation From Communism, the "glorious Secret Anti-Communist Army" (as it described itself in one communique) and a dozen others.

'In counterinsurgency war one must liquidate all those who could bear a grudge against you.'

Autumn of 1980 marked the arrival of a cadre of Argentine secret police who were veterans of Argentina's "dirty war" in the 1970s, which quashed the powerful Montonero guerrillas but also led to the deaths or disappearances of as many as 30,000 anti-government guerrillas and civilians thought to be linked to the "subversives."

"The Argentines are the only ones in the world who fought an urban guerrilla war and won it," Vic Morales, the 40-year-old who participated in "activities of a different kind" said with some hyperbole as he recalled the excitement that rippled through the Salvadoran extreme right when the Argentines arrived. "So, they're just naturally recognized as the best."

The Argentines were part of a floating network of radical anti-Communists—Guatemalans, Chileans and others who have worked throughout Central America in the past several years, advising Salvadoran death squads one month and Nicaraguan ex-National Guardsmen trying to overthrow the leftist Sandinista regime the next.

The Argentines spent more than two months in El Salvador at the end of 1980, training both civilians and military officers in the methods they had used to quash the Montoneros. In that short period, according to men who worked with them, they helped organize the Salvadorans' helter-skelter efforts into a far more efficient system that linked civilians like Ed Garza straight into the nerve center of military intelligence.

"They were here a very short time," D'Aubuisson said, referring to them briefly in an interview. "But that time was very helpful (because) they tried to transmit their experiences, tell people and recommend to them, act this way and that, use this system, coordinate information and analyze it this way."

While some Salvadorans welcomed the Argentines as living proof that it was possible to defeat leftist rebels, others came away horrified at what they described as the Argentines' clinical brutality and their blatant anti-Semitism. Said Carlos Midence, a Guatemalan paramilitary expert who acted as an intermediary between the Argentines and the Salvadorans, "If they (the Argentine advisers) see a Jew, they just go crazy."

"They would kill anybody," said one young Salvadoran, adding that the Argentines disillusioned him so thoroughly he quit the movement. "There were houses where they did this. I never went. I wouldn't. You knew they were killing your own people in there."

Garza said his group already was spying on and tracking down alleged Communists when the Argentines arrived. But the foreign experts honed their intelligence analyses. Those they believed were Communists were picked up and interrogated at safehouses where the Argentine specialists demonstrated scientific interrogation techniques to Salvadoran National Guardsmen firsthand.

Guerrilla or not, Garza said, those picked up were killed.

The Argentines called the kidnap-question-kill process the "cleaning-operation" stage of counterrevolution. "The cleaning operations are the interrogations, a geometric progression to get all the information, and when you get the information, you have to get rid of these people," Morales said.

Simply put, that means that the military kills its way to the top of the guerrilla hierarchy by interrogating each suspect to get the names of his top contacts, then killing him and then questioning and killing the contacts he revealed.

Frank the counterterrorist explained it this way: "You get one, you get three; you get three, you get 10; you get 10, you get 50. You are not just shooting whoever comes along, but (you) are going to the heads." The better the intelligence, he added, the more lives will be spared.

But the Salvadorans had to moderate the Argentine method, which included killing not only suspected Communists but their families as well to eradicate revenge-minded relatives. Hector Dada, a former Christian Democrat who served on two civilian-military juntas in 1979 and 1980, said in an interview in Mexico City, where he now lives, that he had read one Argentine counterinsurgency manual used by the National Guard long before the Argentines arrived. ". . . I remember some of the lines clearly," Dada said. "One said, 'In counterinsurgency war, you cannot leave *resentidos*. One must liquidate all those who could bear a grudge against you.' "

"In Argentina, they did it in a bestial way, by killing all the family of the guerrillas," said Alicia de Llovera (her real name), a feisty grandmother and businesswoman who has been a mainstay of D'Aubuisson's Arena Party. "But here we can't do that. I have a cousin, for example, who is a Communist. But can they kill me? No. This country is too small. Everybody is related. We'd all be dead."

If the Argentines were part of a floating anti-Communist paramilitary network, Federico, the former National Policeman, and his friends are part of the flotsam that trails in their wake.

Some have full-time jobs in security agencies. Some work as bodyguards to the wealthy, or occasionally as free-lance contract killers. Some swing both ways,

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Continued from Page 19

planting bombs for rightists one night, planting bombs for guerrillas the next.

Their status and power vary greatly depending on their rank and the prominence of their bosses. The most elite among them work inside police and army intelligence agencies—not the regular criminal investigations section, but special sections whose job is to identify and eliminate subversives.

"They call them dogs," said Leonel Gomez (his true name), a former adviser to the national land reform director who was slain by such a team in 1980. "It's almost like the hit men in the Mafia in the 1930s. It really is like a dog—an animal well-fed and -kept, that will attack on command."

Some prominent politicians and wealthy businessmen have similar teams. Often they collaborate, although they keep each other in the dark about their operations. The system was likened by some U.S. military analysts to a kind of Chinese warlord system in which each oversees a geographic turf that corresponds to his military command, or a political turf that allows him to operate primarily on, say, labor leaders.

" 'I have a job in this area tonight—send your boys another way,' " Gomez said one operations man will explain to a colleague if the need arises. "Whether they understand or not, they send their boys another way."

Col. Carlos Reynaldo Lopez Nuila, director of the National Police, is an educated man who is considered by some U.S. military men to be El Salvador's lone progressive among the commanders of the security forces. He delivers human rights lectures to his staff. He has fired some for "abuses of authority," although those records are not public. Unlike the National Guard and the notoriously brutal Treasury Police, his men have been putting at least some of their captives in jail. They also have a reputation for nabbing real guerrillas.

But one of his top men, Lt. Col. Aristides Alfonso Marquez, the investigations director, was recently identified by U.S. officials as a death squad leader and was reassigned within the past few weeks.

"I am aware that inside the National Police, there are people who do not realize what we are trying to do," Lopez Nuila said in an interview. "When someone has an important bit of information, they don't want to consign someone to a judge, they want to eliminate him."

But, he added: "I'm surprised people are surprised by this. For example, it was normal in Spain in the Civil War . . . . El 'fair play' (he inserted the phrase in English) cannot be given in any war, and it is not being given in this one. War by definition is inhumane."

Federico disparaged the human rights lectures. "It's just for publicity," he shrugged. Why should men like him refrain from killing one day when they are ordered to do so the next? Why should they refrain from making some money on the side when it is well-known inside the station that some of their superiors deal in drugs, become wealthy overnight and steal from the homes of wealthy leftists who are in jail?

Corruption is rarely mentioned in the United States in connection with the war in El Salvador. But it is rarely left out of a conversation in El Salvador. It is the one problem on which even leftists and rightists seem to agree.

"It's awfully hard to tell where the just plain graft and corruption begins and the political corruption ends," said one U.S. Foreign Service officer. "You can mix the two together . . . into a kind of self-righteous anti-Communist rationale and say you're stealing in the name of anti-communism."

Inside the National Police, Federico said, corruption works much the same way as El Salvador's traditional land tenure system, in which landowners give their workers small parcels to work on after hours in exchange for daily labor on the plantation.

The low-ranking police and new recruits work for their superiors during most of the day, following their bosses' orders, regardless of whether the order is business or a personal favor. In return, they are rewarded by being allowed to make some money on the side, by committing small burglaries, for example.

The same principle applies to killing.

"You get a name from the boss or from one of his men, and they'll tell you then what kind of *comision* (order) it is," Federico said. " 'Just a scare, nothing more,' they'll say sometimes. Or "make him disappear forevermore." Or "this one is not for killing." Whatever they say. You don't know whether you're picking him up because he's a subversive or because of something the boss has going."

No one who knows about it is in a position to halt either the corruption or the killing, he said. The special intelligence sections where most of the killing and corruption happen are often in charge of internal investigations as well. Besides, he said, adding a common Salvadoran phrase, *"Chucho no come chucho, y si come, no come mucho."*

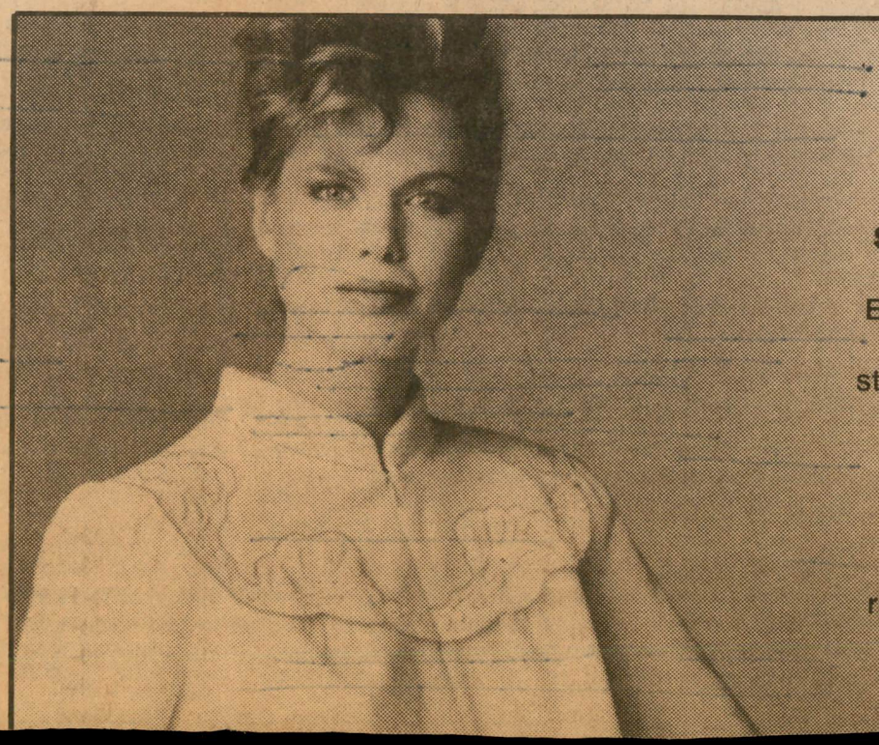
It means that one fish won't eat another, and if he does, he won't eat much.

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Talk re Trip to Rome

Trip to Rome, Apr. 7-14, 1985

Newman Club

1. Dave O'Brien, ex Jesuit. John Paul II's statements.
2. Giovanni Faralla, Hughes Aircraft 389 325
3. Rome Airport. Glass. Machine guns.
4. Bus service
5. Sudden surprises: Colosseum
6. 1st taxi – Silvano. Castel St. Angelo; St. Peters. Fr. Greeley's article.
7. Residence Dehon. $35.
8. Sta. Sabina, a Chiesa, on Aventine Hill (Colle Av.)
   Aula Domenicani
   Meeting w. Comm. on Peace & Justice, (Eng. Spkg. Section)
   Of gen. congreg. of relig. orders. USG-UIS
   Rotating Chair. Sister Pat. Frost, Mankato.
   (00165 Roma Via Aurelia, 476
   Tel 622.2929
   Fr. Wm. Van Frankenhuijsen, incoming chair

9. Our ugly Am. approach.
   Their reaction
10. Our land reform approach. Good reaction. John Paul is laying groundwork
11. Father John, padre at San Sabina, shows us around
    View from Aventine Hill
    Public necking on grand scale.
    Circular Temple, pseudo-Vestal; and triumphal arch.
    Romans live with their ruins. A few scavengers & beggars, too

12. Lukewarm anti-pasto
Serenade

13. The adventure of crossing streets.

14. The currency: ~~to~~ 500 cinquecent = 25¢
1,000 l = 50¢
5,000 l = 2.50
10,000 l = 5.-
50,000 l = 25.-
100,000 l = 50.-

Coins: 100 l = 5¢

Problems of adjustment

~~15.~~

7a. Bagl - a stroll to San Pietro
Outside & inside.

7b. Hungry! Pto pizza & some unfamilian groceries.
"Macedonia" Pickled tomatoes. Anise bagels. Water Crackers.
Cheese. Mixed spiced beef, quasi-pastrami. Latte scremato.

15. Vatican Museum, Musei Vaticani. (plural?)
Roman copies of Greek statues.
Gory tapestries - slaughter of the innocents.
Artemis. Head of Socrates. Gnauses.
Sistine Chapel -- Capella Sistina
Creation
Expulsion
Judgment. 1st. Barth. w. his skin

Cleaning & brightening

16. Groups of altar boys carrying ensigns on poles.
Busloads of Europeans
17. Endless corridors of art. Too much in one place.
18. Relaxed rules. No vandalism. (outdoors graffiti everywhere.)
19. St. Peter "square". Packed w. altar boys from everywhere but Spain. Some who spoke good English.
20. Frisking. Swiss Guards. Jeopardy of Pope -- same as Archbishop Romero of El Salvador. He has offended the same basic interests. All this & Soviets too. John P. II is seeking a third way — & that is why we sought him.
21. Since Vatican II, search for social gospel.
Pope reps. a powerful moral authority. JP II is building on the new, begun by J. 23 to bring the weight of his immense moral authority to bear on social structures, distribution of wealth, dignity of labor
sounds like ideas we once called Americanism — from unchanged Jeffn, Jackson, Lincoln -- & hardly any President since, but from many social critics like George, Veblen ... i.e. was had to go underground in U.S., its own home, but is alive & well in Vatican.

22. So I was thrilled to see & hear JP II.
Addressed crowd of 100,000 in German, French, Italian.

Booming voice.

Platitudes for schoolboys. Appropriate for occasion. But I thrilled to think that same voice, same mind, had also articulated thoughts leading to a third way of social organ. the passion of my lifetime.

The power of the organ was manifest in the crowd. Who else cd. draw 100,000 teenagers to a spiritual event, who football, who rock stars. Here in shadow of the unspeakably vulgar Coliseum, where they drew crowds w. scenes of death & cruelty was a crowd drawn in search of spiritual unity, a moral equivalent of war.

23. I 2 Papi. San Gregorio 7 + Leone 13, corner of.
Minerale w. wine. Rosso e bianco.
Veal
Fish on ice
2-tone tomatoes, sliced very thin
Spinach in minestrone

24. First full breakfast, w. group in room.
Meager Italian breakfasts.
Bars everywhere.
Small stoves.

25. Roman ec. of space
Everyone close. Bumping & touching

Small cars, narrow streets. Respect for first in a place — no bumping. Narrow margins. Shift lanes.
Few yards. Bldgs flush w. sidewalks, Lif carry).
Trash cans — many + small, frequent pickup. Clean.
Center lanes for mass transit
Parking half on sidewalk. Pedestrian has last claim on space.
Curbside gas stations — no aprons
Cabs, buses, trams, motorbikes
Dozens of bridges
New bldgs intertwined w. ancient ruins
5 story flats — over stores.
Stores scattered everywhere. No need to drive much.
Public courtship — no need for cars or motels.
No parking lots
Small offices; low ceilings; few appliances.
al fresco dining.

26. Piazza Venezia. Forum. Back alley to Pantheon.
Finding a john.
Wandering — focal district. Mascagni's birthplace.

21. Fr. John Pung. Pontifical Comm. on Peace + J.
Vatican Territory – Vatican mail.

His work in Miss. Delta. Concern for small tenants.
cycle of credit dependency.

Agreement to put idea of taxa. after land reform.