



GOOD NEWS AND BAD NEWS DEPT. The good news is that a movie featuring a Quaker character made the government's first list of 25 officially certified American cinema classics. The bad news is that the film is *High Noon*, in which the Quaker, Grace Kelly, stands up against violence for most of the story, but in the end abandons her witness and shoots the bad guy, in the back. Thanks, Uncle Sam.

# A Friendly Letter

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Dear Friend,

Permit me three brief comments on worldly matters:

First, the new anti-smoking campaign just beginning in California almost demands to be noticed and applauded. Here is a big state that is going to take on the tobacco companies head-on, and where it hurts: in mass media advertising, on a sizeable scale, aiming to directly counter their recruitment of new smokers, especially among youth, women and minorities. The state is also committed to more programs for smoking-related problems--and to paying for them by increased tobacco taxes.

Now here, at last, we may be preparing to make real progress against this terrible scourge. The cigarette companies are charging that the Golden State's anti-smoking commandos really want to outlaw cigarettes, but I'm sure they're not that dumb. Tobacco prohibition would create a Marlboro Mafia that would make the Medellin Cartel look like wimpy schoolpersons. No; let the stuff be sold. But blast the companies in their own mass media, and make smokers bear more of the enormous social costs of their deadly addiction. That's the ticket.

Similarly, I'm amused by the outraged murmuring in many liberal corners over the Catholic bishops' plan to spend several million bucks on a media campaign to persuade people that abortion is a bad thing. But I say it's about time the anti-abortion zealots learned a lesson from the anti-smoking campaigners and took up the challenge to *persuade* Americans of the rightness of their cause, rather than trying to *coerce* their consciences by force of law.

If they can learn to make their case in a compelling way, then presumably more and more women will *choose* not to have abortions, law or no law; and then what will the pro-abortion people, with their focus on "choice", have to complain about? In any event, I am very doubtful that the antis can succeed in making abortion unlawful; but what if they could make it all but unthinkable?

There is also big but neglected news on the medical front: On 4/27, the American College of Physicians, a rival of the AMA, issued a call for a basic restructuring of our national health care system along lines similar to the system in Canada, where the government pays the costs of health care directly. This is the first real break in the ranks of organized medicine on this issue, which I predict

will rise steadily toward the top of the national agenda as the nineties unroll.

The AMA, of course, was outraged at this heresy among the white coats. They are pushing a plan aimed mainly at the uninsured poor, which would add even more bureaucracy and paperwork to the system. The ACP says such piecemeal reforms won't work, and that insurance paperwork alone chews up close to 30 per cent of health care expenditures. Canada, incidentally, spends one-third as much on paper, doctors there still make handsome salaries, and their health statistics are better than ours. We can't copy their plan wholesale, but they, like the ACP, are definitely onto something, something Americans need.

Finally, at press time gunfights among the Mohawk Indians in the Akwesasne reserve on the New York-Canadian border have produced their first two fatalities and a binational police occupation; what will happen next is anyone's guess. The conflict has attracted international attention; but you had to read the fine print to discover that, for three weeks as it heated up, a group of Quaker observers worked to keep the lid on. The Friends came from both sides of the border, at the Mohawks' invitation. The Indians thought of Friends evidently because of the long history of Quaker work with Mohawks and other groups in New York State, and their reputation for neutrality in dealing with the various tribal factions.

The observers spent long nights watching at barricades, hoping their presence would deter violence. Perhaps it did, to some extent; perhaps that was why the more violent factions turned against them. Observers began experiencing harassment and threats. They also found themselves unable to get much sleep, or backup support. Finally, on 4/23, they withdrew, exhausted and, frankly, frightened. It was a worthwhile effort, but one simply overwhelmed the magnitude of events in a situation involving three Indian factions, two provinces and a state, two federal administrations, and allegedly the Mafia.

Yours in the Light,

*Chuck Fager*

Chuck Fager



## BOLIVIAN QUAKERS: CAUGHT IN THE COCAINE CROSSFIRE

Among Latin American missionary groups, it is a regrettable trend that the more evangelical or fundamentalist is a group's theology, the more compliant or even supportive it tends to be of repressive right-wing governments. A fine new book by David Stoll, *Is Latin America Turning Protestant? The Politics of Evangelical Growth* (University of California Press) details the support by prominent evangelical churches for the Pinochet repression in Chile; their blessing of the massacres of Guatemalan Indians under the "born again" dictator Rios Montt; and the eagerness with which many evangelistic groups became willing tools of the CIA in the Contra war against Nicaragua.

But Stoll also points out that such connections, while too common, are not universal. There have been evangelical mission groups that were supportive of human rights and the preservation of native cultures. And he is cautiously hopeful that, in time, the evangelical heritage of more Latin Americans could become an asset in struggles for liberation and dignity.

### Bucking An Unhappy Trend

"The history of social movements is replete with shifts from a redemptive (saving one's soul) to a transformative (changing the world) emphasis, or vice versa," Stoll writes. (Incidentally, this aptly describes early Quakerism, which evolved from an insurgent radicalism to a secluded Quietism in 50 years.) And Stoll quotes a Presbyterian mission scholar as advising, "You have to take a long perspective, because in the short term, yes, evangelical religion is reactionary. But a lot of the second and third generation lose their spiritualism and start asking different questions of the Bible."

The Bolivian Evangelical Friends Church (INELA in Spanish initials), about 7500 strong, is a notable exception to this melancholy trend of evangelical mission support for reaction. In normal circumstances, INELA would be poised to achieve great things. But it and Bolivian society are caught between the rock of debt-fueled depression, and the hard place of the cocaine trade. If there is a way out for Bolivian Friends and their country, it has thus far eluded

even the most sympathetic observers.

The first American Quaker missionary in Bolivia, from Oregon Yearly Meeting, ran right into the stereotype of the evangelist as exploiter: "The missionary is suspected of being an ally of the wealthy plantation owners, or of the 'capitalistas de Wall Street,' and forerunners of Yankee imperialism," wrote Carroll Tamplin, the first Oregon Friend to work in Bolivia, in 1932. "They cannot imagine anyone coming to them without selfish motives!...This suspicion must be broken down before any basis of confidence can be found. We must love as Christ loved. Our reward--souls saved and songs of praise!"

As Tamplin's work took root among the Aymara Indians, Bolivian Friends proved fortunate in their missionary heritage. Oregon Yearly Meeting, while staunchly evangelical, even fundamentalist, still retained meaningful Quaker testimonies on equality and peace, features all but lost by most other evangelical Friends and fundamentalists generally. They acted on them, too: When they bought a large farm in 1947 to support a Bible school for native pastors, they shocked local officials by freeing the 33 native families that "came with" the property, like serfs, and giving them the land they had been working.

### Useful Peculiarities, Indeed

These missionaries also had early opportunities to call on the Peace testimony, as many of their first Aymara converts were unwillingly drafted into the bloody Chaco War (1932-1935) with Paraguay. Others went into hiding to avoid the draft, which made no provision for COs.

"Their hearts are torn!" Carroll Tamplin wrote home in 1934. "Has not Christ taught them to love their enemies? And though they protest--what can an Indian expect from the superiors? Upon protest they are immediately despatched to the front line where they must either fight in self-defense or submit themselves to brutal killing. But they write that God has protected them and that they are continuing steadfast."

Thus, while hardly radicals, the Friends missionaries were not among those who preached the standard evangelical message that Romans 13:1 ("Let every soul be subject to the authorities...for the powers that be are ordained of God.") automatically meant they must pick up a weapon whenever demanded by adventuristic regimes. And Francisco Mamani, who until earlier this year served as *Presidente* of INELA, speaks gratefully--and without fear of being judged unsound--of the revolution of 1952, spearheaded by leftist tin miners' unions, which led to the enfranchisement of the Aymara and other oppressed Bolivian native groups.

The Oregonians' peace witness and commitment to equality, plus their more typical evangelical emphasis on personal moral uplift, added up to more than simply a bulwark of the status quo. Additionally, their equalitarianism included women: Francisco Mamani reported in a recent interview that there are INELA women pastors, church officers, and graduates of their Bible school. This is a remarkable achievement in what he affirms is a *mucho macho* Aymaran traditional culture.

### A Very Special Meeting

The distinctive character of INELA evangelicalism was dramatically demonstrated when Pope John Paul II visited Bolivia. Catholic officials in La Paz invited all of the dozens of Protestant and evangelical groups in the country to send representatives to meet with the pope. The evangelical groups, which have a long history of anti-Catholic attitudes, all refused--except for the Quakers. As reported in AFL #86, Mamani was the sole Bolivian evangelical to meet with the pope.

Mamani hastens to add, however, that he attended the papal reception not only as a Friend, but on behalf of the Aymara people. And he speaks warmly of the spreading efforts among his people to "rescue" their long-suppressed culture from the overlays of centuries of oppression. Asked whether this indicates Bolivian Friends are interested in liberation theology, he demurs, pointing instead to a developing "Andean theology" which he says is focussed on seeing the gospel through



# THE GEORGE FOX NOBODY KNOWS

## A PREVIEW OF A NEW BIOGRAPHY

Several years ago Quaker historian Larry Ingle discovered that no one had ever written a thorough scholarly account of the great Separation of 1827. To fill this gap, he published his widely-acclaimed *Quakers In Conflict*.

This done, Ingle turned his keen eye on the founder of the Society of Friends, George Fox; and there he discovered a similar gap: despite many popular biographies, no one has yet produced a life of Fox based on a thorough examination of the original sources. And Fox's *Journal*, he points out, was heavily edited (one might even say censored) after Fox's death, to downplay or obscure many of the more controversial aspects of his early career.

Thus during the last several years, Ingle has been at work on a new biography of Fox. He has traveled to England to track down ancient manuscripts, and has read hundreds of Fox's lesser-known epistles and papers. Many of the important early documents, Ingle reports, he found unopened in the archives. This shows, amazingly, that the conventional view of Fox and his work has gone largely unexamined by most Quaker scholars. And there is much about Fox's early career, when England was in revolutionary turmoil and the first Quakers were seen by the authorities as not just religious reformers but as militant social and political radicals, that has not been adequately considered among Friends.

Ingle's biography of Fox, *First Among Friends*, is not yet finished. But now you can get an advance sampling of what Ingle has discovered about the exciting history of early Friends, in an exclusive one-hour interview tape.

In the interview, Ingle describes his work and some of the many new insights into Fox he has gained. It's a provocative and illuminating conversation, and once you hear it, I'm sure that, like me, you'll be anxious to read the entire story. To order the tape, or Ingle's earlier book, *Quakers In Conflict*, use the form below.

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Please send me \_\_\_ copies of *A New Look at George Fox*, a 60-minute tape cassette interview with Larry Ingle, at \$9.95 each, postpaid.

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## MORE QUAKER HISTORY

### Quaker Quietism, Quietly Reexamined

The once-dominant Quietist strain in Quakerism is much neglected today, which is too bad. William and Frances Taber are especially well-equipped to tell the story of Quietist, or Wilburite Conservative Friends, especially in Ohio Conservative Yearly Meeting, with its unique Wilburite Quaker culture. Both are birthright Conservative Friends, alumni and former teachers at Ohio's Olney Friends School. Bill was also a "released Friend" serving Ohio Yearly Meeting for six years. They have gained an outside perspective on Wilburism by working among most other Quaker branches. Since 1982 they have been faculty members at Pendle Hill.

**The Eye of Faith** is Bill's engrossing and thought-provoking history of Quaker Quietism and Ohio Yearly Meeting. It recounts the theological controversies and the two great separations which shaped Wilburite Quakerism, plus the smaller splits that dogged Ohio Friends. It also paints an affectionate but clear-eyed portrait of the "golden age" of Wilburite culture and spirituality between 1875-1930, and the inescapable cultural changes that Wilburite Friends have struggled with since then.

Bill Taber's wide knowledge of Quakerism, and his deep spiritual sensitivity, combine to make **The Eye of Faith** more than a local history. While telling Ohio's story, he raises and reflects fruitfully on some central religious issues that still confront Friends of whatever branch.

NOTE: A 90-minute taped interview with William and Francis Taber is also available, for \$8.95.

#89-2. **The Eye of Faith**, cloth, 280 pages, \$14.95. #89-2A. Tape: Interview With Bill & Fran Taber, \$8.95.  
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### The Transformation Of American Quakerism

How and why did so much of once-silent and unprogrammed American Quakerism become evangelical and pastoral? Thomas Hamm's masterful, prize-winning book,

**The Transformation of American Quakerism**, tells this often turbulent story. Well-written, often gripping, **The Transformation of American Quakerism** was awarded the 1986 Brewer Prize of the American Society for Church History, the church historian's equivalent of a Pulitzer Prize.

**The Transformation of American Quakerism** should be a standard reference for meeting libraries, and is a fine gift for thoughtful readers interested in the tempestuous saga of Quaker history. Published by Indiana University Press.

NOTE: A 60-minute taped interview with Thomas Hamm about his book is also available.

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### Charting The Course of American Quaker History

A remarkable large wall chart of American Quaker history has been prepared by Geoffrey Kaiser of Unami Meeting in Pennsylvania. The chart, which Friend Kaiser has worked on for several years, details and illuminates the innumerable Quaker separations and reunifications in this country, and makes more sense of American Quaker history in less time than just about anything else I know of. It expanded and revised my whole understanding of the current Quaker scene, and will enrich your understanding too. Approximately 30" by 40". ALSO AVAILABLE: a 60-minute taped interview with Geoff Kaiser offering a guided tour of the chart.

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indigenous eyes, and working to revive and develop a native Christian identity.

They will need good theology, and more, to weather Bolivia's ongoing ordeal by cocaine. When George Bush was in Colombia on 2/15 for his big anti-drug summit, Francisco Mamani recalls that there was a huge demonstration in the Bolivian capital of La Paz. The rally was against Bush and *pro-coca*; and it ended with a huge, technically illegal coca leaf "chew-in."

The march and its masticatory civil disobedience were only one of a long succession of similar protests; and while Mamani did not join the rally, he did feel some empathy for the marchers. After all, the coca leaf is used in scores of native herbal medicines, and it has been a part of most social/cultural rituals there for centuries. In fact it is only recently that the smoking of coca paste, mixed with tobacco in *pitillo* cigarettes, has become a serious, gringo-style "drug problem" in Bolivia.

On the surface, INELA maintains a clear and positive testimony regarding the use of coca as a drug: They're against it. Bolivian Friends are exhorted not to grow or use it (except medicinally), or smoke it in *pitillos*. In short, they are urged to keep clear of the crop that is their nation's biggest export and its most dangerous product.

### Finding Work Where You Can

But look a little closer, and the picture is not so clear. It is clouded above all by the bust and boom that has been whipsawing the Bolivian economy. INELA Friends are part of the poor majority in what is the poorest country in South America. Moreover, through most of the 1980s Bolivia has been stuck in the deepest depression of this century. Prices for its old exports (especially tin) have been low; foreign debt payments are crushing; inflation and unemployment are very high. Everywhere you look, the Bolivian economic landscape is almost unrelievedly bleak-everywhere, that is, but in the coca fields. There the money is flowing; there people can find work.

Between 1978 and 1985, while tin mining and other legal industries were collapsing, the amount of land devoted to growing coca plants in Bolivia

increased almost seven-fold, to as much as 200,000 acres; and coca leaf production went from 35,000 metric tons to 150,000 metric tons. As many as 80,000 peasant farmers grow coca. Cocaine products bring as much as \$300 million dollars a year into the Bolivian economy, more than any legal export. (This data supplied by Kevin Healy, a Bolivia specialist with the Inter-American Foundation.)

But while the cocaine traffic has been growing, the Bolivian government has faced mounting pressure from the United States to stop the coca exports, by any means necessary. In theory, this was to be achieved by a carrot-and-stick mix of coca eradication plus American-financed crop substitution.

But the cost of meaningful crop substitution is large: \$2500-\$3000 per acre, several hundred million dollars in all. The Reagan and Bush administrations, with their bottomless budget deficits, have never come up with anywhere near that amount; and what few crop substitution efforts have been tried have been plagued by corruption and mismanagement. Furthermore, none of the proposed substitute crops: coffee, citrus fruits, cocoa, commands anywhere near the export price of coca.

### What Would Gandhi Think?

With the carrot a failure (or not really tried), Washington has relied on the stick, pressuring the Bolivian government into heavy-handed crop eradication programs, involving agents of the Drug Enforcement Administration and on one occasion some U.S. troops.

These eradication programs have not succeeded either, not least because the Bolivian government, itself riddled with drug money, has not been serious about losing its best export. They have also evoked strong social protests. In fact, for advocates of nonviolent direct action, it is a paradoxical and somewhat embarrassing fact that one of the most intensive, sustained and disciplined campaigns of nonviolent action in this hemisphere in the 1980s has been the Bolivian *pro-coca* movement. Well-organized bands of thousands of militant peasant growers have repeatedly occupied government offices, blockaded roads to and from major cities, and supported their leaders in hunger strikes, all

to preserve what they call "the sacred leaf" from official efforts to suppress it.

No wonder one scholarly observer recently reported that "Bolivian officials say privately that forcible eradication would precipitate a civil war between coca farmers and the government...." Such an outcome would return the country to one of its most melancholy distinctions; as Kevin Healy puts it: "Bolivia's political system holds the world record for changes in government by way of the *coup d'etat*"--close to 200 since independence from Spain.

Thus far, miraculously, Bolivia has escaped the fate of Peru and Colombia, where the struggle over cocaine has produced widespread terrorism and guerilla violence. But the possibility of sliding into such bloodshed and chaos hangs over it like a cloud.

And under present economic conditions, can Bolivian Friends really keep clear of the coca trade? After all, they do not live in an ivory tower. And in Bolivia, there are many ramifications to the industry beyond growing or using the plant. For instance, such everyday items as toilet paper and kerosene are used in the first stages of cocaine processing, and some estimates are that over half of the toilet paper in Bolivia is consumed in little kitchen coca cookers rather than its bathrooms. Thus, every mom and pop *tienda* and gas station is indirectly tied into the trade.

### A Pastor Bounces Back

Intensifying all this is the fact that temporary work is easy to get as a *pisadore*, or leaf-stomper, spending hours stomping bare-footed on coca leaves; or as a *sepe*, carrying a 50-kilo bundle of leaves through the forests to clandestine processing labs. The pay is good, and you can come and go.

Under the circumstances, it is no surprise to learn that a few years ago, an INELA pastor was arrested and jailed for transporting coca paste, another one of the migrant worker-type jobs. A disgrace, yes; but ever the evangelical, the pastor began his rehabilitation by promptly organizing a Friends church inside his penitentiary. With this kind of spirit, in the face of the havoc produced by the "war on drugs," maybe INELA will make it after all.



## INSIDE: BOLIVIAN QUAKERS FACE THE COCAINE WARS

Address Correction Requested

FIRST CLASS MAIL

From: Chuck Fager, A Friendly Letter  
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### *This Month In Quaker History*

It was this month in 1945, amid the shambles of World War II, that a Red Cross relief convoy drove from Vienna toward Hungary, where starvation was widespread. At the border, the trucks were stopped by Soviet occupation troops. Entry permits had to be negotiated, they were told, and the talks dragged on for days.

One morning a young Quaker driver was sitting in his truck, which was laden with medical supplies and baby formula, when he saw Red Cross officials emerge from the Soviet command post. Their dejected expressions made it plain they still had not obtained entry permits.

What went through the young Friend's mind at that moment? Images of the babies dying in the ruined country beyond the gate? Memories of other Quakers who had faced danger to relieve suffering? Or was it a young man's desire, after years of war propaganda about combat heroism, to grab a little piece of pacifist glory for himself?

However unknowable his thoughts, it is clear what the young man did: He pulled out of line, floored the accelerator, and headed straight for the customs gate. The Russian guards leaped out of the way and started firing.

Bullets shattered the window glass and ricocheted off the truck's metal doors. But none hit the tires, or the driver, who was hunched down over his steering wheel. The truck crashed the barrier and made it to the other side.

The truck kept going until it got to City Hall in Budapest, about a hundred miles away. Quickly a cheering crowd gathered. Among them was Gabriela Szabo, a local newspaper columnist. She asked the driver for an interview. He declined, saying he wanted to arrange for distribution of his supplies, and prepare the way for the other trucks. She asked his name; he declined again. Finally he agreed to talk with her a few hours later at a hotel, where he hoped to clean up before his return. But he never showed up. Instead, at the hotel Szabo found an apologetic note, saying the young man "could not face" an interview, adding "Anyway, what could I say that might be of interest to anybody...?"

The other relief trucks showed up soon thereafter. Red Cross officials said the young driver's daring thrust had impressed the Soviet troops, and ended their stalling. Gabriela Szabo has celebrated the anniversary of this Friend's drive ever since, but still does not know his name.

### *Quaker Chuckles*

The Overseers had gathered in an effort to resolve a quarrelsome Quaker couple's marital problems. Each spouse was asked to detail their grievances against the other; and the list of complaints was long, seemingly endless. After listening patiently to this unedifying catalogue, one of the elders turned to another and asked, "Friend Scattergood, I think we need to hear from thee. Wasn't thee present at the beginning of the trouble between these Friends?" "Well," answered the other, "I believe I was; I attended their wedding."

\* \* \* \* \*

An evangelist had preached to a rural Indiana meeting about the need to confess their sins and seek forgiveness. "Is there anyone among us who would like us to pray for them in their struggle with their failings?" he asked in conclusion. Friend Jones slowly raised a hand. "I need your prayers," he said, "because I'm a spendthrift. I seem to just throw my money around."

The evangelist listened thoughtfully and said, "Very well, let us join in prayer for Friend Jones--but I think we will take up the collection first."