

The end we have in mind is to "Americanize" the rest of the world and produce reasonable facsimiles of the United States in all the rest of the nations, particularly those that derive from a different historical experience, an experience we are incapable of either understanding or respecting.

We are missionaries and we would convert all mankind, much as Christianity was forced upon nations by ambitious princes and prelates in Europe. Will we never learn the lesson of history?

The atom is harnessed to our self-righteousness, and even now we are riding out of the East to engulf the world, and no one can gainsay us this glorious experience.

We cry "wolf!" But deep within ourselves we know who the wolf really is.

We are the victors of history, and the spoils are ours. The United States Government knows precisely its own strength and the weakness of the rest of the world. While we disclaim any colonial ambitions, while we insist that everything we do is for our national security and for the preservation of civilization, while we insist we want peace, we act contrarily.

Vietnam, which we are now in the process of destroying, is an exercise, a testing ground similar to that of Spain in the 1930's. But it is more. It is a token of our ambitions in Asia — yet Asia is only part of our plan.

Latin America, while presenting the image of independence, is locked into the American way of life. While we lament the inequities of the past and endorse the Alliance for Progress, we merely sharpen our practices to further debilitate Latin American countries, thus making them our colonials.

Africa is our sporting ground. We use this vast continent much as we do ordinary peoples who are out of work and seeking jobs at whatever price. Although someone like Nasser is a thorn in our side, we know how easily we can crush him and others like him.

Western Europe, with the exception of DeGaulle's France, is a lackey to American ambitions and is scarcely worth commenting upon, particularly by those formulating American programs that encompass far more than this meager appendage to the Asian colossus.

So, here we are. We have the power of the gods of Olympus. But we have their weaknesses, too. Hubris has never been restricted to the Greeks or their gods.

Blinded by success, made heady by our

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unlimited power, we have entered a new age that is predicated upon our rules of the game. Game? No. Once we were rather sporty, but now we are in deadly earnest.

All this requires order, the *sine qua non* of any empire. Only then can there be peace.

Once Rome was master of the world. *Pax Romana*. Rome fell to the barbarians.

Once Nazi Germany, in its spasm of megalomania, threatened to master the world. *Pax Germanica*. A thousand years shrank to a miserly twelve.

Now America is master of the world and tentative possessor of even the stars. *Pax Americana*.

## Opinion:

### COLLARING THE BISHOPS

by Rev. Paul Zeller

*In the following article, Paul Zeller, a Roman Catholic priest, calls for radical reform of the Catholic Episcopacy.*

*Because he is morally certain that his views would be suppressed by the Church's censorship system, Father Zeller has intentionally bypassed the provisions of the Church's Canon Law which call for ecclesiastical censorship of such an article. In so doing, he merely invokes another Church law which says that any Church law ceases to exist when it ceases to be reasonable. He believes, therefore, that the Church's censorship system is unreasonable.*

*Father Zeller has served the Archdiocese of Portland (Ore.) for the past 24 years as an assistant pastor, pastor, and institutional chaplain. He is now chaplain at St. Mary's Hospital, Astoria, Oregon.*



Rev. Paul Zeller

In the twenty-third chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, Christ prefaces His famous excoriation of the Scribes and Pharisees with the words: "The Scribes and Pharisees have sat on the chair of Moses. All things, therefore, that they command you observe and do. But do not act according to their works; for they talk but do nothing. They bind together heavy and oppressive burdens and lay them on men's backs but not with one finger of their own are they willing to lift them. In fact, all their works they do in order to be seen by men for they widen their phylacteries, and enlarge their tassels, and love the first places at table and the front seats in the synagogues, and greetings in the market place, and to be called by men, 'Rabbi' ..."

It would be unfair, perhaps, to apply this statement too rigidly to the bishops and cardinals now attending the final session of the Vatican Council. They don't claim to sit on the chair of Moses, but or

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the chair of Peter. They don't love to be called "Rabbi" but "Your Excellency" and "Your Eminence." They don't widen their phylacteries, for these are out of style, nor enlarge their tassels. They do, however, love the royal robes that distinguish them as "Princes of the Church" and the first places at table; and the front seats in whatever takes the place of the synagogue. They love these things because they are human. Human beings tend to be either proud or envious depending on whether they belong to the haves or the have-nots. Envy is a kind of negative pride, pride in reverse, and pride is the first of the capital sins. It tends to be a correlative of power; and bishops, cardinals, Pope, are in positions of power. They therefore have to love the trappings, the homage, the honors that go with their high offices. This is a general statement so as to admit of exceptions, but in general it is true. Lord Acton said it best probably when he remarked: "All power tends to corrupt, and absolute power tends to corrupt absolutely."

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That bishops, being human, tend to be theologically proud admits of an easy demonstration. Theological pride is defined as the inordinate preferment of self. Self is preferred inordinately when it is preferred irrationally, when it exceeds the bounds of justice. Steps of a sort were taken to curb inordinate, episcopal self-preferment as early as the sixth century when Pope Gregory I reigned as Bishop of Rome. In those days religious communities of men and women — monks and nuns — were under the direct jurisdiction of the local bishops. Since these bishops, corrupted by power, were disposed to lay insupportable burdens on their subjects' backs, the religious communities had recourse to Rome. Gregory, himself a monk, was sympathetic to their complaints. He issued what were called *privilegia*, exemptions from particular points of episcopal control.

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Bishops, like kings, were a proud lot. The bishops still are — because they have position, power, prestige, and a lifetime tenure of office. They have to take "nothin' from nobody," as the saying goes — except, theoretically, from the Pope. The American philosophy of government was designed to remedy the pride of kings — by abolishing the kings along with the whole concept of medieval aristocracy. The Constitution of the United States specifies that the government is not to confer titles of nobility on any of its citizens. Even the tenure of office of a popularly elected chief executive is limited. If we don't be-



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lieve in the *Divine Right of Kings*, we believe even less in the *Divine Right of Presidents*.

It is time that Catholics the world over stopped believing in the *Divine Right of Bishops*. According to the theory, all ecclesiastical superiors are appointed by God. St. Paul is even quoted to prove it. In his Epistle to the Romans, Paul says: "Let everyone be subject to the higher authorities; for there is no authority except from God, and those who exist have been appointed by God. Therefore, he who resists authority resists the ordinance of God, and they who resist bring on themselves damnation."

We can't know precisely what St. Paul had in mind. We can be perfectly sure that if we could get him across the table over a cup of coffee, he would have trouble explaining the appointments of a few Popes we could mention, and quite a number of bishops. The brutal fact of the matter is that bishops are appointed by the Pope on the recommendation, usually, of other bishops. The Popes, in turn, are elected by a predominantly Italian College of Cardinals who have been previously selected by an inevitable Italian Pope. What part God plays in ecclesiastical politics can't be known. Nor can it be known that He invariably plays a part. Man has free will, and bishops are men. Man's free will can obviously frustrate the will of God — if the Ten Commandments are an expression of it. If we concede that bishops receive their right to rule directly from God at the time of their consecration, we must still insist that there is nothing in Scripture that says they have to retain the exercise of that right in perpetuity. Popes, in any event, have often presumed to suspend it.

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Just as the American philosophy of government was designed to remedy the pride of kings, so the Calvinistic aspect of the Protestant Reformation proposed the same remedy for the pride of bishops, namely, abolition of the bishops. Being an orthodox Catholic, I wouldn't go along with this. Government is necessary. If you don't have authority at the top, you are bound to have chaos at the bottom. Moreover, it is inconceivable that an institution as vast and varied as the Catholic Church could operate with anything other than a hierarchical, non-democratic form of government. Candidates for the papacy could hardly be expected to fly about the world soliciting votes. *I would propose, however, that bishops be appointed for a limited term of office in the manner of Jesuit pro-*

vincials. *Ten years should be long enough for any man.* Despite what they often think, individual bishops are not indispensable, and the security of a lifetime tenure works against the virtue of humility.

*I would also propose that canonically established unions or associations be allowed for the secular clergy.* The religious clergy (those attached to monasteries) have been exempt from episcopal jurisdiction for centuries. They have been exempt because bishops, like quasi-absolute rulers of any kind, can't be trusted with power. Ecclesiastical, like civil, politicians are made of the same stuff. It is a stuff that is perennially subject to the law of the magic current, the law that says that when a human being sits on the chair of authority, a magic current rises, passes through the seat of the pants and trunk of the body into the head. It expands or inflates the head, and causes a more or less chronic condition known as "fat-headitis." Once again, this is a general rule so as to admit of exceptions. But they *are* exceptions. They are certainly not the rule.

Clerical unions or associations would help to check the condition. *Just as labor unions serve to check industrial tyranny, so clerical unions would help to check episcopal tyranny.* The clergy should have the right of assembly, first of all, for the purpose of electing their representatives. They should have the right of free speech; the right to discuss their problems openly, make resolutions and transact business. Their representatives should have the canonical right to speak in their name to the local bishop, and the right of appeal to higher authority in case of conflict with the bishop. The higher authority, in turn, should adjudicate on the basis of right and wrong, not on the basis of "authority must be sustained" — as it now does when dealing with individual priests. Integrity would thus be restored to the Church's system of jurisprudence. Clerical unions would help bring things out in the open. The present "top secrecy" system militates against justice. It is no wonder that the papal states rebelled against the Pope in the last century. Christ put it just right when he said: "The light has come into the world, but men have loved darkness rather than light because their works were evil. For everyone who does evil hates the light, and does not come to the light that his deeds may not be exposed. He who loves truth comes to the light that his deeds may be made manifest, for they have been performed in God." This is something else

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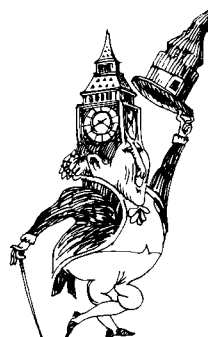
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## London:

IT'S ONLY  
MADE OF CLAY  
by Terence Prittie



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the Church needs to borrow from the American philosophy of government — freedom of the press; freedom to criticize the government; freedom to throw light on the fallibility of her ecclesiastical politicians.

A truly remarkable feature of the Vatican Council, which professes to represent the universal Church, is that no one but a bishop has a voice in it. The euphemism has it that priests are represented by their bishops. This is like saying that labor is represented by management. A queer kind of representation. We could add that Rome would be better served by selecting her bishops from the elected representatives of the priests rather than from the recommendations of bishops who have been seduced by what Gibbons calls "the arts of attendance and flattery."

It is a truism that Englishmen tend to be touchy about things which don't really matter very much, whilst remaining comparatively unaffected by events and problems which rock the world. The controversy over the Rock of Gibraltar is an excellent case in point.

For about a year now the Spanish authorities have been imposing a "little blockade" on Gibraltar. People and goods can still, indeed, move across the frontier between British Gibraltar and Spanish La Linea — a wretchedly poor, sleazy little town which has lived very largely in the past off Gibraltar's British and other tourists. But all movement across the sandy isthmus which connects Spain with the Rock is subjected to immensely tiresome and totally unnecessary delays by the Spanish customs officials. Pedestrians come off most lightly — because around 8000 Spaniards go each day into Gibraltar and earn wages which help to defray Spain's foreign currency requirements. It is very different for motorists.

A motorist, either entering or leaving Gibraltar, may arrive at any given moment of the day and find himself, for instance, fourth in the queue at the frontier. He may then reckon on having to wait upwards of two hours to cross it, while Spanish customs officials lounge around, smoking and chatting and utterly unconcerned. When his time comes for a customs examination, it will be carried out at a snail's pace and with no discernible object in view. The Spanish Government has claimed that present customs difficulties are due to large-scale smuggling from