BR 85COC SH 03. U3. F1

THE Christian Century

March 8, 1995 \$2.00

Abortion: The open secret Debate goes public in Brazil

Lag Ken Serbbi

On fashion and fashioning the self,

by Margaret R. Miles

Journeys to the heights and depths

by James M. Wall

What theology can't do

by John P. Burgess 🙃

March 8, 1995 Vol. 112, No. 8

COMMENT & REPORTS

Heights and depths James M. Wall: Film journeys	259
If you stop to think about it John P. Burgess: What theological renewal can't do	260
FEATURE	
Simmering abortion debate goes public in Brazil Ken Serbin: A dangerous, clandestine abortion "industry"	266
DEPARTMENTS	
News Blasphemy in Pakistan, &c. (Reports from Religion News Service, Ecumenical News International and Century sources)	262
Living by the Word Darrell Jodock: After tasting failure	265
Film Margaret R. Miles: Fashioning the self	273
Letters Internationals in Guatemala: An exchange	276
M.E.M.O Church smells	279

THE Christian Century

An Ecumenical Weekly

Editor James M. Wall

Senior Editors

Martin E. Marty Dean Peerman

Managing Editor David Heim

Associate Editors Victoria A. Rebeck

Donald B. Ottenhoff Trudy Bush

Assistant Editor Debra Bendis

Advertising Manager Ann James

Subscription Manager Lisa J. Tiede

Production Coordinator Matthew Giunti

Production Associates

Dale Hasenick Joy Urban

Editorial Assistant Katherine A. Gilbert

Administrative Assistant Dori Stone

Contributing Editor Alan Geyer

Editors at Large

Jill P. Baumgaertner
Robert McAfee Brown
Michael Eric Dyson
Ronald Goetz
Janet Karsten Larson
Jean Caffey Lyles
Lamin Sanneh
Betty Thompson
Margaret D. Wilde
Roberts L. Blumhofer
Rebecca S. Chopp
William F. Fore
Belden C. Lane
Robin W. Lovin
Cornish R. Rogers
Max L. Stackhouse
David Tracy
Preston N. Williams

Margaret D. Wilde Preston N. William William H. Willimon Ralph C. Wood Robert Wuthnow

Established 1884. Renamed the CHRISTIAN CENTURY 1900. Refounded 1908 by Charles Clayton Morrison. Editors: Charles Clayton Morrison (1908-47); Paul Hutchinson (1947-55); Harold E. Fey (1956-64); Kyle Haselden (1964-68); Alan Geyer (1968-72).

Copyright © 1995 by the Christian Century Foundation. All rights reserved under the International Copyright Union, the Universal Copyright Convention and the Pan-American Copyright Convention.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY (ISSN 0009-5281) is published weekly—except biweekly the first two weeks of January and February, the last two weeks of March, from the third week of May through September, and the last two weeks of November and December—by the Christian Century Foundation, 407 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, IL 60605; (312) 427-5380. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY, 407 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, IL 60605-1150. Subscription price: \$35 per year, add \$75 for airmail delivery. Send subscription orders and notice of address changes to The Christian Century Subscription Services, 407 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, IL 60605-1150. Phone (312) 427-2714.

The CENTURY is indexed in the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature. Religion Index One: Periodicals and the Guide to Social Science and Religion in Periodical Literature. Book reviews are indexed in Book Review Digest and Book Review Index; media reviews are indexed in Media Review Digest; poems are indexed in Index of American Periodical Verse. An index is published in the final issues of June and December.



THE Christian Century

Simmering abortion debate goes public in Brazil

by Ken Serbin

ARIANA, a 22-year-old woman in Rio de Janeiro, discovered she was pregnant by a man she didn't love. She was not ready to raise a child. Her job paid little, and in Brazil being a single mother would stigmatize her as a "piranha," a whore. Despite her allegiance to a conservative Protestant church, Mariana saw only one way out: abortion.

In Brazil, as in many Third World countries, abortion is illegal. The only exceptions—cases of rape and danger to the life of the mother—must win court approval. Mariana

turned to misoprostol, an ulcer medicine often taken by Brazilian women to provoke miscarriages and only recently used experimentally to terminate pregnancies in the U.S. Obtaining the drug on the black market, Mariana ingested it and also put some in her uterus. She hemorrhaged, but an ultrasound test showed the fetus still intact. So, like many Brazilian women, Mariana entered a clandestine clinic. There she was anesthetized, after which her fetus was removed by suction.

A safe abortion in Brazil is the reserve of the few women who can afford the best clinics. Shortly after the procedure in a second-rate clinic for working-class women, Mariana's uterus became infect-

ed. She was a victim of a shadowy and lucrative industry that provides little if any postoperative care and goes unpunished for botched operations. Similar dangers abound at the hands of *aborteiras*, who perform abortions in people's homes. For the many women who must opt for using a hanger, poisonous herbs or other methods of self-induced abortion, the risk of infection, injury or death increases.

Of the estimated 1.5 million abortions performed annually in Brazil, as many as 42 percent result in complications, according to a recent study by the Alan Guttmacher Institute in New York. Nearly 300,000 women land in the hospital, overburdening an already dilapidated public health system, and tens of thousands more avoid or cannot afford treatment. Several thousand die each year (the illegality of abortion prohibits making an exact count). Mariana was one of the lucky ones. She recovered at home with the help of antibiotics.

Mariana bore most of her ordeal alone. The father of the child, who earned about \$100 a month, refused to accompany her to the clinic. To pay for the operation she borrowed from a friend. Mariana's parents, with whom she was living, knew nothing of their potential grandchild or their daughter's pain. Mariana hid and then destroyed the ultrasound image, the last vestige of her pregnancy. But the emotional trauma lingered. This article must also be an accomplice to Mariana's secrecy: it conceals her real name to prevent her embarrassment and possible prosecution.

Mariana's case, like that of millions of Third World women, dramatizes the planet's most fundamental yet

most ambiguous set of challenges: confronting the issue of birth rates, the rights of the unborn, and the needs, desires and beliefs of the living. In Cairo last September the United Nations Conference on Population and Development put this biological, political and moral predicament at the top of the international agenda. The debate of the new millennium has begun: To what extent do we control population, and should legal and safe abortion be an option? Should governments regulate reproductive choices? And what role, if any, should organized religion play?

The controversy emerges together with the global women's movement. The thousands of women who descended on Cairo,

a stronghold of Islamic radicalism often inimical to feminism, battled taboos and overturned historical barriers to demand women's rights, health care and political power. Even more than the fall of the Berlin Wall or the Rio Earth Summit, the Cairo conference heralds a new era by appealing to the equality of men and women and focusing on primordial concerns: sex, womb and nurture.

Cairo highlighted the Third World as the arena in which the abortion debate must be decided. The so-called South is not only the earth's poorest region but also has its highest birth rates and most ingrained systems of male dominance. Change in the South is urgently needed yet difficult to achieve. But by making an unprecedented show of strength at Cairo, Third World feminists began to fill a leadership void created by the major powers' continued ambivalence toward the developing world, an ambivalence reflected in apathy about the South's crises and anger about such perceived threats as South-to-North migration

Perhaps no country better dramatizes the complexity of

abortion than Brazil, where momentum has been growing for legalization but without the simplistic "prolife" and "pro-choice" categorizations that have dominated debate in the U.S. Like the abortion issue itself, Brazil is full of contradictions and ambiguities, a "country of the future" chronically held back by a legacy of slavery and social and

economic inequality.

With a multicultural population of 150 million and an area larger than the continental U.S., this industrial and agricultural giant boasts a top-ten economy but has a monthly minimum wage of less than \$100. In Rio the verandas of luxury apartments face crowded slums often ablaze with gun battles between drug lords and police. In universities intellectuals tap away on notebook computers while in the streets illiterate laborers use muscle power to haul garbage carts. Last summer jets carried thousands of Brazilians to the U.S. to cheer their team to a record fourth World Cup soccer championship, while the press reported that the already high infant mortality rates rose in the northeast, the poorest region of the country. (Brazil's overall rate of 60 deaths per 1,000 births is six times higher than that of the U.S. and Cuba, for example.)

At the UN this past fall Brazilian diplomats campaigned for a permanent seat on the Security Council, while at home malaria, leprosy and Chagas' disease (a parasitic ailment that causes slow death) still afflict hundreds of thousands of people. One Brazilian economist calls his country "Belindia"—a Belgium and an India rolled

into one.

HE CONTRADICTION between wealth and poverty is compounded by the tension between modernity and tradition. Although Brazil has rapidly traded its rural roots for urban sprawl, the people maintain a strong religiosity in the face of secu-

lar trends. Faith still burns, whether among the historically Roman Catholic majority, the syncretistic Afro-Brazilian religions, or the more recently emerging fundamentalist Protestants. Underneath a veneer of modern consumer culture family loyalty, male honor and the value placed on virginity still determine social and sexual codes of conduct. Nevertheless, modernity has tattered many traditions by sending an increasing number of women into the job market, exposing them to new cultural models, and dramatically shrinking in half one of the world's highest population growth rates. On average women now bear about three children; in the 1960s the figure was six.

Indeed, this slower growth, confirmed by census data released last year, means that Brazil should no longer worry population-control experts. "The discussion over birth control has become obsolete. This change occurred so rapidly that the people involved in the debate apparently didn't realize it," Simon Schwartzman, the census bureau head, told reporters. The people adopted population control on their own, he said.

However, as is true throughout Latin America, the burden of birth control has fallen on women. Female sterilization (by tubal ligation) tops all methods of contraception, prompting the Brazilian Congress to investigate and denounce the practice, including the involvement of international family-planning agencies. Close behind is the pill. Condom use and vasectomies are rare. For those women who do not use birth control because of ignorance, lack of income or dislike (on the part of men and women), clandestine abortion is the remaining choice. The Guttmacher report estimates that for every 100 births there are 44 abortions.

Although feminists have been active in Brazil since the mid-1970s, only now is the country ready to address these issues. Like a cold splash of national consciousness-raising, the leading newsmagazine *Veja* hit the public last August with a special edition on women, including frank pieces on abortion and birth control. The influential daily newspaper *Folha de São Paulo* also sponsored debates on abortion and reported on two prominent physicians investigated by police for removing defective fetuses.

As Brazil's fledgling democracy matures, politics has

begun to open to women and their issues. In October, two years after impeaching a corrupt, conservative president who flaunted his virility, Brazilians elected a liberal opponent of the generals who ruled from 1964 to 1985. Fernando Henrique Cardoso had struggled for democracy alongside Catholic radicals, left-wing activists and feminists. Cardoso's wife, Ruth, an anthropologist who criticized conservatives in his 1994 coalition, may prove to be the most outspoken first lady in Brazilian history. Voters also chose their first Afro-Brazilian woman senator, Benedita da Silva. As a congresswoman and symbol of growing female electoral involvement, she spurred the sterilization investigation and

has become one of the leading voices for women's rights.

While Brazil's daughters know the moment is ripe for discussion, they recognize that the campaign to make abortion safer through decriminalization will be long and difficult. They must overcome a complex mixture of political, cultural and religious forces while keeping their focus on Brazil's fundamental problems of poverty and inequality. Furthermore, because feminists still lack electoral clout, any drive to revise the law could easily fail.

Public health administrator Lígia Mendonça believes that legalizing abortion requires exercising power and changing attitudes about women's issues. An unsuccessful state legislative candidate on the socialist Workers' Party ticket in the recent election, Mendonça brings to the women's movement the political experience of opposition to the military dictatorship. She performed plays in the

Ken Serbin teaches Latin American history at the University of San Diego. He lived in Brazil from 1988 to 1991 and frequently visits that country.

When you

take a

prolife

stance,

says Ribiero,

collusion with

the corrupt

abortion

industry.

you are in

slums, taught adult literacy classes based on the critical pedagogy of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire, and spent ten months in prison during a repressive sweep against the left in the early 1970s. Afterward she was blackballed from employment, and the police closed a cooperative preschool she and her husband had opened with other couples. In 1981, as the regime began relaxing restrictions, Mendonça used her graduate degree in public health and epidemiology to enter the health secretariat of the state of Paraná. There she helped organize workers "from the am-

bulance driver to the physician" into a

10,000-member union.

S A PUBLIC official Mendonça has focused on the problems of poor women, in particular their lack of access to health care. Although Paraná, located in the wealthier southern half of Brazil, is proud of its approximation of First World living conditions, Mendonça's research reveals that the state is no better than the rest of the country in terms of women's health. For women of childbearing age-defined as 15 to 49—complications from pregnancy are a major cause of death, she says. "When she becomes pregnant, a woman here has a risk of dying about ten times higher, or even more, than a woman in the U.S. We have seen this in Paraná." A recent study by the Pan

American Health Organization confirms her conclusions. According to this report, pregnancy, delivery, postdelivery complications and abortion together rank among the top ten causes of death among Latin American women, taking the lives of an estimated 28,000 in 1990. In the U.S. maternal deaths number only a few hundred per year, the study notes. It estimates that abortion is the most common cause of maternal death in seven Latin American countries and the second most common in six others. The study stresses that the real extent of maternal mortality is unknown because of inadequate statistics.

According to Mendonça, in Brazil the leading causes of maternal death are eclampsia (convulsions during pregnancy or childbirth due to a lack of prenatal care), hemorrhaging during childbirth, and complications arising from clandestine abortions, which account for most hospital infections. In all three cases the average Brazilian hospital is

incapable of saving women, Mendonça says.

"In Paraná, 90 percent of childbirths are done in a hospital, but our health system is very bad," she says. "The doctors don't stay at night. So if a woman comes to give birth at night, the person who attends is a hospital employee who isn't even a midwife. The doctor comes only if it's a complicated birth. There is no doctor or blood to take care of a hemorrhage. The majority of hospitals in Brazil don't have a blood bank." Women hospitalized for botched abortions face even worse conditions, Mendonça adds, be-

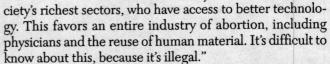
cause prejudiced doctors and hospital employees purposely provide poor care. Even women obtaining courtsanctioned abortions (which many doctors refuse to perform) are badly treated by health workers.

In the state capital of Curitiba middle- and upper-class women who can afford to spend \$300 to \$400 seek out one of three clandestine clinics, the kind found in many Brazilian cities. Their locations, reputations and even the names of their owners are open secrets among women. "I have several friends who have gone to these clinics," Mendonça

says. "Whoever has money can have an abortion with total safety." Nevertheless, no one has dared learn how the abortion clinics are set up or where the profits go. The government has taken no action on abortion. Clinics occasionally shut down by the police simply reopen in a few weeks. "Certainly the doctor gives money to the police,"

says Mendonça.

"Abortion for the upper class is the logic of the Mafia, of the numbers racket, of collusion, of corruption," argues Lúcia Ribeiro, a longtime Catholic activist and sociologist who is attempting to stimulate debate about abortion within Brazil's Roman Catholic Church. Though opposed to abortion in principle, Ribeiro favors legalization because of the devastating effects of clandestine abortion on poor women. "Secrecy favors women of so-



"Prolife" arguments reinforce the "industry" and heighten the danger to women because they help drive abortion underground, Ribeiro says. "When you take a prolife position, you are in collusion with those sectors [in the abortion industry] who are antilife," she says. An even greater paradox is that feminists do not publicly denounce these abortion clinics despite the corruption and risks involved. "Many of us protect the clinics, because you could need them," Mendonça says.

The abortionists are aware of their own importance. Renato César da Rocha, a Curitiba gynecologist who has done abortions for 45 years, gave an extraordinary interview after being brought up on charges last year. "I do abortions up to the eighth week. After that I try not to do it, because the fetus is bigger. Up to two months it has no form; it's just an embryo," Rocha told the magazine IstoÉ/Senhor, adding that he does not fear a police investigation. "Judges, police chiefs, the wives of police chiefs and of doctors, the girlfriends of doctors all come here. Everybody comes, nuns, priests."

The greatest concern of leaders like Mendonça and Ribeiro is for the millions of poor women who must resort to riskier, often self-induced methods of abortion. Though



MENDONÇA: The abortion secret

268 m of Caro My bondo welling.

Mendonça, a lapsed Catholic, and Ribeiro disagree on the religious implications of abortion, they share the women's movement's goal of social equity: higher pay for women, an end to domestic violence, a renovation of the ramshackle public health system, more responsibility on the part of physicians, better sex education and greater concern for women's health. They also concur that decriminalizing abortion is the only way to eliminate the dangers of secrecy. "If abortion were legal, you would have a chance to talk with the woman to see if she would give up the child for

adoption," Mendonça says. "You could call in the man to participate in the decision. You could assist them by teaching family planning and orienting them for the future." Ribeiro stresses that "the defense of life is a Catholic principle," and adds, "women are dying" from abortion.

however, only if Brazilians can overcome the split between a deeply felt value for life and the harsh social reality that leads many women to abort. Ribeiro has witnessed this conflict while studying women in grass-roots church communities located in the teeming, mainly lower-class outskirts of Rio. She says women in these communities radically oppose abortion for moral and religious reasons but opt for it when poverty dictates

a small family. "There are cases in which life and death are so mixed together that you cannot maintain an absolute principle against abortion," Ribeiro explains. "In some circumstances women end up choosing abortion in order to defend the life of the family." Also, she says, "From the ethical point of view this is a very complex question. The country is very divided. If a plebiscite were held today, I don't know that decriminalization would win, although the movement is growing."

As Mendonça testifies, the women's movement must walk the delicate moral tightrope of the abortion issue. "Today there is an accumulation of discussion among women that didn't exist ten years ago," Mendonça says. "This does not mean that the abortion question, is a tranquil one. Where you have women linked enough to the church, it's a very difficult question to discuss." Even among the most socially conscious Catholic groups abortion is "taboo," Mendonça says. These "progressive" Catholics define oppression only in socioeconomic terms and ignore injustice in the spheres of culture and sexuality, she observes. "The Catholic Church in general still disapproves of any sexuality whose end is not reproduction."

A similar attitude reigns in the Workers' Party, heavily populated with leftist Catholics. The WP is radical on most issues but largely silent on abortion. "The majority of men even in progressive parties have never heard a woman speak on the question of abortion," Mendonça says. "In general, the men of the WP are against abortion. They don't think it is an important question." WP feminists "are afraid of being labeled antilife," she adds.

The powerful Catholic Church is sure to throw its full weight against legalization. It is thus a strange irony that the most impassioned voices for decriminalization have emerged from the convents.

Since the reforms of the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), many sisters have quietly abandoned the sheltered

life of teaching wealthy children and cooking priests' meals and entered the slums and fields to bring the church closer to the poor. Along the way they have become more worldly and better educated. Moreover, in Brazil nuns outnumber priests by nearly three to one, and young women continue to flock to convents. While clerics take the credit for rejuvenating the church, the unpublicized sisters have occupied the religious trenches. They are now poised to help plan the church's pastoral strategy, including ways to treat the social and personal wounds caused by abortion.

In October 1993 one of these religious women, Sister Ivone Gebara, rocked the church by declaring in an interview in *Veja* that abortion should be a mother's choice and should be legalized. Titled "Abortion Is Not a

Sin," the interview appeared just as Pope John Paul II issued his encyclical on moral theology, *Veritatis Splendor* ("The Splendor of Truth"), which upholds the church's opposition to artificial birth control and sustains "the universality and immutability of the moral commandments, particularly those which prohibit always and without exception intrinsically evil acts."

"The other day I aided a woman who had an abortion, and I was shocked when I saw the fetus. It's a little baby. It's as if we were taking away the chance of that life to flower," Gebara told *Veja*'s journalists. "Abortion is violent, very violent. It is always a traumatic choice, never a happy course of action. Women only abort if obliged by circumstances. But it is a violence that exists and as such must be legislated." Referring to the country's social inequality, she added, "Brazil continually aborts its citizens, if not during the first month, then throughout their lives." Gebara further asserted that politically "advanced" priests and nuns favor decriminalization, but admit so only in "very restricted circles." "They are men and women tormented on account of their convictions," she said.

"That interview was like a bomb blast in Brazil," Ribeiro recalls. The president of the National Conference of the Bishops of Brazil, Archbishop Luciano Mendes de Almeida, responded by reaffirming the church's teaching that human life begins "from the first moment of conception. To provoke an abortion, eliminating an innocent and



NUNES: The right to decide

defenseless life, is a grave matter before God and one's own conscience." Recognizing Gebara's many years of service to the church, the archbishop urged the nun to rethink her position.

HE REACTION was far stronger in Gebara's home diocese of Recife, located in the northeast, the birthplace of Brazilian slavery and the country's most impoverished region. Gebara has lived and worked among the area's poor for more than two decades. Recife's archbishop is Dom José Cardoso Sobrinho, a conservative and fierce defender of papal authority who in 1985 replaced the retired Dom Hélder Câmara, the renowned liberationist leader whose ideas fell into disfavor during John Paul II's well-known campaign to tame Brazilian Catholic radicalism. Dom José ordered Gebara to retract her statements and threatened her with punishment under canon law.

When she refused, the bishop sought sanctions from the Vatican. Supported by her fellow sisters, Gebara reached a compromise with the authorities in Rome, agreeing to issue a retraction in which she declared loyalty to the church but did not mention abortion. Dom Luciano, a highly accomplished Jesuit and veteran church diplomat who has kept harmony among Brazil's 300 bishops, sent private letters to his colleagues saying that the was case closed. Dom José, however, disagreed and recently renewed his complaint to Rome. Cardinal Eugênio Salles, the archbishop of Rio de Janeiro and a powerful figure in the Vatican, was also said to be unhappy with the outcome.

An ally of Gebara, Maria José Rosado Nunes, walked a similar path as a nun until she recently left the convent to fight for abortion reform. At the end of Vatican II Nunes traded her traditional habit for laywoman's clothing and began pastoral work outside the private school run by her religious order. Later she worked in the northeast, befriending a group of prostitutes, and then moved on to the rugged Amazon frontier. Taking advantage of new opportunities open to sisters, she obtained an M.A. in sociology in São Paulo, where she linked up with the growing feminist movement. Nunes has published a book on nuns which discusses women's lack of power in the church, and she recently finished a Ph.D. dissertation titled "The Church, Sex, and Power" at the École des Hautes Études in Paris. Near the end of her studies, Nunes left her order and married a former Jesuit priest, also Brazilian. She now teaches religious sociology at the Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo and feminist studies at a Methodist university.

In 1992 Nunes helped found Católicas pelo Direito de Decidir (Catholic Women for the Right to Decide), the independent Brazilian version of the U.S. group Catholics for a Free Choice, which opposes the church's antiabortion stance. Católicas emerged from a dialogue between feminists and female liberation theologians—a watershed orchestrated by Nunes and Rose Marie Muraro, a Catholic writer who pioneered modern Brazilian feminism. "The colloquy of female theologians was always with

male theologians, but the women never got along well with feminists," Nunes recalls of an earlier era. "We have created a formal seminar on theology and reproductive rights." Although Católicas is an ecumenical collective that includes a female Lutheran pastor, Nunes has stood out as a leading spokesperson.

For Nunes the abortion issue centers on the church's continuing incompatibility with modernity, despite Vatican II. "There are two things in modernity that cannot be accepted by the church: the autonomy of the individual and democracy. It is in this context that the church cannot accept the rights of women," Nunes says. Similarly, it cannot deal successfully with issues of sexuality such as celibacy and birth control. So the church must resort to its old strategy of asserting a "monolithic" doctrine while repressing the cacophony of internal dissent on sexuality, she argues. Even in the Brazilian church, which was the most radical branch of the Catholic Church in the 1970s, post-Vatican II innovations such as liberation theology were little more than a "happy mistake" to be crushed by conservative reaction. But even during this brief "springtime" of religious renewal the Brazilian church did not budge on women's issues. Brazil's famed grass-roots church communities "do not treat the question of domestic violence," Nunes says. "The church deals with the family only in a traditional way."

Faced with the church's intransigence, Católicas is planning an end run around the bishops in the campaign to legalize abortion. Unlike Catholics for a Free Choice, which confronts the church head-on, Católicas will focus on the poor, who suffer most from clandestine abortion. "The majority of Catholic women in Brazil call themselves Catholics, but in the meantime they go against the church in their reproductive practices. Because of this, they have a strong sense of guilt, "Nunes explains. "The only legitimization they have for abortion is their poverty. We want to equip these women with a religious discourse that allows them to justify and legitimize their practices religiously. We want to stop them from feeling guilt."

ENTION NUNES to Cléa Carpi da Rocha, an attorney for the federal government's National Council for Women's Rights, and she bristles with indignation. Though against legalization of abortion like most Brazilians, Rocha offers another example of the complexities of the issue and the impossibility of easy categorization. The daughter of an "anarchist-papist" arrested during the military regime, she shares feminist enthusiasm for women's advancement. As the president of the local section of the Brazilian Bar Association she was the first woman to head a major organization in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. She was also state president of the Association of American Jurists. Her current job is to oppose gender discrimination.

Rocha agrees that Brazil must improve its social services, as well as families' ability to care for children, but she rejects the idea that social inequality justifies abortion: "There is no argument that justifies taking away a life. Life should always be preserved. If the public health network

has a deficit, with long lines of patients and with appointments and medical exams backed up for three or four months, how will it be able to attend to cases of voluntary abortion?"

For Rocha the ultimate question is whether Brazil and the countries of the Southern Hemisphere will abdicate sovereignty as the planet seeks to slow the global birth rate. "The ecological discourse was already appropriated by the countries of the North when they linked together poverty, environmental degradation and the lack of resources," Rocha says, alleging that Brazilian feminists have been coopted by international prochoice agencies that fund research on abortion. "The majority of feminists receive money from outside—from such sources as the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation and the MacArthur Foundation," she contends.

"The word 'imperialism' may be worn out, but imperialism exists—with the same force and violence and with the same consequences," she continues. "The dismantling of social security and public health facilitates the entry of foreign capital. Why do you think Africa is dying of AIDS? Look at Rwanda: a million refugees in the open air, dying of cholera, of hunger and thirst, and they throw them little sacks of food from planes. In Yugoslavia where

do all of the arms come from? Who benefits from these internal wars? Are governments really interested in achieving peace? It is in the interest of some that others die. And how rapid the solution was in Iraq!"

Rocha's argument touches a deep political nerve reaching back to the 1960s, when some Brazilian intellectuals saw the arrival of the pill and private birth-control clinics—despite the military's outspoken opposition—as a foreign attempt to control Brazil's population. That fear re-emerged during the recent congressional hearings on sterilization.

Nunes, however, denies that Brazil's pro-choice activists are ideological toadies of First World feminists. "There is no way we can blindly and uncritically support everything that comes from the UN," she says, noting that foreigners have interfered in Brazil on both sides of the population question. She cites, for example, a Human Life International fund-raising letter that attacks the entrance of Catholics for a Free Choice into Latin America as a sinful flood of "baby killers." "When the UN blamed population growth as generating economic and ecological problems, we disagreed. In

Brazil, the radical drop in population growth in the past ten years has not caused poverty to drop. On the other hand, we can no longer maintain the anti-imperialist discourse of the 1960s, which was also an uncritical discourse."

Nunes dismisses the similar notion that middle-class activists manipulate the poor into favoring abortion. Poor women are raising reproductive issues on their own, she says. "When we defend women's access to contraceptive methods and abortion practices, we are defending the

people's autonomy to decide."

The abortion issue leads Brazil and many other countries to a political crossroads where religion and tradition collide with the women's movement, the rich override the poor, and the North tries to guide an assertive South. With no compromise between prolife and pro-choice advocates in sight, the result could be social turmoil exploding from new demands for abortion reform and women's rights or simply a stalemate. If the latter, many nations might find it politically expedient to profess prolife sentiments while continuing to let millions of women abort secretly in the worst of conditions. Perhaps change will come only if the world's Marianas, who have risked their lives to get an abortion, speak out.

The
Chautauqua Institution
and
The College of Preachers
present

Preaching
as
Presence,
Performance
and Play

July 9-15, 1995

The Chautauqua Institution, in collaboration with the College of Preachers, will present a preaching institute under the title *Preaching as Presence*, *Performance*, *Participation and Play*. The seminar will be from Sunday, July 9, through Saturday, July 15, 1995. It is open to ordained ministers, lay preachers and interested sermon listeners.

The chaplain-preacher of the week will be Thomas H. Troeger, professor of preaching at Iliff School of Theology, Denver. Troeger is author of many books and articles in the area of preaching, including Creating Fresh Images in the Pulpit: New Rungs for Jacob's Ladder, 1983, and Imagining a Sermon, 1990.

The seminar lecturer of the week will be **David J.** Schlafer, interim director of studies at the College of

Preachers and adjunct professor of homiletics at Virginia Theological Seminary.

Schlafer is the author of Surviving the Sermon: A Guide to Preaching for Those Who Have to Listen, 1992. Schlafer's seminar, "Convening a Sacred Conversation--Beyond the Sermon as Religious Monologue," will explore fresh metaphors for revisioning and revitalizing the church's preaching and ministry.

Schlafer will also lead workshop participants in a daily small group setting over lunch, exploring some critical aspects of creative sermon-shaping based on the chaplain's preaching of the day and participants' own preaching.

The cost of the seminar is \$100. For information about registration, accommodations or access to all other programs of the Institution, call or write Sheryl Thayer, Administrative Assistant, Department of Religion, Chautauqua Institution, Chautauqua, NY, 14722, tel. 716/357-6274, fax: 716/357-9014.

Chartangua.

For more information on the Chautauqua Institution and a complete listing of events, call 716/357-6200 or 1-800-836-ARTS.