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REPORTS & COMMENT

LATIN AMERICA: The Revolutionary Bishops

In lands where the Church has long supported the status quo, a cadre of clergymen defies persecution and exercises the politics of liberation.

Father Agustín Bravo still preserves a fading photograph taken twenty-six years ago of Bishop Leonidas Proaño's entrance into the city of Riobamba in Ecuador. The picture shows Proaño shaking hands with a tattered, wizened Indian among the welcoming crowd, and Bravo remembers that at that instant he said to himself, "Maybe this one will be different."

Ecuador's poorest, most backward province, the Andean diocese of Chimborazo had for centuries been ruled by a triumvirate of large landowners, priests, and political bosses who kept the region's 220,000 Indians in bondage. When Proaño arrived, a system called *huasipungo* was still in effect, legalizing serfdom on the large haciendas and giving estate owners the right to buy and sell Indian peasants, who were often branded for identification. Sever-

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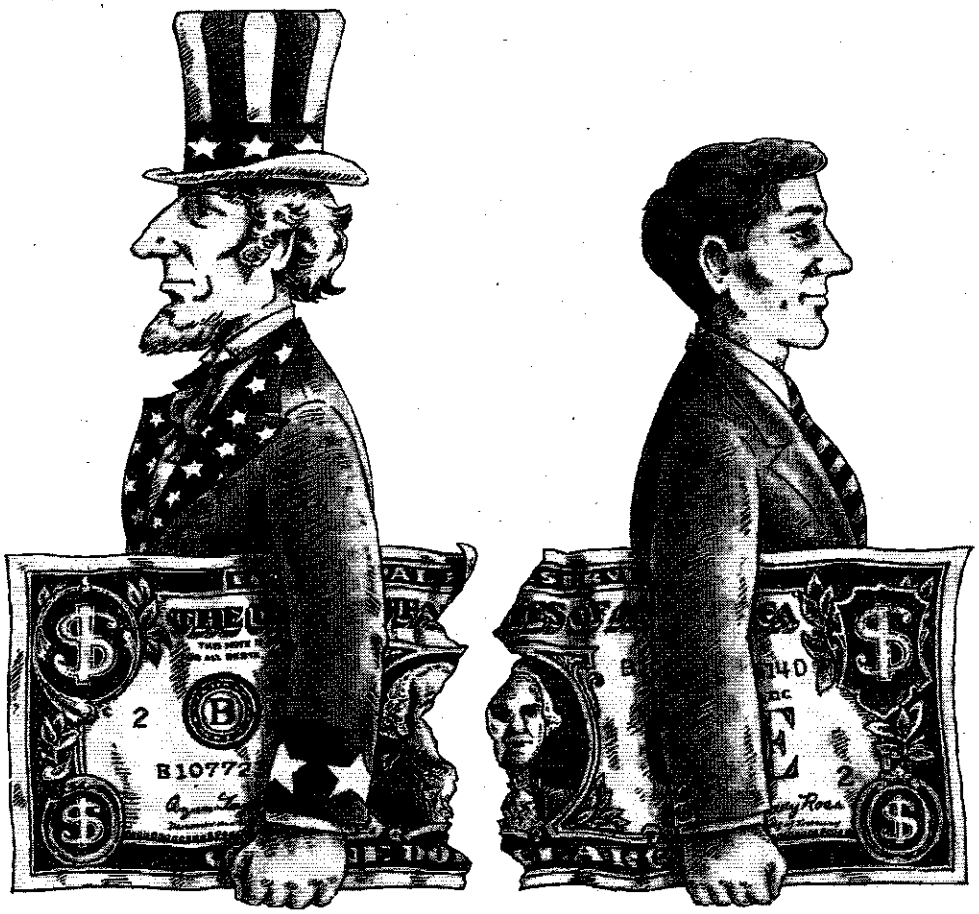

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al hundred serfs even toiled on the diocese's own 97,500 acres, the inheritance of an era when the Catholic Church was the largest landowner in Ecuador. Peasants were made to pay for the sacraments of confession and communion.

Conditions in Chimborazo still border on the feudal, but the Church is no longer party to such abuses. In fact the large landowners are in open rebellion against Proaño's church, claiming that the bishop is a "communist subversive" who has incited the Indian peasants to revolt against them. Frequent, violent clashes have occurred between the two sides, and both Proaño and Bravo, now his vicar general, have been arrested. But when the soft-spoken, seventy-year-old bishop looks back on his younger self, at the man in the picture who shocked the provincial capital's society by actually shaking an Indian's hand, he gives a wry smile: "I was no radical in those days."

Nor, for that matter, were any of the Latin American bishops—which makes their emergence as Catholicism's most outspoken and persecuted hierarchy all the more surprising. While exceptions always existed, bishops and clergy were traditionally associated with the most reactionary sectors of Latin American society. Almost from the first discoveries by Columbus, the fusion of cross and sword was officially sanctioned by Rome through a system of shared political patronage, the church trading spiritual favors for temporal power.

Although by the mid-1930s change had begun to penetrate some Latin American churches, others clung to old ways. The real momentum for change came in the sixties with the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), which established that the Church is of and with this world; with Pope Paul VI's plea for human rights in his controversial encyclical *On the Progress of Peoples* (directed specifically at Latin America); and with the bishops' hemisphere conference in Medellín, Colombia, in 1968, which set the Church on a new course for social justice. U.S. and European missionaries flocked to Latin America, bringing new ideas on development.

The papal directive forcing Jesuit Robert Drinan to renounce a sixth term in the U.S. Congress (D.-Mass.) is not expected to have much, if any, effect on the Latin American priests and bishops. While John Paul II made his first public statement on the incompatibility of religious and political responsibilities in a pointedly Latin setting, during a speech in Mexico City last year, Church surveys show that most of the region's priests and nuns were opposed to militancy in political parties even before the Pope's warning. The Latin American bishops officially reaffirmed this position at their 1979 meeting in Puebla, Mexico. But they also stressed the difference between partisan political activities and work on behalf of the poor and politically oppressed, and they urged priests and nuns to pursue the latter course.

Few Latin American military regimes make such distinctions, charging that religious support of labor unions and peasant cooperatives, for example, is partisan, often "communist" politicking. But most of the 850 bishops, priests, and nuns who have been murdered, arrested, and/or tortured for such work in the past decade had no connections with a political party. Explained Avelino Fernández, secretary general of the Latin American Confederation of Religious, "There has been a profound change in our understanding of the role of the religious in Latin America since 1966 when the Colombian guerrilla priest Camilo Torres died. Today, our model is Archbishop Oscar Romero, who spoke for the people of El Salvador, and gave his life for them, without ever identifying with a political party. That was essentially the message of the Puebla meeting—to serve the poor."

The Latin American hierarchy wields vast influence as the religious leaders of 90 percent of the region's 320 million people. This influence is more than ceremonial, because for the impoverished masses religion colors every aspect of daily life, from harvesting a crop to taking a trip on a bus; it is as much a part of society's fabric as is Islam in the Middle East.

But there are limitations to that influence, traceable to Catholicism's long support of a class system, with its privileged white minority of bishops, clergy, and landowners (and later, industrialists) exploiting a majority of poor Indians, blacks, and half-castes. Statistics from the Organization of American States show that half the region's population receives a mere 14 percent of its income; some 207 million people in the six most populous countries earn less than $75 a year.

The Church itself was always a stronghold of privilege, and its erstwhile partners in the upper classes see no reason they should now share their privileges with the poor just because the bishops say so. These Latin Americans feel betrayed by such men as Bishop Proaño. And since they control the government, the military, and the economy (Chile being a prime example), they are able to sabotage attempts at social change by depriving the Church of such economic support as state funds for Catholic schools, and through outright persecution.

The religiously inspired fatalism of the people, the sense of preordained deprivation and futility of protest described by Oscar Lewis in his studies of Latin America's culture of poverty, limits the bishops' power to achieve reforms. Hence priests and bishops no longer speak of change in terms of years or even a decade, as they did in the 1960s, having learned that the social and political awakening of the poor is a labor of generations. And there is no absolute consensus among the bishops on the desirability of change. Some, such as Brazil's Dom Geraldo Proenca Sigaud, still live in ornate palaces and own thousands of acres of land. Though a minority, they counteract reform, influencing the appointment of new bishops through likeminded members of the conservative Roman curia.

For all these limitations, a clearly defined physical as well as spiritual shift has occurred in the Church, from rich to poor. The Latin American Confederation of Religious, representing 160,000 priests and nuns in 457 orders, reports an "exodus" to slums and rural villages, and many bishops in the past decade have renounced their palaces and haciendas to live and work with the poor. Church studies show that the conversion from ecclesiastical prince to servant of the poor is almost always related to the bishop's personal contact and experience with poverty and repression.

Proaño, for example, might have been a very different bishop had he been named to the diocese of Ibarra, his hometown in northern Ecuador near the Colombian frontier, where live the pig-tailed Otavalo Indians. Proud, independent people, the Otavalos are treated with respect by the region's commercial and artisan classes, not the least because a number of the Otavalos are affluent. Proaño remembers that

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the Indians were always welcomed as equals in the small hat factory of his parents, and he naively believed that similar conditions prevailed elsewhere. His experience of the diocese of Chimborazo was thus a profound shock.

In his letter of appointment, the Pope had urged Proaño to visit every valley and mountain hamlet in his sprawling Andean diocese. So Proaño set out, in peasant poncho and hat, to roam the towering, snowcapped mountains, the windswept *páramos*, the valleys and eucalyptus groves. But the majestic land, scarred by the animal-like poverty of the Indians, was not the world of the proud Otavalos. It was this discovery that transformed the man in Bravo's photograph into Ecuador's radical "Bishop of the Indians."

Although Chimborazo is but sixty miles from oil-rich Quito, 83 percent of its people never see a doctor. Malnutrition and lack of hygiene among the Indians are so severe that six out of ten children die in their first year. About the only thing the Chimborazo Indian does not die of is old age.

Barely touched by the country's 1964 agrarian reform, Chimborazo is Ecuador's worst example of large landholdings and tiny plots, with farms of more than 1250 acres covering 68 percent of the land, while farms under twelve acres, 83 percent of the total number of parcels, are squeezed onto 8.6 percent of what remains.

At the Saturday market in Riobamba, the plazas overflow with Indians who have trotted long miles across the Andes to sell a few vegetables or eggs to the white and mestizo townspeople. Many of the Indians earn a few cents as pack animals for Riobamba housewives, staggering barefoot through the muddy markets with loads of food or firewood on their backs. The fair is also the one day in the week allowed for such luxuries as a piece of fruit or for getting drunk on a cheap corn brew fermented with human bones, among other substances. The Indians drink to forget the hovel that awaits them at night—a windowless hole in the ground topped by a thatched roof, where up to fifteen people sleep in the dirt with the family's pigs and guinea pigs, the Indians' only source of protein.

Proaño's first conflict with the estate owners occurred over the formation of a radio school to teach the Indians to read and write. Believing that such education was "purely humanitarian and apolitical," the bishop sent 200 letters to the diocese's richest patrons requesting donations. "I got a lot of criticism . . . and very little money," he remembers, adding ironically, "but they did offer to give money to build a new cathedral" (which was never constructed).

He eventually obtained the funds from Catholic agencies in Europe, and in 1960 the school began broadcasting fifteen hours daily. Thousands of Indians joined the radio classes, which became the foundation of a federation of peasant communities, a newspaper called *Peasant, Rise Up*, and a leadership institute. A hospice, a health center, and a meetinghouse were built in Riobamba for the Indians. But Proaño's most controversial act was undoubtedly the gift of the diocese's lands to the peasants, the first agrarian reform in the province's history.

Throughout the 1960s criticism of Proaño mounted and the ranchers publicly called him a "communist." They particularly objected to his "opening the eyes of the Indians," and for good economic reason: an illiterate Indian is unlikely to protest against the land-tenure system or demand the payment of the legal minimum wage if he does not know that he has any rights, and without cheap labor, the undercapitalized, poorly administered ranches cannot produce their large profits.

The estate owners still recall angrily how in 1963 the normally passive Indians appeared at ranchhouses waving copies of *Peasant, Rise Up* in which the government decree announcing minimum wages had been reprinted. The minimum was only 50 cents a day, but that was five times more than the landowners paid.

Proaño's priests and nuns were harassed constantly. Several were beaten and arrested; one was deported. Rome was eventually forced to intervene by sending a papal enquirer to investigate charges of communism against Proaño. But the delegate's interviews with more than 2000 people proved "the great virtue of Bishop Proaño" and the diocese's "evangelical success in the education of the people."

Proaño's experience with the estate owners encouraged him to change the orientation of the radio schools from a purely mechanistic ABC's approach to consciousness-raising techniques. "Christ's mission to save man from sin had a social as well as spiritual dimension," he explains. "Exploitation, oppression, and repression of one group by another is socially sinful. God created the world for all, not just a few landowners or large corporations.

"It is therefore our duty in the Church to protest such conditions and to develop a conscious awareness of the causes of oppression among the poor to encourage them to unite and develop their own political solutions and leaders. I am convinced that to live faith it is necessary for the Church to be involved in politics, not from the viewpoint of an ideology or political party but from that of the Bible, which speaks throughout of liberation."

Proaño does not believe in guerrilla movements or violent revolution. "Guerrillas rarely succeed, only causing more repression of the population. Revolutions usually end up with the oppressed becoming the oppressors. Christ wanted something different—a society based on love, fraternity, and equality. He told Peter to put away his sword when he could have called for a legion of angels—or guerrillas."

Like many Latin American bishops today, Proaño puts his hope in small, dedicated groups of Christians

(fifteen to twenty people in a group) known as *comunidades eclesiales de base*, or "Christian grassroots communities," which combine religion with civic action and are similar in their spirit of solidarity to the primitive Christian communities of the pre-Constantine Church. A sort of Christian school for life, the communities are the building blocks of peasant federations and labor unions, mothers' clubs and shantytown associations, as well as the source of future political leaders. In the past decade some 150,000 communities have sprung up in Latin America, representing a radical break with the past because they are the first organizations truly run by and for the poor. They provide a strong antidote to defeatism. By reading the Bible as a story of liberation and by applying biblical stories to their own situation, the communities perceive an essential parallel: if the God of the Bible was on the side of the poor and oppressed back then, He must be on their side now. Children do not die because it is God's will; they die because of lack of food and medicine and unhygienic living conditions. Or, as one Indian member of a Chimborazo community put it, "Nowhere in the Bible does it say that we should starve to death."

As elsewhere in Latin America, the Chimborazo communities follow a philosophy similar to that of Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, though with a specifically Latin American religious-cultural bent. But progress achieved by such "pacific violence" is often at the cost of blood. In one case, Proaño sent a priest to Iltuz to work with an Indian community that had received legal claim from the government to communal lands earlier annexed by the neighboring hacienda. Through the priest's mediation the rancher agreed to respect the Indians' rights, but as soon as the peasants started digging holes for a forestation project, they were set upon by an armed band of the rancher's employees. Twenty-one Indians were injured, including a young peasant woman who was tied by her pigtails to the tail of a horse and dragged over the land at a gallop. When her father protested, he was knocked to the ground, a bit was forced into his mouth, and he was ridden by one of the assailants. When Proaño learned of these atrocities he started a nationwide publicity campaign, including television coverage, that eventually won the release of the six peasants imprisoned by the landowner and restoration of the Indians' communal property.

During a similar confrontation at the village of Toctezinín, the police, after beating the peasants and killing one of them, locked up Father Bravo by mistake. Proaño's vicar general refused to leave the Riobamba jail unless the Indians arrested at the same time were also freed. The publicity caused in this deeply Catholic country by the spectacle of a high Church dignitary cooling his heels for three days in a cell was sufficient to provoke a government inquiry that eventually confirmed the Toctezinín Indians' land rights.

Nowadays Bishop Proaño is a welcome guest at Toctezinín, but he is not looked upon as the miracle worker who can instantly solve the Indians' problems. The peasants there have experienced a calvary that has taught them the value of their own leadership and community spirit. That is precisely what the bishop wanted and what the ranchers feared. In many parts of Chimborazo the landowners can no longer force an Indian to work on the hacienda for a month at no wages, simply because he has walked down a road bordering on an estate. The Indian now knows that he is not trespassing on private land, but that, like every other Ecuadorian citizen, he has a right to use a public road. On a national level, a determined young reformer, Jaime Roldós Aquilera, was elected to the presidency last year after nine years of dictatorship, thanks largely to the votes of peasant and labor groups.

Bishop Proaño has paid his own price for such advances. For years he was treated as an outcast by the Ecuadorian hierarchy, although this attitude has changed since the late 1970s, Cardinal Pablo Muñoz Vega and other bishops now taking a firm stand on behalf of the poor. In 1976 Proaño was arrested, along with forty-three Latin American bishops and theologians and four U.S. bishops who were attending a meeting in Riobamba on pastoral work with the poor. While the others were not interrogated, Proaño was grilled for four hours at the Interior Ministry in the presence of Papal Nuncio Luigi Accogli about the "subversive" meeting in Riobamba. Government officials tried unsuccessfully to force from him an admission that there was subversive literature at the conference site, including works by Trotsky and the Colombian guerrilla-priest Camilo Torres. "They shouted questions at me, and I shouted right back," Proaño later said. "The only subversive document at the meeting was the Bible!"

The international fracas caused by the prelates' arrest and Cardinal Muñoz Vega's angry denunciations secured the group's release, but, said Proaño, "The Vatican was never officially informed of the affair by its representative in Quito. The letters and communications sent by the imprisoned bishops did not reach the Pope, and this is because there also exists a Church compromised by members of the curia that impedes the Pope from learning of events that injure the sensibility of all Christians."

Like Brazil's Helder Câmara, Proaño radiates a warm sensitivity (meeting him, one can almost understand the papal enquirer's description of the Ecuadorian as "a living saint"). Others, such as Chile's Cardinal Raul Silva, can be coldly aloof, aristocrats in their own right as well as princes of the Church, particularly when they confront the generals in the presidential palace on behalf of unemployed slum dwellers and political prisoners. Yet all these men have a common goal: their primary mission is to be "the voice of the voiceless," demanding change and giving personal witness, even if it means going to jail. As Proaño once remarked, "The Church can solve its internal ecclesiastical problems only to the extent that it involves itself with the problems of the world." Church statistics bear him out. Whenever the bishops have taken up the cause of social justice, in Brazil, Paraguay, Chile, and a dozen other countries, there has been an upsurge in Church attendance and vocations.

São Paulo's stern, steely-eyed Cardinal Paulo Evaristo Arns is providing the discipline and intellectual leadership to challenge exploitation and Latin America's economic dependency on the United States. A short, stocky man in his late fifties, Arns is known for his courage not only in denouncing repressive military regimes but in welcoming change within the Church, making it more democratic and lay-directed. In Vatican parlance, the cardinal is a "Great Elector," one of the small group of leaders who swung the papal elections against a curial candidate in favor

of the two John Pauls, both of whom had had extensive pastoral experience among humble people. Brazil's other "Great Elector," Cardinal Aloisio Lorscheider, was himself a candidate for the papacy and the first choice of John Paul I.

Unlike Cámara, who is viewed as something of a desert prophet within the Brazilian Church, Arns is an eminently practical pastor who has revitalized the São Paulo Church by delegating authority to fellow bishops, priests, and nuns (he is in the vanguard in giving women religious responsibility for parish affairs). He has also encouraged lay direction of the Church, giving the laity equal voting powers with the bishops during regional assemblies and other privileges.

But the Cardinal is best known for his outspoken criticism of the repression of labor rights and of the torture and murder of political prisoners by Brazil's sixteen-year-old military regime. Every time he holds a protest mass in the São Paulo cathedral, the military reacts as though the city were about to be invaded by a foreign army, deploying troops, mounted police, tanks, and helicopters. But thousands of people somehow always break through the cordons to hear the Cardinal's denunciation of the murder of a student, journalist, or labor leader and his stinging rebuke of the government for failing to heed the word of God: "You shall not kill." So shattering was the effect of one such mass, held for a worker who died under torture, that the federal government summarily sacked the military commander of São Paulo.

"It is impossible to pray in peace when dignity is being trampled on and ignored," says Arns. "The lack of respect for legal guarantees means social insecurity, for the people who have been imprisoned and subjected to harsh treatment on the basis of mere suspicion or even by mistake; for families in which one of the members has suddenly disappeared; and for a society that ends up losing faith in those responsible for its protection."

Arns is not the only Brazilian bishop who talks this way. Over four fifths of the hierarchy is in open opposition to the regime, not least because thirty bishops have been jailed or threatened, including four cardinals, Lorscheider among them. Arns himself has been censored, threatened with death, and subjected to anonymous letters accusing him of sexual misconduct, grossly fabricated photomontages being offered as evidence.

But what makes the Cardinal so dangerous from the government's viewpoint (some military spokesmen describe Arns as the principal leader of the opposition) is his position as religious leader of the financial and industrial capital of Brazil. Arns has done for the labor unions and inhabitants of São Paulo shantytowns what Proaño has achieved with the Chimborazo Indians—"opened their eyes"—and with much the same techniques, including Christian grassroots communities. In Arns's case, the radius of the fallout is much greater and the stakes considerably higher because he is attacking the multinational corporations, many of which have their Brazilian headquarters in his city. (Several of the recent labor strikes supported by his church were directed against the foreign-owned automobile industry.) Moreover, Arns has the full backing of the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops on this issue: their latest pastoral letter, "Aids for a Social Policy," strongly criticizes the extreme social inequalities caused by Brazil's industrial development and the country's "decreased autonomy and growing dependence on the economies of the industrialized world."

Just as Arns's comments take on added weight because of his position as cardinal of São Paulo, the Brazilian bishops' radicalization is all the more significant because they head the largest Catholic church in Latin America—and the world. As at the papal conclaves, the Brazilian participants at the conference of bishops in Puebla played a dominant role in outmaneuvering a curia delegation, which unsuccessfully attempted to sway the Latin Americans from their course for social justice begun at the meeting in Medellín.

In recognition of the Brazilian Church's importance—and in response to personal invitations from his friends Lorscheider and Arns—Pope John Paul II will make an eight-day visit to the country in July. The Brazilian hierarchy intends it to be more than a protocol visit, planning a schedule that will include impoverished rural villages and working-class slums, or "the thorns as well as the flowers," in the words of Dom Ivo Lorscheiter, secretary general of the bishops' conference.

Despite John Paul's recent strictures against U.S. priests in politics, his presence is expected to strengthen the hierarchy in its ongoing confrontation with the military, for while the Pope has proved to be conservative on doctrine, he has emerged as a strong defender of human rights, chastising the region's dictatorial regimes for human rights violations and for failing to "promote a more effective participation of citizens in the responsibilities and decision-making of the nation." During the Puebla conference, John Paul almost sounded like Proaño, castigating the large landowners for their selfish greed and urging the Indian peasants to organize. Private property has a "social mortgage," he said, reminding his listeners of the possibility of expropriation.

Undoubtedly, there is considerable resentment among the Latin American bishops of U.S. influence on local cultures. Some bishops, Brazilians in particular, object to the practices of foreign corporations that exploit poorly paid local labor and to these companies' identification with the military governments, such as Dow Chemical's close relationship with General Golbery do Couto e Silva, military philosopher for three Brazilian regimes and former head of Dow's Brazilian division.

Like Proaño, Arns has been at odds with São Paulo's military and business interests almost from the time of his appointment in 1970. And his experience has led him beyond the denunciation of torture or the lack of *habeas corpus* to a broader definition of human rights. "The [Latin American] Church has become convinced and has begun to preach that three elements are responsible for the marginalization of the people," he says: "land and industry concentrated in the hands of less than 5 percent of the population; political power concentrated in one percent of the population; and the almost total dependence of Latin America on the First World. In my city alone, 3 million people are without housing, food, schools; without participation in the city's life or the possibility of practicing their religion in a free and integral manner.

"Therefore, the Church must seek change, and its foremost mission in this option is to establish the truth and to seek justice. Then it must help train the Christian communities to seek their own solutions. At the same time, the Church must encourage the universi-

One of these drivers had a head-on collision and walked away without a scratch.

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ties, research institutions, and others to seek alternatives that are neither capitalist nor communist. And, finally, it must attempt to demonstrate to the privileged classes and those in power that Christian equality, based on the principle that we are all sons of God, produces a broader development in both the individual and society."

Helder Cámara, the desert prophet, puts Arns's conviction in another framework: "Those who think that we are acting too precipitously in [seeking] a change in structures in Latin America should remember that the continent has been waiting for nearly five centuries."

[redacted] LERNOUX

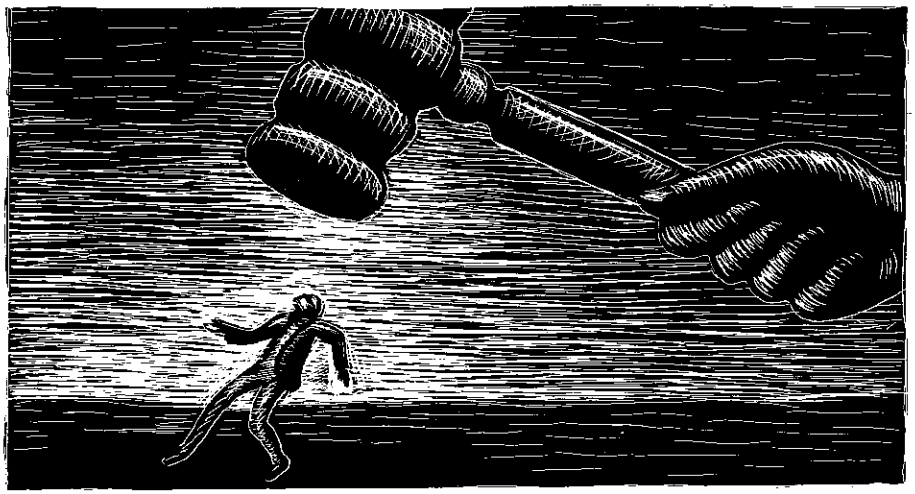
THE LAW: Collect $230 and Go to Jail

The strange case of William James Rummel, whose "felonies" included the failure to fix an air-conditioner.

In a decision that astounded many Americans, the Supreme Court of the United States recently upheld a sentence of life imprisonment for a man convicted of stealing only $230. The story reveals much about the nature of judicial review, changing concepts of "cruel and unusual punishment," and, perhaps, the attitudes of the current group of The Brethren.

In 1964, William James Rummel was convicted in Texas of fraudulently using a credit card to obtain approximately $80 worth of goods and services. Since the amount in question was more than $50, the offense constituted a felony, and Rummel, who had pleaded guilty, was sentenced to three years in the state penitentiary. In 1969, as is not unusual for those who must live down a criminal record and have difficulty obtaining desirable or any employment, Rummel was again apprehended by the authorities. This time it was for forging a check in the amount of $28.36. Under Texas law, forging a check of even this small amount was also considered a felony, and Rummel was sent away for four years. In 1973, once again out of jail, he promised to repair an air-conditioner but never came through on his promise, despite having been paid $120.75 in advance. For this he was convicted of the felony of obtaining money by false pretenses. Under the Texas recidivist statute, anyone convicted of three felonies must be sentenced to life imprisonment. None of the crimes with which Rummel had been charged involved violence, the use of a weapon, or any kind of threat to a person. Nonetheless, on April 26, 1973, the judge in his third trial sentenced William James Rummel to imprisonment for the rest of his natural life.

With the assistance of Charles Alan Wright, former special counsel to President Nixon during the Watergate troubles, and attorneys from one of Houston's largest corporate law firms, Vinson & Elkins, Mr. Rummel appealed his case to the Supreme Court—an illustration that even conservative law firms will often put their resources at an indigent's disposal if a marked denial of justice appears to be involved. One recalls, in this connection, the vast amount of time that Abe Fortas and his associates in the Washington, D.C., firm of Arnold, Fortas & Porter spent on the appeal of Clarence Earl Gideon, whose landmark case established the principle that any defendant charged with a serious crime who cannot afford a lawyer must have counsel provided free of charge by the state. Mr. Rummel's attorneys similarly hoped to help the Court establish an important principle: that a sentence so disproportionate to the crime violated the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution's protection against "cruel and unusual punishment."



However, William James Rummel did not challenge two important propositions. He agreed that states could, like Texas, constitutionally enact some kind of recidivist statute, designed to deter multiple offenders. And he did not contest Texas's authority to classify each of his offenses, looked at singly, as felonies, although some of the sums involved might seem relatively trivial amounts. In any classification of crimes, a line has to be drawn somewhere. A person who falls barely on one side of the line may see the result as unjust: for example, the adolescent seventeen years old who is tried as an adult criminal versus his counterpart one day younger who is treated as a juvenile delinquent. Yet a system of evenhanded justice often demands such precise distinctions.

But Rummel did protest that a life sentence for property crimes totaling only $230 seemed outrageous. He cited a number of prior Supreme Court decisions stating that the Eighth Amendment prohibits any sentence which is "grossly disproportionate to the severity of the crime." However, the majority opinion, written by the most conservative of the current justices, William Rehnquist, called attention to the fact that the cases Rummel cited involved the death penalty. And, as Justice Stewart had noted in *Furman* v. *Georgia*, a major 1972 decision outlawing capital punishment in certain circumstances:

> The penalty of death differs from all other forms of criminal punishment, not in degree but in kind. It is unique in its total irrevocability. It is unique in its rejection of rehabilitation of the convict as a basic

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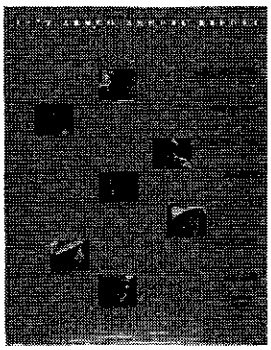
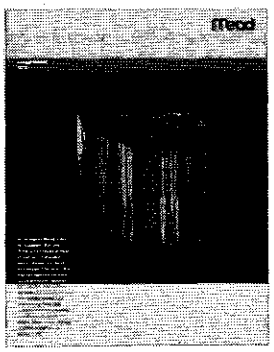


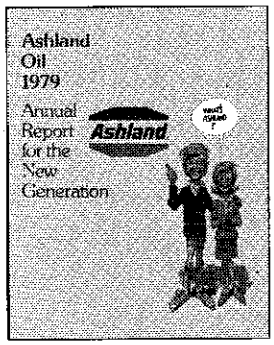
ARMCO INC.

We turned in record sales and earnings in 1979. Our annual report tells how we did it, reports results, both current and historical and describes our strategic plans for the future. We're a diversified five billion dollar corporation, organized with seven lines of business: Oilfield Equipment and Production, Fabricated Metal Products, Industrial Products and Services, Financial Services, Carbon Steel Products, Specialty Steel Products, Mining and Raw Materials.



THE MEAD CORPORATION

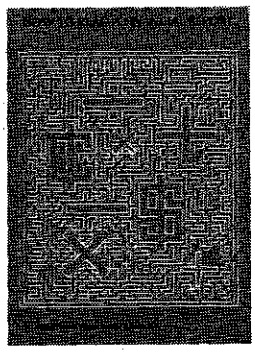
1979 another record year: 17% increase in net earnings to $141 million resulted in record 18.1% return on shareholders' equity. Fully diluted earnings per share reached $5.19 from $2.72 in '74—a compound growth rate of 14%—one of the most impressive in the forest products industry. Dividends have increased for seven consecutive years to annual rate of $1.80 per share.



ASHLAND OIL

This year Ashland, the nation's largest independent refiner and marketer, published two annual reports. One for today's investors. One for the new generation of investors. This colorful report discusses facts from the 1979 Annual Report—explaining how private investors make our progress possible.

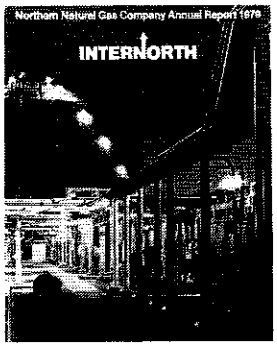
Like these record fiscal 1979 results: Revenues—$6.7 billion; net income $526 million. Dividends increased from annual rate of $1.33 in 1978 to a current annual rate of $2.20. Both annual reports will be sent.



HOW TO READ A FINANCIAL REPORT

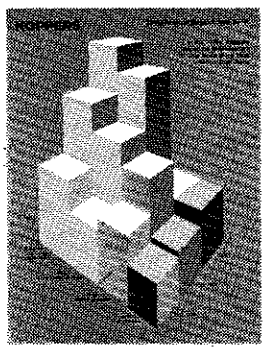
Plain talk in this 32 page booklet cuts through the financial mumbo jumbo. Explains what terms like "net fixed assets" and "total shareholders equity" mean. Shows how to use an annual report as a guide for investment decision making.

MERRILL, LYNCH, PIERCE, FENNER & SMITH, INC.



INTERNORTH (Northern Natural Gas)

Record earnings and revenues highlighted 1979, Northern's fiftieth year. Net income was a record $185.5 million. Operating revenues totaled a record $2.5 billion. Property, plant and equipment, at cost, now exceeds $3 billion. Earnings per share of $8.17 were our highest ever. Northern is an energy-based company involved in natural gas, liquefied fuels, petrochemicals, oil and gas exploration and coal operations.



KOPPERS COMPANY, INC.

Investment in Koppers over the past five years produced an average total return of 29% per year to shareholders. The highly diversified industrial operations of the company are strategically situated so that 75% of sales are in the construction and capital spending segments of the economy and 25% in intermediate industrial products. This product mix gives Koppers a decided edge in providing future growth and continued high returns to investors.

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