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THE WITNESS

APRIL, 1977
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TODAY
THERE IS NEITHER
THE GLORIFYING OF GOD
NOR PEACE
ON EARTH



AS LONG AS A HUNGER
IS NOT YET STILLED
AND AS LONG AS WE HAVE
NOT UPROOTED
VIOLENCE
FROM OUR CIVILIZATION
CHRIST IS NOT
YET BORN
GQNDHI

Theology of Hunger

Gustavo Gutierrez
William Wipfler

Update: FBI & the Church

Letters to the Editor

Letter From Prison

I would like to be put on your mailing list to receive any unwanted, unsold or old copies of THE WITNESS magazine here in prison. You have my assurance they will be warmly received and greatly appreciated.

P.B.S. (Personal Black Signout) Also please send any publications you may have just lying around and can kick loose on racism and being Black in the church.

Brother Sunni Ali Ber
State Correctional Institution
Huntington, Pa.

'Witness' to Police Group

Please send me five copies of the January 1977 WITNESS.

For some 10 years I was a member of the Ad hoc Police Community Relations Group that met every Wednesday morning for breakfast. Lately I became too involved with *Gray Panthers* to continue but I wish to give the copies of THE WITNESS to this group.

Ruth Haefner
Portland, Ore.

Kudos From Florida

We had an opportunity to review your excellent articles concerning corrections in the January 1977 WITNESS. We are presently engaged in a Human Relations Program in the Florida Department of Offender Rehabilitation and were wondering if you had an extra copy of that particular issue that you could send to us.

Also, is it possible to obtain a copy of "Struggling With the System, Probing Alternatives" on approval for possible use in our Simulated Society class.

Mrs. Lucy Batchelor, Director
Human Relations Program
Starke, Fla.

Infuriated But Stimulated

THE WITNESS is often infuriating but always stimulating. It is the only publication which both my husband and I read from cover to cover (we regard its brevity - as well as its quality - as a virtue).

Among many excellent recent articles, I think "Jonah's Dilemma" by Nicholas Jones (December 1976) deserves special mention. It was refreshingly honest, penetrating and entirely relevant to the author's area of concern. For me, this was a superb example of how the Bible can indeed still speak to us. So much Bible study ends up as playing with words or drawing whatever one wants out of the passage. This meditation did none of that. Please give us more of this sort of writing.

Angela Williams
Ann Arbor, Mich.

Wants More Depth

I would like more depth and greater coverage in some of your articles. I realize that you have heavy costs to factor into increasing size. Nonetheless, it is somewhat frustrating to be fired up by an article which promises some helpful and in-depth analysis only to have it stop very short of that at the end.

Bruce Bramlett
Williamstown, Mass.

Human Rights Practical

Dr. Sheila Cassidy has produced a moving account of how prayer sustained her while she was undergoing torture in Chile (December WITNESS). The testimony of Dr. Cassidy and thousands like her has focused attention recently on human rights.

But I would posit that effective action in this area will continue to be elusive as long as such efforts are weighted down by the presumption that universal recognition of these rights will necessarily influence government behavior, particularly in those societies attempting rapid growth at high social costs. Far more effective would be the establishing of demonstrable economic and political disadvantages of gross violations of human rights.

As a consequence, I would suggest the establishment of an OAS task force responsible directly to the Secretary General and working in conjunction with the Inter-

Letters continued on page 15

THE WITNESS

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More Than a Family Affair

Robert L. DeWitt

The case of Maria Cueto and Raisa Nemikin, staff members of the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church, is not yet closed. The issues remain, despite the fact that each is now serving a term of up to 14 months in jail on charges of contempt, resulting from their refusal to testify before a grand jury. They declined to answer questions on what they felt to be matters pertaining to the church and its ministry to Hispanic peoples, and therefore not proper matter to be divulged on demand of the FBI or any other outside agency or party. Many churchpersons have rightly felt the same about relationships with those to whom they minister.

What if, indeed, there be grounds for criminal proceedings against either of the two women because of complicity in crimes against persons or property? Then the courts are the proper place in which such accusations should be heard, and fair trial made in an adversary proceeding before a jury of peers, with legal counsel for defense. This is the fair and democratic way.

Unfair and undemocratic is the grand jury procedure to which Ms. Nemikin and Ms. Cueto have been subjected. The fact that their legal counsel was unable successfully to overturn the "contempt" charge (which was based on their refusal to testify) resulted largely from the fact that the administration at the Episcopal Church Center had in fact already given the FBI the access and information it sought, although it could have resisted this.

There is widespread popular misunderstanding of the abuse currently being made of the grand jury procedure. Intended to be an independent citizens' body that would protect the innocent from unjustifiable or repressive prosecution, the grand jury has become a weapon of harassment and

oppression — described by Senator Edward Kennedy as "a dangerous modern form of Star Chamber secret inquisition." For example, few people realize that when a person is subpoenaed to appear before a grand jury, he or she is not allowed to be accompanied by a lawyer. (Further information on grand jury abuse can be obtained from the Grand Jury Project, Room 1116, 853 Broadway, New York, New York, 10003.)

The Executive Council of the Episcopal Church at its February meeting took a significant step to insure wiser steps in the future, should the FBI or any other government agency seek access to files and other information pertaining to the church's mission and ministry. Procedures recommended, now before legal counsel for approval, follow very closely the suggestions made in a memorandum to the Presiding Bishop from the staff at the Episcopal Church Center after they learned of the FBI "break-in". (see March WITNESS) Observance of these procedures in the first instance might have prevented the imprisonment of the two women.

Their refusal to testify was a matter of principle, of grave concern to our church family. Ms. Cueto and Ms. Nemikin were charged with the responsibility for assisting in the carrying out of our corporate Episcopal ministry, and in particular, that part which pertains to Hispanic peoples. The essence of that concern is the Gospel, which requires that we place ourselves clearly on the side of the poor, the oppressed. When the church does not take that stance, it is not the church. Maria and Raisa have made their position clear. Where does the rest of the Episcopal family stand? ■

[See related stories pages 12-14]

Where Hunger Is, God Is Not

by Gustavo Gutierrez

The Rev. Gustavo Gutierrez is an unassuming Peruvian priest who insists that he be introduced as "part Quechuan Indian" in addition to his Spanish heritage. Author of "A Theology of Liberation," he has recently been visiting professor on the faculty of Union Theological Seminary in New York.

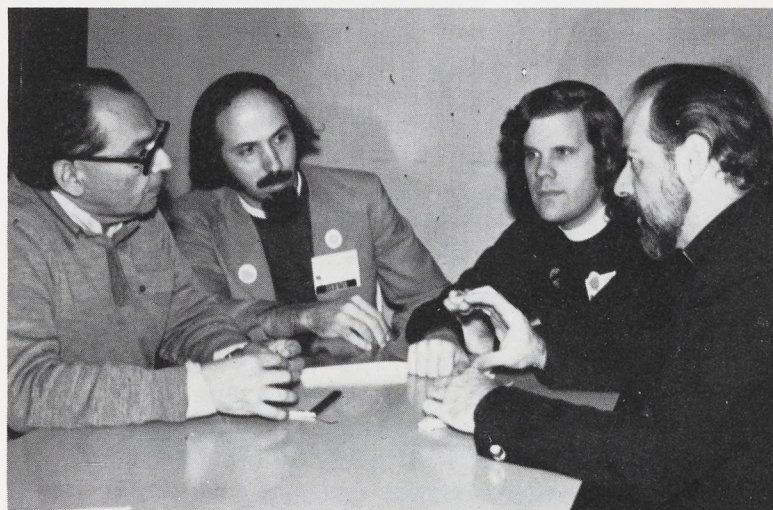
My subject is the *theology* of hunger; that is to say, what is the significance of the existence of hungry people in this world to our faith. I will not describe the terrible *facts* of hunger or give statistics. These can be found in publications such as Arthur Simon's *Bread for the World*. I will attempt here to make some theological reflections only.

Theology, according to the classical definition, is simply understanding faith. But understanding faith, it seems to me, falls between the important moments of living the faith, and announcing the gospel. Theology takes place in this context: between life experience and communication of the evangelical message. Theological reflection has its roots in our human and Christian existence, and is done in the function of the proclamation of good news. Theology is not a religious metaphysic. To *do* theology is to announce the gospel; this is obvious, but it is not always so obvious to the theologians!

Theology is always a second act and never a first act. The first act is commitment, love. Theological reflection is done in relationship to the pastoral work of announcing the gospel. When we speak about the theology of hunger, it is in this context.

The question is frequently asked, is hunger a material or a spiritual problem? Is hunger a biological, economical, and social problem, or a more global, human, Christian, spiritual one? Perhaps we have a clue to this situation in a quotation from the Russian Christian thinker Berdyaev: "If I am hungry it is a material problem; but if *another* is hungry, it is a spiritual problem." This is paradoxical, but the meaning is clear.

If another is hungry, it is a challenge to my love for my neighbor, and therefore a spiritual question. In this sense, then, the hunger of others is a problem not only for the social scientists and economists, but also a challenge to my Christian faith. Therefore, it is proper matter for theological reflection.



Liberation theologian Gustavo Gutierrez, far left, chats with (right to left) Father William Wipfler, hunger forum panelist; and Fathers Stephen Commins and William Persell of the Church and Society Network, at General Convention.

This spectrum has three levels of profundity. All classification is artificial, but hopefully this will be useful.

First, we can place hunger in the context of the theology of creation. God created the earth and all that it contains for the use of every human being and for all peoples. In the book of Leviticus, God says, "*Land must not be sold in perpetuity for the land belongs to me, and you are only strangers and guests.*" Land is the property of God and not of persons. The right to have a share of earthly goods sufficient for oneself and one's family belongs to everyone.

This was a classical question for the fathers of the church. They said that if a person is in extreme need, he has the right to take from the riches of others what he himself needs. This is a very revolutionary attitude. Today the powers are not very enthusiastic about this idea! This is a classical, not a Marxist idea. The fathers of the church were quite clear that the right of the community to material goods came before the right of private ownership. The right to food essentially expresses the right to live and we are quite within our bounds as Christians to demand the right to food for hungry people.

Under the aegis of the theology of creation we might also consider the theology of development. From this point of view it is the duty of rich countries to help the poor or underdeveloped countries. The suggestion that rich nations

give 1% of their budget to help poor peoples falls under this rubric.

A second approach to the theology of hunger is to place the question in the deeper context of social injustice. It is not sufficient to say there *are* hungry people in this world. It is necessary to *help* them. Hunger is an expression of poverty, and poverty is a consequence of social injustice. Misery and starvation are not a result of "fate." Hunger is a human product. Hunger might even be called the result of "institutionalized violence."

In 1968 the Catholic Bishops of my continent used the term "institutionalized violence" to describe the Latin American situation. "Institutionalized violence" is a situation created by the truly violent forces of history — the oppressors — the dominant social groups. For this reason the document issued by the Catholic Bishops in 1968 at Medellin addresses itself to the concepts of neo-colonialism, the domination of the oppressed peoples of Latin America. Thus, "institutionalized violence" is called *a social sin* by

the Catholic Bishops, that is, a social break with God and others.

From this perspective we can approach the subjects of justice and love. To employ a Hebrew term, we can say *tzedakah* — which means justice and love at the same time. Justice with love means liberation of the oppressed and commitment to the oppressed people — the poor.

Considered as a social problem, hunger is a challenge to the global social system of capitalism. Today the multiplication of the loaves and fishes, and the distribution thereof, runs into the barrier of exploitation. We must seek a new social order, but a new social order constructed by revolutionary means. Where hunger is placed in the context of social injustice we run into the theology of revolution and the theology of liberation.

Without ruling out the two perspectives above perhaps we can place the problem of hunger in yet a third context — that of a new manner of being Christian. Hunger, poverty and social injustice are certainly not the

Praxis: What Is It?

Two meanings of the word "praxis" are relevant here: One is a different way of knowing the truth; the other deals with the relationship between praxis and theology.

1. A different way of knowing the truth

The traditional way of knowing considers truth as the conformity of the mind to a given object. Part of the Greek influence in the Western philosophical tradition, this concept of truth only conforms to and legitimatizes the world as it now exists.

But there is another way of knowing the truth — a dialectical one. In this case, the world is not a static object which the human mind confronts and attempts to understand; rather, the world is an unfinished project which is being built. Knowledge is not the conformity of the mind to the given, but an immersion in this process of transformation and construction of a new world.

This new epistemology (way of knowing) has to be applied to the "revealed truth of Christianity." Theological truth is not only the conformity of the mind to revelation as it is contained in Scripture; it is also the discernment of present evil in the world and in hearts, judged by the message of the gospel and the discovery of the movement of redemptive and liberating history. The norm of theological truth

comes from its role in the ongoing process of world-building.

2. The relationship between praxis and theology

The starting point of theology is faith. But faith not just as an intellectual concept or acceptance of the message of the gospel, but as an encounter with the Lord, as love and commitment for others. To have faith means to follow Jesus, to be obedient to the authority of the Word of God by making it alive in serving our sisters and brothers.

Social analysis interprets love and translates commitment into a context of practice or "praxis." Personal praxis is the participation in the process of transformation of society. God is leading the world toward the "new heaven and the new earth." Through praxis, people enter into this historical destiny. Praxis means action combined with theory. Action shapes theory which then redirects actions, and so on — all situated within a global perspective. As people engage in praxis, both they and their world change.

Therefore, praxis becomes the starting point for a clearer vision of the action of God in history. It is necessary, then, to relate Christian theory with historical movement — to interlock faith with a deep meaning, for it is perceived as the locus where the promise of the salvation of Jesus is fulfilled and where Christian faith and fidelity are verified.

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end or the fulfillment of my own theological principles. Rather, hunger, poverty and social injustice are the starting points of my faith.

In the poor today we encounter God. Scripture says "I was hungry and you gave me to eat." Notice that the emphasis is not just that the poor were hungry and you gave them food, but "I was hungry and you gave me food."

Food is the place of encounter with Christ, with God. To know God is to do justice. "To do justice" does not come after "to know God." *To know God is to do justice.* This is not an application of the faith. It is the faith. And in the Bible to know God means to love God. These terms are the same. *Praxis* (see box) is the place for verifying our faith in the God who liberated by establishing justice and love in favor of the poor. This means proving our faith in the Christ who gave his life to preach the kingdom of God by fighting for justice.

The pastoral life is the life of *praxis*. In I John we read that we have gone from death to life because we love our sisters and brothers. There is no life of faith without what the scriptures call *testimony*. Emphasis, therefore, is given

to good works. To believe is to practice. When we speak about the question of hunger, we must realize that we are speaking not only of the material problem, but of a human problem, and strictly speaking this is not a purely spiritual question. Indeed a purely spiritual question is not a Christian question.

A Spanish missionary in Latin America, Bartolome de las Casas, advocate of the Indians in the 16th century said, "It is better to be an infidel Indian who is alive than a Christian Indian who is dead." You may think this is a very materialistic point of view, but frequently the announcement of the gospel by the Spaniards had this price — the death of many Indians.

Bartolome de las Casas reasoned this way: The Indians were first of all *poor*, and only after, *infidel*. And to be *poor* for Bartolome meant to be more Christian than were the Spanish *conquistadores*.

The concrete history of human beings is the place for our encounter with the father of Jesus Christ. In Jesus Christ we preach the love of God for all persons. It is necessary to insist that history be experienced from the poor point of view — from the viewpoint of the wretched of the earth.

Human history has been written by a white hand, a western hand, a male hand, from the dominating social class. The perspective of the defeated of history is different. Attempts have been made to wipe from their minds the memory of their struggles. This is to deprive them of a source of energy, of an historical will to rebellion.

Christianity, as it has been historically lived, has been and still is closely linked to the western culture, the white race, the dominant class, the dominant sex. Its history has also been written by a white, western, male, bourgeois hand.

We must restore the memory of the poor. This is the memory of Christ present in every person who is hounded, thirsty, hungry, in prison. To relive history means to remake history, but it means making history from the lowest strata of humanity. Therefore, it will be a *sub-verse* history. History must be changed around, not from *above* but from *below*. Today we are the inheritors of a "super-verse" history. We must correct that.

This *sub-verse* history is the place for a new experience of the faith, a new spirituality, a new preaching of the gospel. We might say that capitalism is super-verse and revolution is sub-verse. Scripture tells us that one sign of the coming of the kingdom is that the poor have the gospel preached to them, but the poor are evangelized when the poor themselves hold the view of the gospels. Rather than trying to make the church poor, it is a matter of the poor of this world becoming the church. And this pre-supposes a break with the present social order.

Our strategy with reference to the problem of hunger must be complex. It is necessary to demand the right to food for the poor and also to ask that 1% of the budget of the rich nations be given to the poor nations. But to remain at this level is ambiguous. It is necessary to go farther. Above all, to perceive the true cause of the situation, it is necessary to be involved with the poor of this world. In this commitment to the poor and involvement with them, we have perhaps a new manner of living the faith, reflecting on theology, and announcing the gospel.

But to live, to reflect, to announce, are secondary to what is more important in Christian life, which is to *celebrate*. Now consider the main point of this discussion — that in this world today we have many hungry people. Then the question becomes how do we celebrate, how do we sing to God in a strange land, as the psalmist says.

This earth, this land, is a strange land to God because the love of God is not present. If hunger is present, the love of God is not present.

How sing to God in a land alien to his love? This is a serious questioning of the faith. And maybe these questions lead up to something like a new covenant, a new alliance, breaking the historical alliance with the dominant social groups in our world. This leads us to an alliance with the world's poor towards a new type of universality.

I would like to conclude with a short sentence from an Indian Peruvian writer, Arguedas, who said, "What we know is far less than the great hope which we share." Our hope is greater than our knowledge. Perhaps it is from this posture that God calls us to confront the problems of hunger, of poverty and of social injustice. ■



Gutierrez Moves Auburn to Act

AUBURN, Ala. — A minimum investment in money was matched by a maximum investment of time, effort and enthusiasm to make this university town of 22,000 deeply aware of the critical problems of world hunger.

The Rev. Rod Sinclair, an Episcopal Chaplain at Auburn University, reports that the massive program started when he heard liberation theologian Gustavo Gutierrez in a hunger panel at the September meeting of the General Convention. Gutierrez told the panel that Christians must be among the poor and the hurt to find a renewed presence of Christ; that this identification, and not worship, was the starting point of faith.

Sinclair took Gutierrez' thoughts back to Auburn and preached a sermon calling on the community to begin to spread the word of the hunger crisis. Sinclair and a small group from the Episcopal Chapel took the lead in recruiting the help of fraternity and sorority presidents, faculty, university leaders and civic figures. Within a week, a network was formed, plans made and a date set for the university-wide Auburn Hunger Awareness week.

The original proposal had been to put a fact sheet on hunger into every residence in the town. As the plans advanced, this was dropped in favor of numerous other avenues: food drives, display tables, films, hunger meals, lectures, and a letter writing campaign.

With the help of a \$135 grant from the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church and the enthusiasm and hard work of an ever-widening group of people, the campaign grew into a week-long series of events — some one-time only, some continuous — which brought some facet of the hunger issue to the attention of almost everyone in the city.

Professors turned their classes to consideration of hunger. Club and fraternity meetings began with hunger meals. Canned food drives were held. Services at the Episcopal College Center focused on the hungry with litanies from *The Wheat* manual. Dormitories staged discussion groups and kept bulletin boards up to date on the issue.

The news media helped out with dozens of articles, interviews and hunger columns throughout the week as well as regular announcements before the event.

Total expenses for the massive campaign amounted to \$144.77, with most of the money being used to create locally produced pamphlets detailing ways in which the townspeople and students could respond to the hunger crisis.

— Diocesan Press Service

How We Keep People Poor

by William Wipfler

I will begin with where Father Gustavo Gutierrez, a Peruvian and a Latin American, terminated. It is necessary for us as U.S. citizens and North Americans to raise the question about the proper starting point for *our* perspectives. His starting point is with the poor.

Most of us cannot say that we live with the poor. We live with the affluent and I think that is where we must start as we look at the question of the problem of hunger and its theological implications. What is our style of life? What as a society do we consider to be the measure of whether or not we are moving along?

I suppose if we wanted to pick out one thing it would be the almighty gross national product. Our leaders take pride in pointing to this. Any administration in power always extols the GNP as if it really had something to do with it. Actually, the administration can only support that growth. It is a natural part of the system in which we live and have our being.

That is to say, growth is a natural part of the *style* of the system in which we exist. This means that as 6% of the world's population we consume between 35 and 40% of what the world produces. But what happens when we put that statistic in terms of the kind of approach that Father Gutierrez has described for the Christian? What does it mean to place oneself on the side of the poor in this kind of a system and situation?

It is very clear that in order to maintain our costly and wasteful living we must have access to the raw materials that are produced on the continent where Father Gutierrez lives. But we must assure that those raw materials remain cheap in order for us to enjoy what we enjoy. You need only go to the statistics to see the percentages of raw materials that we consume — in some instances 100% of some raw materials that are produced. And so we must guarantee that they are available and they are inexpensive, and to do that we must also have some assurance that we can *control* the places where they are produced.

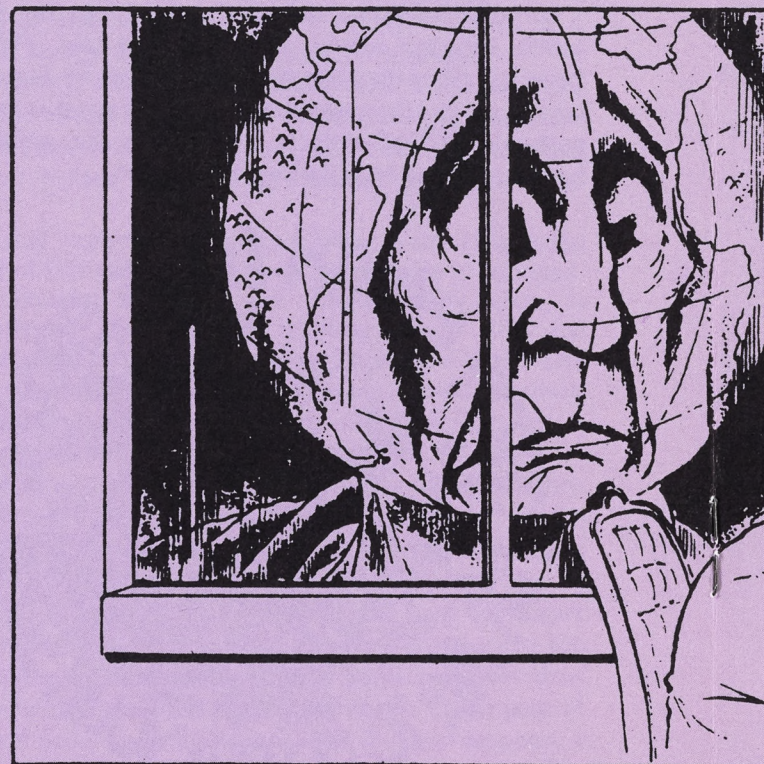
I believe that strange term we use, "free world," generally refers to any country that provides us with the materials that we would like and votes with us in international organizations. The Socialist bloc does not generally fit in

with that although we make some agreements with them as well.

What does that mean in terms of what we must do? In most cases it means supporting the 16 out of 20 either openly militaristic or personally dictatorial regimes now in Latin America such as the one in Paraguay with Stroessner, or in Nicaragua with Somoza. And the great majority of them are there either because we in some way directly intervened, because we indirectly intervened, or because we maintain their power by the kind of assistance that we provide.

Now, I make the assumption that being Christians, we would admit that that is a very difficult set of relationships to accept. What we are saying is that we are in a situation in which we are actually subsidizing a condition which keeps people poor elsewhere. Those raw materials need to be cheap, those raw materials need to be available and, finally, the governments that are maintained in power are not particularly interested in the situation of their own poor.

Karl Barth once said, "*God in no wise takes up a neutral position between the poor man and the rich man. The rich*



The Rev. William L. Wipfler, an Episcopal priest, spent 11 years as a missionary in the Dominican Republic and Costa Rica before becoming director of the Caribbean and Latin American Department of the National Council of Churches.

man may take care of his own future. God is on the side of the poor." We've heard it over and over. The question is what does that *mean* in terms of our involvement within this society as a group of Christian people?

I think that first of all it begins to suggest that we break myths. Father Gutierrez mentioned some of the myths that we maintain. I would like to point out just one of them. Secretary of Treasury Simon said in 1975, "The free enterprise system is the rock upon which we have built our earthly kingdom."

A marvelous book just out, *Christian Responsibility in a Hungry World*, says: "If we start to seek our responsible position as Christians in this society, the first discovery will be that Americans, Christians and non-Christians alike, have been captive to the rulers of this age . . . We have surrendered control of our thoughts and actions to the norms of an acquisitive, exploitative society. We can afford ever more material goods and armaments but not decent health, nutrition, education for deprived millions."

Yet, the reigning norms tell us that we have acted properly according to economic laws, according to national security.

One wonders when we as a church, we as the salt in this society, will do what Barbara Ward has suggested — tear down the idolized golden calf of American belief. ■



Supporting Dictatorships With U.S. Tax Dollars

Numerous right-wing military dictatorships are maintained in power with the help of extensive military and economic assistance from the United States and aid from U.S.-supported international financial institutions.

A disproportionate share of U.S. bilateral and U.S.-supported multi-lateral aid programs is channeled to such repressive regimes as South Korea, Chile and the Philippines. The South Korean regime of Park Chung Hee received more aid from these programs in fiscal year 1976 (\$1.6 billion) than any other country except Israel. And, as is the case with most other countries, the U.S. Congress directly authorized only \$347 million, or 22%, of this assistance to South Korea. The remaining 78% was allocated by eight semi-autonomous, self-sustaining U.S. government corporations or U.S.-supported international organizations. These foreign aid spigots bypass Congressional scrutiny.

Aid to Dictatorships Through Major U.S. Bilateral
and U.S.-Supported Multilateral Channels
Fiscal Year 1976
(millions of \$)

	Economic Aid *	Military Aid **	U.S. *** Financial Institutions	Multilateral Banks ****	Total
South Korea	143.5	203.7	528.5	693.4	1569.1
Philippines	50.5	43.7	751.4	612.3	1357.9
Indonesia	87.8	45.0	165.5	631.7	930.00
Thailand	12.6	81.7	74.9	370.1	539.3
Chile	74.3	0	55.7	227.5	357.5
Argentina	0	34.9	68.6	415.1	518.6
Uruguay	0.5	3.7	9.1	87.7	101.1
Haiti	18.7	0.2	2.3	57.5	78.7
Brazil	3.6	61.1	479.1	774.4	1318.2
Iran	1.0	0	182.5	0	183.5
Total	393.5	474.0	2500.1	3869.8	7237.4

* Includes AID, Food for Peace and Peace Corps

** Includes MAP grants, military training and credit sales

*** Includes the Export-Import Bank, Overseas Private Investment Corporation, Housing Investment Guarantee Program, Commodity Credit Corporation and Paris Club.

**** Includes World Bank, Asian Development Bank, Inter-American Development Bank and International Monetary Fund.

Source: Center for International Policy 1977. Reprinted with permission from Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, 120 Maryland Ave. N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. Write to the Coalition for resource mailings, free of charge, on disarmament and foreign policy issues and action alerts re pending legislation.

CORRECTION

By error, on page 3 of the March WITNESS reference was made to an Executive Council Memorandum to Presiding Bishop Allin. The memorandum was from the *staff* of the Executive Council.

Of Many Things:

Terrorism, Liberation & Sexuality

The preceding articles by Gustavo Gutierrez and William Wipfler were adapted from the Church and Society/WITNESS panel forum on "The Theology of Hunger" at General Convention. Because the forum ran overtime, Bishop Paul Moore of New York, who chaired the panel, could accept remarks from only one respondent, Father Ron Wesner, president of Integrity. His query opens the series below. Questions which follow were presented to Fathers Gutierrez and Wipfler at a press conference and evening session which continued the discussion.

Q. One of my roles at this convention is working with Integrity, a gathering of homosexuals working for the rights of homosexuals within and without the church. Many times during your address I was relating from my own experience as a person very much aware about what sexuality is and how that provides energy. I've sometimes reflected on societies and nations which repress their own sexuality and then rape economically or militaristically, and from that viewpoint of "sexual politics" was wondering if you'd respond.

Gustavo Gutierrez: To be honest, I have not reflected sufficiently about this. In general, our preoccupations come from our situation and unfortunately, the question of homosexuality is not a free and open question in my country. It is not possible to get data. In my subcontinent, this question has cultural ramifications as well as psychological and political ones. But I believe it is necessary to see the different dimensions of oppression, because various aspects are interrelated.

Q. Are there women involved in the theology of liberation process in Latin America? We have heard in the United States that the theology does not sufficiently involve women and that the language is still sexist.

Gutierrez: In our society we have had less consciousness about these questions. Visiting the United States has added a new dimension to my thinking, to my consciousness. Just as I had not reflected on homosexuality, I had not given sufficient attention to my language. For us, "all men" is generic and means "all persons." This is not right, I agree. God as Father, for example is biblical language but it's not right. My language has been deeply affected by my stay here in the United States. But this is very difficult.

William Wipfler: It's difficult in the United States, too. I'd like to add that in trying to get rid of sexist language,

you move to another stage. You begin to think differently and you begin to react to sexist remarks and actions. I react to sexist remarks even though I'm not a woman, the same way, hopefully, that I react to oppressive situations almost as though I were the one oppressed.

Q. In the theology of liberation context, what do you think about women's ordination?

Gutierrez: I don't see any reason to refuse the ordination of women. This is also a new question for me, and an important step in Christian consciousness. At the same time I have a preoccupation. I would not like that the ordination of women reinforce the "clericalism" in the church. Then our gains would be losses.

Q. Is "liberation theology" another way of saying church involvement in politics or in political revolution?

Gutierrez: No. To me, liberation is another word for salvation. Liberation is living out one's salvation in the concrete historical conditions of today. Theology of liberation is not a theology of political liberation, although political liberation is one aspect of salvation.

Q. How does the morality of terrorism fit into the necessity at times for counter-violence?

Gutierrez: In Latin America, we have three types of violence. The first is the institutionalized violence of the present social order; the second, the repressive violence which defends the first, keeping in power the ruling regimes; and the third, counter-violence. To me, counter-violence is the least of the evils. It is difficult to judge each act *a priori* and to say this or that is terrorism. Many times the political power is itself terrorist, not just the actions of individuals.

Wipfler: The word *terrorism* itself has become ambiguous. Those of us who deal with Latin America would call some acts counter-violence that the ruling regimes of the country would call terrorism. I would say Chile is an example of a terroristic regime.

There is no organized resistance to the Chilean government at present; yet the powers continue to perpetrate terroristic actions against some segments of the population. We make a mistake when we *always* describe terrorists as people who are against the government. I would describe another aspect of terrorism as selective actions against individuals for the purpose of . . ." and then you have a whole string of purposes. For the person going against the government it's to undermine the government. For the government, it's to intimidate the populace. But it's still terrorism.

Q. Have you had any response from the Vatican on liberation theology?

Gutierrez: After the Medellin Bishops' Conference in 1968, and until 1972 the Church in Latin America was in a liberal posture. But many in political power, and many bishops became opposed to this stance. For them, liberation theology was dangerous. So now we are at a very difficult moment with regard to liberation theology.

Wipfler: May I add that this is unlike other theological confrontations — take for example that around Hans Kung, who has suffered with regard to the *formulation* of his theology. The statement of his positions regarding the liturgy, the ministry, the authority of the Pope, etc. was over against the traditional theology and caused problems. But theology of liberation is different. It is not a *book* by Gustavo Gutierrez, although that happens to be the title.

Theology of liberation is a *spirit* and a way of being engaged. It is the decision as to where you're going to do theology, what your starting point is, and how you will be engaged in the actual doing of it. The community is the locus. And *that's* the problem. In this case the "wrong people" become theologians. Community is the place where theology is done, not the ivory tower of the theologian who goes to his bishop and gets and *imprimatur* for his work. The theologians of liberation get their *imprimatur* from the people who are the creators with them of their theology. If there is any conflict it's about where and the way liberation theology is done, and not necessarily the way in which it is now expressing itself. There is concern in the Vatican and in Latin America precisely because it has been so effective.

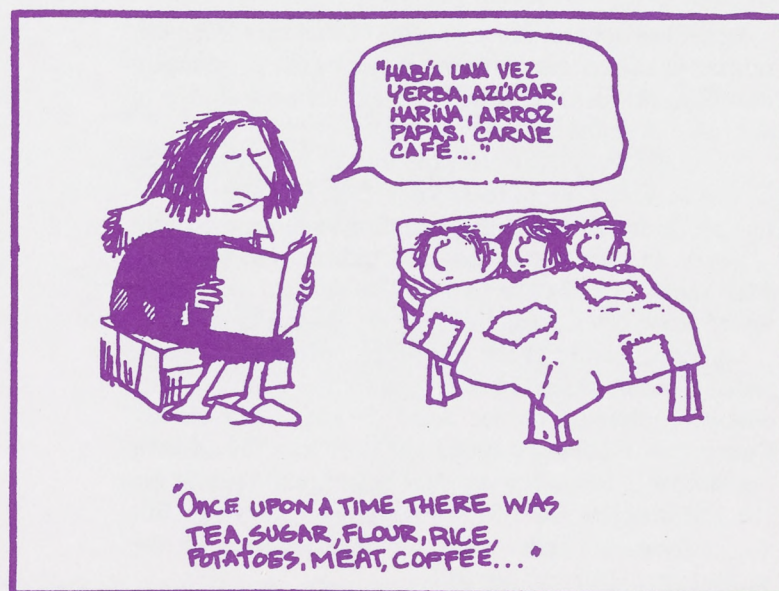
Q. Over the past 60 years we have seen 1/3 of the world go socialist. Some people in the United States are saying that

socialism is the only way to turn, as a countervailing force against capitalism, and others are saying there are other ways — perhaps the way of the Christian Democrats in Latin America, or some "third way." Would you comment?

Gutierrez: First, my personal option for the socialist way is not a conclusion drawn from Evangelical premises. It comes from my socio-political analysis, which is my starting point for this option. Second, to me, it is a Christian illusion to think always in terms of a "third way." The "third way" ends up being reformism, or in my experience, a more moderate form of capitalism, rather than a "third way." Let me give you an analogy. It is not possible to be neither carnivorous, nor vegetarian and opt for a third way. If you don't eat, you die of hunger.

Q. How do you see the theology of liberation applied to Hispanic Americans in the United States?

Wipfler: I don't think you can say how can the theology of liberation be applied in our context. It's the problem, again, of our thinking of theology in the North Atlantic community as a *body* of information, a formulation of ideas. Hispanics in the U.S. are different from the poor and oppressed in Latin America because they are a minority in the United States. Therefore the starting point is different. We have the change of concept from liberation of a *people* in Latin America as over and against liberation of a *minority* in the United States. So the theology will be different. The scripture is the same, but the context different. Not *unrelated*, but different. ■



On Paying for Principle

by Mary Lou Suhor

Today they carry prison numbers behind their names: Maria Cueto, 00406-183, and Raisa Nemikin, 00446-183. Only a few months ago they held the titles of executive director and secretary, respectively, of the National Commission on Hispanic Affairs of the Episcopal Church.

The two women have refused to testify before a Grand Jury investigating what the FBI has called "terrorist bombings" by the FALN, allegedly a militant Puerto Rican group. Maria and Raisa have consistently maintained that the investigation is a "fishing expedition" to intimidate and prevent the Church from effectively carrying out its Christian ministry to forgotten minorities.

When Maria joined Raisa in jail within one week of her colleague's sentencing, the event was almost anticlimactic. She read no prepared statement to the press.

Her lawyer, Elizabeth Fink, said, "She spoke extemporaneously, simply reiterating that she sees the subpoena and her subsequent jailing as an attack on the Hispanic movement as a whole in this country and a harassment of progressive churches which are funding projects to help oppressed minorities."

In her last appearance before the Grand Jury when she refused to answer questions put to her by the prosecuting attorney, Maria tried several times, unsuccessfully, to address the jurors themselves.

"Actually the jurors are supposed to be running the Grand Jury, but few of them know this. It's supposed to be a citizen's panel, and they can dismiss the prosecuting attorney and court recorder and talk to the witness," Maria said. "I told them I would like to speak with them under those conditions. But they sat there like rocks."

On surrendering to the marshalls, Maria was poised, smiling and at peace, according to Father John Stevens, executive director of the Joint Strategy and Action Committee, National Council of Churches. "I had seen her mother in Phoenix a few days before, and she told me she had absolute trust in her daughter's integrity. But she had some harsh words for the behavior of the institutional church," he said.

Father Stevens and Carman Hunter, both former executives on the Episcopal Church staff, had submitted affidavits for Raisa's defense, which by extension applied to Maria as well. They both addressed Judge Lawrence Pierce's "bad theology" when he ruled early on that the first amendment rights did not apply in the case since the two women were not priests of the church, but just "social workers." (See Hunter affidavit in this issue).

Particular concern has also been expressed in the Hispanic Community across the United States about the "chilling effect" that the case has had on the work of the Church, and its loss of credibility, now that the church powers have made available to the FBI the NCHA records since 1970.

One Chicano, a member of the Church and Society Network in California, reported that he was going to ask the Presiding Bishop to find out from the FBI whether they now had his name on file, "and I'm going to ask him to pay for the fees for that," he said.

In an official action, the Executive Board of Church and Society sent an inquiry to Presiding Bishop John Allin asking for "a journal giving step by step the entire process from the original encounter through the litigation now in process before the Grand Jury."

Commented one Board member, "It is ironic that a Church which only a few months ago for the first time recognized women as full members should see two lay women demonstrate the courage and boldness that their male ordained superiors failed to display."

FUTURE TENSE

• A Committee of Concerned Churchpersons Against Grand Jury Abuse has been formed to follow the case of Raisa and Maria. Meetings will be held weekly in New York. For time and place, contact Luis Rosado, JSAC Office (212) 870-3105.

Continued on page 14

Raisa's Last Hours of Freedom

Raisa Nemikin was outwardly calm at her lawyers' offices as the news arrived March 1 that the judges had denied a stay. She turned to Carman Hunter, sitting beside her and said, "Well, see you in jail." Raisa had faced this moment several times before, but on each occasion a legal decision had postponed her incarceration.

In the law office, all phones began to ring at once. The District Attorney was on one line asking that Raisa surrender herself at noon. Elizabeth Fink, Raisa's lawyer, checked the time — 10:45 a.m. — and bargained for 2 p.m. Then events flowed swiftly.

Carman set about finding the address of the jail where Raisa might be sent letters. The lawyers discussed future strategies. And Raisa wanted to prepare a final statement for the press. Luis Rosado, a former staff member of the National Commission on Hispanic Affairs, went off to phone personnel at the National Council of Churches and other offices who wanted to be alerted to the decision, so they could support Raisa when she surrendered. Raisa promised to meet them at the courthouse at 1:30.

Maria Cueto arrived from the coffee shop downstairs, and was told the news. She walked over to her colleague. "Well, Raisa, do you still want your danish and coffee while waiting to go to jail?"

"Why not," said Raisa. There was some exchange between the two women about what one was allowed to take to jail. Maria had been imprisoned overnight earlier this year, held in contempt of the Grand Jury when she refused to take the oath without benefit of legal counsel.

Soon it was time to leave. Going down in the elevator, Raisa held on to her statement. "I only hope my voice doesn't shake this time," she said.

As the small group walked from the law offices to the courthouse, they made one stop. To lighten the tone, one of the lawyers affected the voice of a TV reporter. "Ladies and gentlemen, Ms. Nemikin and the funky little band is stopping. Apparently Ms. Nemikin has one last request, and her lawyer, Ms. Ratner, is entering a drug store. Ms. Ratner has now emerged and is producing two packs of gum. Ms. Nemikin is now offering the gum around to her friends. . ."

Raisa and Maria were further heartened by the turnout of some 50 church people and other supporters who had gathered in the short time and were walking in a circle in front of the courthouse. Among the group were representatives from the National Council of Churches, the Episcopal Church Center, Clergy and Laity Concerned, the Center for Constitutional Rights, and the Grand Jury Project.

The press descended upon Raisa and her lawyers. Raisa read her statement:

"My position has not weakened or changed. I will continue to maintain for the duration of my 14-month jail sentence that the FBI and the U.S. Government are attempting to destroy the Hispanic Community and the Puerto Rican Independence Movement.

"The Grand Jury and the Justice Department are nothing but acquiescent tools that have historically been used to oppress the minority communities and to stamp out any efforts at self-determination.

"Bishop Allin and his administration have allowed the church to become an unwitting pawn in the FBI's illegal investigation of the Puerto Rican Independence Movement and the Hispanic Community. By cooperating, the Church has destroyed whatever credibility and trust it had with the oppressed.

"The Hispanic people and the other oppressed minorities will continue to resist all of these destructive attempts. We will resist in a united and committed front that will bring about the end of these repressive measures and will strengthen and increase support for the Puerto Rican Independent Movement.

"Keep strong! Venceremos!"

The press asked her to repeat it twice. Her voice did not shake.

Then Raisa, lawyers, and supporters all marched to the annex. Enroute the group passed St. Andrew's Church. "This is the *Via Dolorosa*," one Episcopal Church staffer said.

At the steps of the annex, Raisa gave a final wave and surrendered herself to the marshalls. ■

—M.L.S.

Hunter Affidavit Affirms Stance

CARMAN HUNTER, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

1. I was a lay minister within the Protestant Episcopal Church for twenty-eight years and make this Affidavit in support of Movant's allegation that these subpoenas violate her rights under the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

2. From 1946 until 1959, I worked as a lay minister for the Church in first China and then Brazil. In China, I taught in a Chinese Episcopal school. In Brazil, I was the director of Christian Education for the Brazilian Episcopal Church.

3. In 1959, I went to work for the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church at its headquarters at 815 Second Avenue, New York, New York.

4. From 1959 thru 1961, I was the liaison between the Department of Christian Education and the Executive Council, the ruling body of the Church.

5. From 1961 thru 1964, I was the Associate Director of the Department of Christian Education of the Executive Council. In 1964, I was made the Director of the Department and served there until 1968.

6. In 1968, I was given an executive position at the Executive Council.

7. Finally, from 1972 until 1974, I served as the Director of Jurisdictional Relations for the Executive Council. This department was comprised of all the agencies of the Church which fulfilled its world mission, including the NCHA. Therefore, I was Maria Cueto's and Raisa Nemikin's supervisor.

8. I am not ordained. I am, by vocation, a participant in the corporate ministry of the Episcopal Church. By corporate ministry, I mean the Church's corporate mission which is to bring Christ's teaching to all peoples.

9. Like all other employees of the Executive Council, I served at the pleasure of the Presiding Bishop, subject to the policy directions of the Executive Council.

10. At no time and under no circumstances, would I consider it possible to make public personal information to which I became privy in the course of carrying out my responsibilities within the Church's ministry. The same applies to all employees of the Church's mission structures at every level. While

employed by the Council, I was carrying out the Church's ministry, not my personal ministry.

11. I was on the staff when the Hispanic Commission was created to minister in the name of the Episcopal Church within the Hispanic community. Its basic tenet was to enable members of our society who are of Hispanic origin to develop their own spiritual, educational and economic structures for ministry to and among their own people.

12. Grants were made to groups whose projects met the criteria established by the Executive Council, one of which included the agreement of the diocesan bishop within whose jurisdiction the group receiving the grant functioned. I know of no instance in which the criteria were not met. However, there were occasions when there was disagreement and mutual information exchange and negotiation were necessary before a decision could be reached either to fund or not to fund a particular project. Authority rested with the bishops themselves and, finally, in case of differences, with the Executive Council. In no case was authority vested in the staff, least of all in the secretarial staff.

13. If I were in the same position as Ms. Nemikin, forced to submit to questions about matters relating to my work in the Church, I would refuse to testify even if it meant that I would go to jail. My understanding of Christ's teaching and my twenty-eight years of experience within the Church would compel me to do no less.

14. I do not personally know many of the particulars of the ministry of the Hispanic Commission, set, as it has been, in a particular community. However, I do understand very clearly the basis on which it is impossible for Ms. Nemikin to respond to the questions put to her. The nature of the questions was designed to discredit, by insinuation, both Ms. Nemikin personally and the Commission. Any response, either affirmative or negative, would mean acceding to the right of the government to enquire into confidential matters which are between the Church and those whom it serves. Ms. Nemikin is acting on principle. That principle is basic to our freedom of religion in this society.

15. Further affidavit sayeth not. ■

Continued from page 12

- If your parish or seminary wants speakers about the case, contact Luis Rosado, above, or women at the Grand Jury Project, (212) 553-2299.

- Mailing addresses, for any messages you wish to communicate:

Maria Cueto, 00406-183
Metropolitan Correction Center (Room M-593)
150 Park Row
New York, N.Y. 10007

Raisa Nemikin, 00446-183
Metropolitan Correction Center (Room M-593)
150 Park Row
New York, N.Y. 10007

The Rt. Rev. John M. Allin, Presiding Bishop
Episcopal Church Center
815 Second Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017

Thomas Engel, Assistant District Attorney
Southern District of New York
1 St. Andrew Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10007

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Continued from page 2

american Commission on Human Rights to investigate and report such consequences to the governments concerned.

Five years ago I participated in a meeting with representatives of several large investment banks who were concerned over reports of violations of human rights in Latin American countries where they had substantial investments. The resorting to repression to maintain stability drove interest rates on loans then being negotiated up, thereby jeopardizing repayment of previous loans. In addition there is ample evidence that widespread violations of human and civil rights adversely affects worker productivity and market expansion, as well as encourages the emigration of sorely needed professionals and technicians. When coupled with increasing unwillingness on the part of foreign specialists to work in such countries the negative impact on development is magnified.

In the political sphere failure to end gross violations of human rights clearly circumscribes the degree to which nations can further foreign policy objectives in international forums and hinders bilateral and multilateral negotiations.

While some might argue that there are definite economic advantages flowing from stability imposed by repression, closer examination indicates that these are short-term benefits and that the risk of eventually precipitating large-scale strife that could damage a country's economic infra-structure, decimate the labor force and lead to generalized disorder is high. Respect for human rights is more conducive to long-term economic advantages for both

the government in question and its trading partners and political allies. As a historian I cannot recall any instances in which a high level of human rights violations has not resulted, over the long term, in serious economic and political losses for the country involved. Rather, it has been demonstrated that respect for human rights is more conducive to economic development.

Dr. Margaret Crahan
Herbert Lehman College
New York, N.Y.

Ms. Wells Gets a Sub

My subscription had run out but I received the February issue of THE WITNESS anyway. So I'm glad to send this check — I might have missed Abbie Jane Wells' "Another Nominee for New Adam." If that's what comes out of "lonely places" we need more! So I can't let my subscription go.

Marie J. Lennan
Springfield, Pa.

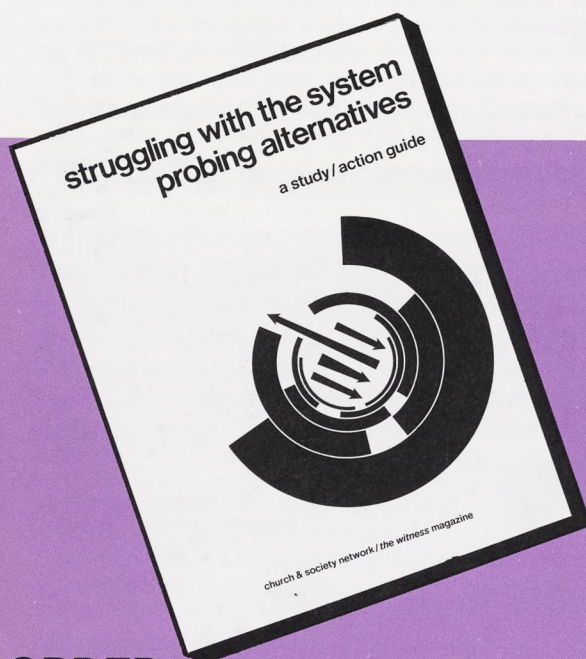
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