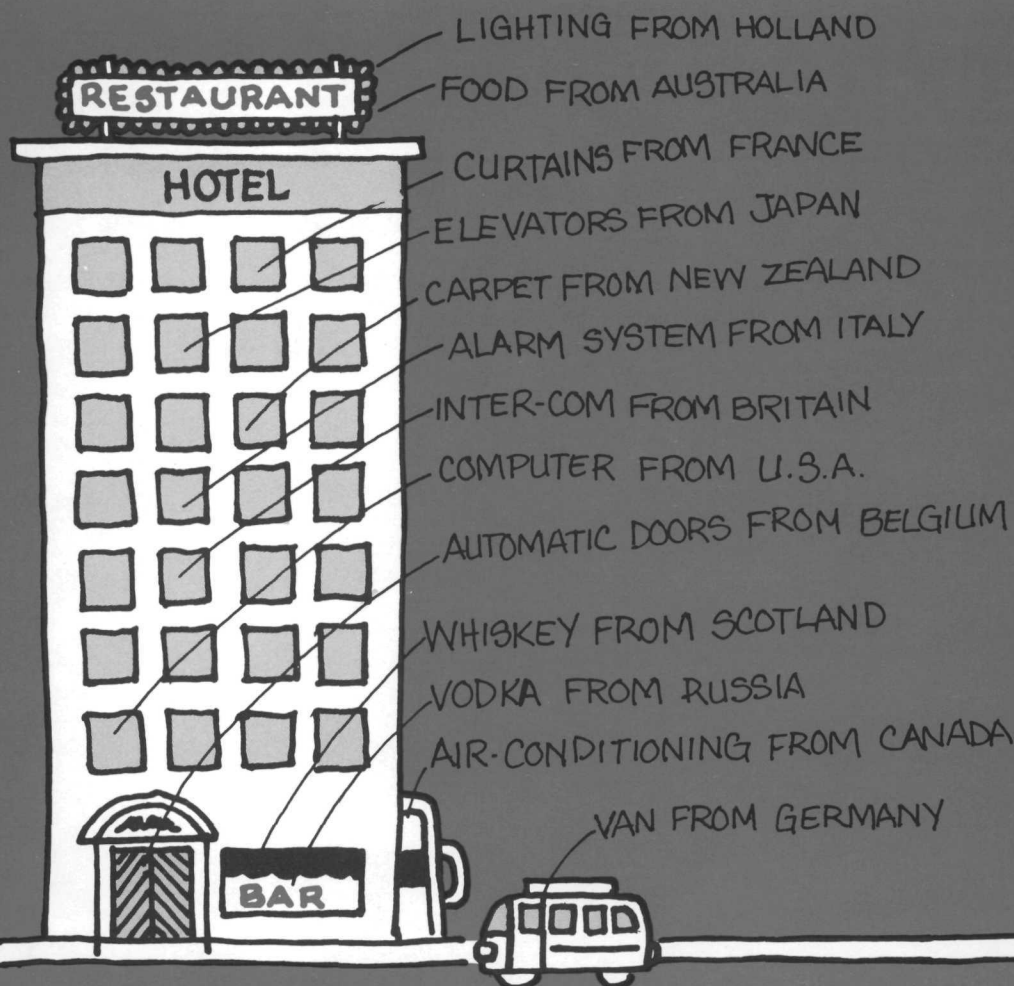


DOES TOURISM BRING FOREIGN EXCHANGE?



Third World Tourism: Who Wins, Who Loses? by Ron O'Grady

THE
WITNESS

VOL. 65 NO. 7 JULY, 1982

**John Spong Interviews
S. African Diplomat
About Desmond Tutu**

LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

To Promote Condren

THE WITNESS is superb! I want to promote it in England. Can you let me know your overseas rates? I will subscribe before leaving the United States. I certainly mean to get people reading Mary Condren's piece on "Ireland — A Primeval Drama With Economic, Political Roots."

Peter Selby
Cambridge, Mass.

Disorganized Confusion

I must confess that Mary Condren's article on Ireland completely disorganized my confusion.

As an Episcopal priest, I consider myself a member of the One, Holy, Catholic, Apostolic Church. For the life of me, I cannot see that Mary Condren even attempted to make distinctions between "Catholic" (I suppose Roman), "Protestant" (other than Anglicans in Ireland) and Anglicans, themselves. Is there any?

The Rev. Prescott L. Laundrie
Fayetteville, N.Y.

Ms. Condren Responds:

In my article, "Ireland: A Primeval Drama With Economic, Political Roots," I made no attempt to distinguish between the various Protestant denominations in Ireland. My article was a political rather than a theological analysis, and I saw little point in adding to the tomes which divide, rather than unite, Christians.

As a political entity, "Protestants" in

Ireland are pretty well united, although they vary among themselves as to the means to be used to accomplish political objectives. There are no "Anglicans" in Ireland. Those Protestants in sympathy with the Church of England call themselves (of all things) the "Church of Ireland."

Mary Condren
Newton, Mass.

Age 65, Bah, Humbug!

I'm ashamed to take the senior subscriber's rate (\$6) to THE WITNESS. I think you have made the age too low. When I was 65 I was prancing about, but now at 92 arthritis has led to a cane. However, I can still laugh!

If my writing is not very straight it is because nine days ago I had an eye implant but I am trying to catch up. Soon I am going to move to the Evangelical Home. I'll send the new address.

I proudly wear my diocesan badge which was pinned on me one Christmas Eve and I send loving thoughts.

Esther Spaulding
Detroit, Mich.

Is ECPC Episcopalian?

I don't think I have read so much unmitigated garbage written in the name of the Episcopal Church in my entire life!

I would very much like to know whether the so-called Episcopal Church Publishing Company is connected in anyway with the official Episcopal Church of the U.S.A.

I received a complimentary subscription from a notice put in our parish newsletter, so I am more than casually interested in the answer. (I think it's entirely possible that the Archbishop of Canterbury will also be very interested in the answer!)

I think it's about time that "oddballs" claiming to speak for Christians of a particular denomination or group of sects should be made to put their money where their (loud) mouths are. Whether they call themselves "Moral Majority" or THE WITNESS is totally immaterial.

We, who are middle of the road, say "A plague upon both your houses." An answer is requested.

Vera Schultz
Columbus, Miss.

ECPC Responds

The official title of our organization is, in fact, the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. It is independent of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America but members of our Board include three Episcopal bishops. The retired Presiding Bishop of PECUSA, John E. Hines, served on our Board from 1975 through 1980. Our Board includes priests and lay members of the Episcopal Church. The program staff now includes three ordained priests.

Clearly, then, we are "connected" with the Episcopal Church, but we are also an independent organization.

We regret that we have not been able to convince Ms. Schultz that our position on various issues is appropriate. But we recall, also, that when Franklin D. Roosevelt quoted Shakespeare — as she does ("a plague on both your houses") — during a labor dispute, John L. Lewis intoned in reply that it ill behooved one who had supped at labor's table and been sheltered in labor's house "to damn with equal fervor both labor and its adversary" at a moment when they were locked in deadly embrace.

Robert N. Eckersley, Controller
Episcopal Church Publishing Company

Opiating in Masses?

I am writing in response to the letter to the editor in May from Dan Dornbrook, Eau Claire, Wisc., which refers to "gay rights" as a "pseudo-liberation movement" which is the "opiate of the masses." It seems ironic that this letter should appear in the same issue of THE WITNESS which carries an article by John Fortunato in which he states: "Thanks to the hate-mongering of the New Religious Right during the past year, the number of violent crimes with gay and lesbian victims has doubled in

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THE WITNESS

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THE WITNESS EDITORIAL

The Power of the Dove

"How to stop feeling hopeless and helpless about nuclear war." That was the caption to a full page ad in the *New York Times* of May 23. Apparently many did manage to stop feeling that way, for more than a million people turned out to voice concern and to witness across the nation in June for peace. It was another "sign" of the Kingdom of Peace, building upon other growing signs of the dove in recent months.

This success highlighted, by contrast, one of the most enervating, spirit-sapping realities with which we live; namely, that this world and its people are so intractable to needed change. How easy it is to feel hopeless and helpless! Whether our concern is with the pursuit of peace, or politics, or morality, or the renewal of the church, the same problem besets us: the problem is a Goliath to our David, and we can't seem to find the right stone to fell the giant.

What can one person do?

That question, for Christians, relates significantly to what we

believe God expects of us. Loving concern is the charge God has laid upon us. We are to take upon ourselves what we understand the nature of God to be: an all-encompassing love for this world and the affairs of its people.

But love is initiative-taking; it is exposure to risk. For Christians, the suffering God is a familiar figure — the cross, our central symbol. Nevertheless, insists the Christian faith, God did not, does not and will not relinquish those divine initiatives, that divine exposure on behalf of the world. For the world is God's. And so it is with persons made in the image of God. For them to abandon their loving initiatives, their loving, caring exposure on behalf of the world would be for them to deny a very large part of themselves. They would be diminishing their own being. Thus, for Christians, this law of love is not an alien, external burden laid upon them. It is, rather, a law of their very being. To reach out to creation with loving concern is the only way to be true to oneself. Note a double

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Third World Tourism: Who Wins, Who Loses?

by Ron O'Grady

A major airline began an advertising campaign for one of its new destinations in East Africa some time ago with the headline *Go there while it's still unspoiled!* I was shocked. One of the principal operators in the field of tourism was blatantly saying that its own actions were not good for the country — that once tourists started to arrive in large numbers, the nation would be spoiled!

Mounting evidence reveals that the airline is correct, with two qualifications: The type of tourism which is destructive is *mass commercialized tourism* and the type of country which suffers is the one which is *underdeveloped*. Travel by wealthy people to affluent nations can be done with mutual benefit to both, but the tourism of the rich to poor countries of the world is proving to be at least, unfortunate; at worst, a catastrophe.

When a tourist group visits an affluent country the possibility of friction is much less. A common cultural history, similar social values and sufficient language services provide a comfortable ambience. Furthermore, the host country has all the facilities normally demanded by tourists.

Ron O'Grady has just completed eight years as Associate General Secretary of the Christian Conference of Asia, and is currently a Visiting Research Associate at Union Theological Seminary, New York. His latest book, *Third World Stopover*, was published by the World Council of Churches; a U.S. edition will be published by Orbis Books.

Poorer nations lack this infrastructure. They are asked to make the leap from a predominantly rural-based economy into a service-oriented tourist nation without passing through an intermediate stage of industrialization. Money is diverted from social projects to build roads and bridges to serve the tourists; drainage facilities are inadequate, so raw sewage is pumped into the sea; the electrification of villages is postponed because of the need to place air-conditioning, elevators and many other electrical requirements in hotels; increased demand for certain foods and consumer goods by tourists raises prices in the local market; money which is needed for housing, health care, schools and agricultural development is diverted to meeting the ever-increasing needs of a foreign elite. These symptoms prevail as soon as a developing nation makes tourism one of its priorities.

Over the past five years, Christian leaders in several Third World nations have begun to speak openly of the hazards and havoc of unrestricted tourism. This came into focus in 1980 when the Christian Conference of Asia sponsored an International Workshop on Tourism. Many Americans will be surprised that the Third World has leashed its anger against tourism. They have been conditioned to think of tourism as a healthy activity which provides employment for the host and enjoyment for the visitor. How could such a warm experience be criticized?

Studies have isolated four specific

problem areas found, in varying degrees, in all Third World tourist destinations:

- The economic benefit to poor countries is not nearly as high as promoters would like to suggest. It is claimed that tourism brings a country foreign currency and provides jobs. But many Third World countries actually experience a large negative flow of foreign capital as a result of tourism. Frequently it is so costly to establish and maintain the industry that there is barely enough foreign currency left to pay for the foreign travel of the country's elites! A Danish University study concluded that some countries lose so much on the exchange that they are actually subsidizing the holidays of rich tourists.

It is true that tourism is labor intensive. It enlists the services of waiters and waitresses, room service personnel, gardeners, shopkeepers, prostitutes and bartenders. But key managerial posts are held by foreigners. Workers are drawn from a large pool of unemployed and if they do not conform to the image of smiling servility, they are promptly replaced by others standing in line. And the per capita cost of creating such work is many times higher than in almost any other industrial or commercial field.

Consider the poor in a Third World country — the people who will never be tourists. When they speak of travel they mean going on foot or in a crowded bus to the next village or town. Possibly

they will travel for a wedding, funeral or religious festival. Family income is barely sufficient for survival and there is no extra money for luxury travel. Indeed, luxury to the poor usually does not stretch far beyond a bottle of soft drink or a ride on the back of a bicycle. The concept of a paid holiday or leisure travel or visiting a foreign culture is totally outside their conceptual framework.

Into the land of the poor come the tourists. At first only a few courageous and usually sensitive souls make the visit and are rewarded with all the courtesy and hospitality of traditional societies. Later, the numbers increase. Surveys are made of possible tourist resorts and great profits are projected. The host community is persuaded that tourism will bring the blessings of employment, of foreign funds and the development of natural resources for the good of the whole community. Contracts are signed, money slips under the counter, jumbo jets fly in, and a major qualitative change begins in the life of the whole society.

- Tourism threatens the survival of the traditional culture of poor countries. In Bali, Tahiti, Hawaii, and many of the Caribbean islands, the local culture has been forced to change. Many Third World people say the new culture is born from the rape of their country by the tourist. In the Malaysian island of Penang, the protest poet Cecil Rajendra summed up the effect of tourism:

*When the tourists flew in
our men put aside
their fishing nets
to become waiters
our women became whores*

*When the tourists flew in
what culture we had
flew out of the window
we traded our customs
for sunglasses and pop
we turned sacred ceremonies
into ten-cent peep shows.*

*When the tourists flew in
local food became scarce
prices went up
but our wages stayed low.*

*When the tourists flew in
we were asked to be
"side-walk ambassadors"
to stay smiling and polite
to always guide
the lost visitor . . .
Hell, if we could only tell them
where we really want them to go.*

- In tourism, the poor are once again being exploited. This is graphically revealed in the growth of "prostitution-

tourism." This fast-growing industry brings planeloads of free-spending male tourists to one of the "sex centers" of the Third World. These tours are most popular among the Japanese and the Germans and their main destinations in Asia are Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines and Thailand.

Concern about this kind of tourism is not simply around the morality of prostitution. Women caught up in this trade are victims of a form of neoslavery. They are bought and sold, kept incarcerated, treated cruelly and dropped when they have no further value for selling. In Bangkok, a 1980 study revealed that more than 500,000



women are now involved in prostitution and related activities in Thailand.

• Finally, we must note the political use of tourism. Dictators are always searching for ways to improve their international image and tourism is one of the best ways to bolster a corrupt regime. Tourism's smiling faces and friendly people become a lie to cover the real situation. Since it also serves to domesticate the local population it becomes a major force for keeping a restive population docile.

In Haiti, for example, the poorest country in the Caribbean, tourists pay more for a single night's accommodation in opulent hotels than many Haitians get paid in a lifetime. How can such a country be described as a "tourist paradise"?

But tourism is not going to go away. Even though the United States and other Western countries are struggling through a recession, world tourism figures continue to rise. In the past 30 years, despite recession, unemployment, oil crises, inflation, wars and rumors of wars, tourism has increased every year. Almost every middle class family now travels overseas at one time or another, and many are taking annual holidays abroad. Tourism has now outstripped oil as the world's major industry and it has been the world's largest employer for some years. In 1979 Americans spent slightly more on tourism than they did on defense, although the new defense spending has widened the gap.

Indeed, the World Tourism Organization, a fairly cautious body, predicts that by the year 2000 tourism will be "a socio-economic phenomenon capable of exercising a decisive influence on the world." It may soon be the most important economic activity of humanity.

Most of the new growth is taking place in Third World nations. Westerners find they can live there like kings and queens, sheltered from the harsher realities of the poor, and the

experience seems to be addictive. It is the contrast between the tourist life-style and life in the host country which worries observers. Dr. Abdel Wahab Bouhdiba writes:

Tourism injects the behavior of a wasteful society in the midst of a society of want. What the average tourist consumes in Tunisia in a week in the way of meat, dairy products, fruit and pastries, is equivalent to what two or three Tunisians eat in a whole year. The rift between rich and poor societies at this point is no longer an academic issue but an everyday reality.

Pope Paul once said that the church must take action to try and give tourism "a human face." This sums up the dilemma. Some action has already been taken to humanize tourism by church leaders in various nations who have met with tour operators. Last year, churches in Asia, the Pacific and the Caribbean went a step further and created the Ecumenical Coalition for Third World Tourism. The organization will be staffed and located in Asia, either in Bangkok or Manila, and will act as a coordinator of international research and action.

Apart from protesting the excesses of tourism, what positive steps can Christians take?

First, the destructive elements in mass tourism must be channeled into more constructive directions. At an international symposium in Sweden last year I proposed that mass tourism be confined to small geographic areas within Third World countries, arguing that tourists do not have the automatic right to go where they wish and do whatever they desire in a poor nation. Heated debate followed on placing tourists in "ghettos" or "reservations." I predict, however, that within a few years we may well come to the point where this is inevitable. I suspect also that the tourists themselves will not object too greatly. Most of them just

A Code of Ethics For Tourists

The following code was prepared by a group of church leaders from the Christian Conference of Asia.

1. Travel in a spirit of humility and with a genuine desire to learn more about the people of your host country.
2. Be sensitively aware of the feelings of other people, thus preventing what might be offensive behavior on your part. This applies very much to photography.
3. Cultivate the habit of listening and observing, rather than merely hearing and seeing.
4. Realize that often the people in the country you visit have time concepts and thought patterns other than your own; this does not make them inferior, only different.
5. Instead of looking for that "beach paradise," discover the enrichment of seeing a different way of life, through other eyes.
6. Acquaint yourself with local customs — people will be happy to help you.
7. Instead of the Western practice of 'knowing all the answers', cultivate the habit of listening.
8. Remember that you are only one of the thousands of tourists visiting this country and do not expect special privileges.
9. If you really want your experience to be 'a home away from home', it is foolish to waste money on travelling.
10. When you are shopping, remember that "bargain" you obtained was only possible because of the low wages paid to the maker.
11. Spend time reflecting on your daily experiences in an attempt to deepen your understanding.

want to have a good time in an exotic place and already show a preference for

“authentic” floor shows and Disneyland-type centers which confine the “culture” into a small space. Since most tourists are concerned with sun, sand, sex and shopping they can get it just as easily in a tourist enclave.

Second, another form which creates excessive problems for the Third World countries is loosely described as “hippie” tourism. It consists of young people who drift from one place to another trying to find “meaning” in life — probing drugs, religion, sex and wasteful life-styles to meet their personal needs. Their lazy ways are a luxury which affluent countries can afford but in a poor country such a life-style means hunger, death or crime. Many Third World countries now ban the entry of any young people thought to be on drugs or unable to show means of support.

A third area, which comes a little closer to home, is the need to sharpen the focus of tours for educational or religious purposes. Every college and church in the United States seems to have its annual educational visit to the Third World. These are often badly-planned, take little account of the local situation, are not done at the invitation of the host church or school and are provided mainly to suit the travelers’ needs rather than those of the host country.

In almost every case the idea for the tour originates in the United States and then is imposed on the victims in the host country. In some of the popular destinations, churches have had to appoint people full-time to handle the visiting groups because they are too polite to refuse assistance. Such visits are a distraction from the mission of the church. Some organizers try to justify the travel with high-sounding theological phrases about “world mission.” Well, several hundred U.S. tour groups have visited the Balinese churches, but no Balinese tourists have ever visited U.S. churches. Such one-sided tourism is not a sign of world



You guys should get your act together and make your government give you food stamps.

mission but of world economic injustice.

Despite all these criticisms, we must end by affirming that tourism has the potential to become one of the richest human experiences we can know. When it gives us the opportunity to meet persons from a different culture and to know them at some depth, a whole new dimension enters our lives. Racial and ethnic stereotypes can disappear as we find the riches of another culture.

Many of us in the churches have experienced something of this relationship. People of other lands have challenged our thinking and life-style in a way which has been one of the most important growth-points in our faith. Because we covet this experience for others, we are probing to find some way to challenge the style of tourism, to make it less superficial, and more fulfilling both for tourists and the host countries. ■

Letters . . .

Continued from page 2

most metropolitan areas. The number of murders has risen alarmingly. In Los Angeles now, when police arrest homeless, confused, and often drug-addicted young men who are prostituting themselves in order to survive, wax impressions of their teeth routinely are taken. It is a logical procedure. The impressions later will aid the coroner in identifying their abused and mutilated bodies when they are found murdered.”

Elsewhere in the article Fortunato refers to a suicide rate among gays and lesbians as being four times the national average, and an alcoholism rate that is seven times higher. Those of us who minister with and to the gay community thought we were about the task of eradicating that pain, and helping to explode the myths about homosexuality.

It is obvious that Mr. Dornbrook is not gay, and apparently has never had any gay friends who have been denied housing or a job, or who were fired from their job, or indeed lost, or took their life because of the inconsequential fact of their homosexuality. Perhaps Integrity should concern itself with saving whales or trees or maybe supermarket coupons.

We thought we were about the Gospel imperative to spread the love of Jesus Christ to every living being, but perhaps that differs from Mr. Dornbrook’s notion of “Biblical Christianity.” And, Mr. Dornbrook, just what is a “radical evangelical” anyway? Most of the folks we encounter think there’s something fairly radical about gay evangelicals. But perhaps we’ve been opiating in the wrong masses.

We will welcome Mr. Dornbrook on board when we get down to some really nitty-gritty stuff, and away from all this twaddle about suicide, alcoholism, and wax impressions of young men’s teeth.

Juli Beatty
Northeastern Representative
Integrity
Indiana, Pa.

Ambassador Noncommittal Re Fate of Bishop Tutu

by John S. Spong

For almost two years, the Hon. Donald B. Sole, Ambassador to the United States from South Africa, and I have carried on a vigorous correspondence about South Africa's treatment of Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu. At his suggestion, a face to face meeting was arranged in late spring in Washington, D.C.

Were I in the diplomatic service, a statement following our meeting would have been issued: "The Ambassador and the Bishop engaged in a full, open and frank discussion of their differences. They decided that the dialogue will continue at a later date."

Ambassador Sole is a career foreign diplomat who has served his country in every major Western European embassy before assuming duties in the United States. He is nearing retirement and will leave his post this year. His family migrated from England to South Africa in 1820, about the time my family left England for the

United States. He is a gracious, learned, patient man who quite willingly, even eagerly, took more than an hour to present the case for his government.

The Ambassador was concerned that so much negativity and ill will are generated throughout the world against South Africa, which he described as a problem of communication. Nobody seems to understand South Africa. Everyone wants to tell South Africa how to solve her problems. He went into the history of his nation, relating in some detail the British war against the Zulu people. He dismissed Bishop Tutu as one who is "eagerly seeking martyrdom" and "guilty of abusing his passport privileges" by urging businesses to engage in "economic aggression" against his own country.

Ambassador Sole stated that no Blacks are conscripted into military service in South Africa because "our people do not think it is desirable for Blacks to be trained in the use of arms." He admitted that he does not believe in democracy. He portrayed himself as a student of ancient Greece, and for him the city-state organized for the comfort of the ruling class is the proper form of government.

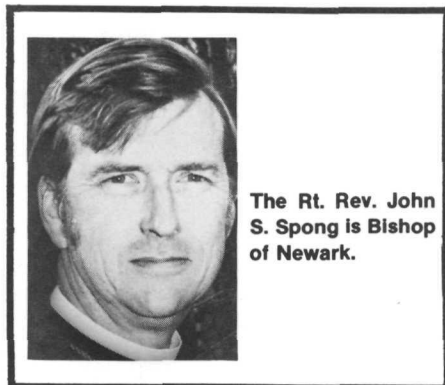
He talked about the progress South Africa is making in race relations. To support his argument, he said that workers now have the right to organize, to engage in collective bargaining, and even to strike. He did not go into all of the restrictions that make that process difficult to

impossible, if barely legal. He mentioned the minimum wage law which, he suggested, protects domestic workers. He skipped quickly over the fact that the minimum wage in South Africa is a "suggested voluntary minimum."

From time to time, the Ambassador dropped his attitude of politeness, referring to Bishop Tutu with derision simply as "Tutu." One of those moments occurred when I asked why he and his nation were so afraid of Desmond. With a barely disguised sneer, he said, feigning shock, "No one is afraid of Tutu." "Why then," I pressed, "do you harass him, seek to discredit him, remove his passport, refuse even to listen to his demands, threaten to ban him, or suggest that he apply for an exit visa which, if used, would mean he could never return to South Africa? Is that the way one treats a person of whom one is not afraid?"

We talked about power. I mentioned to him that all the progressive changes to which he pointed with such pride are basically cosmetic. "They are band-aids placed on cancer. They do not touch the basic issues of justice. If the ruling forces of South Africa do not share the political, economic, and social power of their nation with the Black majority, they will sow the seeds of hatred and bitterness that will finally destroy your nation." Ambassador Sole disagreed.

The government of South Africa trusts today in military power and in "law and order," but the inevitable

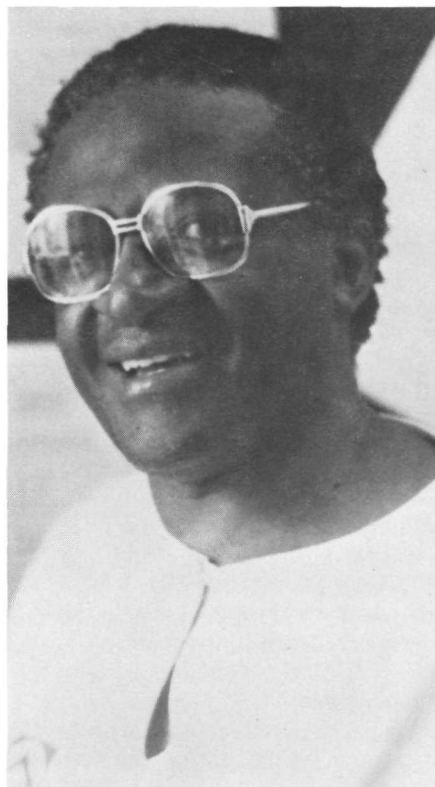


The Rt. Rev. John S. Spong is Bishop of Newark.

revolution that will engulf that nation will not be fought on the traditional battlefield where armaments and firepower can be advantageously deployed in the service of the technologically superior White minority. It will be fought by sabotage and subterfuge and by hit-and-run guerilla raids until the price of prejudice will be so expensive that even a regime committed to apartheid will no longer be willing to pay the price. No one could possibly welcome such a reality, but the continuing actions of that government make it appear inevitable.

History teaches one relentless lesson; namely, that power that is not shared will finally be taken away by force. While that force is gathering, the doomed oppressor nation will react with hysteria, paranoia, and fear. They will look at a Bishop Tutu who is unarmed and commands no army, whose spirit is gentle and loving, whose only weapons are truth and moral indignation; and they will see in him an enemy to be feared, one who is capable of committing "economic aggression" against "his own nation." They will never see that South Africa cannot be "his own nation" when he is unable to vote, or serve in the armed forces, or is not trusted, or is forced to carry a degrading pass, or is not allowed on certain public streets after certain hours, and suffers countless other affronts to his human dignity.

"If you cannot communicate your version of the truth to the world, Mr. Ambassador," I said, "one of two



Bishop Tutu

things must be at fault. Either you have a very poor communications system, or else the truth you have to communicate is not true." At that point there was a pause in our dialogue. "If the latter is the case, Mr. Ambassador," I went on, "then surely your country is doomed, for one cannot perpetuate or defend a lie forever."

Before leaving, I asked if I might be assured that Desmond Tutu's life was safe. Will he be arrested some night, languish in a forgotten prison, or even be hanged on some trumped up charge of treason? "I can't say," the Ambassador answered. "That will depend on Bishop Tutu." "No," I objected, "that will depend on you and on your government."

We parted, vowing to talk again. But nothing was changed. Desmond Tutu, the leading African Christian voice today, continues to live in peril and uncertainty, but his witness continues strong. His truth will endure. ■

Editorial . . . Continued from page 3

meaning in: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as *thyself*."

We are caught up by our very nature in such a divine mission, arduous and risky as it is. Small wonder, then, that the New Testament speaks reassuringly of the "signs of the Kingdom." For the eyes of faith, those movements, events, actions which are consistent with the plan of the Kingdom of God are "signs" which remind us of God's oneness, and of our own. They remind us that all creation is one, in God. And, cast as we are in God's likeness, that all creation is one, *in us*. Since this is an enterprise of the Almighty, the ultimate victory is assured. Of that the signs of the Kingdom, the power of the dove, remind and reassure us.

(R.L.D. and the editors.)

Credits

Cover, adapted by Beth Seka from a cartoon by Ron O'Grady; cartoons pp. 5, 7, Ron O'Grady; photo p. 8, Hayward Levy; photo p. 9, Diocesan Press Service; p. 10, *Free West Indian*, Grenadian newspaper; p. 11, Mauricio Pascual, *El Mundo*.

Coming Up . . . in THE WITNESS

• **The National Security Agency** — A former NSA official and his wife say the NSA can be harmful to the health of the nation and to families who work for it.

• **The Economy** — An historical and analytical view of how we got into the present dilemma by Frances Fox Piven, noted political scientist who frequently appears in the pages of the *New York Times*.

U.S. Immigration Flexes Muscle In Puerto Rico



Suzanne Berkeley

Suzanne Berkeley, a 20-year-old Roman Catholic layworker at the Pope Paul VI Ecumenical Center in Grenada, set out for the Theology in the Americas Dialogue-Retreat in Puerto Rico May 4 with great expectations. Her center was to host a liberation theology conference in June and the encounter seemed tailored to the center's needs.

While the center had hosted Caribbean regional seminars and leadership training programs for youth and workers in Grenada, it had not explored liberation theology to any great extent. And this Puerto Rico meeting planned by the Inter-Ethnic Indigenous Coalition of TIA would bring together African Americans, Native Americans, Hispanics and others in a Caribbean setting, of which Grenada is part.

But U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service officials in Puerto Rico had other ideas about Ms. Berkeley and the conference. At the airport, INS labeled her *persona non grata* to the United States and detained her for intensive questioning (Are you a Communist? Are you connected to any party in your country? Are you a nun? Is the Grenadian Revolution Communist?)

Learning of her plight, TIA conference participants launched a team to find legal assistance for Suzanne and follow her through a grueling two days of confrontation with INS and the courts. The team consisted of the Rev. Syngman Rhee, vice president of the National Council of Churches; the Rev. Jovelino Ramos, NCC Associate General Secretary; Tyrone Pitts, NCC Director of Race Relations; Marilyn Clement, prominent Methodist laywoman and Executive Director of the Center for Constitutional Rights; the Rev. Alfonso Roman, United Church of Christ, Board of Home Ministries Immigration Task Force, and Mary Lou Suhor, editor of *THE WITNESS*. What follows is a personal account by Ms. Suhor, drawn from experiences with the TIA delegation.

The recent detention of a 20-year-old Grenadian woman from a theological conference in Puerto Rico by U.S. Immigration officials has raised the specter of an INS monitoring religious events under the guise of "protecting national security."

Suzanne Berkeley, a social worker at the Pope Paul Ecumenical Center in Grenada, was invited to the conference by Theology in the Americas, sponsor of the event. Upon disembarking May 4 from BWIA Airlines at Puerto Rico's International Airport, she was subjected to two hours of interrogation

INS Disrupts

about her religious and political affiliations by five INS officials. Although her credentials were in order, INS revoked her visa, pressured her to sign a paper saying she was a political activist, and ordered her deported. TIA conference participants, including high level officers from the National Council of Churches, intervened and fought the case for two days.

During the long hours of legal efforts to get her released, Ms. Berkeley was shuttled back and forth from Immigration offices to the airport, frequently under armed guard. In the evenings she was remanded to the custody of the airlines and placed under security guard at the airport hotel. Not having been admitted to Puerto Rico nor having been definitely deported, she was in a "twilight zone" politically. Because of the tense situation, conference participants assured the Grenadian UN Mission in New York that a team would be at her side at all times.

Marilyn Clement, prominent Methodist laywoman and Executive Director of the Center for Constitutional Rights and Mary Lou Suhor, editor of *THE WITNESS*, remained with Ms. Berkeley at the

airport hotel, taking meals with the young Grenadian and the security guards, and staying with her overnight.

TIA delegates were impressed by the young woman's courage and quiet dignity as she answered questions, moved from office to office in the Federal Building in Hato Rey.

Ms. Berkeley told THE WITNESS, "I experienced fear only when I was isolated at the airport, questioned and searched and threatened with jail if I did not sign that paper. At that point, I felt I was in physical danger."

"Christians are all too familiar with this process in countries under dictatorships, such as Chile, El Salvador, and the Philippines, but now we have witnessed it in Puerto Rico," said the Rev. Jovelino Ramos, Associate General Secretary of the NCC and a TIA conference designer.

Among questions put to Ms. Berkeley were, "Are you a Christian Socialist?" and "Do you believe that justice should be achieved by violence?" "I told them I was a Christian, full stop," she said. "And no, not generally

can justice be achieved by violence, but some cases warrant it." She said she felt the reason she was being detained was that she was Grenadian, and that this was "another attempt by the United States to intimidate our people."

Theme of the TIA meeting was liberation theology — which brings theology out of lived experiences, with particular emphasis on ethnic concerns. INS official Rafael Escudero called the language of the conference "anti-U.S." and "anti-militarist." INS said the conference had "political configura-

Theology Meet, Deports Grenadian, 20



Her long ordeal over after being detained three days in custody by U.S. Immigration, Suzanne Berkeley breaks into tears at a press conference before being deported. At her side are NCC officials who opposed the INS action, the Rev. Jovelino Ramos, left, and Dr. Syngman Rhee.

Mauricio Pascual, *El Mundo*

tions," and objected that participants had scheduled a visit to church representatives and fishermen on the Island of Vieques, which the U.S. Navy routinely shells in target practice.

But the Rev. Syngman Rhee, Program Vice President of the NCC, emphasized that "terms like oppression and repression, justice and liberation are the language of theology today, as they have been since Biblical days. We are within the parameters of our Christian affirmations. Militarism and the arms race are of profound concern to us, and the conference was responding to this.

The harassment of Ms. Berkeley resulted in a formal protest to the INS by the Governing Board of the National Council of Churches; a request for a written report of the incident by the U.S. Catholic Conference (Catholic Bishop Sidney Charles is Chair of the Board of the Pope Paul Ecumenical Center in St. John's); and Grenadian initiatives to lodge a protest with the U.S. Embassy in Barbados. The case made headlines in the Caribbean for five days.

Lawyers for Ms. Berkeley — Jose Antonio Lugo and Peter Berkowitz — from the Puerto Rican Institute for Civil Rights, succeeded in revoking her statement because it was signed under duress, and also turned back an attempt to photograph and fingerprint her.

On the second day of her detention the INS charged Ms. Berkeley, before Immigration Judge Francis Maiolo's Court: *The INS has reason to believe that you are seeking to enter the U.S. solely, principally, or incidentally to engage in activities which would be prejudicial to the public interest or endanger the welfare, safety or security of the U.S.*" Judge Maiolo ruled that he had no jurisdiction over the case because it lacked authorization from the regional Commissioner's office in Burlington, Vt.

Courtroom proceedings prompted one TIA delegate to observe, "We came

here primarily to reflect and dialogue on peace and demilitarization of the Caribbean. But the reaction of INS dramatized the colonial status of Puerto Rico. In the courtroom we saw the U.S. flag, not a Puerto Rican flag. On the walls were the U.S. Declaration of Independence and Constitution. The language of the court was English, not Spanish. And the judge would not rule because he had not heard from Vermont!"

Ms. Berkeley decided to withdraw her application for admission when it became clear that she could be kept in detention long enough to miss the entire conference. She stressed that although the experience had been "terribly painful and frustrating," she "did not hold Puerto Ricans responsible" for her ordeal. Excerpts from her message to the TIA Conference, written during her detention, appear elsewhere in this article. (See box.)

Caldwell Taylor, Grenada's Ambassador to the United Nations, commenting on the Puerto Rican incident for THE WITNESS, said: "We are very disturbed. We were told by the lawyers that Suzanne Berkeley was intimidated by U.S. Immigration authorities who held her hostage and established an inquisitorial court. She was asked about her ideological orientation and about the character of our government, in the interest of 'national security.'

"Suzanne Berkeley is not an agent of the Grenadian government. She is an activist in the Catholic Church. This incident exposes the paranoia of those who are protecting the status quo. How can a world power — a country noted for its advanced technology — which observes the world in detail through its satellites, be afraid of a 20-year-old

Grenada Article Available

THE WITNESS ran an article about the socialist character of Suzanne Berkeley's country: "*Grenada: A Revolution a Republican Tourist Could Love*," by A. Lin Neumann in April, 1982. It is available free.

Berkeley Message To Theology Conference

TO: The Organizers and Participants of the second dialogue retreat of Theology in the Americas

It has been a pleasure for us in Grenada to be invited to this very important meeting. Our main reason for wanting to participate in this conference, as we have said, was for a learning experience, since on our part, we have not done very much in theology.

We intend to hold our first seminar on liberation theology in June of this year. We are getting help in this respect from the Rev. Eunice Santana.

Although I have been denied admission, thus prevented from participation in the conference, the whole experience has been a learning process for me, as I know it has been for you.

We have also been able to learn more about the political and social situation of Puerto Rico, which is not in any way limited to Puerto Rico, but happens to be a duplicate of the situation of the countries that are still under colonialism. We as church people must reflect on our role in this situation . . .

I would like to say heartfelt thanks on behalf of my country and also on my own behalf to all the participants of the conference who extended their concern and support throughout this ordeal. I must also thank the lawyers and the reporters for their efforts on my behalf. We, the people of Grenada, see this as another attempt to harass and intimidate our people, but our people are strong and we know we shall win in the end.

Finally, I would like to say that our people hold nothing against the Puerto Rican people. Your struggle is our struggle and your victory will be our victory.

Suzanne Berkeley

woman? Perhaps this makes the point that big ideas can come from small countries, and that ideas are as powerful as armies. Ms. Berkeley is an embodiment of the ideals of our Revolution. With thousands like her, we cannot fail."

Nicaragua:

What's Happening To the Miskitos?

Whatever side one comes down on with regard to the Nicaraguan Revolution, it can be said with objectivity that the Sandinista government faces the task of initiating a new social order in a highly volatile Central American context.

Having overthrown the despotic regime of Gen. Anastasio Somoza, Nicaragua's Sandinistas say they are trying to forge a path neither communist nor capitalist, and are cautiously avoiding the escalation of class struggle.

In the United States, media attention focused on Nicaragua recently when the Sandinistas relocated the Miskito Indians away from the Honduras border. Gen. Alexander Haig showed photos reported to be Nicaraguan soldiers burning bodies of Miskito Indians, in a brutal human rights violation. The charge was later proved false, but never retracted.

THE WITNESS in the following pages presents two analyses of the Miskito phenomenon. The first is an overview and evaluation by the Central American Religious Study Group, a team of 12 scholars from various disciplines (theology, economics, education, etc.) who prepare analyses from a religious perspective for the church media. CARSG is based in Washington, D.C.

The second is a systems analysis by the Rev. Robert Renouf, an Episcopal priest from California who is working with his wife, Jeannette, at the Instituto Anglicano de Nicaragua.

Religious Study Group Evaluates Resettlement

The drama of the Miskito Indians of Nicaragua might have passed unnoticed had not *Le Figaro*, a Parisian newspaper, printed pictures claiming to depict Nicaraguan soldiers burning the bodies of the Miskito Indians during a vast resettlement effort.

Secretary of State Alexander Haig showed the photos to reporters as evidence of the Sandinista government's brutality toward its native people.

Two days later *Le Figaro* announced

that it had wrongfully identified the pictures, which were actually photos of the National Guard burning bodies before Somoza's overthrow. Secretary Haig did not apologize and the world was left with the impression of gross human rights violations by the Sandinista soldiers.

Who are the Miskitos? Why have many of them been resettled away from the Nicaraguan/Honduran border? What is the basis for the U.S. charges of human rights violations that have captured much attention in the media?

Nicaragua has both an Atlantic and a Pacific coastline separated by a sparsely populated tropical interior. The cultures of the two coasts are so different that they have almost seemed two countries.

On the west coast where most of the people live, the Spanish conquerors virtually eliminated the native population by the 19th century, leaving the population heavily mixed with Spanish blood.

The British who used the ports of the

Atlantic Coast had little desire to settle, but brought slaves from Jamaica who mingled with the native population. The resulting Miskito Indians are the majority in northern Zelaya, the northeastern corner of Nicaragua, and extend into Honduras across the Coco river which forms the border. Of the approximately 180,000 Miskitos, 120,000 live in Nicaragua, the remainder in Honduras. They have freely passed to and fro across the border for decades.

Such is the isolation of the Atlantic Coast region in Nicaragua that Somoza's rule and its terrible repression along the Pacific Coast barely touched the east.

Local leadership rested largely with two religions, Catholic and Moravian. The Instituto Historico Centroamericano, a Nicaraguan religious research center, describes their role:

The Catholic Church in the north is staffed by U.S. missionaries, many of whom reflect the fear of communism which was so prevalent and which was deeply ingrained in them in the U.S. during their formation. Under Somoza, the priests enjoyed special position and privileges. In many small villages the church functioned as the political apparatus and as the government.

The Moravian Church came to Nicaragua from Czechoslovakia in 1849. In the northeast, 80% of the Miskitos are Moravians. The church has been active in social and development work. Its ministers have often provided leadership for the native organizations. Five or six years ago the Moravian church became a native church with native clergy and bishops. This community also shares a deep suspicion of communism, the harvest of years of Somoza and U.S. propaganda which painted communism, as exemplified by Cuba, as the greatest of all possible evils.

In July, 1979, after a struggle which claimed almost 50,000 lives in the final two years, Nicaragua's popular coalition headed by the Sandinistas drove Somoza into exile. Many of his supporters in the dread National Guard fled across the border into Honduras.

The youthful victors took over a deeply impoverished, largely illiterate land of 3 million people. They plunged into their tasks with vigor. That very vigor and enthusiasm eventually caused deep problems with the Miskitos of the northeast.

Whereas on the west coast the intense suffering at the hands of the hated Somoza and the National Guard served as a bond of unity for reconstruction, in the isolated northeast, which had been barely touched by either Somoza or by the revolution, the triumphant Sandinistas arrived to find that the "Costenos" (Coast People) considered them just one more conqueror.

The Sandinistas who tried to bring government to the area found enormous problems. The economy of the Atlantic Coast had deteriorated. Foreign companies had pulled out. Transportation between Atlantic and Pacific Coasts was almost non-existent. There were no local newspapers. Radio communications were inadequate. Health facilities were pitiful and local agriculture suffered from the land's low fertility and frequent flooding.

When they tried to institute changes for the better, the Sandinistas failed to perceive the cultural conflicts they were causing. Many plans originated in offices in Managua on the Pacific Coast with people who had no knowledge of the impossibility of implementation on the Atlantic Coast.

As the Instituto Historico describes:

The Sandinistas tried to bring government to an area that, to a large extent, had only the churches as government . . . All of this activity in trying to bring the revolution to a people who were

not prepared for significant change has had the unfortunate result of causing fear and distrust among the people. That, combined with the ultra-conservative position of many of the religious leaders, makes them recall the years of U.S. domination of the area as a good thing.

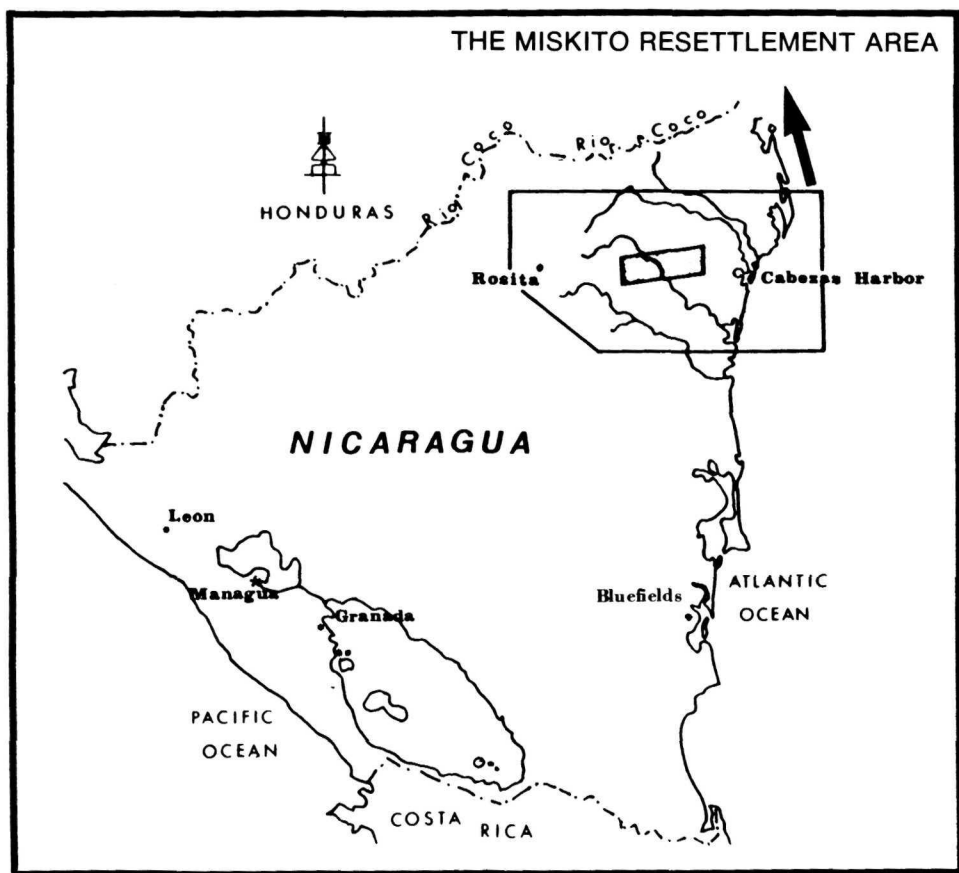
The cultural differences made conflict almost inevitable. Whereas the Sandinistas looked on the United States as imperialist, many Miskitos considered the United States a benefactor. In addition, few of the Sandinistas spoke either Miskitu or English. They were young, inexperienced, and unprepared. Excited by the revolution and desirous of bringing the "benefits" to the people they considered the most exploited, they instead were perceived as threats to an almost autonomous culture.

The Sandinistas soon recognized their inexperience and tried to change course. They appointed Steadman Fagoth, the enterprising and charismatic 28-year-old leader of the regional economic organization called MISURASATA, to be a representative of the Sandinista government.

MISURASATA, under Fagoth's leadership, began to press for political autonomy over extensive areas of land and demanded five seats on the Council of State. This was occurring in 1980 as President Reagan took office and proclaimed an intention to reverse the Sandinista revolution.

Shortly after Reagan's election, supporters of the ousted General Somoza began to operate openly on the Honduran side of the border across the Rio Coco, first with seeming acquiescence, and then with apparent support, from the Honduran and U.S. governments.

In February 1981, as the MISURASATA pressed their demands for regional autonomy and seemed likely to call for international support,



Fagoth and the MISURASATA leadership were arrested. Heavy Miskito protest led to their release. Fagoth fled to Honduras with about 3,000 Miskitos.

Fagoth, charging the Sandinistas with seeking to repress the Miskitos, began to work at destabilizing the Nicaraguan government. His major medium is the radio station operated by former Somoza supporters in Honduras whose broadcasts cover the Atlantic Coast region.

By late 1981, the former Somoza people had begun to launch attacks across the border into northern Nicaragua in their first attempts to destabilize the government. Thirty-five Sandinistas were killed in December, 1981.

These attacks were accompanied by rising pressure from the Reagan

Administration. It claimed that the Sandinista government was leading the country into the Soviet-Cuban orbit and pledged efforts to thwart this movement.

In early 1982, Nicaraguans uncovered the "Red Christmas" plot, a plan by counterrevolutionary groups to gain control of the northern section of Zelaya, the Miskito region, to set up a provisional government and to ask for help from the United States.

A total of 110 people were found guilty of participation in the plot, including many members with ties to the Moravian church. Sandinista suspicion toward the Moravians and the Miskitos was heightened.

When raiding attacks across the Rio Coco boundary continued unabated, Nicaragua's Sandinista government faced two options: 1) to fortify the

border heavily and seek armed confrontation; 2) to remove the Miskito population close to the border and relocate them. The government chose the second, and sent the army to evacuate the people from about 100 villages close to the border, a move affecting 6,000 to 10,000 people.

The resettlement was done quickly. The exact time of departure was not given for security reasons. What was left behind was burned or destroyed to prevent use of the villages and resources as a base of operations or source of food for counterrevolutionary bands which might cross the border.

The Miskitos were resettled about 50 miles south of the border along the road between Puerto Cabezas and Rosita.

This decision and its implementation raised a storm of accusations that the Nicaragua government was guilty of gross violations of native human rights.

The Catholic bishops of Nicaragua, who had supported the Sandinistas before Somoza's overthrow, but some of whom now are in conflict with the present directions of the Sandinista government, issued a statement protesting the resettlement and the treatment given the Miskitos. They said, "We state with sad surprise that in some concrete cases there have been serious violations of the human rights of individuals, families and even entire villages." The bishops refused an official government invitation to visit the resettlement communities of the Miskitos.

The U.S. State Department protested strongly. Secretary of State Haig used the photograph mentioned before to illustrate his charges of gross violations of human rights.

However, the Moravian Church of Nicaragua, whose leaders are mostly natives of the Atlantic Coast, spoke far more moderately without avoiding the problems Nicaragua faces on the Pacific Coast. They called for international dialogue and said: "The Sandinista Revolution has provided the

opportunity for the Coast people and especially the indigenous people to experience the liberation of their spirits after having been oppressed by years of exploitation and isolation."

The Instituto Historico, after investigating the situation, visiting the camps and interviewing many witnesses sums it thus:

Once the decision was made to effect the transfer, much effort went into the actual move. It was a long, arduous trip on foot lasting four to ten days. Many old people, pregnant women and small children were moved by helicopter or by vehicle. All of the people with whom we spoke praised the young volunteers who helped. These comments came even from those who were otherwise very angry about the move. Their anger is understandable. They had to leave their homes, their land, their belongings, their clothing and animals. This caused great sorrow as well as much resentment.

Sister Marlene DeNardo, International Liaison for Latin America for the Sisters of Notre Dame, joined an international Human Rights Commission for a visit to Sahsa, the smallest and best organized of the resettlement areas. She reported, "We found Miskitos and Sandinistas living and working together. Important human services had already been established. Development of private houses for families and allotment of lands was already in process. Many Miskitos said they had been offered money to join the movement against the Sandinistas. The Miskitos of Sasha had chosen to join the resettlement and seemed generally satisfied."

Evaluation

What actually seems to have happened in the forced resettlement? Were there violations of human rights? Were there killings? Was it genocide?

1. It is clear that the armed raids across the Rio Coco by counter-revolutionaries based in Honduras provided grave provocation for action.

2. The Sandinistas, in choosing resettlement, opted to limit armed confrontation with the raiders, but did so at the expense of moving a number of Miskitos away from their traditional lands.

3. The resettlement followed a period in which the Sandinistas' lack of cultural understanding of the Atlantic Coast had already created considerable suspicion, hostility and fear.

4. The former Somoza supporters in Honduras, with at least the acquiescence and apparently the support of both the Honduran armed forces and the Reagan Administration, have sought to exploit the Miskito suspicions of the Sandinistas.

5. Abandoned villages, animals and crops near the border were destroyed in the resettlement. None of the rumored killings have been able to be verified even by people who have sought such evidence explicitly.

6. Good treatment was accorded the Miskitos during the resettlement, even in the face of their justifiable anger and hostility at the enforced move from their native lands.

7. The new settlements are not "concentration camps," but good faith efforts at resettlement.

While facing serious difficulties and extreme lack of resources in the aftermath of Somoza's departure, the Sandinista government has achieved some serious progress in the Atlantic Coast area.

- The Literacy Campaign, begun shortly after victory, was carried out in the Atlantic Coast region in Spanish, English, Sumu and Miskitu.

- Limited, but free, medical service is being brought to most of the people. The national health campaigns against dengue and malaria are being carried out throughout the area. A new hospital is being built in Bluefields.

- A highway which will link the two coasts is almost completed.

- Electricity and safe drinking water are being extended into many communities.

- The government is making a serious effort to supply staples at low cost to remote communities thus undercutting the traditional exploitive practices of some local merchants.

The Central American Religious Study Group concludes that the resettlement of the Miskitos was an action taken by the Sandinista government under serious provocation both from border raids from Honduras, and from fears that the United States and Honduras might exploit the Atlantic Coast people to give a pretext for destabilizing the Nicaraguan government.

(Prepared by Dolly Pomerlau & William Callahan for the Central American Religious Study Group.)

Creed of the Andean Church in Peru

Our God, we believe in You.

We believe that you created our Mother, the Earth, and therefore,

You are the enemy of those who steal it from us, leaving us orphans.

We believe that You proposed work not to enslave us.

But as a joyful path towards community.

We believe that You have spoken to us from the beginning,

Through our myths, our beliefs and our rites.

We believe that it wasn't a total misfortune that you revealed Yourself to us

Through the oppression of the colonial conquest.

Rather, we believe that this is a challenge for us to create a liberating faith.

Thus calling into question traditional Christianity.

**Reprinted from Peru Update
Dec. '81/Jan. '82 in CALC Report**

'Doing Theology Is Real Here'

First, a personal word about life in Managua since we arrived early this year. There has been much progress in many areas since we were here in August, 1980. Managua has many new paved highways, new low-cost housing, a greatly improved transportation system with modern Brazilian buses and some new office buildings. The cultural life has been enriched with a national choir, ballet folklorico, chamber orchestra and color TV. However, one still sees many two-wheeled carts, being pulled by horse or oxen, on downtown streets. Cows, pigs, cattle and goats graze wherever there is open land and frequently wander across the busy boulevards. At 5 a.m. one would think that every house in Managua has a rooster to welcome the dawn. A modern city of over 600,000 people, Managua still remains rural in many ways.

We are living in Casa Episcopal, about nine miles south of the diocesan center (where our offices are). Our house is very comfortable, with plenty of room for guests and conferences.

We are here at the invitation of the Episcopal Church of Nicaragua, a small dedicated church working toward self-direction, self-support and self-nurture as an interdependent member of the Ninth Province of the world-wide Anglican Communion. Our official positions are as directors of the Anglican Institute of Nicaragua. We serve as training and development officers for the Episcopal Church of Nicaragua with focus on pastoral, organizational and leadership development, including theological education. The church will be electing its first non-North American bishop this year or in early 1983. By 1984 all pastoral, administrative and other key positions will be staffed by Nicaraguans. Non-Nicaraguans will serve as consultants to this national church. It is exciting to be part of this liberating process.

The Episcopal Church is strongest on the east coast, as is the Moravian Church. The Anglican Church first

appeared in Nicaragua in the 1850's when a priest from England began work in San Juan del Norte on the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua. Over the years the church slowly spread throughout the east coast and St. Mark's Church, Bluefields, now serves as the "mother" church in Nicaragua. Early membership was English. Blacks from the West Indies were baptized and confirmed and, over the years, developed deep roots in the church. Gradually the indigenous peoples were integrated into the Anglican Church also.

Today about 90% of the Episcopal Church of Nicaragua is found on the east coast, where English is still used to a great extent. Presently social and political unrest is being experienced in this area. The government would describe this unrest as being "counterrevolutionary," and the churches are experiencing this tension. Doing theology in a revolutionary situation is real here.

— Jeannette and Robert Renouf

Systems Theory Applied to Nicaragua

by Robert Renouf

Recent events in the Northern Zone of the Nicaraguan Atlantic Coast have brought certain socio-anthropological realities into focus. The skirmishes along the Nicaragua-Honduras border and the Miskito resettlement plan manifest some of the issues emerging from the policy of the Revolutionary Government to provide for the Atlantic Coast the benefits of the revolutionary process that have been experienced by Nicaraguans living on the Pacific Coast. A brief review of Nicaraguan social-anthropological history can help to delineate the issues.

The Nicaraguan people have emerged as a result of the mixing of Indigenous, European and African populations. Practically all the Nicaraguan people are Mestizo, the

crossing of these different racial populations. The Nicaraguan people can be divided into three groups, based upon ethnic identifications and/or linguistic criteria. These groups form distinct social systems. The issue in Nicaragua today is whether these distinct systems can become subsystems of a national whole.

Three basic principles of systems theory apply to the Nicaraguan scene: The first is that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. Secondly, the parts of the whole must work together and mutually reinforce one another. Thirdly, the systemic purpose is shared by all of the subsystems. Because the systemic purpose of reconstruction is not shared by all the various ethnic groups, the process of working

together and supporting each other is being frustrated. It is national policy to recover and defend pride in the Mestizo origins of the Nicaraguan people but two of the ethnic groups, on the Atlantic Coast, to varying degrees have expressed resistance to becoming an integral part of the whole.

The people of Nicaragua are geographically situated as follows:

1. The Indigenous population, the majority of whom are Miskitos, is concentrated on the Atlantic Coast in the northeast area of the country, speaking Miskito, Sumo, Rama and a Jarifone dialect of the Caribbean. The Indigenous population makes up about 3% of the national population. (Some Indigenous population is to be found in Managua also.)

2. The Creole population, of African origin and speaking English as a first language, is found largely in the southern part of the Atlantic Coast and on Corn Island. Significant Creole population is found also in Managua and Puerto Sandino on the Pacific Coast. The Creoles make up about 1% of the total national population.

3. The Mestizo population occupies the majority of the Pacific Coast and central part of the country. They speak Spanish and constitute about 96% of the total population.

It should be noted that the Miskito and Creole peoples make up only 4% of the national population but geographically they occupy half of the nation's land.

Historically the Miskitos were supported by the British, who established a Miskito Kingdom. The Creoles are of African ancestry, having been part of the great number of Black slaves imported by the English. The Mestizos have lived mostly in the areas of Nicaragua controlled by the Spanish. Each group is distinct culturally, linguistically and socially. The aim of the Revolutionary Government is to "help them give expression and creativity to their potentialities" and to overcome the centuries of oppression and exploitation that created a class structure of racial and cultural discrimination which exalted the supposed virtues of one ethnic group to the detriment of the others.

The policy of the Nicaraguan government is that Nicaragua should be a living whole and that each part of the country should have its special function, each reciprocally supporting the other. The War of Liberation, which led to victory over the Somoza dictatorship in 1979, served as a major means of consciousness raising as well as giving the self-confidence necessary for the people of Nicaragua to conduct their own destiny.

Unfortunately for the unity of the nation, the peoples of

the Atlantic Coast did not share in this process to the degree of those Nicaraguans on the Pacific Coast. The degree of political consciousness within the two populations varied greatly. Combined with these social realities were inequalities of social and economic conditions, racial prejudices and the ethnocentric attitudes found in each sub-system. From a systems viewpoint the need existed for the Latin identity of the Pacific Coast and the Anglo-Caribbean culture of the Atlantic Coast to become part of the whole free nation of Nicaragua.

Sociologically, the task before the Revolutionary Government is to provide leadership on all levels of society providing ideas, means of action and coordination. The unified system will have to define common identity, values and goals without destroying the identity and values of the three sub-systems. New attitudes and behaviors, as part of the new free Nicaragua, will be required. This will have to come through specific actions in the areas of health care, employment, education and integral development especially on the Atlantic Coast.

The Atlantic Coast has had its own social organization for many generations. This is especially true of the Miskitos. An effective system must be developed that incorporates both the new and the old. Of course, common goals and tasks must be established to afford opportunity for the peoples of the two coasts to "do things together." Human relationships are built on working and playing together. Lastly, some limits must be set, for there is no freedom without limits. Within this new system of a free Nicaragua, semipermeable relationships with the outside world must be provided and connections established.

In sum, the task facing the Revolutionary Government and the people of Nicaragua is to work together, mutually reinforcing one another and developing a systemic purpose that is shared by the various ethnic groups in order to effect a social system that transcends and is greater than its individual parts. The churches of Nicaragua share in this task, for the churches, as systems within themselves, are regarded by many authorities to be among the strongest institutions in the country. Christians played an active and vital role in the insurrection. The relationship of churches and government continues to be defined.

The future of Nicaragua depends as much on the ability for internal integration as it does on ideological agreement. At least, that is how one U.S. resident in Nicaragua is perceiving the Nicaraguan experience. ■

The Rev. Robert W. Renouf holds the degrees of Doctor of Ministry (Religion and Society) and Doctor of Philosophy (Psychology).

Noted Liberian Will Address Dinner

A prominent Episcopal priest who has addressed the UN Security Council three times and has been thrice decorated for moderating conflicts in Africa will be the guest speaker at the Episcopal Church Publishing Company Awards Dinner in New Orleans Sept. 7.

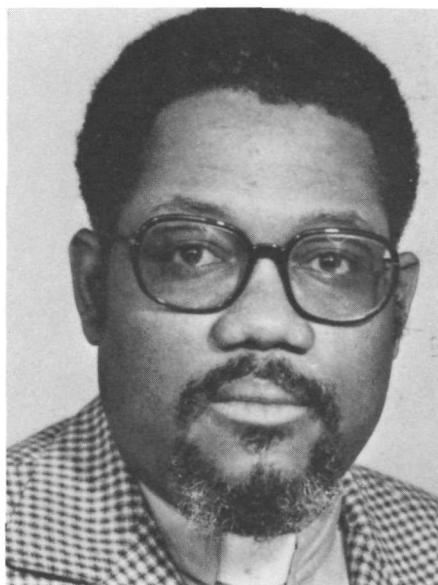
He is the Rev. Canon Burgess Carr of Liberia, who is currently Associate Professor of Pastoral Theology at Yale University's Divinity School, and Vicar of St. Andrew's, New Haven.

Canon Carr in 1972 conducted negotiations which led to the Addis Ababa Agreement, ending 17 years of civil war in the Sudan. The respect generated by this event caused him to be called upon to mediate conflicts in several African nations, including Angola, Burundi, Ethiopia/Eritrea, Nigeria, Uganda and Zimbabwe (prior to independence).

For his role in the Sudan peace efforts, Canon Carr was awarded the Grand Cordon in the Order of the Two Niles by Sudanese President Gaafar El Nimieri; the Chevalier D'Honneur, L'ordre de L'Etoile by President Mohammed Siad Barre of Somalia; and the Knight Great Band in the Humane Order of African Redemption by President William Tolbert, Jr. of his native Liberia.

For more than a decade the Episcopal priest has been engaged with issues around socio-economic development such as involving African churches in programs of relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction, both during and subsequent to times of political upheaval.

"Intensive participation at the socio-political, cultural and value-forming levels has profoundly deepened my convictions concerning the significance that religion holds for any analysis of



Burgess Carr

contemporary structural problems, whether within Africa or between Africa and other regions of the world," Canon Carr said.

Canon Carr currently serves as a Board Member of OXFAM, America; a member of the International Advisory Council of the African American

Institute, and of the Continuation and Working Committees of the Christian Peace Conference. From 1971 to 1979, he served as Secretary General of the All-African Conference of Churches, Nairobi, Kenya. Canon Carr is married to the former Frances Verdier. They have five children: Audrey, Kedrick, Oyesiku, Yao, and Mleh.

Four persons will be honored at the ECPC dinner, with the Vida Scudder, William Spofford, and William Scarlett awards, plus a special award of merit.

They are, respectively, Marion Kelleran, noted Episcopal laywoman who served for 10 years on the Anglican Consultative Council; the Rev. Ben Chavis, Deputy Director of the Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ; The Rt. Rev. John E. Hines, retired Presiding Bishop, Protestant Episcopal Church, USA; and William Stringfellow, author, attorney, and theologian.

WITNESS readers are invited to make reservations for the ECPC dinner by filling out and returning the coupon below. Acknowledgements will be mailed upon receipt of your reservation.

ECPC Awards Dinner Reservation

Please reserve _____ places at \$12 per person (tables of 10 for \$120) for me/us at the ECPC Awards Banquet during General Convention in New Orleans. Enclosed is a check in the amount of _____.

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Paula Ross, left, coordinator of the *Feminist Study Action Guide Project*, and Joan Howarth, liaison with the ECPC Board, confer with a prospective publisher.

Women's Publication Seeks Contributors

WITNESS readers are invited to submit material for a new publication currently being prepared under the auspices of the *Feminist Study Action Guide Project*, a group convened by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company.

Audience for the new publication is designated as "potential or borderline feminists," according to Paula Ross, coordinator of the project.

"We are trying to reach those women who for some reason have been unable or unwilling to take the final step of claiming the name 'feminist' for themselves — the ones who say, 'I'm Not a Women's

Libber, but . . .'", Ms. Ross explained.

The new guide will explore issues that are important to women in eight areas: economics, the family, community, health, sexuality, violence, education and spirituality. The project is looking for fiction, poetry, short plays, essays, personal stories, interviews, oral histories, and art work. "Using these forms, we want to provide a useful tool for women to explore issues important to all of us. We see the book informed by an awareness of how racism, classism, sexism, and homophobia are used to divide us and prevent us from claiming the

strength we own together," Ms. Ross added.

A journalist, Ms. Ross coordinates the project from Berkeley, Cal. She was hired by the Project Board, a group of 15 women from throughout the country, of various races, classes, and ages.

"I'm Not a Women's Libber, but . . . *who says I can't be a feminist?*" is the other half of the sentence serving as the theme for this new guide.

Contributions and suggestions should be mailed by Aug. 31 to Paula Ross, 1312 Addison St., Berkeley, Cal. 94702. Target date for publication is April, 1983.