

new world outlook

OCTOBER 1970



SPECIAL ISSUE — Latin America and the Caribbean

MISSIONGRAM

What stand does a church take toward revolution? Differing stands are shown by Christians in three countries in Latin America—Brazil, Cuba and Colombia.

In Brazil, the government is enforcing censorship and clamping down on freedom. Some political prisoners are tortured horribly. There are people angry enough to make a revolution . . . and maybe some of them are trying. A number of priests have been tortured on suspicion of subversion. But officially the churches are pretty quiet. For instance, Protestant churches in Brazil won't speak directly about the torture and want no part of political involvement.

But not all Christians are silent. The Roman Catholic episcopacy has denounced the tortures; Bishop Helder Camara is noted for his outspoken views on behalf of the poor and the repressed. But still, the official inclination—at least among Protestants—is to keep quiet and stay out of it.

In pre-revolutionary Cuba, the Protestant churches were quiet under the harsh repression of Batista. But when the lid blew off with Castro's successful revolution, it was found that some Protestants wholeheartedly favored this change and are helping to build a new Cuban society. Many who were not in sympathy have left. Cuban Protestants are strongly biblical and evangelical in their beliefs. They cannot join the Communist party, but have not been harshly repressed.

Still another stance is called for by a group of Roman Catholic priests in Colombia. The Rev. James Goff, a missionary on a special research assignment in Mexico, summarizes their views: "The Golconda priests see revolutionary change as the only way to clothe the naked, feed the hungry, heal the sick and liberate the prisoners in Colombia today. These priests . . . call on the church to be subversive of the present order of 'exploitation and institutionalized violence.'" In other words, the church as an institution should take a revolutionary role.

Others are calling for various degrees of Christian involvement in revolutionary action. Much theological and biblical evidence points toward Christian participation in the reform of society. The tough questions are whether the church as an institution should be subversive of social institutions . . . and whether Christians in good conscience can engage in revolutionary violence. These questions are becoming hard to avoid in many parts of Latin America.

new/world outlook

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JUDGMENT ON IFCO

I reread "How Firm the Interreligious Foundation?" [July] carefully lest I misunderstand. While I appreciate your care in preparing the data, I do not think it changes my judgment relative to IFCO. Perhaps it confirms it.

1. I have never felt that IFCO is all wrong. Many things are worthwhile—things which I support completely. But also the Panthers do some good things, as well as the John Birchers, the SDS, etc. But I can't approve the philosophy of these groups, just as I can't approve IFCO, simply for doing some worthwhile things.

2. The philosophy is wrong. For years I have been actively opposed to white separatism. How can I honestly now encourage black separatism? The future for all groups in America is in corporate effort to destroy evil. Fighting separately destroys not only the authentic American way of life but perverts the Gospel.

3. If I approved black separatism I would have to approve American-Indian separatism, Spanish-American separatism, German-speaking separatism, Japanese-American separatism, etc. You see how foolish the thing becomes.

4. I agree with Ralph Bunche and Kenneth Clark that black studies is not the way. The American Negro has his roots not in Africa but in America. And all this business of Swahili is a bit ridiculous. My background is Scottish, but I would be a dunce to make a plea for the study of Celtic just to show my ancestry! Within a pluralistic culture, for any one group to want to isolate itself (with the aid of funds from the outside!) tends to undermine the one thing which has made this nation significant: cooperative endeavors by quite diverse groups.

5. I can't overlook the fact that several Presbyterian groups have rejected support for IFCO. They show better judgment than our (United Methodist) Board of Missions.

6. I thought it was basic in Christian faith to seek to bring others to Christ. I find nothing in IFCO to show any concern, much less any action, to confront people with Jesus as Lord. Thus IFCO represents, in my thinking, one side of a current American tragedy: on the one hand are the evangelists—long on conversation but lacking social vision; on the other are social reformers—long on action with no concern to make Christians out of pagan Americans. *Both are wrong.* IFCO stands with the latter.

(REV.) CLAUDE H. THOMPSON
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Thompson is a professor at Candler School of Theology, Atlanta, Georgia.

STOP THE GUNS

I read the article "When the Guns Have Stopped" [July] by Dön Luce with disbelief. How could he write this heart-rending article without one plea to the readers to do all that we can to *stop the guns?*

He acts as though he were writing to some people on Mars, who have no responsibility for what is going on in Vietnam. Our lack of political action is killing those people (and people in Laos and Cambodia)! We are the ones paying for the bombs, the defoliants, the soldiers (American and Thai).

How naive is he to suggest that once the war is over the Vietnamese would want an American around? I remember very vividly having a Japanese Christian youth worker visit us when we lived in Malaya, and that many Malayan youth refused to talk to him—and that was twelve years after World War Two.

The Church must take a stand to change our national priorities that allow over 70 per-

Letters

cent of the national budget for wars, past, present and future, and ask its members to take informed political action to bring the war in Indo-China to an end.

On a TV interview a worker for the Church in Vietnam was asked, "How do the people of Vietnam act as they receive your relief supplies, when they know that the same people who pay for the food and clothes also buy the bombs?" The Church worker had no answer.

The least we can do is to write our Congressmen and Senators and let them know there are Christian Americans who want an *immediate* end to the war.

LEE (MRS. THOMAS) BROWN
Lake Bluff, Illinois

SPIRITUAL SENSITIVITY GROWTH

It is not quite clear in my mind what Mrs. Dail hopes to accomplish in her article, "A Trip Beyond" [June]. My personal opinion is that had she not been the minister's wife, the "group" would not have stood still for her infantile behavior. To me the work of the Church includes teaching our children to repress barbaric tendencies (discipline), and it comes simply under the easy to understand heading of "good manners." In our changing world it is still possible to determine whether a person possesses "fruits of the Spirit" by his social consideration of his fellowman. Personal integrity is one thing—group rudeness (unkindness) quite another!

Not all individuals have scintillating personalities and are stimulating to be around. Mrs. Dail in "stirring up the stuff" is attempting to relieve the boredom of those long-drawn-out operational meetings to which we, who are seriously concerned with the work of the Church, must be subjected. These Scriptures came to mind:

"For God is not the author of confusion but of peace." "Let all things be done decently and in order" (1 Cor. 14:33, 40).

"When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things" (1 Cor. 13:11). Thus I cannot correlate Mrs. Dail's group actions with responsible Christian adult behavior.

Christ gives to each soul, who is truly surrendered and seeking a way to serve, a real sensitivity to the needs of others. Therefore, receiving Christ is still the first step toward any spiritual sensitivity growth.

I would not dream of "leaning on any man" in our congregation in hopes of establishing communication with him through my body contact. Body touch communicates! But sexual response is not what we're after in the Church. *It's spiritual response!*

MRS. SHIRLEY E. MCCOY
Connersville, Indiana

ON TORTURE IN BRAZIL

The letter from Jalmar Bowden about Brazil [June] shows another side from what the *new/World Outlook* and especially *Christian Century* have shown. For me, the truth lies somewhere in between. There does exist torture in Brazil, if you have talked to someone who has been through it you cannot deny it. There are "Death Squads" who brazenly take the law in their own hands as they execute those whom

they have found guilty of being criminals. There are terrorists who have kidnapped ambassadors. . . . But to characterize Brazil as a whole by these acts would be to cite George Wallace as representing all America, to cite the number of deaths of Negroes in Mississippi without the conviction of a single white murderer as being characteristic of all the U.S. As long as there is no habeas corpus in Brazil persons will be held in jail for long periods of time without formal charges (as is the former editor of our youth magazine for the Methodist Church). As long as the president and governors are appointed by the military the government cannot be regarded as a democracy. But the government is moving to do away with the death squads . . . , the opposition party can publicly demand investigations of torture to the Commission on Human Rights, the rich are paying income taxes which they never paid before, there is the reduction of inflation, the Rodom program (a national "peace corps" sent to the interior of Brazil), a stable government that is trying to meet some of the tremendous problems of a country larger than the U.S. (without Alaska) that has one part (the northeast) larger than Mexico with 20 million people, where only five out of ten babies survive to celebrate their first birthday. Pray for us in His mission here, as we pray for you in your mission there.

A final word about the article of Hilda Dail ["A Trip Beyond" June]. Hilda's article is good, but has that tremendous lack that I've seen in so much sensitivity training, the lack of vertical reference. It's hinted at when she finds the group communicating through the leadership of a Negro mother singing, leading the group in "Leaning on the Everlasting Arms." But it is Christ who breaks down the barriers between us, and when in the church the sensitivity training (through which all of us missionaries pass in orientation) is sheer humanism, we are missing the greatest dynamic in the world, God's presence with us, the Holy Spirit (the spirit of Christ, as Paul often said) to bring real communication among us.

GEORGE C. MEGILL
Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

WHERE ARE "THE NEW MEN"?

In the August issue *Missiongram* you take issue with such terms as "the new man" and the "new humanity."

Just because these phrases are being used . . . does not mean that we have very many of these "new people" around! The low standards of social conduct so much in evidence are *not* the actions of "new men in Christ Jesus," but rather they are the conduct of those who have refused to become new men by accepting the good news of Christ and living accordingly. Where such conduct is traceable to church members, then these members are false or mistaken Christians. . . .

We do not have a Christian society just because some few of us are true followers of the Lord Jesus. True Christian men are very much in the minority in America today, and are becoming scarcer all the time! In our "holiness impatience" we insist on converting society instead of converting men.

Let's not get impatient with God, but keep trying to reach men with the truly saving Gospel, so that they will be new men like yourself, just as I am striving to be a "new man—in Christ Jesus."

(REV.) TROY R. BRADY
Winter Park, Fla.

Illusion and Reality

This month we bring you a special issue on Latin America and the Caribbean to supplement the mission study of the churches, "The Americas: How Many Worlds?" It is clear to any student of the Americas that U.S. dominance has produced a particularly virulent strand of anti-Americanism south of the border and that no amount of Good Neighbor posturing or aid of the type proffered to date will erase the "Yanqui go home" slogans.

What can individuals and church members do to promote genuine harmony between North Americans and Latin Americans?

United Presbyterians and United Methodists have been giving serious study to a major document, "Illusion and Reality in Inter-American Relations," which makes a number of worthy recommendations.

Among its recommendations in the cultural arena: Latin-American cultural, educational, and informational extension within the U.S. should be encouraged. Sizable private and public funds should be provided for Latin Americans to participate in programs attacking poverty and inequality in the States. (The poverty and discrimination experienced by Hispanic Americans in our country makes evident to Latin Americans our insensitivity to human dignity and genuine development.) Misuse of cultural programs and academic research for defense and CIA-related activities should be terminated.

In the political field, the report calls for strict non-intervention in Latin American domestic political affairs, real collective judgment and common action on hemispheric issues and the initiation of steps to reestablish normal relations with Cuba.

Military advisory groups should be reduced, counterinsurgency training should be curtailed, U.S. military bases should be dismantled and all other military programs reevaluated, the document continues.

It recommends these economic measures: Economic assistance should be internationalized, freed from "buy-American" and "ship-American" requirements

and more emphasis placed on aid in the form of direct grants or loans with minimal interest and easy repayment terms. The U.S. ought to implement commodity agreements to stabilize just prices and reliable markets for primary products and establish preferential tariff and trade agreements for Latin American manufactures. Where nationalization of U.S.-owned enterprises occurs, the U.S. should refrain from withdrawing aid funds. President Nixon's new proposals for aid reform endorse a number of these recommendations and it is to be hoped that a Congress disillusioned with aid and intent on erecting new tariff walls will be receptive to these proposals.

Another cause for encouragement is the increasing recognition by churches, which are major stockholders, of an obligation to review their investments to ensure that they are not unwitting partners to exploitative economic practices overseas. Ethical considerations are being added to the criteria for choice of investments. There are a number of precedents for wielding economic muscle to challenge corporate practices.

In regard to the Church, the report urges a reexamination of the impact on the struggle for social justice in Latin America of mission institutions, programs and personnel. It would encourage more interaction among Latin American church leaders to develop greater sensitivity to the issue of social justice, and communication and consultation between North and Latin American churches to that end. It calls for careful screening and training of mission personnel, the scrutiny of mission involvement to ensure programs are not actually working against social reform, and education on Latin American realities through church publications and educational institutions in the U.S.

These are some of the issues concerned Christians face today. It sometimes seems all but impossible for the individual to get a handle on these problems and to influence them in any meaningful way. But in a democratic society we have the right and obligation to develop awareness and concern about issues dividing the Americas and to serve as watchful constituents for the legislation which will best guarantee social justice.

As "Illusion and Reality" suggests, the first step is to reassess the myths about our Latin neighbors so that we might

be prepared to restrain and redirect U.S. power. This restraint and re-direction, according to the document, "will require soul-searching and painful readjustment by both the nation and the church."

Spotlight on Chile

The recent victory of a Communist-backed candidate in Chile's presidential election is a staggering blow to all those columnists and speechwriters who are fond of saying no Communist government was ever freely chosen.

The Marxism of 63-year-old Dr. Salvador Allende, the winner of a plurality but not a majority in a three-way race, may be closer to plain Santiago pragmatism than to either Moscow or Peking, but it is still Marxism. Allende is a great admirer of the Cuban revolution (in spite of Fidel's latest four-hour speech outlining the failure of the national effort to produce a *zafra*, or sugar harvest, of ten million tons). If Allende is confirmed by the Chilean Congress, he will probably move first to nationalize the copper industry, then banking and communications—but steps such as these have been taken by many non-Communist governments around the world. More TV, for instance, is probably state-owned than private worldwide.

If a Marxist government can be voted in—and out—in orderly and peaceful elections the Chilean people will have added an entirely new dimension to democracy. It is a flexibility which would be the envy of other Latin American nations, not to mention the rest of the world—"free" or "Communist."

But for the present there is much uncertainty. We in the United States would do well to hear the reaction of the United Methodist missionaries in Chile, who met in Santiago following the election. In a statement prepared for North Americans they said, in part, "In the light of the uncertainty caused by this event, we North Americans serving the Methodist Church in Chile feel we should assure our fellow citizens of the United States that it was a completely free election, carried out in an orderly, peaceful way. . . . We urge the United States to respect the right of self-determination of the Chilean people and to maintain a friendly and cooperative attitude toward Chile in her new venture."



development—the latin american view

James E. Goff

If your church were interested in a panel discussion by Latin American Christians on the development of their continent it could do no better than to listen to these four men:

—Dr. Jose Miguez-Bonino, 46 years old, is an Argentinian Methodist who has taught in Rome and New York and is now President of Union Theological Seminary in Buenos Aires. He has also been a pastor and a youth worker. He is married and has three sons.

—Dr. Rubem A. Alves, 37, has, like Miguez-Bonino, been a member of the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches. A Brazilian Presbyterian, he is author of *A Theology of Human Hope*. He is married and has two sons.

—Gonzalo Castillo-Cardenas, 38, is an ordained Presbyterian minister in Colombia who is currently working on a Ph.D. in Religion. He is married and has two children.

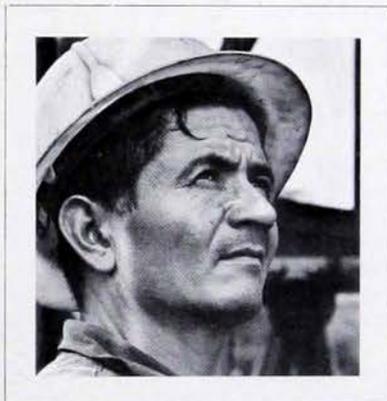
—Dr. Orlando Fals-Borda is a Presbyterian layman in Colombia who has just finished a two-year assignment as director of the United Nations Research Institute for Development for Latin America.

But from such a distinguished panel your church might hear some unexpected ideas. You would *not* hear much about development being ordered and controlled, about the middle class leading the way, about the importance of a stable government, about the necessity of foreign (U.S.) capital investment in Latin America, about building up Latin America as a consumer-oriented market, or about underdevelopment as a stage on the way to "development."

You *would* hear that underdevelopment is more than an economic problem, that there is a "structure of injustice" in which developed nations participate, that the function of Christians in present-day Latin America must be subversive, and that the heart of the problem is the division of the world between the rich nations and the poor nations.

One of the first things the panel would say is that underdevelopment is not a phase prior to development but a relationship which exists within the capitalistic structure. Citizens of the Third World, the panel might say, once thought that their plight was one of *under*-development and that it was only a matter of time and money; now they know that it is not a temporal matter but a relational one—they were made poor.

We customarily see development as a process of continuous economic and social improvement along the lines of Western industrial countries. This



The Colombian oil worker is essential for the development of his country. San Filipe, (opposite page) is a government-sponsored middle class project in Lima, Peru.

"orthodox" process, as described by Dr. Jose Miguez-Bonino, depends on securing foreign capital investment, limiting imports and increasing exports, and establishing an economy of "saving". Such a process, he says, "depends upon the enterprising spirit of the upper and middle classes. Some measure of land reform and some social legislation are necessary along the way, but not such as would seriously hinder the freedom of production, commerce and profit lest there be no motivation for development." Internal stability and political orthodoxy count more than social reform.

Dr. Miguez-Bonino is very critical of this "orthodox" approach:

"Economically . . . a consumption-centered capitalism engaged in the search for markets can hardly be expected to build a capitalism which requires "saving" as necessary for development. Furthermore, industrialization created through foreign investment is necessarily subsidiary to the foreign centers from which the investment has come so that the pattern of dependence is reinforced rather than weakened. Finally, those foreign interests, to which the local interests become allied in the process, will strenuously resist curbs on profits, the obligation to reinvest profits in the same country in which they were made, and severe limitations on imports which would mean a closing of markets."

One example of this approach which is frequently criticized in Latin America is the Alliance for Progress, begun by President Kennedy. Members of your panel would probably agree that the Alliance has functioned as much to prevent development as it has to promote it. In some countries the Alliance seems to have given effective aid to the dominant classes, avoiding their collapse in times of acute economic crisis. Colombian sociologist Orlando Fals-Borda says that during the first seven years of the Alliance U.S. loans to Colombia amounted to \$732 million. The loans failed to produce the hoped-for economic growth but did permit the government to gain time and postpone urgent structural reforms which might otherwise have been forced on it. Gonzalo Castillo-Cardenas, another Colombian, says the Alliance has primarily served the interests of the United States. The three basic premises of the Alliance, he says, are the "necessity for political stability," the idea that development must be part of a "master strategy for the defense of the hemisphere," and that "development must not conflict with the expanding international commerce of the United States." The contradic-

tion, says Castillo-Cardenas, between trying to maintain the existing structures of international domination and achieving the development of underdeveloped countries is self-evident.

A 'Subversive' Role for Churches?

In considering the role of the churches in the Latin American revolution, Dr. Miguez-Bonino asks whether their basic function is "one of integration or of subversion, of conservation or of disruption?" He observes that "an increasing number of Roman Catholics and Protestants are becoming convinced . . . that the function of the Christian in present-day Latin America must be a subversive one: the summons of the gospel is the demand for justice, and the demand for justice is spelled out only in terms of revolutionary action."

Dr. Fals-Borda argues that subversion is the very condition for development in Latin America. His interest is in how societies change. In a study published in English last year he examines a series of transformations which have occurred in Colombian society: utopian concepts created crises in the existing orders and, following periods of transition, new stable orders were established. In each case subversion was the way by which the old order was overcome; it opened the way to a new society.

Far from being an immoral concept, subversion, according to Fals-Borda, is a forerunner of social and economic development. He says it this way:

"Confronted with the real misery found in the rich lands of the Latin American subcontinent, subversives propose fundamental changes in national and international economic systems and social organization. These changes go beyond the reforms currently recommended and which have proved to be mere palliatives—this has been, at least, the overwhelming experience of the First Development Decade and the Alliance for Progress in the area. Besides, the subversives think in terms of supranationalism; this implies uniting the peoples of Latin America who are today divided by artificial boundaries curtailing their chances of true, autonomous development. Convinced also of the importance of individual decision and action, they go so far as to stimulate the formation of a 'new man,' free from alienation and

able to achieve fulfillment as a total human being."

Fals-Borda finds Latin American models of subversion to be of significance for the whole world as processes leading to revolution and autonomous technology: the figure of Che Guevara has become a liberating symbol for humanity; the example of Cuba is uncovering the mechanisms of imperialism; and Latin American subversion has contributed substantially to the increasing political awareness of students everywhere. "The Second Development Decade," he says, "may turn out to be, rather, the Decade of Subversion, thanks in large part to the decision and pioneering example of the Latin American people in their struggle for a more just and human social order."

A Theology of Development

Brazilian theologian Rubem A. Alves is one of a growing number of churchmen working on a theology that will define the development problem and the process of social transformation. Inevitably, the heart of the problem is the division of the world between the rich nations and the poor nations—the irreducible reality of poverty and starvation.

The concept of "rapid social change" has been seen as a process leading to a solution of the problem. It was believed that we were dealing with a structure in which, together with a basic contradiction of rich vs. poor nations, there was also a continuing process toward solution. "Underdevelopment," says Alves, "was interpreted . . . as a stage in the direction of development, as a phase that chronologically and necessarily precedes development."

But this theory is not supported by the facts. The rich nations are getting richer and the poor poorer. The gap only widens. Says Alves:

"Development and underdevelopment, instead of being successive phases in a single process of development, are rather poles in a structure in which the rich nations become richer and the poor nations poorer. The rich nations, consequently, are not part of the solution to underdevelopment but are rather its cause. In our historic past, development and exploitation have been intimately related."

Alves, who is now in New York this year as a professor at Union Theological Seminary, tries to distinguish the two basic solutions to the problem

of underdevelopment. The two solutions, essentially, are either "from the top down" (in which the common people are regarded as a non-functional factor and virtually excluded from active participation while the technological elite control the solutions) or "from the bottom up" (in which the need for all men to participate creatively is the priority and alienation is overcome). The former might be called the ideology of technology, while the latter is a process of humanization, or "radical utopianism."

If development is understood as an economic question, as technologism does, then the rich nations are excluded from the search for a solution. If the perspective is changed from economy to creativity, however, then a large percentage of the rich nations may be included in the discussion. The problem, says Alves, is not underdevelopment, but a structure of injustice which feeds on and lives by underdevelopment. What faces us is not only a technical problem, but an ethical one, in which powerful economic groups exploit those who are under their control. Thus, the problem of underdevelopment cannot be solved in our situation on the level of technology, but only on that of revolution; and by revolution I mean the destruction of those structures which feed themselves on the bodies of the victims of underdevelopment."

Reconciliation says Alves, is possible for man only by four steps: (1) The conquering of his own alienation is a process by which man externalizes himself through his activities, thereby creating cultural structures (including economic and technological ones) in his own image and likeness. . . . (2) The process of humanization occurs when man perceives the contradiction between his anthropological needs and the limits set by the structures which restrain him. . . . As he becomes aware of the forces that repress him and as he suffers from their violence, his reconciliation with the world becomes a task that is carried out through *power*. (3) The process of humanization is not only a *means* to an end. It is through his creative activity that man becomes human. . . . To be human is to participate in the creation of the world. (4) Man is a process. He is an unfinished experiment. ■

U.S. INVESTMENTS: THE HIDDEN EMPIRE

VICTOR SANTOS



Victor Santos is a pseudonym for a Brazilian writer and former university profes



Indian street vendors in La Paz, Bolivia, have obviously not benefited from heavy investment of U.S. private businesses in that country.

THE AMERICAN PRESENCE in Latin America is extensive and has been

visible for a long while. It involves enormous economic interests which

include production for exportation and for the internal market and the

ownership of thousands of square miles. But it is not confined to the economic sector; it goes unbelievably farther. While Americans train native police and give military assistance to the armies, American scholars work on our economic and administrative problems (in certain cases—as in Argentina in the late sixties—being responsible for the entire statistical model utilized in the planning of the economy).

The big point naturally is: What are the effects of such a presence? It is true that Latin America has huge problems of poverty, health, education; it is true that our people have been striving for improvement in their lives. But the American presence is not innocent. In saying this, I am not using any theory of imperialism; common sense shows that such a sizable interference as America's has to have some very deep effect on Latin American history.

North American capital went to Latin America in search of profits: to Mexico for minerals and, later, for oil; to Venezuela, Peru and Argentina for petroleum; to Chile for copper and Bolivia for tin. Americans went to some countries when the British presence was still strong although losing ground. In some countries American capital was invested in businesses related to the exporting of industrial crops and foodstuffs; in others, especially in Central America, investments were made in plantations; in other cases, American firms operated as middlemen in the export trade.

It is now obvious that the contribution of these economic initiatives to the welfare of Latin America countries is nil. In economic terminology these mines, plantations and trading

companies are called "enclaves", which means they are oriented towards the foreign economy. They have had little effect on the whole society and did not even improve the economy technologically. Wages paid by these enterprises used to be extremely low. Links were established between American enterprises and

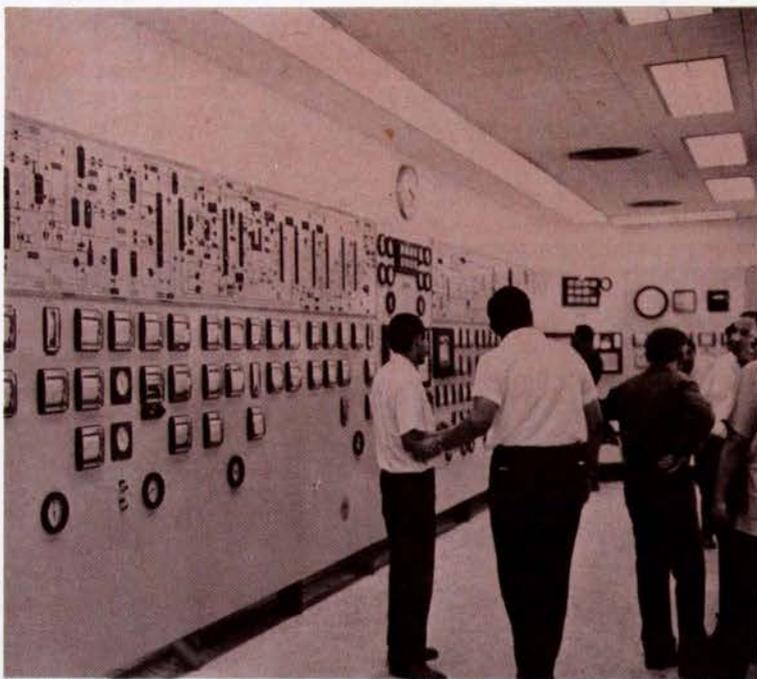
formation of national industries directed towards the extraction and refining of petroleum and in mining—what happened was that a good part of the industrialization was carried on by American firms. (The proportion of U.S. private investment directed toward the industrial sector in Latin America rose from 35 percent in 1951

to 60 percent in 1962.) In one of the most industrialized countries of Latin America, Mexico, U.S. firms owned, in the early sixties, one-fifth of the manufacturing industries. In Brazil, American firms produce 80 to 100 percent of the total output of some capital goods industries, such as machinery for hydroelectric plants.

Again, this new phase of Latin American history has been advantageous to American enterprises. In general, U.S. private investment came to benefit from protectionist legislation. Latin American governments started the process of import substitution by giving tax and customs protection to the infant industries.

Now a good number of those industries which got a captive market, import facilities and easy credit from public banking systems were American-owned. All this special assistance gave rise to a huge amount of profits, so that the flow of profits and remittances from Latin America greatly exceeded the amount of foreign private investments coming into Latin America. (According to U.S. Department of Commerce figures, the outflow from Latin America from 1950 to 1965 was U.S. \$7.5 billion greater than the inflow.)

Some persons would argue that, in plain business terms, what has been happening in Latin America is quite acceptable: he who has the expertise and capital is entitled to the rewards.



The use of advanced technology, such as this control room at a refinery, has only increased Latin American dependence on the U.S.

native oligarchies which monopolized the land and the political power. In these alliances, the American firms, as a result of their financial power and access to the international market, got the lion's share of the profits.

This economic picture remained almost unchanged for several decades. In the forties and the fifties, a number of Latin American nations began industrialization drives. These drives have been colored by anti-American ideologies of economic nationalism. The rationale was that the American corporations were against industrialization because it would mean the loss of markets for American products.

Although there was some American resistance—not necessarily against industrialization, but mainly against the

But this ignores all the institutional and historical background to which we have referred. American firms came to a continent where American capital had been established for a long time. It had been privileged in the mining, petroleum and plantation businesses; it got more privileges during the industrialization drive. Besides the aspect of the outflow of profits and remittances (which had an extremely negative role in the balance of payments hardships of Latin American countries), the American participation in the industrialization process was a menace for three reasons: 1) although it had not been so predatory as the enterprises in the petroleum and mining sector, it has emphasized private gain over social needs, and has been oriented toward the production of goods consumed by the high income classes; 2) the emphasis on capital intensive (labor saving) production and the use of the most modern technology has increased Latin America's dependence on the U.S. and other devel-

oped countries which supply the machines and technical know-how (ironically industrialization was supposed to lead to independence and autonomy); 3) profits remitted abroad were not available for the development of the continent.

Therefore, the American contribution to the development of Latin America has involved all the bad aspects and distortions of this process. Now it is hard to know if the Latin American middle class would shape the process in a different way. The point is that no other way is now possible. During the early days of industrialization, there was a widespread belief that the middle classes of Latin American countries would fight for agrarian reforms and against U.S. eco-

nomie presence in the continent. It was expected that the results would be the formation of a strong national industry supported by a large internal market created by the agrarian reform. It would also mean less dependence of the country upon foreign markets, imports and technology. Those hopes were not fulfilled because of the strong links among the

support capitalist economic growth, heavily dependent on American corporations. That kind of growth has been effective in Argentina during the late sixties and has been encouraged by Brazil in the last three years under the military dictatorship. That growth means increased wealth for the rich and the growth of relatively small parts of the societies (the urban centers). On the other hand, the economic growth that implies both a redistribution of the income generated by it and real economic and political independence does not receive American support. Why? Because it would imply enormous changes in economic, social and political terms. Those changes would interfere 1) with the action of American corporations; 2) with the position of, and appropriation of the economic surplus by, the dominant groups (industrialists, landowners and upper middle class); and 3) with the balance of forces in the international scene (and in the "agreement" between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. to divide

the world in zones of influence).

What the United States is supporting in Latin America is not only the profits of American corporations. It is supporting a system that pretends to build in Latin America a social-economic system according to the ideals of American capitalism. The same system and the same methods which have been disastrous at home.

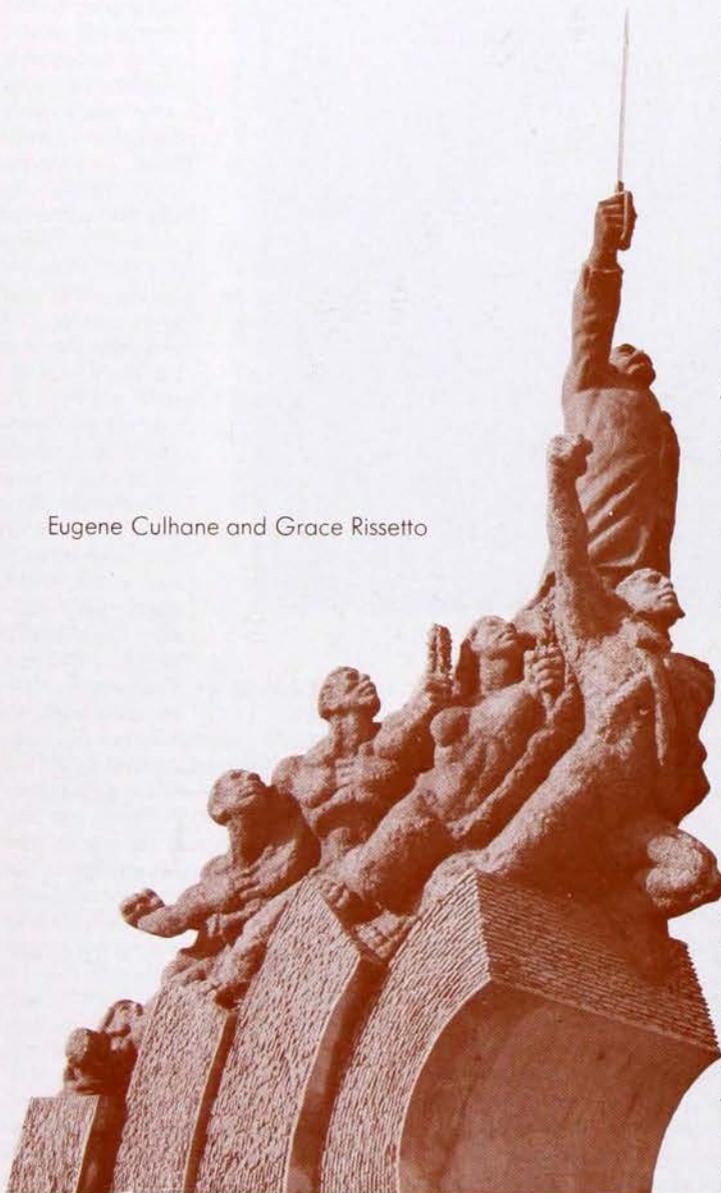
There are two main ways an American can help things change in Latin America. The first is to work to end American financial and military support to the dictatorships; most would not be able to stay in power without it. The second way is to change the economic and social system in the U.S.A. These enemies, although they speak a different language, are the same. ■

**"The US
is the first empire
that thinks that empire
is a dirty word."**

Marcio Moreira Alves

middle classes, the landowners and the American enterprises: they acted as partners in the industrialization. Agrarian reform was not carried out; therefore, the market was not enlarged. On the other hand, capital intensive industrialization made Latin American countries more dependent on the advanced industrial countries than before.

The present role of the United States in Latin America is multiple. It is wrong to say that its economic interest is opposed to any economic growth. This is an old version of the theories of American imperialism in Latin America. Now it is accepted that Americans favor some kinds of growth and are against others. They



Eugene Culhane and Grace Risetto

REPRESSION AND THE CHURCH

There has always been violence, and possible torture too, in the long history of governments. We recoil in horror when we hear of such inhumanity. In 1948, the UN Declaration of Human Rights outlawed repression and torture, stating: "Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person, . . . that no one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment . . . , that no one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile." How differently, however, have governments acted.

Among Christians, natural horror is intensified by a recognition that Christ's law of love is poles opposite to brutality. How strange, then, that in Latin America—in nominally Christian countries—human rights are being violated daily. In countries like Brazil, Paraguay and Haiti, men and women are seized in their homes, charged with political crimes, and often not heard from again.

The Roman Catholic Church in Latin America reacted vigorously to the inspiration of Vatican Council II and that continent-wide meeting of the Latin American Bishops Conference in Medellin, Colombia, in 1968. Since then, it has tried to incarnate itself in the struggles of the people to renew and reform society. As on civil repression, the bishops wrote at Medellin: ". . . some members of the dominant sectors occasionally resort to the use of force to repress drastically any attempt at opposition. It is easy for them to find apparent ideological justifications (anti-communism) or practical ones (keeping order) to give their action an honest appearance."

As might have been foreseen, reactions to the Church's new interest in the problems of civil society were immediate. Military governments and right-wing groups everywhere stiffened, pointing to the imminence of "Communist" subversion and threatening harassment and torture. The case of Brazil has been one of the most discussed in the press recently.

This article was prepared by: Fr. Eugene Culhane, S. J., Supervisor of Documentation Services and Mrs. Grace Risetto, Supervisor of Research and Library Department, U.S. Catholic Conference, Division for Latin America.

Brazil's troubles began in March, 1964, when a military group seized power and has since grown increasingly repressive of civic—and human—rights. Growing popular demands for better living conditions—more butter, fewer guns—have forced the government to escalate its repression. Repression, like a two-edged sword, has produced police tortures on the one hand, and underground guerrillas on the other.

How vicious does the torture get these days? A young campus chaplain with the students in Recife, Father Enrique Neto, was warned that his socio-political activities were no longer to be tolerated. One day he was taken out, stabbed, strangled, shot and left hanging from a limb of a tree. This murder was allegedly committed by off-duty police serving with the notorious Death Squadron, whose self-appointed task is to eliminate "undesirables" and "antigovernment elements". When Father Enrique was being buried, the police broke up the funeral cortege and clubbed many of the participants.

Brutality sometimes goes beyond mere killing. *Newsweek* reported not long ago the reactions of a Brazilian security officer who explained the savagery this way: "If these subversives caught me, they wouldn't just question me, but give me a bullet in the back of the head. So I don't feel awfully wrong when I use torture on them to get information that can avoid further bloodshed—and possible head off violence."

Some of the savagery reported from Brazil would make one's hair curl. Personal testimony comes from a young Dominican priest, Father Tito de Alencar, who was arrested and tortured, and driven to attempt suicide. He had been accused of being a contact man for a revolutionary group and of helping to smuggle out of the country people sought by the police. A letter smuggled out of his prison describes his ordeal:

"I went on denying and they kept giving me electric shocks, kicking and beating my chest with rods and hands. . . . I was beaten with hard little boards; cigarette butts were extinguished on my body. For five hours I was thus treated like a dog. . . . They told me this was only the beginning of what would happen to the Dominicans. . . . I was in such a state that I didn't feel capable of suffering more.

"There was only one way out—to kill myself. . . . But what I meant to do was to prevent others from being tortured—to denounce before public opinion and the Church what happens inside Brazilian prisons."

Secrecy is the first thing those who practice violence seek. Secrecy, however, is something that the reality of these situations will not allow. Father Tito's call on the Church to be a witness as he had been, to the abuses and degradations that fellow Christians were enduring, was not unheeded. The Pope himself was approached by Brazilian and American Church leaders in 1968. A Dossier was prepared offering full details on cases of torture: personal statements, testimony of former prisoners, names of those inflicting torture. Father Louis M. Colonnese, Director of the Division for Latin America, U.S. Catholic Conference, presented the Dossier to the Pope, and received a promise that the matter would be investigated personally by His Holiness. Two years later, in May, 1970, the Brazilian bishops themselves called for an investigation into the alleged torture of prisoners. Churchmen in other Latin American countries were sending letters of moral support and issuing protests of their own against strong-armed repression. Other church-related agencies, the National Council of Churches and the Vatican Commission of Justice and Peace, have joined them with their support and influence.

Women in Ecuador demonstrate quietly for various promised reforms in government.





The Brazilian government has met these accusations by repeatedly denying that tortures exist. They claim that the military and local police must handle "subversives" toughly, but do not admit to inhuman treatment. The Brazilian Ambassador to the U.S. has taken issue with the press coverage and "distortions" of facts in reporting the situation. Yet the impartial International Commission of Jurists that recently investigated the charges accused Brazil of making a "systematic and scientifically developed practice" of torture. The commission based its reports on documents smuggled out of Brazilian prisons and concentration camps, statements from prisoners who either escaped or are in exile, and other material gathered by persons who had visited Brazil in recent months.

Brazil is not the only case. It is matched, if not surpassed, by Paraguay, which has been General Stroessner's totalitarian fortress for over thirteen years. Paraguay is beginning to feel the effects of a socially involved Church. Up to this time, Stroessner was subjected to minimum disapproval of his actions from Paraguayan churchmen. Today the Church is behind its people, and is speaking up in defense of their human rights. Stroessner faces a growing Church movement strengthened by the light of social awareness and commitment coming out of the new leadership of Medellin.

The Medellin conclusions of the second General Conference of Latin American bishops gave Latin America the mandate it needed to implement social justice and Church renewal.

The Reverend Philip Wheaton, Episcopal minister of the Church of the Pilgrims, in Washington, D.C., recently pointed out that the dynamic resolutions adopted by the Latin American Catholic Church at Medellin, Colombia, in 1968 were at first slow to be applied. In less than a year, however, people had begun to take them literally, and Paraguay was, he said, the supreme illustration of how people are taking the documents of the Church literally. (Several Bishops from Paraguay shared in preparing the guidelines on church renewal and social reform in Medellin.)

In Paraguay, the confrontation between government forces and citizens, including churchmen, have become violent. The Paraguayan dictator, General Stroessner, does not like to be

challenged. When his police pick up someone who resists the government's aims, he is simply tucked away in some small-town police station and forgotten. Prisoners in jail today have been there for as long as six, eight or ten years—no one knows when they will be brought to trial.

In the middle of 1969, relatives of such prisoners went to certain bishops in Paraguay and asked the Church to intervene in favor of a hearing—or an acquittal. The students took up the cause, and the capital, especially, became loud with their demands. Finally, the bishops did act. In their annual meeting, they demanded that the government release the prisoners. It was the first time in years that General Stroessner found himself challenged.

As a result, he counterattacked. He focused particularly on one parish in

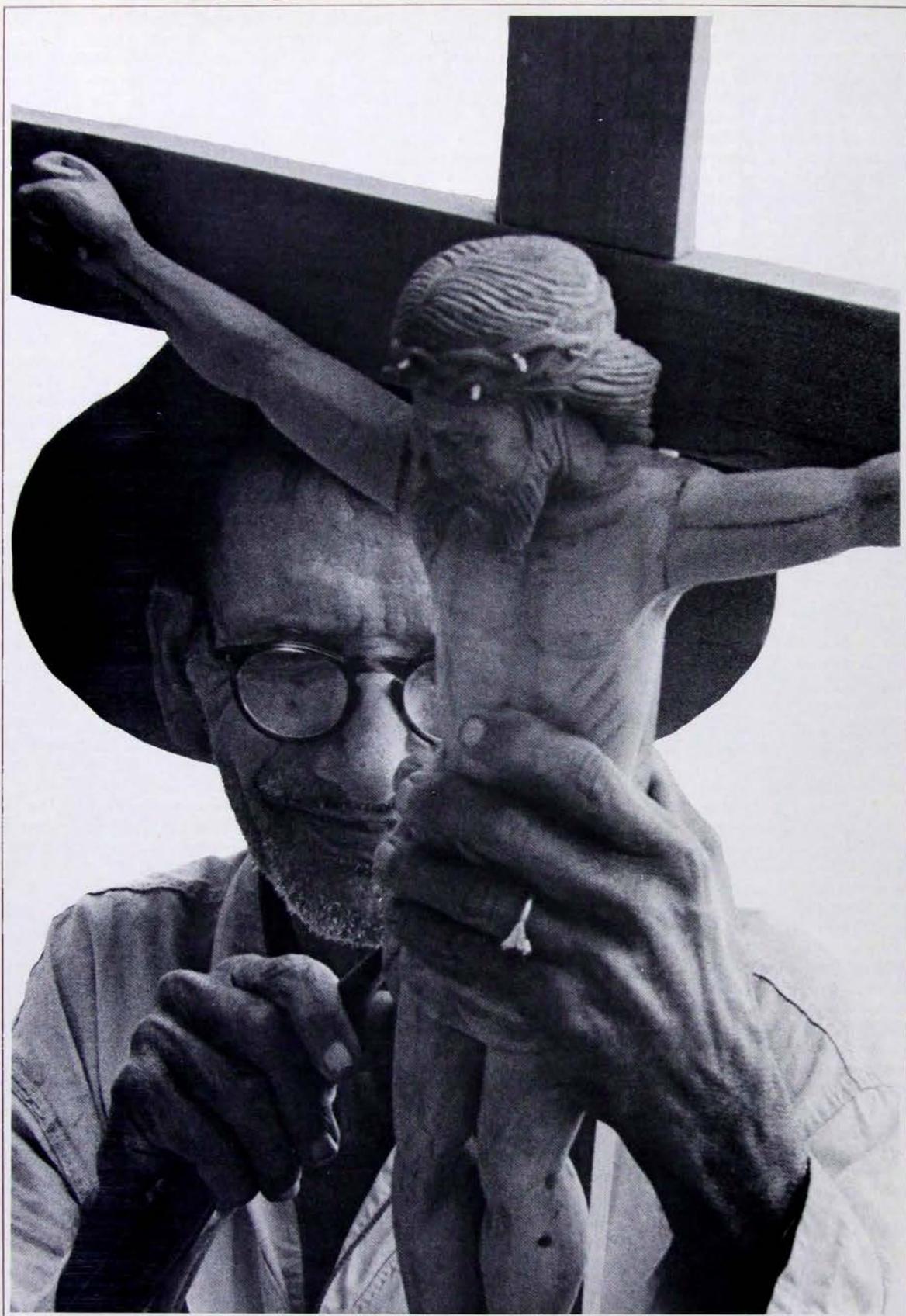


The extreme visibility (top) of the police and military is a fact of Latin American life. (Left) Police guard against possible bomb throwing at a Bogota bull fight. (Above) In La Paz, Bolivian miners demonstrate their skill with war weapons in a parade.

Asuncion, Christ the King, where a priest, Father Oliva, was a very popular preacher among university students who flocked each week to his 8 p.m. Mass. One day, however, Father Oliva was seized by police, unceremoniously hauled away, brought across the river to the Argentine side—and thrust ashore there with a warning not to return to Paraguay. Other police, some in plain clothes, assaulted people marching in a procession of sympathy with the prisoners. Elderly priests and lay people were clubbed with truncheons.

But the Paraguayan hierarchy had sided with the people. The Papal Nuncio of Paraguay was turned away at Cristo Rey when he tried to intercede. He later obtained safe exit of the students through intercession with the ministry of the interior. The Archbishop of Paraguay, Juan Jose Anibal Mena Porta of Asuncion, strongly protested biased and untrue reports by the police about events and the conduct of persons involved. The Church had made its point.

The lesson of these examples—Haiti is another that could be documented in blood-chilling detail—is that civil society should be open if it is to be human, all the more so if it claims to be Christian. Repression means that those in charge are convinced that "we know best" what the country needs, to the point of stamping out with force contrary opinions and movements. The Church in Latin America remains the only free institution that can and has decided that it will speak out and act against these inhuman abuses. ■



HOW MUCH RENEWAL?

Gary MacEoin

Latin America's problem is not too few priests. It is too many of the wrong kind. God's greatest grace to the church here in our times is the crisis of vocations which is emptying the seminaries. Until we get rid of the clergy, we cannot hope to change anything."

The man who made this bitter summing-up for me is a theologian who helped draft the Medellin documents (1968) in which the bishops of Latin America committed themselves to a complete overhaul and updating of the church in the spirit of Vatican II.

"All eyewash," he said of this commitment. "Most of the bishops didn't read what they signed, and few of them would have understood, if they had."

The Medellin rhetoric is impressive. The bishops offered a concept of a liberating God to replace the God of private property. They denounced the oppressing power used by institutions to impose violence, the neocolonialism of the national oligarchies and the United States imperialism which is its ultimate cause and support.

Both at Medellin and in a flurry of national statements which echoed the collective document, the bishops did not hesitate to describe the society as being "in a state of mortal sin."

They stopped short of accepting French newsman Henri Fesquet's charge that the church is in the same state. But they did agree with him on some of the specifics on which he based his evaluation: wealth, complicity with oppressive governments, an alienating formulation of the gospel. It was enough to arouse the enthusiasm of priests and lay people who had taken the Vatican Council seriously.

Less than two years later, many recall an abiding Latin America reality. The decrees of the Spanish king were always received with elaborate honors—received, recorded and filed. And that is what has happened to the bishops' declarations.

A few bishops have moved out of old palaces, but I found only one whose new quarters were less than upper class. I searched in vain for evidence of more than token divorce from "capitalistic" ownership and use of property and from institutions which identify the church with the wealthy.

The average pastor still urges the oppressed to virtuous resignation. And every group of priests or lay people offering an alternative that

threatens the status quo is crushed by joint church-state action.

In Colombia, for example, the state jailed the Golconda priests, who were pushing for social reform, and their bishops suspended them. In Chile, the Latin American Institute of Economic and Social Studies (ILADES), the outstanding Catholic training center in the theology of liberation proclaimed at Medellin and in the techniques for implementing it, was suspended last December for a year. My information is that it will reopen under new management and minus its teeth.

The Third World priests in Argentina have still to achieve a significant victory. The definitive withdrawal of 39 priests from the Rosario diocese after 14 months of negotiations must be read as a clear setback. In Brazil, church and state have cooperated in silencing every progressive voice, including that of Dom Helder Camara, whose name is no longer mentioned by the communications media. The Bolivian bishops in January voted to expel the Spanish priests in charge of the major seminary. And so it goes everywhere.

A silent church

Forty priests from 13 Latin American countries summed up the situation at the last seminar held by ILADES before its suspension:

"Our church for the most part remains silent in the presence of injustice. Groups and movements which contradict the teachings and attitudes of the council and of Medellin are not censured. Instead, they are implicitly or explicitly approved and backed.

"Even more incomprehensible is the contradiction between the documents that were signed in the exercise of a pastoral mission and the . . . disapproval of expressions and undertakings of priests and lay people who want to live their faith fully and authentically."

Everywhere, I found the progressives deeply troubled and discouraged. The crunch had quickly followed their efforts to take the Medellin statements seriously. After all the talk, nothing had really changed. Most bishops remained in their traditional groove, still looking mechanically to Rome for every decision.

Rome for its part tends to side with the obscurantist majorities and to

mortgage the future by concentrating power in safe hands. The two newest additions to Brazil's club of cardinals leave the group without a single progressive voice. Last year in El Salvador 50 priests protested that the choice of their archbishop as a cardinal was a countersign, because he was a "friend of the rich and of the politicians in power."

Mexico, which has no diplomatic relations with the Vatican, is an interesting exception to this rule. The two newest bishops are both progressives, raising the proportion in the hierarchy to 20 per cent, by far the highest in any Latin American country.

The most striking and potentially most encouraging change in the Latin American church has occurred in the new generation of European and North American missionaries. A decade ago they were confident that their know-how would rapidly transform the scene. Now they agree with the progressive Latin Americans that the old solutions have failed miserably. Today many of them see their actual techniques as worthless and their potential contribution as probably marginal.

Basic issue: priest's role

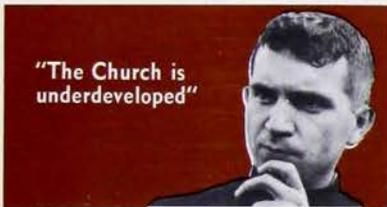
The most basic issue concerns the function of the priest. Traditionally, he settles down in a parish of 15,000 to 20,000 people. Baptism is his basic business. High birth rates ensure up to 2,000 baptisms a year, which at a dollar stole fee each make him relatively wealthy. For the people, baptism is essential. It creates the web of godparent relationships which open the road to social respect and economic survival. Marriages also provide some revenue, although few bother with the ceremony. Then there are masses for a special intention or to celebrate a fiesta.

For a small but growing number of priests, all this creates problems of conscience. Without a minimal knowledge of the teachings of Christ, can these parents or godparents undertake legitimately to raise the child as a Christian? And may one accept an offering for a mass, when the intention of the giver is not to pray for the soul of the deceased, but to protect himself against the restless spirit?

Perhaps the clearest example of the problem of the fiesta mass is found in Brazil, though the underlying issue is

near universal. December 8 brings everyone to church and the devotion expressed to the Immaculate Conception is overwhelming. But for millions, the rite is not in honor of Mary, Mother of the Christian God, but of the African goddesses of the sea and of fertility. Later in the day, the worship is continued at macumba shrines. Sword-carrying saints like Cosmas and Damian, Joan of Arc and George are similarly identified with African war gods.

The average Brazilian priest has unknowingly spent all his working years ministering to this cult. Until recently it was illegal, and the people kept their secret from the outsider among them. Although the facts have now been fully established by research scientists, the church in Brazil has no experts on the subject, preferring to ignore it.



It is only three years since a reference was made to it for the first time at a meeting of priests. One Benedictine priest, in Salvador (Bahia), is seriously studying the phenomenon, but he is doing so against the express wish of Cardinal Eugenio Sales of Salvador. Sales belongs to the not uncommon genus of liberal talkers in Rome and conservative doers at home.

Missionary tokenism

One positive thing, perhaps the main thing, which the new wave of missionaries from Europe and North America has done, is to put this issue of religious syncretism on the map. When they swept into Latin America a decade ago, in response to the "call for 20,000," they set out to demonstrate that what had worked in their respective countries could be made to work anywhere.

But most of them gradually realized that their highly successful and highly subsidized pilot projects were no more than tokenism. Like foreign aid in the secular field, what it did was admirable, but each year the problem grew bigger and the possibility of solution dimmer.

One reason was and is that the church is no more prepared to change its position of privilege than are the oligarchs.

"Among all Latin American institutions, the church is one of the most underdeveloped," according to Father Joseph Comblin, the Belgian sociologist who has worked in Chile and Brazil for 12 years. "It has adopted and continues to adopt the same attitude as the big landholders: it ignores, the existence of the rural masses, or their quality of human beings."

Father Comblin came to an understanding of the situation from his scientific studies. The average missionary learns through trial and error. Here is the story of one, not atypical, United States priest. "I was about 4 years here, doing all the things I had been taught, baptizing, saying mass, preaching, signing forms, all that jazz. I was doing a good job. You couldn't knock it."

He was working in a slum, and it was a period of rapid inflation. "People seemed to have only one problem, how to make ends meet. Someone suggested a protest march, and I agreed to join. It was perfectly legal. But the cops came after us and they beat up the students unmercifully. I had never seen anything like it in my life. We fled into a school and we stayed there all night. It was then I realized that the poor have no rights. And I decided to do something about it."

This type of radicalization, involving an emotional rejection, or at least a deep questioning, of both civil and ecclesiastical structures, is widespread and growing among missionaries from the United States, Canada and Europe, especially those under 40 years of age. Even those from Spain and Italy, traditionally conservative and pietistic, are fully represented. Many Spaniards, in particular, have been expelled in processes in which church and state have often acted together.

For the United States missionary, the deep trauma comes not from the rejection of local civil and church structures, of which he never thought much in the first instance, but from a subsequent step namely, the repudiation of the American Way of Life. This occurs when his reflection on the misery of the poor forces him to recognize that the Medellin documents

were correct in placing the ultimate blame for the situation on the built-in imperialism of international capitalism.

Some of the older missionaries still see the American presence as the rich man's burden, bravely and selflessly borne, but most of the younger ones have reached the point of doubt or passed it. "All my colleagues think the same way," one said to me in Chile. "It's common knowledge that U.S. business methods and even our foreign aid are harming the Chilean economy."

Progressives dwindling

This advanced group includes some young Latin Americans, but their numbers are small and probably dwindling. The reason is that the structures are so self-protecting that they frustrate those who try to buck the system. Progressive local priests, lacking the protection provided to the foreigners by the mission-sending societies, are leaving in alarming numbers. (Many missionaries are leaving, too). Brazil has lost nearly 1,000, out of a total of 12,000, most young and most from the small group of the highly educated. In addition, many seminaries are down to a quarter of their former size.

Where there is a progressive bishop, some former seminarians continue to engage actively in apostolic work. In northeast Brazil, thanks to the initiative of Dom Helder Camara, the bishops have proposed that married priests should resume limited pastoral activities.

But the more common ecclesiastical attitude is that expressed by the vicar general of Rio de Janeiro. "To me," he said, "a married priest has as much value as a layman cut in half."

In that atmosphere, those who leave the priesthood or the seminary because of their progressive attitudes tend to drop out of the church structures altogether. The same process is visible among progressive lay people. A recent study of a representative Catholic Action group revealed that half of those who were activists six years earlier had since left the church in disgust.

Hope in poor

The radicalized priests who stay are placing all their bets on the peasants and the urban slum dwellers. Unless the message of Christ can be carried to these marginal and hitherto ignored groups, they believe, there is

no future for the church in Latin America. The judgment seems a reasonable one, and it is strengthened by the fact that the radical intellectuals and students are similarly concentrating on the same groups as the only hope to make Latin America economically and politically free.

At this point, as Father Comblin also points out, it is fatal to apply the concepts of European or North American sociology regarding social classes and social mobility. "They are simply not applicable. We are dealing with something far deeper than class inequality. Here we have two races, two civilizations, existing side by side."

The political radicals and the new missionaries are conscious of that fact. Both agree that the 300-year inability of church and state to make vital contact with the masses resulted from the failure to recognize it. And both look to the technique of "conscientization" developed by the Brazilian educator, Paulo Freire, as the key to success.

The Freire method calls for an outsider to identify himself fully with a group so that he can win their confidence and help them to find themselves. Like Socrates, he asks questions which encourage them to reflect on the reality of their lives, the causes of their poverty, the possibilities for self-improvement.

The Brazilian military were kinder to Freire than were the Greeks to Socrates. They merely sent him into exile. (He works with the World Council of Churches in Geneva). But they and most Latin American dictators have banned the method. They don't want the oppressed to suspect that they have options.

Many bishops similarly disapprove of the Freire method. They point out that its first step is to develop a class consciousness. And that for them is communism. Not having read the Medellin documents, they refuse to believe that they themselves have asserted that the class war is already a fact, and that the existing structures are the reason for it.

I talked with many priests and nuns who, in spite of official disapproval, are trying to conscientize the people. Most of them still offer the traditional church services to any who insist, but they don't push them. The boast is no longer that "I had 2,000 baptisms last year," but that "I baptized only 10 children, and in every case the

parents took the full course of instructions."

Small groups

These priests do not see themselves as the direct conduits of grace to each of tens of thousands of people with whom they can never hope to enter into a meaningful human relationship. What they seek is to create a few small islands of Christian life, leaving the future radiation to the Holy Spirit.

I met two U.S. priests who have selected 10 families in their slum parish of 20,000 people, and they devote all their energies to these 10. They hope that in a few years, five or six of the fathers will be ordained deacons, and later at least three of them will be ordained priests. "After that, it's up to them," they say. "We can go home."

Another priest, in a rural parish with 15,000 people, has concentrated on five groups of 50 persons each, seeking to develop them into true Christian communities. "It will then be up to each to determine the structures it finds necessary to lead its Christian life. Some may want a member to be ordained to serve as community president. Others may be content with the occasional visit of an outside priest. Others may find other solutions. Who knows?"

The parish of a third is a shanty town without light, water or roads, two hours from a major city. The pastor lives on the spot, and at no better material level than many of his parishioners. Convinced that the sacramental system as traditionally practiced lacked all Christian significance for these people, he has no church and participates in no liturgical or sacramental activities. He is proud of his calloused hands. On a typical day, he helps one of his parishioners to build his home. His main continuing work is an informal conscientization program with a few teenagers.

On one point all these initiatives agree. They deny the long-held claim that Latin America is a Catholic continent. It is not even a start from scratch. First, a mass of superstitions and distortions must be eliminated.

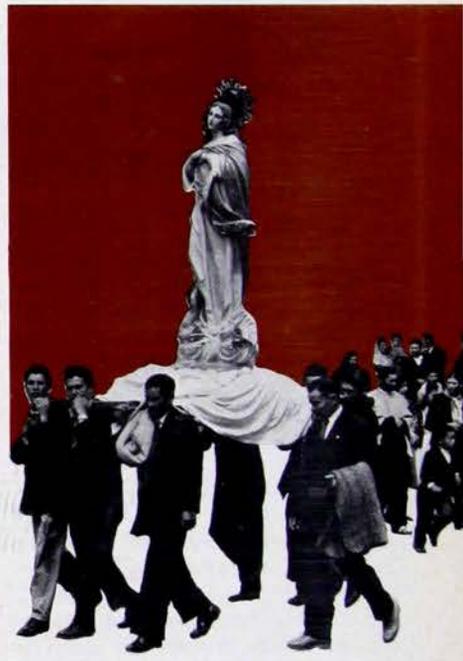
Long-term vision

The envisioned new church would be strikingly different from the present structures. One slum-dwelling priest I met had interesting views on that point. "A truly popular Catholicism in Latin America would likely

assume a pentecostal or sect appearance. It would also hopefully be political, that is, related to the problems of man living in society. It would therefore get involved in the concrete and controversial. In order to avoid alienation, it would have to foment rather than diminish class consciousness."

One result would be that this new "Catholicism of the masses" would not be structurally subordinated to the present upperclass church, or even associated with it in conventional ways.

"It would not easily 'integrate' itself into other sectors of the church," my informant explained. "On the contrary, it would stand over against it in dialectic militancy; not in violation of Christian unity, but with the honesty which is essential to unity. It would be in the hands of its own popular leaders." ■



Veteran journalist Gary MacEoin has devoted most of the past quarter century to coverage of events and trends in the Third World, principally Latin America. He has edited Spanish-language newspapers and magazines and contributed to many professional symposia. Two of his books—Latin America: the Eleventh Hour and Colombia, Venezuela and the Guianas—have been translated into the major European languages. This article originally appeared in The National Catholic Reporter.



Hector Borrat

TOWARDS A LATIN AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM

The Protestant protest, as soon as it began to penetrate Latin America, moving out from embassies, commercial firms, and English- or German-speaking colonies, was vigorously opposed.

Opposition came not only from the Roman Catholic Church which, because of its rigid view of Christianity, considered Latin America to be a "Catholic continent" in which the presence of any other Church was an intolerable invasion from abroad. It also came from European Protestantism which shared this idea. As late as 1910 the International Missionary Conference in Edinburgh refused to give North American Protestants an opportunity to prove that Latin America really was a land open to mission. As John A. Mackay, an expert on Latin America and former president of Princeton Theological Seminary, has said:

"In those years, Protestant missionary endeavor in Latin American

lands, and in lands associated historically with the Roman Catholic Church, was regarded by most European churchmen as being merely anti-Catholic. Missionaries to those lands were dubbed bigots, members of an uncouth and unlettered proletariat, whose work should be repudiated."

In fact, mission often turned into polemics and anti-Catholic propaganda. This in turn intensified the reaction of the Catholics who were attacked, widened their separation, and made evident the tragedy of the division between Christians.

In 1966, however, one of the great personalities of Latin American Protestantism, Dr. Jose Miguez-Bonino, announced with some optimism:

"A new day appears to be dawning. Movements for renewal within Catholicism as well as an increased maturity and objectivity in Protestant Churches again raise the question of our attitude. . . . Relations between the Christian confessions have entered a new epoch characterized by encounter and dialogue instead of polemics or isolation."

Two significant Church events have recently occurred which confirm this observation. At the conference of the Latin American Roman Catholic episcopacy in Medellin, Colombia in 1968, Protestant observers were present and worked intensively in the commissions. Then in 1969, 300 representatives of more than forty different denominations meeting in the Third Latin American Evangelical Conference (III CELA) said they recognized "our obligation to the Roman Catholic community (Rom. 8:12) toward which we have not always acted with a spirit of love and from which we have not always received fraternal treatment.

"We observe that, as a result of the Second Vatican Council, the Roman Catholic Church has demonstrated a new attitude of approach toward other Christian and non-Christian communities and ideologies. We notice with sympathy and emotion the movements toward renewal which are operating in some parts of the Roman Catholic community, such as a marked interest in the Holy Scriptures and their dissemination, and a

A Roman Catholic layman, Dr. Borrat is a Uruguayan lawyer, journalist and editor of *Vispera*, a journal of the International Catholic Student Movement.

valiant and committed position for the solution of the socio-economic evils which we face."

While at the institutional level a new attitude between Protestants and Catholics is a very recent event, the polemic within world Protestantism over a Protestant mission in Latin America was apparently solved much earlier. The negative attitude which had prevailed at the Edinburgh Conference was rectified at the International Missionary Council meetings at Jerusalem in 1928 and Madras in 1938. Our continent was recognized as an effective part of the wide missionary field open to Protestantism.

So the point of view was finally accepted which North American missionaries had put forward in the Manifesto of New York in 1913: "Millions and millions of inhabitants of Latin America are practically deprived of the Word of God and do not even know what the gospel is."

Years later the dispelling of the myth of Catholic Christendom by Vatican II facilitated the acceptance of this same fact by the Catholic side.

The problem of the Protestant mission in Latin America, however, cannot be reduced to a necessary coexistence with Roman Catholicism. Difficulties are built into Protestantism in the plurality of denominations that gives a divided and confused aspect to the Reformation in Latin America. The III CELA brought together no less than 43 different denominations, but if we count small, independent groups we could easily raise the number to 250.

Europeans, especially those from the North Atlantic region, have experienced a Reformation Church familiar to them because it stems from their own national tradition; in its broad cultural manifestations the Church is a national patrimony common to all, Protestant or otherwise. The Latin American, if he has even lived near a Protestant, must place each Protestant spokesman in his proper ecclesiastical community and respective theological context. Only with difficulty can he locate Protestants in history because the Reformation's deepest currents moved outside the borders of our America and the European countries of our ancestors. Sooner or later the Latin American has the feeling that denominationalism is a foreign body grafted into the life of the continent, an imported problem like that of the

large number of missionaries from the vast confessional mosaic of the United States.

This feeling is not limited to outside observers of Protestantism. Happily, criticism of denominationalism has become stronger within Protestantism as it pursues its determined search for a Latin American identity. The multiplicity of denominations shows up as the other side of the coin of the promotion of the "American way of life" which has characterized, and very often still characterizes, Protestant missions. As early as 1916, in the Panama Conference, Protestantism was aware that "missionaries have deprecated the local customs of the people among whom they live."

From the Catholic side, in 1956 the First Pastoral Letter of the Episcopacy of Central America and Panama affirmed that "the penetrating force of Protestantism is largely due to the immense wealth which it has accumulated in the United States of America." However, the problem is not merely a matter of missionary lack of adaptation and economic abundance. There is a whole gamut which stretches from the preaching in words and phrases only literally translated into Spanish all the way to the denominational school systems which are typically North American.

The process goes beyond the optimistic and sportsmanlike individual style. It proposes Protestant and Anglo-Saxon "democracy" as opposed to Catholic and Latin authoritarianism; capitalism and free enterprise as the solution of our "underdevelopment"; and the North American scale of values, disguised as "evangelism," as the ultimate criterion for judging our affairs. Thus, in many cases, the conversion to Protestantism signifies a separation from the environment—and a sure route to social ascent.

For some years a critical self-consciousness of Protestantism was seen only in elitist movements such as Church and Society in Latin America (ISAL) or the Student Christian Movement (MEC). These elites recruit the Protestants most devoted to the vanguard of political action and do not include the majority voice which prevails in the local denominations. Engendered by great worldwide ecumenical bodies—ISAL by the World Council of Churches and MEC by the World Student Christian Federation—they

are movements called to march from their very birth along an ecumenical route that brings together representatives of many confessions. Since they are structures designed to transcend denominationalism, to criticize denominations is for them to affirm their ecumenical texture.

In contrast, the main body of Protestantism in Latin America is atomized in denominations. These are the offspring of North American Church bodies; they use thick fundamentalist spectacles for reading the Bible; and, for the most part, they are not members of the World Council of Churches—that center of evangelical union.

Hence, unusual importance may be assigned to the Third Latin American Evangelical Conference which met in 1969 at the invitation of the Argentine Federation of Evangelical Churches. Of the forty-three denominations that were represented, not more than ten were members of the World Council of Churches. For institutional representativeness of Latin American Protestantism one could not ask for a greater event. More than ninety percent of the delegates were Latin Americans (in comparison with fifty-two percent at the second conference in 1961), with an average age of forty-two years, half way between the conservatism of the older generation and the radicalism of the younger groups that were present.

Two demands came from the evangelical conference with special relevance: first, the Latin American Churches must be indigenous and autonomous; second, they must be aware of the Latin American reality in order to bring about changes. A critical self-consciousness will lead the Churches spontaneously, without any necessity of being coerced, to a critical understanding of the historical reality in which they live. For the Protestant membership the route that ISAL has been pioneering seems to be a necessary one—to be conscious both of the Church and of Society.

Let us begin with the first demand: the existence of "indigenous and autonomous" Churches. Pentecostalism, the most spectacular manifestation of Latin American Protestantism, years ago gave form to this requirement. To Pentecostalism is due basically the "galloping expansion" of the Latin American Church to which the Colombian pastor, Gonzalo Castillo-Cardenas, refers:

"Protestant membership has multiplied 340 times in the last 45 years. In the same period the number of organized Churches has increased 320 times and the total Protestant community—including sympathizers and regular worshippers—has grown 830 times. Today, according to the same study, the total number of Protestants may reach nine million, which is five percent of the total population of the continent."

Brazil and Chile, the countries with the record for Protestant growth, are also the countries with the highest Pentecostal membership.

Significantly, Pentecostalism is the most extensive Protestant movement, the most Creole, and the most financially independent. The role of the pastor is usually patterned after that of the caudillo or strong man; disputes between leaders are settled by schism; the worship service is a popular meeting. From whence does Pentecostalism's unusual growth really emerge? From a Latin American style of proclaiming the gospel, or from another set of factors? Although the explanation may vary, recent perspectives on Chilean Pentecostalism record a prevailing negative Pentecostal attitude toward the problems of the country—"the Pentecostal withdrawal from society," as Swiss

theologian Christian Lalive d' Epinay calls it. Even though the Pentecostals seem to be the most perceptive group regarding indigenization and autonomy they do not have a critical attitude toward Latin American politics.

We should now ask ourselves how Latin American Protestantism fulfills the second demand. The "Latin American reality" seems to be an obsession in movements of the ISAL or MEC type. But what is the perspective of the Church establishment, the numerical majority? We shall attempt an answer from the documents of the Third Evangelical Conference.

Just as Catholicism did a year previously at Medellin, Protestant Churches ask for the liberation of Latin America and denounce obstacles:

"To be the Church in Latin America . . . means to be in the midst of peoples that demonstrate with increasing insistence and vigor that they are tired of putting up with their state of economic dependence on powerful countries; it means to face systems that promise everything, but that have been able to produce only 'a vicious circle of poverty.' . . . We are the Church in a Latin America dominated or coveted by every type of imperialism and managed by

publicity or the manipulation of the news, with the only intention . . . of deprecating the human person . . . We are the Church responsible for having tolerated systems of oppression that have exercised control and power over the life of our societies."

Speaking of the youth of the Church, the III CELA said that "the young people that we most frequently find in the Church are those with an individualistic mentality." On the other hand, those "who have left the ecclesiastical ship" have done so "because perhaps Christ was not in it."

Also appropriate is the warning against violence understood "as the only means of attaining a just society." Violence "is not the normal much less the Christian approach to a solution."

At the same time, the III CELA denounced the "state that converts itself into a god and defends with violence a system we Christians cannot accept because it attacks the very center of God's concern for the world-man and his existence."

What is still needed is an analysis of the Latin American situation more specific than these statements. The old Protestant enthusiasm for "democracy" appears in the documents after an indiscriminate censure of "the growing political participation of the armed forces with the view of maintaining the status quo." The old anti-Catholic intonation distorts the picture of our history when it presents Latin America as a continent that has been "for centuries under the ideological domination of Roman Catholicism." In my opinion, however, the theological perspective of the Third Evangelical Conference has a strongly renovating tone for the Churches.

Protestantism in Latin America faces unresolved contradictions: in a plurality of denominations one local congregation is separated from all the rest; its mission and service are impoverished by the isolation; the break of four centuries ago in relation to Rome recurs within the Reformation. Whereas the Anglo-Saxon subculture is a unifying factor as a builder of a Protestant life style, it loses its power in the denial of indigenization and autonomy and in tying the Churches to the chariot of empire. To make Protestantism in Latin America a Latin American Protestantism is an arduous and urgent task. ■

(Translated by James and Margaret Goff.)



Bishop Mortimer Arias, of the Bolivian Methodist Church, is the author of the *Manifesto to the Bolivian Nation* (opposite page). This document, here reprinted in part, is an example of current trends toward a truly Latin American Protestantism.

We are the Methodist Evangelical Church in Bolivia, that is to say, members of the pilgrim people of God, initiated by Jesus Christ, who broke into history through the events of the Cross and the Resurrection.

MANIFESTO TO THE BOLIVIAN NATION



MORTIMER ARIAS

Christians and Protestants

We are part of the Universal Church, constituted under the authority of the Holy Scriptures for the fundamental purpose of bearing witness to Jesus Christ. We do not pretend to be possessors of an exclusive truth, nor do we feel called to a sectarian or proselytizing labor. We consider ourselves to be heirs of a long history in which many churches and Christian groups participate.

When we look at our Bolivian situation in the light of the gospel we are faced with the spectacle of a chronic, heart-rending, dehumanization: a country with immense resources overwhelmed with backwardness and underdevelopment; a people living in underconsumption with the lowest per capita income in all of Latin America; "the miners' cemeteries," macabre witnesses of generations of men sacrificed in the prime of life, leaving, after a short period of productivity, their orphans and widows abandoned to the most complete helplessness, while the minerals extracted from the earth at the cost of their lives go to enrich a small minority and benefit the industry and commerce of the rich countries of the earth; three million peasants, the basic population of the nation, marginated by illiteracy and poverty and treated as mere disposable objects by the insensitive bureaucracy and political leadership; thousands of children without schools, desks, or teachers; thousands of uni-

versity students pushing to enter classrooms, only to feed into the interminable lines of the unemployed, or become political appointees, aspirants to scholarships, or migrants to other countries.

Oppressive Structures

In the background of this situation stand oppressive international structures such as imperialism and the economic and warmongering interests of the great powers. Like the rest of the Third World, we are obliged to sell raw materials at low prices and buy back goods manufactured by workers abroad who receive ten, twenty, or even thirty times the wages which Bolivian workers receive. Foreign investors seek to exploit our resources under conditions which are unacceptable in other countries and which are injurious to our national sovereignty and dignity.

There are also internal exploiters, privileged Bolivian minorities who act in connivance with international and anti-national interests. The truth is that not only do they buy us, but we sell ourselves. The abulia and heavy bureaucracy of state organisms; the mercenariness of politicians and functionaries; the eagerness for rapid wealth; the lack of responsibility and discipline; the cowardliness that hinders our committing ourselves responsibly; the lack of courage and hope to work for the future; the instability of our governments; the inconsequence of opposition groups and political parties; and the lack of continuity in effort—these are also undeniable causes of our backwardness.

We have to fight against the foreign powers that are choking us and fencing us in and also against the tendencies that undermine and corrode the inner strength of our Society. . . .

Formation of the New Man

Our best contribution as a Christian church is to participate in the formation of the new Bolivian man, truly humanized by the gospel of Jesus Christ. In our Protestant churches we have aimed at forming a moral man, irreproachable in his conduct, freed from vices, a useful element in society, honest, hard-working, and a good father. But the Christian man is much more than the prototype of sobriety. He is a free man, without alienations, conscious of his possibili-

ties and of the responsibility of taking his destiny into his own hands. He is the passionate man with a "hunger and thirst for righteousness" who, like his Master, "has not come to be served, but to serve and give his life as a ransom for many." He is the reconciled and reconciling man who has received a ministry of reconciliation from him who on a Cross "was reconciling the world unto himself." Finally, he is the man born to a hope that rejects resignation as a false virtue; he fights against every unjust structure that tends to make man a one-dimensional, defuturized being without hope.

Evangelism correctly understood—the proclamation of the Good News and the confrontation of man with the liberating gospel of Jesus Christ—puts man on the road to his full humanization. But it is necessary to complement that task of proclamation and confrontation with a sustained and systematic effort for the education and *concientización* of the Bolivian man. Therefore, we consider that the formation of a critical consciousness in the Bolivian people and the opening of paths of hope to the marginated sectors of our society are parts of the mission that God has entrusted to us. Therefore, we assign a fundamental role to the future massive literacy campaign to which the government has committed itself. We promise our fullest support in this campaign.

Call and Commitment

We call upon all Christian churches, civic groups, university students, workers, and every man of good will, to work together in this task of *concientización* and liberation of our people. Let us seek to overcome all our suspicions, divisions, and resentments. Leaving behind every feeling of opportunism let us launch forth with confidence into the common task that awaits and challenges us. The opportunity is ours to go down in history as the generation that assumed the responsibility, honestly and without excuses, to extract Bolivia from its emaciation, sharing with sister nations of America the struggle for the liberation of the Latin American man.

Let the Bolivian people know that our Christian community shares in this struggle for liberation and hope. (Translated by James and Margaret Goff)



This poster of Jesus with a rifle represents an attempt by certain Latin American Christians to fuse religion and revolution.

CHRISTIAN REVOLUTIONARIES

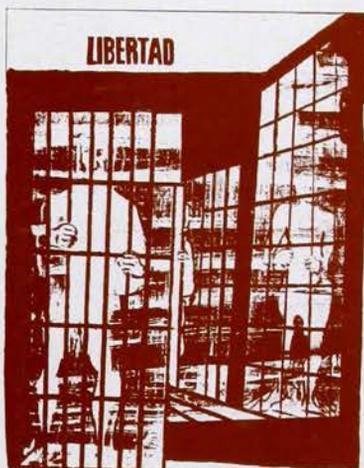
Julio de Santa Anna

The author is executive secretary of Church and Society in Latin America (ISAL), headquartered in Montevideo, Uruguay.

FIFTEEN YEARS AGO Christian churches in Latin America manifested themselves in an unmistakable way. Catholicism had carried the banner and was aligned with the ruling classes which, for more than a century, had governed the peoples of Latin America. On the other hand, Protestantism appeared as a modernizing progressive factor sowing the seeds of democracy in Latin American life, though it lacked influence both in numbers and quality.

No one could have foreseen the situation beginning to change in the early 60's. Most surprising has been the accelerated violent manner of the change in the life of the churches, above all, the positions assumed by Christians facing the L.A. challenge. In less than ten years Christians are assuming vanguard positions and frequently come out with a clearly defined revolutionary option.

A look at what is happening in Latin America demonstrates this. In recent years, Father Camilo Torres, Father Alipio de Freitas, and Father Sebastian Bolo Hidalgo have become legendary names. There are legions more who today silently but constantly militate with greater vigor. In Brazil, many young people who have revived radical political forces have come from Christian groups. Members of Catholic Youth Workers, Catholic Student Youth and the Brazilian Christian Student Union (related to the World Student Christian Federation) conceived the idea of



PRESOS POLITICOS

The jailing of political prisoners is a main grievance of revolutionary groups.

forming a new political group vital in the development of increased Brazilian revolutionary activities of recent years. It is known as *Acao Popular* (Popular Action). We cannot disregard work done by many Catholic and Protestant clergymen in the formation of a communications network of enormous importance for the political work of radical groups who confront the Brazilian dictatorship. It is no longer a case of one church whose political option is to be for the powerful; on the contrary, it is the case of Christians who, transcending all confessions and denominational barriers, unite to struggle for a new society in which those who are now poor will then be happier and will have more possibilities to fulfill their humanity.

The case of Brazil is not unique. In Colombia, Camilo Torres, the

priest and sociologist who became a guerrilla, has served as an example among young Colombian clerics who have understood the enormous social importance of the priest for promoting among the poor and disinherited a greater consciousness of social justice. There has emerged during recent years the Golconda priests groups who, remembering Father Camilo, have proclaimed clearly and openly their obligation as Christians to provoke radical structural changes in Colombian society and economy. In retaliation, the government and church leaders have prohibited the Golconda members from carrying out their priestly duties.

Argentina, without reaching the Colombian radicalization, has witnessed a growing revolutionary spirit in the different Christian groups. The Third World Priests' Movement has been gaining strength in the nation. Among their objectives is that of giving form to a theology of liberation pertinent to the Argentine situation. The General Argentine Workers' Federation has a clear Peronist revolutionary line and has been directed in recent months by leaders with a definite Christian orientation. Many Argentine Christians have opted for the revolutionary way, and some of them for the most radical action possible on this road. This is proven by the participation of known young Catholic laymen in the events related to the kidnapping and death of ex-President Pedro Eugenio Aramburu.

RESENTMENT AGAINST THE POLICE IS INDICATED BY THIS POSTER FROM MEXICO.



The situation is even clearer in Bolivia. The priests and a large part of the evangelical pastors have taken a definite position favoring radical change in that country. When two German-born citizens were kidnapped recently, and later exchanged for ten members of a guerrilla group imprisoned by the government, the representative designated by the revolutionary group to negotiate with the government was no less than a Jesuit priest, Father José Prats. The presence of worker-priests and some Protestant pastors in the union of Bolivian mine workers has helped keep the union spirit alive after the armed attacks suffered by union members in July, 1967. Here, Christians are involved in the struggle for the liberation of those who have been exploited by the powerful.

In Uruguay the urban guerrilla movement progresses by giant leaps. Two years ago, the "Tupamaros" were merely an exotic left group. Today they constitute the principal political opposition to the Uruguayan government. An ex-priest formed part of their ranks and died in revolutionary action. Those who know about the activities of the Tupamaros point out that the majority of their members come from many Christian youth movements. In October, 1969, while temporarily occupying a small city situated about thirty-five kilometers from Montevideo, three of the Tupamaros were killed. One of the dead was a young agronomy student of clear Christian convictions.

In nearly all Latin American countries there are Christians who have revised traditional attitudes in the light of the urgent needs of social justice and liberation.

WHY CHRISTIAN REVOLUTIONARIES?

What are the causes which are leading Christians to become more

militant in the area of social justice and more concerned with liberation? We can mention three.

In the first place, the Latin American process itself is a typically revolutionary situation and Latin American Christians must live their lives in that framework.

Even though the actual revolutionary process has not arrived for most L.A. countries, the conditions which determine the existence of a revolutionary situation are already evident. Leon Trotsky, the Russian revolutionary, pointed out that a revolutionary situation emerges when there appears a duality of contradicting powers in conflict. This is already evident in Latin America. The time of oligarchical hegemony is ended. Not only the popular groups, but also progressive military forces (as in Peru) are confronting the oligarchies of power. Churches cannot avoid this climate of tension; it is too serious to be ignored. Although the churches as institutions do not yet define themselves in revolutionary terms, there are persons and groups within them which do. These persons constitute a renewing factor in the life of the Church.

Secondly, both evangelicals and Catholics have been experiencing a certain amount of reform within the Churches. For Catholics, the celebration of the Second Vatican Council and the Second Assembly of the Latin American Episcopacy in Medellin, have been opportunities to assume a reformist face in Latin America. The Second Vatican Council carried the Catholic Church in Latin America toward an attitude of discernment of the times in which it lives. This study moved the Church to revise the temptation to power and to lay aside the intent to revive Indian Christianity. The Medellin Assembly signified the moment to make decisions to become the Church of the poor, which im-

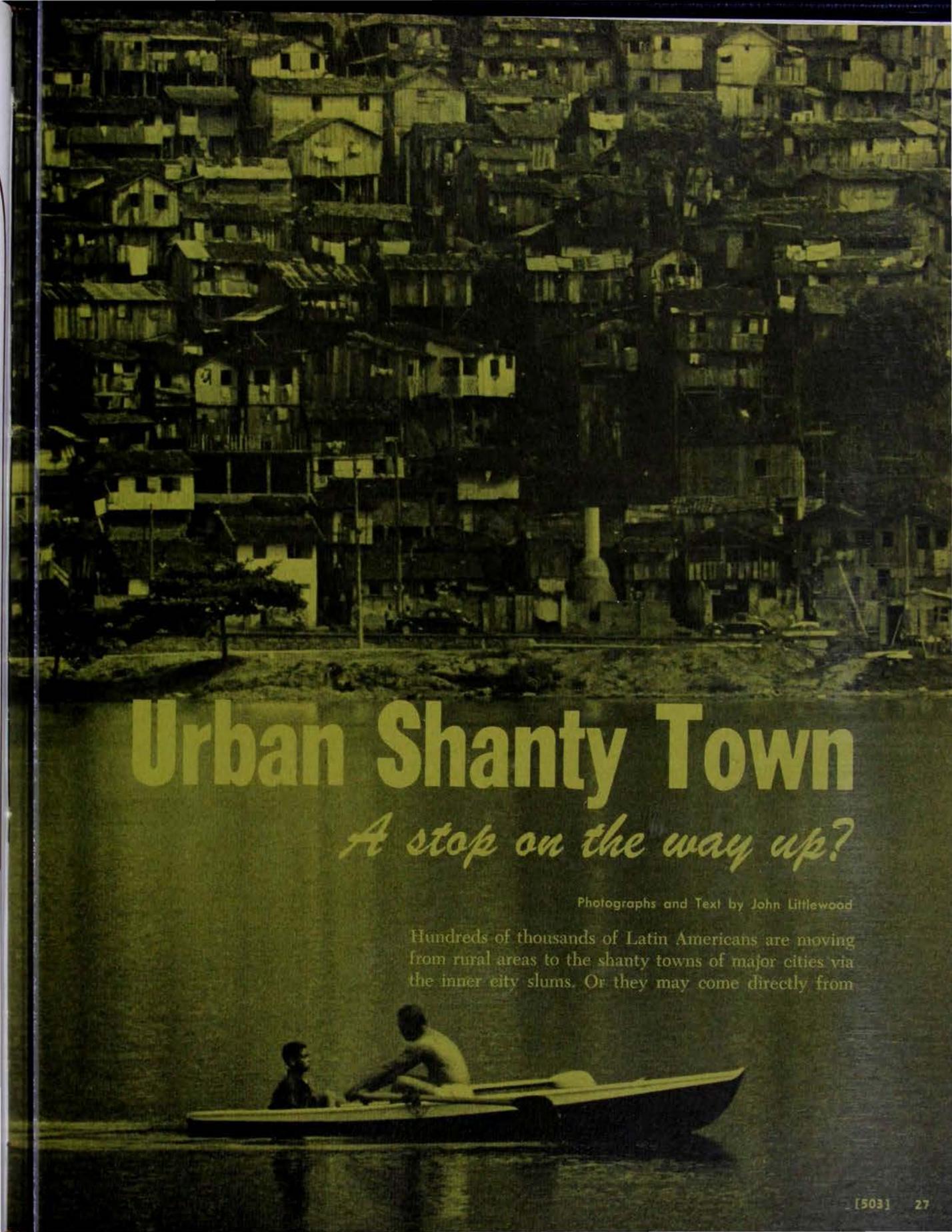
plies the necessity for responsible and serious struggle for the liberation of Latin America. All of this allowed priests and laymen, especially young ones, to become more closely connected to radical revolutionary groups and present their testimonies in those groups as Christians.

Finally, there is the frustration of being part of an expanding revolution and an only partially reformed Church at the same time. A rage builds up against the status-quo, and an intense desire to be really authentic in the midst of this situation. People want naturally to narrow the gap between what they proclaim and what they do. Since the churches are not offering an adequate framework to make this type of authenticity concrete, these Christians turn toward revolutionary groups. They do not stop being Christian. In these groups their intent is to be the salt of the earth, the yeast that makes the dough rise.

Conclusion

Of course, a great number of problems appear in this process. The tensions of the city are reflected visibly and dramatically in the heart of the Church. Many times the ethical and political are confused and it is forgotten that a good moral decision does not always have good political results. The close collaboration between Marxists and Christians has caused many Christians to forget that the Gospel is not only for political liberation, but also for a more ample liberation of the human being.

The important thing is that, thanks to all these changes, the Latin American Church in almost all denominations is today living through a process of change and renewal in which the spirit blows where it wills, and sometimes where it is least expected. ■
(Translated by Barbara C. Pessoa.)



Urban Shanty Town

A stop on the way up?

Photographs and Text by John Littlewood

Hundreds of thousands of Latin Americans are moving from rural areas to the shanty towns of major cities via the inner city slums. Or they may come directly from

Many shanty towns lack water supplies and are forced to buy water from trucks, as at this "barriada" near Lima, Peru (below). Despite such handicaps, many shanty town residents work to turn their shacks into regular houses. This family lives in a favela near Sao Paulo, Brazil. (bottom).



another smaller city or town. Already many of the countries have more than fifty percent of their population living in urban areas, and the fastest growth in these cities is taking place in the marginal sectors where shanty towns are growing at the incredible rate of up to sixteen percent, even though the nation's population growth is about three percent, and the cities as a whole, seven percent.

In Venezuela about one third of the urban dwellers live in "ranchos" (shanty towns). In Lima, a quarter of the city's population live in the "barriadas." Rio de Janeiro has about a third in its "favelas."

The crowded, impoverished conditions bred in great part by ignorance on how to go about improving their lot in turn breeds problems of family instability, hunger, prostitution and corruption of all kinds. (In the "villas miserias" or villages of misery of Buenos Aires, 50 percent of the children are born out of wedlock.)

Researchers on this subject and field workers generally agree that the best way to a solution of this increasing problem is the methodology of self-help. The hope is that the people will learn to organize and, in unity, seek to meet the needs of their communities.

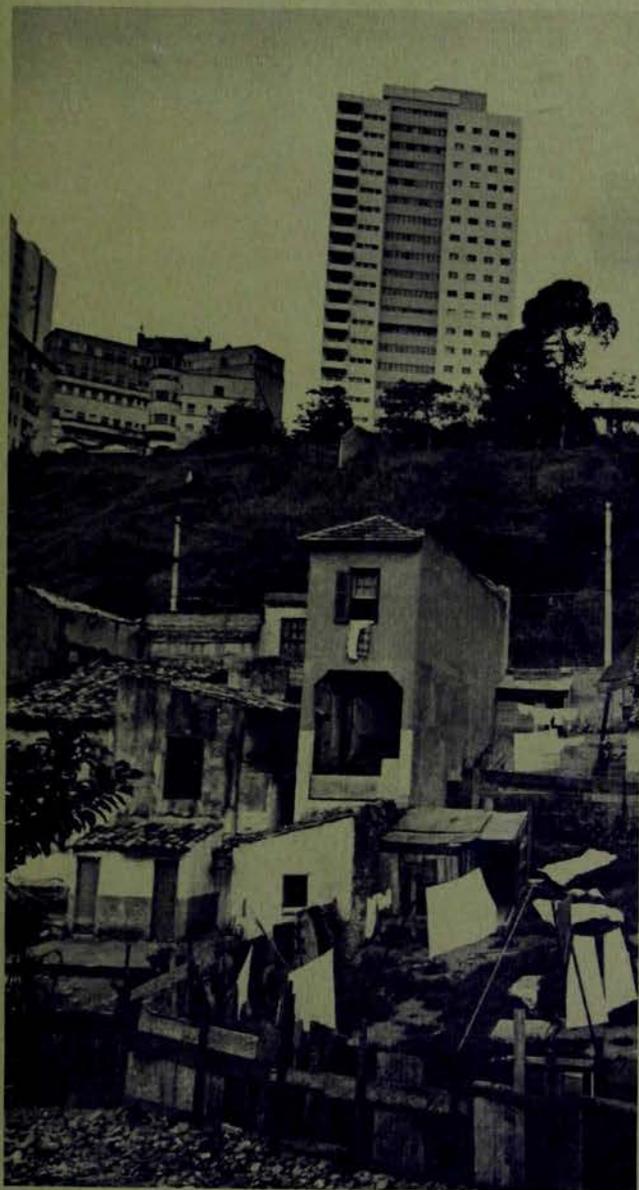
Various government and private organizations are at work almost in desperation to effectively augment self-help programs that will bring quick results. Although there have been many successes in a number of shanty town communities, so far progress has been slow in relation to the problem as a whole. In Lima one can see the progress on the sandy hills of Pamplona, for instance, where the more prosperous-looking homes are at the bottom of the slopes, while further up shacks are in the process of being built. As time and money go by, these dwellers will build one wall from wooden boards to brick, then another wall, and so on until the shack becomes a little house. This is

happening in many other communities, but, again, progress is slow in the overall context.

The shanty town dweller's sharp disappointment at being considered a useless drag on society is perhaps one

of the most needful things to overcome right now. Religious leaders can, and are being, to some extent, helpful in restoring a proper sense of worth among those who have been made to feel hopeless and unwanted.

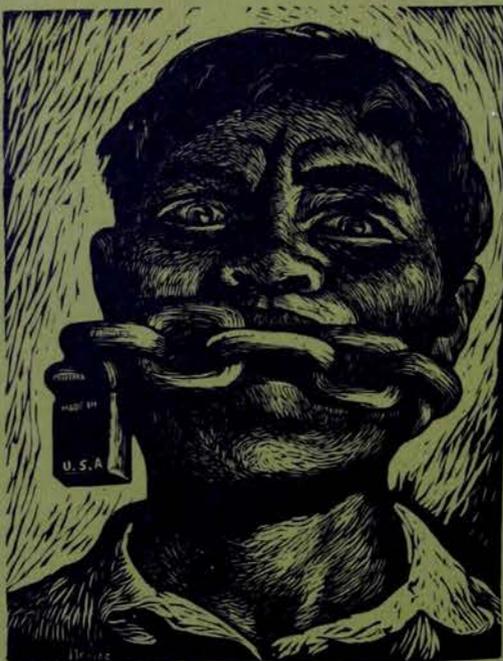
The limeños, paulistas, cariocas, porteños and other city people have to start seeing the shanty town dwellers for what they really are: not riff-raff, but spirited workers, pioneers anxious to improve their lot. ■



The shanty town problem of Latin America is growing more severe. One fourth of the population of Lima lives in such settlements. Even in these conditions, many of the people start their own businesses, like this leather shop in Lima (above).

The middle class in Latin America has traditionally ignored the problems of the poor, as dramatically illustrated by these apartments and a shanty town on the outskirts of Sao Paulo (left). Despite the lack of such necessities as electricity, increasing numbers of Latin Americans are moving to these shanty towns.

The rich literary heritage of Latin America, both in Spanish and in Portuguese, is little known in the United States outside of specialized circles. To give some of the flavor of that literature, here are a few samples of a prominent strain in Latin American poetry—the poems of protest. The poets range all the way from an unknown Brazilian through a Guatemalan intellectual who turned guerrilla and was killed, to the great Chilean poet, Pablo Neruda, who recently ran for president of his country.



POEMS OF PROTEST

A LATIN AMERICAN LORD'S PRAYER

Our Father who art in heaven
with the swallows and the missiles
I want you back before you forget
how to reach South of the Rio Grande

Our father in exile
you almost never remember my people
anyway wherever you are
hallowed be thy name
not those who hallow in your name
closing an eye so as not to see fingernails
filthy with wretchedness

In august of nineteen sixty
it doesn't work anymore to ask that
thy kingdom come to us
because your kingdom is down here too
stuck in the anger and fear
in irresolutions and in filth
in disillusionment and in lethargy
in the eagerness to see you in spite of it all

when you spoke of the rich man
the needle and the camel
and we all unanimously voted
you into Glory
the silent respectful indian raised his hand too
but refused to think thy will be done

nonetheless once in a while
your will gets tangled up with mine
overcomes it
enflames it
multiplies it

it's harder to know what my will is
when I really believe what I say that I believe
in your omnipresence as in my solitude
on earth as it is in heaven
always

I'll feel safer about the ground I walk on
than the unmanageable heaven ignorant of me

but who knows
I'm not going to decide
that your will be done or undone
your will is being done anyway in the wind
in the snowy Ande
in the bird who fertilizes his mate
in chancellors who mumble "yes sir" in English
in each hand turned into a fist

of course I'm not sure I like the way
your will chooses to be done
I say so with irreverence and gratitude
two characters that soon will be one
I say so thinking especially of our daily
bread and each little piece of day
yesterday you took it from us

give it to us this day
or at least give us the right to our bread
not just the bread which was a symbol of Something
but also the bread with a soft part and crust
our bread

now that we have few hopes and debts left
forgive us our debts if you can
but don't forgive us our hopes
don't ever forgive us our credits

tomorrow at the latest
we'll go out and collect from the double-dealers
tangible, smiling outlaws,
from those who have claws for harp-playing
and a Panamerican quivering with which they wipe off
the last drool that hangs from their face

it doesn't matter if our creditors forgive
as we
once
by mistake
forgave our debtors

still
they owe us about a century
of sleeplessness and clubbing
about three thousand miles of insults
about twenty medals to Somoza
about one single dead Guatemala

don't let us fall into the temptation
of forgetting or selling that past
or leasing a single acre of its memory

now that it's the moment of knowing who we are
and the dollar and his unredeeming love
are to cross the river
tear out from our soul the last beggar
and save us from remorse
amen.

translated by Mary Jane Wilkie

UN PADRE NUESTRO LATINOAMERICANO

Padre nuestro que estás en los cielos
con las golondrinas y los misiles
quiero que vuelvas antes de que olvides
cómo se llega al Sur de Río Grande

Padre nuestro que estás en el exilio
casi nunca te acuerdas de los míos
de todos modos dondequiera que estés
santificado sea tu nombre
no quiénes santifican en tu nombre
cerrando un ojo para no ver las uñas
sucias de la miseria

en agosto de mil novecientos sesenta
ya no sirve pedirte
venga a nos el tu reino
porque tu reino también está aquí abajo
metido en los rencores y en el miedo
en las vacilaciones y en la mugre
en la desilusión y en la modorra
en esta ansia de verte pese a todo

cuando hablaste del rico
la aguja y el camello
y te votamos todos
por unanimidad para la Gloria
también alzó su mano el indio silencioso
que te respetaba pero se resistía
a pensar hágase tu voluntad

sin embargo una vez cada tanto
tu voluntad se mezcla con la mía
la domina
la enciende

la duplica
más arduo es conocer cuál es mi voluntad
cuando creo de veras lo que digo creer
así en tu omnipresencia como en mi soledad
así en la tierra como en el cielo
siempre
estaré más seguro de la tierra que piso
que del cielo intratable que me ignora

pero quién sabe
no voy a decidir
que tu poder se haga o se deshaga
tu voluntad igual se está haciendo en el viento
en el Ande de nieve
en el pájaro que fecunda a su pájara
en los cancilleres que murmuran yes sir
en cada mano que se convierte en puño

claro no estoy seguro si me gusta el estilo
que tu voluntad elige para hacerse
lo digo con irreverencia y gratitud
dos emblemas que pronto serán la misma cosa
lo digo sobre todo pensando en el pan nuestro
de cada día y de cada pedacito de día
ayer nos lo quitaste

dánosle hoy
o al menos el derecho de darnos nuestro pan
no sólo él que era símbolo de Algo
sino el de miga y cáscara
el pan nuestro

ya que nos quedan pocas esperanzas y deudas
perdónanos si puedes nuestras deudas
pero no nos perdones la esperanza
no nos perdones nunca nuestros créditos

a más tardar mañana
saldremos a cobrar a los fallutos
tangibles y sonrientes forajidos
a los que tienen garras para el arpa
y un panamericano temblor con que se enjugan
la última escupida que cuelga de su rostro

poco importa que nuestros acreedores perdonen
así como nosotros
una vez
por error
perdonamos a nuestros deudores

todavía
nos deben como un siglo
de insomnios y garrote
como tres mil kilómetros de injurias
como veinte medallas a Somoza
como una sola Guatemala muerta

no nos dejes caer en la tentación
de olvidar o vender este pasado
o arrendar una sola hectárea de su olvido

ahora que es la hora de saber quiénes somos
y han de cruzar el río
el dólar y su amor contrarrembolso
arráncanos del alma el último mendigo
y libranos de todo mal de conciencia.
amén.

*by Mario Benedetti (Uruguay); from Inventario,
Editorial Alfa, Montevideo, 1963.*

IN VIET NAM

Who started the war?

Since before yesterday it sounds.

I'm scared.

It sounds like a rock
against wall,
like bloody thunder,
like a mountain dying:
it's the world
that I didn't create.

Nor you.

That they made.

Who threatens it with those scary fingers?

Who wants to cut its throat?

It seemed like it was just being born, didn't it?

Who's going to kill it because it's being born?

The bike-rider is afraid,
the architect.

A mother hides with her child and her breasts,
in the mud.

This mother sleeps in a cave and all of a sudden
the war,

the war comes, huge,

it comes, filled with fire,

and now the dead are left,

dead

the mother with her milk and her child.

They died in the mud.

Oh misery, from then

until now

do you have to be in mud up to your eyes

singing and shooting? God!

If they had told you before you existed, before you almost were,

if only

they had whispered to you
that your family or your no family,
children of love's laugh,
children of human sperm,
and that fragrance of
fresh Monday and clean shirt
they had to die so suddenly
and without ever knowing what it's all about!

They're the same ones

who are coming to kill us,

yes, they're the same ones

who will come to burn us,

yes, the same ones,

the profit-seekers and the braggarts,

the smiling people who played the game so much,

and won so much,

now

through the air

they're coming, they'll come, they came,

to kill our world.

They left a pool

of father, mother and child:

let's look

in,

look for your own bones and blood,

look for them in Viet Nam's mud,

look for them among the other piles of bones:

now burned they're not anyone's now,

they're everyone's

they're our bones, look for

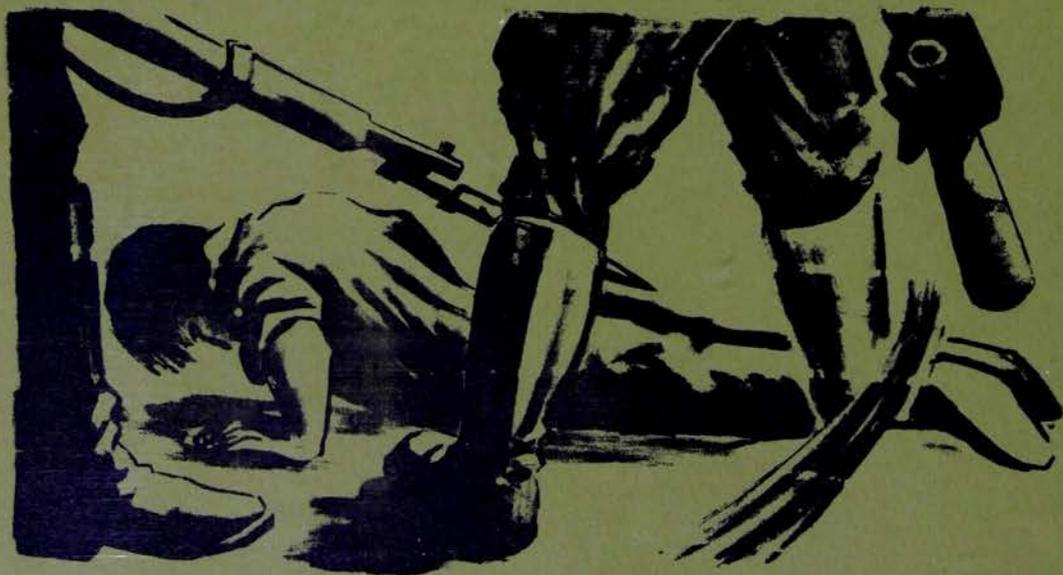
your death in that death,

because those same people are watching you

and are driving you toward that same mud.

translated by Mary Jane Wilkie

NO MAS AGRESION!



EN VIET-NAM

Y quién hizo la guerra?

Desde anteayer está sonando.

Tengo miedo.

Suena como una piedra
contra el muro,
como un trueno con sangre,
como un monte muriendo:
es el mundo
que yo no hice.
Que tu no hiciste.
Que hicieron.
Quién lo amenaza con dedos terribles?
Quién quiere degollarlo?
Verdad que parecía estar naciendo?
Y quién lo mata ahora porque hace?
Tiene miedo el ciclista,
el arquitecto.
Se esconde la mamá con su niño y sus senos,
en el barro.
Duerme en la cueva esta mamá y de pronto
la guerra,
viene grande la guerra,
viene llena de fuego
y ya quedan muertas,
muertas
la madre con su leche y con su hijo.

Murieron en el barro.

Oh dolor, desde entonces
hasta ahora
hay que estar con el barro
hasta las sienes
cantando y disparando? Santo Dios!
Si te lo hubieran dicho
antes de ser, antes de casi ser,
si por lo menor
te hubieran susurrado
que tus parientes o tus no parientes,
hijos de aquella risa del amor,
hijos de esperma humana,
y de aquella fragancia
a nuevo Lunes y a camisa fresca
tenían que morir tan repentinamente
y sin saber jamás de qué se trata!

Son los mismos,
que vienen a matarnos,
sí, son los mismos
que vendrán a quemarnos,
sí, los mismos,
los gananciosos y los jactanciosos,
los sonrientes que jugaban tanto
y que ganaban tanto,
ahora
por el aire,
vienen, vendrán, vinieron,
a matarnos el mundo.

Han dejado una charca
de padre, madre e hijo:
busquemos
en ella,
búscate tus propios huesos y tu sangre,
búscalos en el barro de Viet Nam,
búscalos entre otros tantos huesos:

ahora quemados ya no son de nadie,
son de todos,
son nuestros huesos, busca
tu muerte en esa muerte,
porque están acechándote los mismos
y te destinan a ese mismo barro.

Pablo Neruda (Chile), *Las manos del día*.



CONFUSION IN THE HEAVENS

Not knowing how, a priest
arrived at the gates of heaven,
rang the bronze knocker,
St. Peter came to open up:
"If you don't let me in
I'll cut down your Chrysanthemums."
The saint answered him in a voice
like thunder:
"Get out of my sight
you evil-omened horse,
Jesus Christ can't be bought
with peñañeces or money
And you don't reach the foot of his throne
with sailors' curses.
Here we don't need
the shine of your skeleton
to gladden the dance
of God and his followers.
Among human beings you lived
off the fear of the sick
selling fake medals
and cemetery crosses.
While everyone else was munching
on miserable dry bread
you filled your belly
with meat and fresh eggs.
The spider of lust
spread through your body
an umbrella with dripping blood
Bat out of hell!

Then a slam resounded
a ray lighted the sky
the corridors shook
and the disrespectful spirit
of the friar rolled over backward
into hell's pit.

translated by Mary Jane Wilkie

DESORDEN EN EL CIELO

Un cura sin saber cómo
Llegó a las puertas del cielo,
Tocó la aldaba de bronce,
A abrirle vino San Pedro:
"Si no me dejas entrar
Te corto los crisantemos".
Con voz respondió el santo
Que se parecía al trueno:
"Retirate de mi vista
Caballo de mal agüero,
Cristo Jesús no se compra
Con mandas ni con dinero
Y no se llega a sus pies
Con dichos de marinero.
Aquí no se necesita
Del brillo de tu esqueleto
Para amenizar el baile
De Dios y de sus adeptos.
Viviste entre los humanos
Del miedo de los enfermos
Vendiendo medallas falsas
Y cruces de cementerio.
Mientras los demás mordían
Un misero pan de afrecho
Tú te llenabas la panza
De carne y de huevos frescos.
La araña de la lujuria
Se multiplicó en tu cuerpo
Paraguas chorreando sangre
¡Murciélagos del infierno!"

Después resonó un portazo,
Un rayo iluminó el cielo,
Temblaron los corredores
Y el ánima sin respeto
Del fraile rodó de espaldas
Al hoyo de los infiernos.

by Nicanor Parra (Chile); from
*Poemas y antipoemas, Editorial
Nascimento, Santiago de Chile,
1967.*

FOR AN INSTANT

That glow in the night,
Is it one of our reflectors?
Is it one of their weapons?
(For an instant
I had forgotten that there is a moon
in the sky,
that there are stars.)
translated by Angela Boyer

POR UN INSTANTE

Esa luz en la noche,
¿Será un reflector nuestro?
¿Será un arma de ellos?
(Por un instante
Había olvidado
Que hay en el cielo luna,
que hay estrellas.)

Roberto Fernández Retamar, Cuba

APOLITICAL INTELLECTUALS

One day
the apolitical
intellectuals
of my country
will be interrogated
by the simplest
of our people.

They will be asked
what they did
when their nation died out
slowly,
like a sweet fire,
small and alone.

No one will ask them
about their dress,
their long siestas
after lunch,
no one will want to know
about their sterile combats
with "the idea
of the nothing."
No one will care about
their higher financial learning.
They won't be questioned
on Greek mythology
or regarding their self-disgust
when someone within them
begins to die
the coward's death.

They'll be asked nothing
about their absurd
justifications
born in the shadow
of the total lie.

On that day
the simple men will come,
those who had no place
in the books and poems
of the apolitical intellectuals,
but daily delivered
their bread and milk,
their tortillas and eggs,
those who mended their clothes,
those who drove their cars,
who cared for their dogs and garden
and worked for them,
and they'll ask:
"What did you do when the poor
suffered, when tenderness
and life
burned out in them?"



translated by Margaret Randall

INTELECTUALES APOLITICOS

Un día,
los intelectuales
apolíticos
de mi país
serán interrogados
por el hombre
sencillo
de nuestro pueblo.

Se les preguntará,
sobre lo que hicieron
cuando
la patria se apagaba
lentamente,
como una hoguera dulce,
pequeña y sola.

No serán interrogados
sobre sus trajes,
ni sobre sus largas
siestas
después de la merienda,
tampoco sobre sus estériles
combates con la nada,
ni sobre su ontológica
manera
de llegar a las monedas.
No se les interrogará
sobre la mitología griega,
ni sobre el asco
que sintieron de sí,
cuando alguien, en su fondo,
se disponía a morir cobardemente.

Nada se les preguntará
sobre sus justificaciones
absurdas,
crecidas a la sombra
de una mentira rotunda.

Ese día vendrán
los hombres sencillos,
Los que nunca cupieron en los libros y

de los intelectuales apolíticos,
pero que llegaban todos los días
a dejarles la leche y el pan,
los huevos y las tortillas,
los que les cosían la ropa,
los que les manejaban los carros,
les cuidaban sus perros y jardines,
y trabajaban para ellos,

y preguntarán,
"¿Qué hicistéis cuando los pobres
sufrían, y se quemaba en ellos,
gravemente, la ternura y la vida?"

Intelectuales apolíticos
de mi dulce país,
no podréis responder nada.

Os devorará un buitres de silencio
las entrañas.
Os roerá el alma
vuestra propia miseria.
Y callaréis,
avergonzados de vosotros.

Otto René Castillo, Guatemala

PADRASTOS

Si un niño con hambre
alguna vez nos ha mirado fijamente,
sin que le hayamos respondido.
Si un niño triste, harapiento y descalzo,
ha llamado, convulso, a nuestra puerta
Y pudiéndole dar un pedazo de pan y una
dulce mirada
le hemos dicho: perdona . . .

Si después nos hemos sentado en torno de
los hijos
y hemos visto alzarse le estrella del hogar,
y, sonriendo,
nos hemos sentido felices
sin que un pensamiento doloroso nos haya
conturbado . . .

¡yo os digo que no somos padres de nuestros
hijos
sino sus oscuros y sórdidos padrastos!

Manuel Navarro Luna, Cuba

STEPPARENTS

If ever a hungry child
Has stared at us intently
And we have not responded.
If a sad, ragged barefoot child
Has called, trembling, at our door
And instead of giving him a piece of bread
And a tender look
We have said: Excuse me . . .

If later we have sat with our children
around us
And smiled in contentment
At our warm, secure home
Without a painful thought breaking in . . .
I tell you that we are not mothers and
fathers
Of our children, but their obscure and
sordid stepparents.

translated by Angela Boyer

LIBERTY

Liberty!

I want to eat but there is no bread
I feel cold but there are no clothes
I want to plant but I have no land.

Liberty!

I want to study but I have no school
I want to live but I have no health and I
have no beans.

Liberty!

What is Liberty?
Misery?
Death?

If this be Liberty, what must slavery be like?

By an unknown Brazilian poet

new
WORLD OUTLOOK
audio 2

33 $\frac{1}{3}$
RPM

35

SIDE 1

MUSIC OF THE CHURCH IN BRAZIL

1. Sisters of Jesus Crucified
2. Choir of factory workers
3. Audience at Billy Graham Crusade
4. Roman Catholic Folk Festival
5. Pentecostal Singers
6. "Adoremus te Christi"

MFG. IN U.S.A. BY

EVA-TONE

DEERFIELD, ILLINOIS

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; enough,
Robert Davis)

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music. The
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of Calvary
that I saw
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Brazilian Lu-
do Sul sing-

s music on
the cowboy
Jair Rodri-

have had
the govern-
into exile.
the winners

SIDE I MUSIC OF THE CHURCH

SIDE II FOLK AND POP MUSIC

man remain here is—He who has a
young daughter should be careful."

2. The Cataretê—a rural folk dance. Interior of the State of Sao Paulo. Recorded by Dr. Alceu Maynard Araujo in the Center of Folklore of Piracicaba.

Go, go, go and never return.

Let's do some hard work!

To straighten things out

My guitar turned into } twice
an ivory saw horse }

3. Joao Gilberto, Brazil's foremost interpreter of Bossa Nova sings, "Samba de Uma Nota So."

Look here at this little samba written
in only one note

Other notes will join in

But the basis is only one

I came back to my note
As I came back to you
I will tell with my one note
How much I love you
Those who want all the notes
re-mi-fa-sol-la-ti-do
End up with none
So I'll use only one

4. A popular song of the 1967 Carnaval was "Mascara Negra" by Ze Keti, sung in dance halls and social clubs.

Twice { So many smiles, Oh, such happi-
ness
More than a thousand clowns in
the hall
Happiness is crying for the love
of Columbine

Three { In the midst of the throng
times { In the midst of the throng

runaway ("Disparada") is a lyrical
account of changing social conditions
in the northeast of Brazil. A very
simple farmer worked hard and be-
came the owner of a large herd of
cattle and the "patron" of many cow-
boys. He was on top. Then his
"visions became clear" and he
"woke up" and he could no longer
be "king" because people cannot be
treated like cattle. So now he is still
a cowboy "with a firm lasso and a
strong arm in a kingdom that no
longer has a king."

6. The Carnival in the streets of Rio de Janeiro is dominated by the escolas de Samba (Samba schools), the most famous of which is the "Academicos do Salgueiro" (Salgueiro is the name of a favela) in which 3,500 people participate. The samba rhythm.

South American music has the greatest variety of cultural heritages in the world. Body beats from Africa, melancholy rhythm from southern Europe, classical music from northern Europe, jazz from North America; all of it built upon and mixed with Indian folk music. It's all there in pure forms and in rich combinations.

We have recorded examples of a very small part of the music of Brazil, just one nation in South America; enough, we hope, to arouse you to ask for more.

(Translations by Robert Davis)

1. The Roman Catholic Sisters of Jesus Crucified have adapted popular music to their evangelistic efforts. They sing "Toda Gente Sabe" to the rhythm of "ie-ie-ie."

EVERYONE KNOWS

Fortunately, everyone knows very well,
That this life will end some day.
But in spite of knowing this,
Many people, unfortunately,
Go through life trying to forget it.
God gave us only one life,
And wants it to be well lived.
This life is our test,
Only those who live well,
Having God in their hearts
Have no fear of death.

2. Choir of factory workers of the Third Independent Presbyterian Church of the Bras—an industrial sector in Sao Paulo. Samuel Kerr, director.

Choral music for which we have no translation.

3. Gospel Song sung by Evangelicals in Sao Paulo's Pacaembu Stadium during Billy Graham's crusade in September 1962.

REVIVE US O LORD

Revive us O Lord
This is our Prayer
Send down the Fire from Heaven
Into each heart
Awaken us O Lord
And make us fruitful
Increase the Divine blessings
First fruits of the Hereafter.

4. A typical Roman Catholic folk festival of the interior is the "Festa do Divino" in honor of the Holy Spirit. In this "Folia do Divino", a banner with the symbolic dove is taken from house to house by a small group of instrumentalists and singers.

FEAST OF THE DIVINE

Youth, look to the banner of the Blessed
Divinity
Let's find the banner of the Divine
Let's go!

Hail to the Divine Holy Spirit
The Divine Holy Spirit
Has arrived at this home
It came leading the banner
Down the dusty road
It came to bring its blessing.

5. Pentecostal singers showing folk influence on popular Evangelical music. The music is a toada and the words are original trovas. The "Conjunto Trio Celeste" with accordion and guitars.

ON THE CROSS

It was there on the Cross of Calvary
It was there on the Cross that I saw
The Innocent was nailed there
And there He suffered for me
His feet were nailed
I also saw His hands
But it was not only for me
It was also for you.

6. "Adoremus te Christi"—Brazilian Lutheran choir of Rio Grande do Sul singing classical Latin.

1. Sixteen young women with guitars sing the Amazonian folksong, "Foi Boto, Sinha," with Maria Sylvia Ferraz Silva.

This is a legend about a forest spirit Tajapanena who preys upon virgins. Like most folk legends the words are loaded with historical-mythical references which have meaning only for those well versed in the folklore. The main refrain here is "He who has a young daughter should be careful."

2. The Cataretê—a rural folk dance. Interior of the State of Sao Paulo. Recorded by Dr. Alceu Maynard Araujo in the Center of Folklore of Piracicaba.

Go, go, go and never return.
Let's do some hard work!
To straighten things out
My guitar turned into
an ivory saw horse } twice

3. Joao Gilberto, Brazil's foremost interpreter of Bossa Nova sings, "Samba de Uma Nota So."

Look here at this little samba written in only one note
Other notes will join in
But the basis is only one

The rest is the result
Of what I have just said
Just as I am inevitably the result
of you
There are so many people around
who talk a lot and say nothing, almost
nothing
I have used the whole scale
And in the end had no notes left
Nothing came of it
I came back to my note
As I came back to you
I will tell with my one note
How much I love you
Those who want all the notes
re-mi-fa-sol-la-ti-do
End up with none
So I'll use only one

4. A popular song of the 1967 Carnaval was "Mascara Negra" by Ze Keti, sung in dance halls and social clubs.

Twice { So many smiles, Oh, such happiness
More than a thousand clowns in the hall
Happiness is crying for the love of Columbine
Three { In the midst of the throng
In the midst of the throng

5. Showing the influence of folk music on recent popular music is the cowboy song "Disparada," sung by Jair Rodrigues.

Some recent folk singers have had their records banned by the government and some have fled into exile. "Disparada" was one of the winners at a folk festival in 1967.

"Runaway" ("Disparada") is a lyrical account of changing social conditions in the northeast of Brazil. A very simple farmer worked hard and became the owner of a large herd of cattle and the "patron" of many cowboys. He was on top. Then his "visions became clear" and he "woke up" and he could no longer be "king" because people cannot be treated like cattle. So now he is still a cowboy "with a firm lasso and a strong arm in a kingdom that no longer has a king."

6. The Carnival in the streets of Rio de Janeiro is dominated by the escolas de Samba (Samba schools), the most famous of which is the "Academicos do Salgueiro" (Salgueiro is the name of a favela) in which 3,500 people participate. The samba rhythm.

STUDENT PROTEST

A Growing US-Latin Similarity

Gilbert H. Dawes

With the killing of students at Kent State and Jackson State, the closing down of universities across the country, and the passage of legislation curbing campus dissent, the university scene in the United States increasingly resembles its counterpart in Latin America. The Brazilian government declared illegal any criticism of the United States during the visit of Nelson Rockefeller, and for his safekeeping applied "preventive detention" of 1,000 persons, mostly students. In Mexico, at the time of the Olympics, 200 protesters were killed, 700 wounded and 1,500 arrested, mostly students. In Argentina, two months after the constitutional government was overthrown in 1966, the military dictatorship intervened in the National Universities throughout the country. Typical of that intervention was what occurred in Cordoba, where students and professors were beaten and gassed, an unarmed worker-student was shot in the back of the head at point-blank range by the police against whom no charges were ever brought, and of course, the reform government of the university was destroyed. Three years later, the government again intervened in Cordoba, killing 86 persons and wounding 300. In Brazil, Uruguay, Bolivia and Colombia, police intervention frequently results in killing, imprisonment and torture of students. In Paraguay and Haiti, severe repression has gone on for so long that protest and dissent have long since become impossible.

The similarity goes even further, for as our government exercises the repressive methods long used by Latin American governments, these same governments in turn are reorganizing Latin American universities along the lines of our universities. In doing so they are aided by our government, military, big business, foundations and universities. For example, the U.S. government, in collaboration with Bucknell University, has used \$250,000 of Alliance for Progress funds to set up a Department of Engineering at the Catholic



This mural at the University of Guayaquil, Ecuador, shows historical Latin American revolutionaries.

University in Cordoba. The department's professors, curriculum and general policies are intended to feed industries with technocrats who can submit to the government ideology.

At the same time, students in the U.S. are cheered by Latin American students as they attempt to change our universities, unconsciously following the pattern of autonomous Latin American universities which students there fought to establish. (In 1918, students in Cordoba revolted against upper-class control of every aspect of university life. They established a tri-partite form of government by which students, professors and alumni represented in equal number determined all university policy and practice. This became known as the University Reform Movement, and spread throughout Latin America.)

The term "Latin American students" itself is a generality which obscures the great national, regional and individual differences among students and their universities. Once this has been said however, it can be added that there are large numbers of students who seek personal advantage to the exclusion of all else. There is a second large group of students who are generally uncommitted, but who are concerned, and who tend to follow the lead of a smaller group of students with an anti-imperialist, anti-United States viewpoint. It is with this third group that I deal, on the premise that though this group is small in number and usually fragmented, its articulate thinking and commitment give it an influence that far exceeds its numbers, and has the cutting edge to shape the future.

Style of Life

The radical Latin American student finds it very difficult to understand

the life style of the student in the U.S., influenced as it is by hippie culture and drugs. He has always seen his own country, dependent first on Spain, then England, and now on the United States, as a sick society. Like racial minorities in the United States, he has also believed that in spite of its material strength, the United States was morally sick. To him it seems silly to belabor the obvious with hippie demonstrations. By no means is he opposed to demonstrations, but he is uncomfortable with what seems to him to be cultic exhibitionism. He prefers tactics with clear-cut revolutionary goals.

(The Latin American student is shocked when he finds that we have believed our own propaganda, such as the myth that the Monroe Doctrine was for the protection of our neighbors to the South. This is why he fails to see that hippie culture was not a prank, but a kind of inner liberation from those myths by disaffected youths who then went on to outwardly challenge the sacred taboos of "the American way of life.")

The life style of the radical Latin American student, which aims at a revolution to change a bad way of life for a better one, requires a clear mind and an appearance that will not draw undue attention. For him, as for the Black Panthers and Young Lords, the revolutionary cannot afford the luxury of mixing business and pleasure. That is a goal for the future that will not be won without disciplined restraint at this point. On the basis of the repression they have experienced, these students see a repression coming to the United States that will make a hippie life style impossible for those who work for revolutionary change.

Mr. Dawes was a United Methodist missionary, pastor and campus minister in Argentina for five years.

Ideology

The Latin American student is serious and thorough-going in his study of ideology. To avoid such study simply means that one will not be effective in working for the ideology he considers best. He is concerned about the anti-ideological bias of many students in the United States. He rejects the idea that if one can't accept capitalism, he must reject all ideology and be doomed to the depths of "underdevelopment". To the Latin American student such an idea is as absurd as saying that if one can't accept a certain interpretation of the Christian faith, he must reject all forms of religion.

This uneasiness with ideological fuzziness grows out of the past experiences of Latin American students. For many years Latin American university students were vaguely leftist in the sense that they fought to make and defend the university as an island of freedom in a sea of oppression. They thought that revolutionary change would come by changing institutions such as the university, one by one. This illusion was destroyed in generation after generation, but was most decisively wiped out in the early and mid sixties, as United States-backed military dictators smashed the hard-won victories of university autonomy, in a matter of days. In their disillusionment, the students learned from their defeat by reading about the failure of Utopian Socialism in France, England and the United States. They put their own experience in the larger framework of history and drew ideological conclusions. They learned that the people must organize themselves on the basis of a body of clear and valid ideas about their condition and what can be done about it. Then, they must seize the centers of power, and only then can the institutions be expected to serve their needs in any lasting way. They remembered the victories of the Mexican Revolution of 1910, and the Bolivian Revolution of 1952, which were won by peasants, only to be undermined and lost by following personalities and building on politics not grounded in a clear ideology.

The ideology which has spoken most clearly to Latin American students is Marxism. They study it not as a dogma, but as a frame of reference in which to test Latin American experience. In general, they strongly reject the Communist Party

as being the mouthpiece for the conservative and bureaucratic Soviet line that opposes revolution in Latin America. They don't want Russian domination any more than they want U.S. imperialism, and it is for their *independent* roads to socialism that they admire Cuba, China and North Vietnam.

Worker-Student Solidarity

In the past, Latin American students seeking revolutionary change have tried to align themselves with workers, but nearly always it has unconsciously been done in a condescending way. Perhaps this could not be avoided in a culture based upon a division of labor, with manual work on the one hand and intellectual work on the other hand. Beyond this, the situation became impossible when the division of labor hardened into rigid class divisions. When this happened, manual laborers were economically deprived and socially depreciated, while intellectuals were lauded and disproportionately rewarded economically. In such a situation, simply to be a student, even without graduating, carried great prestige, and to have a university title put one in a class apart. The fact that workers bear the economic and social brunt of such a class structure meant that bad blood between students and workers was almost inevitable.

It was only as the students' island of freedom in the autonomous university was destroyed that they were forced to rethink their relation to workers and to their society in general. They were then prepared to work *with* the laborers rather than *on* them. Students and workers are allied in urban guerrilla movements in Uruguay (the Tupamaros) and Brazil (the Marighela group); elsewhere students have backed striking workers. This has allowed them to declass themselves in the sense of putting aside their prestige as students and throwing in their destiny with that of the laborers. The hatred between the two groups has tended to disappear as students have sought out the leadership of radical union leaders not corrupted by making deals with management behind the worker's back. To the extent that the alliance between students and workers has become a reality, it has tended to overrun the entrenched bureaucracy in both union and university. The movement is no longer from the

top down as the grass roots have taken over. Now it is common to hear the rank and file chant to leaders in demonstrations: "If you don't march ahead, we'll march with your heads."

Students and the Church

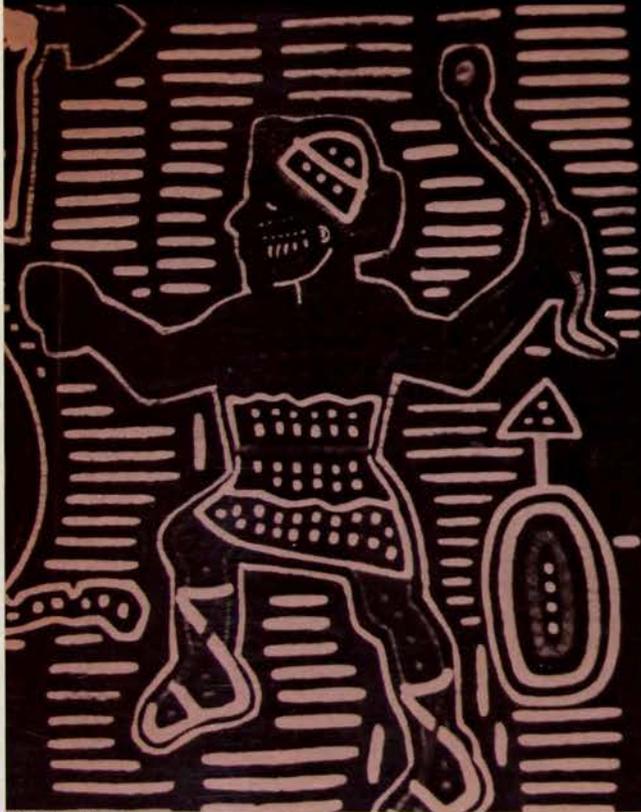
The fact that the student in Latin America has identified with workers in the forging of a new society has alienated him from the Catholic Church, which has traditionally sided with the aristocracy and the army. Nor do the Protestant Churches with their middle-class mentality and support of the status quo offer any real alternative. One student remarked, "We've got to be less Christian to be more revolutionary."

Students feel that they have been forced to choose between Christianity and revolution because the Church has been so completely identified with oppressive systems. They have no trouble understanding Jesus, who for them was anti-Establishment and who identified completely with the needy, the poor and the oppressed. But they cannot accept the Church, which, they feel, has taken the name of Jesus in vain by going against everything he stood for, or by offering palliatives in his name to prevent change.

To make matters worse, they say the Church has condoned the violence perpetrated by the oppressor, and has condemned the violence of the oppressed when they have sought to liberate themselves. Not even the rebel priests and ministers, who are viewed as the severest threat to the status quo by U.S.-backed Latin American dictators, have sufficiently brought the resources of the Christian faith to bear on the struggle by the oppressed for freedom. Too often—as with the Golconda group in Colombia and the Third World priests in Argentina—they have tried to guide and contain the revolution rather than join the revolutionaries. When they have done so, they have been guilty of the same kind of paternalism of which the students have been guilty in the past, and perhaps for the same reasons. Revolutionary students recall that they themselves became effective only when they lost the relative immunity of the university. Rebel priests and ministers, some think, will become revolutionary when they have been forced out of the immunity of the Church. ■



INDIANS PAY THE PRICE OF SOUTH AMERICAN PROGRESS



Malcolm W. Browne The author is Latin America correspondent for *The New York Times*.

FOUR CENTURIES after the Spanish flag and the cross were raised over South America, the conquest of the continent continues, at the expense of its original inhabitants, the Indians.

The descendants of the European conquerors are no longer concentrating on the coastal lands and cities. The thrust now is toward the vast, barely explored central mass of South America—the new Eldorado.

The Peruvian Government has started roads deep in the Amazonian hinterland. The Brazilian Government has formally transferred its seat from coastal Rio de Janeiro to the new interior city of Brasília.

Incalculable riches in wood, minerals, petroleum and other natural resources await the exploiter who can push economic lines of transport and communication into the continent's dark heart.

For the most part the Indian is no longer disposed to fight the invader, although missionaries in Brazil, Ecuador and elsewhere are still murdered from time to time. But the mere presence of Indians in many areas is an annoyance to would-be developers. They have no role to play and are viewed as a social impediment.

Though these attitudes seem clear, the South American governments insist that their objective is the peaceful integration of the Indians into their nations. And, in fact, the condition of the Indians has improved a little in some countries. But for most, the burden of the past is heavy.

Having lost almost all of their battles, they have turned away—either into the depths of the forests or into themselves, lost in disease, narcotics and desperation.

Their numbers have been reduced from the time of Pizarro onward, partly through massacres but mainly because of poverty. In the wilderness these days, half the Indian children die and the adult is unlikely to live beyond age 30.

In Brazil, for example, there were about 230 distinct groups at the turn of the century, each with its own language and customs. By 1957 there were 143. The Indian population of Brazil has declined by 20,000 in two decades.

The Indians who were on Tierra del

Fuego and the southern tip of South America a generation ago are extinct now, eliminated for the most part in nonviolent ways by the white societies of Argentina and Chile.

While problems for Indians are serious throughout the Western Hemisphere, they are most severe in Latin America. Depending on anthropological definitions, there are 15 million to 25 million Indians left in the Western Hemisphere, of whom fewer than a million are in the United States and Canada.

During the last two years world opinion, especially in France, West Germany, Sweden and Britain, has become concerned with the fate of the South American Indian.

Proof of Genocide Alleged

A Swedish anthropologist, Lars Persson, asserted that he had proof that a policy of genocide prevailed. In a radio interview last November 29, he said: "White civilization is bringing about the destruction of the social and cultural ambience of the indigenous peoples as well as their physical destruction."

For their part, the Government of Brazil and those of every other nation in South America have heatedly denied any such policy.

On the other hand, in Brazil, at least, the situation has been grievous. In October, 1967, General Alonso Albuquerque Lima, at the time the Minister of Interior, announced that the Indian Protection Service had apparently been committing atrocities against the very people it was supposed to help. Officials allegedly had been bribed by land-grabbers to clear various zones of Indians in whatever ways seemed most effective.

In March, 1968, Jäder Figueiredo, the Prosecutor General, submitted a report on an investigation. Among the alleged crimes against Indians—notably the Long Belts of the Mato Grosso—were intentional starvation, poisoning, contamination with disease germs, slaughter with firearms, bombs and other weapons, rape, forced labor, abuse of child labor, homosexual attacks and many forms of torture.

At a subsequent news conference, Mr. Figueiredo said: "Tortures have been inflicted on Indians similar to those practiced by the Nazis at the

Treblinka and Dachau camps. Those responsible are the officials of the Protection Service."

Furthermore, he said the organization had caused more than \$10 million in damage to Indians' belongings.

No Officials Were Tried

The service was dissolved and replaced, but no former officials have come to trial and the matter appears to have been dropped. (Major Luis Vinhas Neves, once head of the Indian Protection Service, has been promoted to colonel in the air force.)

As for more favorable policies, the late President René Barrientos Ortuño of Bolivia, who was killed in a helicopter crash last year, was partly Indian and spoke fluent Quechua—the language of the Incas.

"If my administration has done nothing else for Bolivia," he once said in an interview, "it has at least eliminated the hateful word 'Indian,' substituting the proud word 'farmer.' Men should be sorted out according to occupation, not race."

General Barrientos's view is shared by few South American leaders.

"Argentina is far ahead of the rest of Latin America because of the superiority of its racial composition," a Cabinet minister in Buenos Aires said in a recent private conversation. "We are Europeans, without any mixture of Indian or Negro blood."

Few comparisons are so offensive to predominantly European Latin Americans as the suggestion that they bear some relationship to Mexicans or Central Americans.

"You Americans will have to get over the image of South America as the boy snoozing away under a big sombrero," a Chilean official said. "We are not Indians or Mexicans."

As a matter of fact, most Chileans, while European in appearance, have some Araucanian ancestors—Indians who fought the Spanish ferociously in the 16th century until they were subdued and absorbed.

Even the intellectuals of white South America tend to regard the Indian as virtually an animal.

"My father used to tell me of the Indians of his day," said Jorge Luis Borges, an Argentine who is considered one of the great writers in Spanish. "They were very stupid, it seems.



Their way of counting was like this— one, two, three, many. Just four numbers. I'm afraid it's hard to do much with such people."

When a fire or other catastrophe rips through one of the many shantytown slums ringing Buenos Aires, the average middle-class city dweller is likely to say: "Too bad, but that's what happens to people who don't work. They're all Paraguayans and Bolivians."

Economic Motives Too

The remark actually has racial meaning. To many Argentines the two neighboring peoples are inferior because most Paraguayans are partly Guaraní Indian while most Bolivians are part Aymara or Quechua.

Apart from the powerful force of racial prejudice, economic motives also work strongly against the Indian.

In the north Argentina Chaco, for example, enormous tracts of virgin land belong to the Government and theoretically are at the disposal of the marginal Indian tribes.

In fact, the land is at the disposal of great landowning families and companies and of the picturesque gaucho, who may be seen riding along the trails just as he did a century ago, armed with a knife and a gigantic revolver.

There are roughly 20,000 pure-blooded Indians and 30,000 Indian-

speaking people of mixed blood in Salta Province (in northern Argentina)—about 10 percent of the population.

Not one pure-blooded Indian has title to land and fewer than 100 of those of mixed blood have title. They live as squatters from day to day, hoping they will not be forced off Government or private property.

Must Change Their Names

They are compelled by law to change from Indian names to Spanish ones. Nevertheless, they lack the rights of citizens and cannot get the documents necessary to exercise those rights.

Indians complain that their cattle and land are constantly being stolen by gauchos—who regard the Indians with contempt—but that it is hopeless to protest.

Sugar mills, canning factories, sawmills and other industries in the region commonly exploit the Indian, frequently paying him in chits, with which he may buy overpriced goods at the company store.

Poor white workers are also exploited but often find ways of enforcing more just treatment. At the end of several weeks without pay, white women workers at a canning plant near Tartagal were paid in canned tomatoes and told to sell the produce. The women organized a strike

These Indian women in Brazil wait suspiciously in line to have their children vaccinated. There have been reports of Indian tribes being deliberately infected with smallpox virus, under the pretext of inoculation against malaria.



and forced the company to pay them in cash.

The Indians have not learned the advantages of striking and generally refuse to participate in union activity. Company paymasters often abscond with entire payrolls, leaving Indian communities destitute and virtually without recourse after weeks or months of work.

Some of the Indians respond to the appeal of political groups to revolt against white domination and a few become Communists, but Indian allegiance to any political cause is rare, as Che Guevara learned when he tried to recruit Indians for the guerrilla campaign in eastern Bolivia that ended with his death.

Urban Indians Swallow Pride

While Indians in rural areas tend to preserve primitive ways and attitudes, the urbanized South American Indian may display an outlook that would be characterized by black militants in the United States as Uncle Tomism.

Among those willing to swallow their pride and accept many hardships in order to become "civilized" is Serafim Zamorra, a Mataco in his mid 50's who lives in the Chaco town of Embarcación, Argentina.

Mr. Zamorra went to Embarcación from the wilderness many years ago and speaks fluent Spanish. For the last nine years he and his family have lived

as squatters on a plot owned by one of the great landlords.

The Zamorra hut is sturdy and clean and has an iron roof. There is neither plumbing nor electricity, of course, since the family has no property rights, but the house is luxurious by normal Indian standards.

Mr. Zamorra makes well-carved chairs of hard wood and good leather, which he sells for \$1.70 each. (In the big towns where white dealers resell them, the price increases to about \$10.) His wife weaves rugs and other textiles from cotton.

"Our life here is not easy," he said, "but anything is better than the Chaco. Here there is a chance for education, for progress. My son works as an assistant mason. Well, it's not much, but he has learned to mix concrete. That's a big step. We must have civilization.

"Three of our children went to Buenos Aires. One daughter works in a factory there and another as a maid, with a family that treats her as its own daughter. My son there hasn't found work yet, but he will.

"The only chance for the Indian is to move to the towns and cities, to the capital itself," he added.

Many sociologists doubt that the Indian slums blossoming around South American cities are really much better than the old wilderness. But in Indian eyes they are better than death. ■

Indians who adapt to the culture of the Europeans tend to live a poverty-stricken existence.

CUBA

a new church in a new society

Thomas Anthony

Mr. Anthony is a Canadian Anglican clergyman who has recently visited Cuba.

"Cuba is a socialist country. This is historical fact. We, believers in Jesus Christ, parishioners and pastors of the Church, live in Cuba, and we will continue to live in this beautiful land. These are two real facts."

"Like it or not, the Revolution is here and the building of the New Society involves us as the Christian Church. The Church, despite the desire of many both from the Marxist side and from the Christian side to 'dis-incarnate' or 'de-secularize' it, is a Church which is in the world. It cannot separate itself from the intimate relation it has with the world, because the world is the reason for the existence of the Church."

These statements by two leaders of the Church in Cuba today epitomize the honest dialectic within which Christians in Cuba are living their faith today. It is at once an inspiring and a profoundly sobering experience to observe that tension.

Church life in Cuba continues in most of the traditional ways: Sunday morning worship, Sunday school or Bible classes, and young people and adult groups meeting in church buildings or in smaller groups in homes. Because of the general Cuban austerity in non-essential items (every effort is directed at basic national economic development), church publications are fewer in number and made of lower quality materials; but they are published and circulated regularly. There is complete freedom of worship.

There was nothing particularly inspiring about any of this—the Church functions were not unlike those in the U.S.A. or elsewhere in the Caribbean. Indeed my recurring thought was, how foreign, traditional and unsuit-

able to the new Cuban revolutionary society, so much of Western Church tradition and organization seems.

In a still-developing Marxist society whose gospel of social justice and welfare echoes from the Judeo-Christian tradition, and whose revolutionary evangelical fervor is very much in the ascendant, the Church and individual Christians are severely challenged to make their faith real. While there is no religious persecution in Cuba, there is no question that the psychological advantage is no longer with the Christians, as has been the case for so long in much of Western society, particularly former Spanish colonies.

Today one cannot be a Christian and belong to the Communist Party or any of its organizations. While this virtually proscribes direct political participation by Christians, there is little evidence that the practice of the Christian faith has affected the economic or social welfare of the faithful. During the tempestuous early years of the Revolution there were of course many Christians whose political and economic self-interest or cultural ties provoked them openly or covertly to work against the Revolution. Most of these persons have now left the country.

In a Revolutionary society dedicated to increased production, spiritual values have an unusual significance. I discovered several persons, both young and old, had been asked to join Party organizations and were willing to, but had been turned down after long debates about their unreasonableness in not giving up their "bourgeois religious" hang-ups! Several others reported their active participation in block organizations,

and dialogues with friends and neighbors who are Party members. A number of those Christians I met hold responsible high-level jobs in education and industry.

A sign of a bold new spirit of participation in the Revolution was the fact that the whole theological faculty and student body of the Evangelical Theological Seminary in Matanzas was in the fields cutting cane from 5:30 a.m. to 7:30 p.m. for two weeks, together with a training group of rural and small town Party leaders. It provided opportunity for dialogue and practical witness as well as a valuable contribution to the national agricultural effort. The contrast between this renewed Biblical spirit—salt of the earth, leaven of the lump, light of the world—and the now largely ghettoized formalities of traditional Church activity could not be greater. In Cuba as well as in North America, Christians are discovering that they must break out of traditional structures and styles of life if they are to fulfill the Church's mission today.

In Cuba prior to the Revolution, the Church and Christians enjoyed undeserved positions of privilege accumulated over long centuries through both political and economic power and influence. Today in Cuba, the Church has been largely neutralized as a direct political or economic power. Its only influence now is moral or prophetic.

Negative Impact of U.S. Policy

The situation in which the Church finds itself in Cuba can be described by the impact of current U.S. policy towards Cuba. This is more particularly significant for the U.S. churches with their strong historical and cultural ties to the Protestant churches in Cuba.

There is not the slightest doubt that the impact of current U.S. policy towards Cuba is negative. Even the most counter-revolutionary individuals with whom I spoke, including several who plan to emigrate to the U.S., indicated that current U.S. policies are counter-productive as attempts to debilitate, reverse or destroy the Revolution. On the contrary, current policies are some of the most effective stimuli to legitimating the further militarization of Cuban society, to greater dedication of the Cuban people to national development and defense, and to Cuban

encouragement of social revolutions in other Latin American nations. At the least, I was informed, U.S. policies are viewed as relatively ineffective and of nuisance value, and therefore of secondary importance to the development tasks facing the Cuban nation. No one with whom I spoke favored current U.S. policies refusing diplomatic recognition or relations of any kind, maintenance of the massive trade embargo and the provocative retention of the Guantanamo naval base.

I happened to arrive in Cuba one week after the abortive Alpha 66 Cuban exile invasion attempt at Baracoa on the northeast coast in April. This was a barometer by which to gauge feelings. No one supported such efforts, and no one saw the slightest hope of their succeeding. Almost all interpreted the action as unwarranted intervention with at least tacit U.S. approval.

Christians in Cuba, even the more conservative theologically, and the least revolutionary in spirit, did not express significantly different feelings. Churchmen were more restrained than government officials but not essentially different in attitude. On several occasions, the distinction was made between repudiation of the policies of a given government or administration and repudiation of the peoples of another nation. Younger persons were notably "revolutionary."

Christians in Cuba often said that the trade embargo has been effective unfortunately on food and special medicines. Such an embargo, they feel, is lacking in "Christian and humanitarian concern."

Churchmen particularly were also concerned about the lack of diplomatic relations. Despite the unavoidable TV and radio contacts, and a surprising amount of telephone communication with the U.S., Cuba is essentially cut off from other parts of the world. Mail delivery is delayed three months to a year, and most books and publications do not get through. Given U.S. State Department restrictions on travel, few U.S. citizens get to Cuba.

"Cuba Is Making It"

With reference to normalizing trade relations, my feeling from travel through half of the island was "Cuba is making it" despite the U.S. economic blockade. Cuba trades with Britain, France, Spain, Italy and other capital-

istic nations to a significant degree, in addition to trade with the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries. Within the last several months Chile and Cuba have begun trade relations again, which is the first break within the OAS trade blockade aside from Mexico.

The U.S. blockade has slowed Cuba's development, since almost 100 percent of industrial, agricultural, and consumer hard goods prior to the revolution were U.S. made. Cost of transportation for import and export of goods and materials has been greatly increased by elimination of U.S. and most Latin American trade. Replacement of parts has been a

been nationalized and private property no longer exists. In rural areas new barrios with modern housing and community facilities have been developed.

Food is not so hard to come by in rural areas where the system of small farming is slowly and humanly being eliminated. While it persists there exists the inevitable failure of the new system to prevent *el socialismo* (friendship) from weakening *el socialismo* (socialism)—the equal distribution system. As to clothing I found Cubans everywhere more adequately clothed than many persons I have seen in the urban slums of San Juan and New York.



These two displays outside a meat packing plant near Artemisa both encourage a record sugar cane harvest (billboard) and denounce the U.S. war in Vietnam.

major problem.

However, Cuba is a large and fertile island, and the massive efforts at sugar, rice, citrus, beef, dairy products and fishing industry production are beginning to pay off—the people believe—and I saw no evidence to the contrary. Everyone is clothed and eating a substantial basic diet. Food is still severely rationed, however, and Cubans, who delight in eating in quantity and variety, are living in considerable austerity. In the large cities, they are willing to stand in long lines at cafeterias for occasional meals to make their home rations go further.

The major tasks of the Revolution are now well advanced in development. Free medical and dental care and educational opportunities for all ages and levels of previous training are in the forefront of the social benefits of the Revolution. Housing has

The U.S. naval base at Guantanamo is viewed as an essentially unnecessary military installation which remains as a clear example of U.S. provocation and intransigence, but little else.

On the other hand there is little doubt that the government and the people still fear a massive military intervention with U.S. support in Cuba. While they suppose that no immediate threat exists because of the deep U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia, that involvement itself is viewed as analogous to the Bay of Pigs. U.S. policy in maintaining Guantanamo does not allay those fears.

Like it or not, the Cuban Revolution is here to stay, and the building of the new society between men and nations involves us all as Christians and as the Church of Christ throughout the world. ■



By John Hoad

There is a "facts and figures" aspect to the study of "Black Power," and there is a "feeling" side too. Biological and historical facts and economic figures tell one side of the story. What they do to us, and what we do with them—the psychology of it—tells another side to the story. Blackness, like beauty, often takes its meaning from the eye of the beholder. Both aspects are important, the economic and the ideological, and both need to be focused into one fused image of binocular vision.

The Caribbean has a special value as a training ground for the achievement of a new outlook on Black Power. The Jamaican motto, "Out of many, one people", like its United States counterpart, is related to the variegated complexion of the peoples that have come to occupy these islands and mainland territories.

Descendants of the original Arawaks and Caribs can only be found in small pockets here and there in the islands. Their greater numbers and comparative isolation make them a matter of special concern in the Republic of Guyana and sometimes a pawn in a power game, as in the Rupununi rebellion of 1969. But by and large throughout the West Indies, their story now belongs with the archaeologist.

The colorful history of the area focuses on the invasions and wars and settlements of the Europeans—Spanish, French, British, Dutch—who brought the Africans, as slaves, in the train of their trade, and the Indians as a further labor force in the aftermath of the abolition of slavery.

This very variety makes it difficult to speak in any simple way of the Caribbean as a whole. What is true of Jamaica will not be true of Trinidad, and what is true of Puerto Rico will not be true of Guyana. The racial struggles of the last two decades in Guyana have been between the African and the East Indian. Black Power was conceptualized in a situation of White/Black struggle and needs metamorphosis before it can be of help in the African/Indian conflict.

On the other hand, in the sharper Black/White cleavage in Barbados, where Black Power should most readily operate, it is a Black government

that has kept out the Black Power militants, because to them the imbalances of history are being corrected at a pace and by an evolution that have not called for violence since the 1930's.

This, however, does not mean that Black Power has no relevance to the Caribbean. Only a tourist guide could be so naive as to suggest that. The truth of the matter is that despite the open-endedness of a society like that of Jamaica, where the Governor General and Prime Minister are black men, the black end of the social spectrum still coincides with the poor end of the economic spectrum. There are vastly more black people in the population than those of any other complexion, and proportionately the greatest poverty is still to be found among them. Where poverty and lack of privilege cleave to a color line, there Black Power will always speak with force and the promise of a new day. The marches and riots in Trinidad, that nearly toppled Dr. Williams' Government, are indication enough of what can happen when the flint and steel of Black Power militancy sets a spark in such social tinder.

It is often pointed out that Black Power was born in the West Indies. Marcus Garvey was a Jamaican and is numbered among the select few of Jamaica's national heroes, and it was Garvey who gave focus and impetus to the concept of the black man's essential dignity and equal place in the story of man. The Ras Tafari movement, in its thirty-year old history in Jamaica, represents another Black Power protest, beginning in alienation but gradually undergoing socialization. It was in Jamaica that Martin Luther King felt himself most at home and most a man.

One must not, however, let the West Indian origin of Black Power thought make us think that we are immunized in the West Indies from its more militant United States thrusts. A virus transplanted may find new vigor in another culture and return home with devastating power. Black Power militancy can take a hold here as a challenge to the too slow rate of social and economic growth and the too narrow band of sharing the wealth. It can turn bio-

logical colors upside down and castigate black men as "white" at heart, and applaud white men as "black" at heart. It can become a slogan and a banner under which dissension goes looking for a revolution.

I am not going to prophesy that this can't happen here. Cuba is standing testimony to a successful West Indian revolution, and Trinidad came near to a major turn-about within the last year. But my guess is that such a revolution would be kept within certain strict limits by the interest of the United States and other world powers in these island bases—and ideological bases can be as important as missile ones.

Important as that big power influence is, I, as a West Indian, like to feel, and hope I am not fooling myself in so feeling, that we have something therapeutic to contribute to a humanity plagued by racial division. We are not just puppets of Uncle Sam or John Bull or the Big Bear. Big Daddies can't be embroiled in every kids' fight or join in every kids' game. The kids have to make it on their own over a wide range of experience and maturing.

As I see it, then, the real question mark is not whether the U.S.A. would allow a Black Power revolution in Jamaica, but whether the evolution of Jamaican society has led to a sufficiently healthy political responsibility and public opinion to re-absorb the virus of Black militancy and use it in an armory of medicines rather than of mutilation.

Not being among the prophets, the pollsters, or the sociologists, I won't even guess at the answer to that question. But I would like to think about some of the indigenous factors involved in the situation.

Every success is admittedly relative. But to a Barbadian of European stock like myself, long resident in Jamaica, the achievement of openness to people of all complexion by the Jamaican middle class is remarkable. In comparison with South Africa and the Southern U.S.A., this achievement is astounding. In Jamaica, it is possible to move and mix, not just publicly (as in Barbados) but also in social intimacy, with persons of all shades. It is possible to learn, trade, play, pray, and love across all color lines.

But, as I said, success is relative. Within Jamaica itself, sensitivity on the color score and self criticism and

doubt are active. The success seen by the outsider is questioned within. And it can be questioned in two respects: first, how real, how deep, is the integration? And, secondly, how universally throughout the society does it apply?

Black Power advocates would severely question the basis of the integration achieved by the middle class. They could not deny that all colors mix and marry, but they would contend (a) that lighter colors get job preferences; (b) that many marry lighter to raise social status, and (c) that middle class culture is but a crib and copy of European and North American styles of life.

There are answers to these criticisms. Assessments vary but one would think there is good evidence that in job preferences the pendulum is swinging fast in such conservative circles as, say, the banks as it has long since swung in such circles as the civil service. Skill, not skin, is becoming the vital qualification. And if some married lighter persons to

raise status, it must always have been true, as the Editor of the *Daily Gleaner* once pointed out, that the lighter persons thus married must have been prepared to marry darker! (or was it that the *men* thought in terms of lighter complexioned women, while the *women* thought of men in disregard of their complexion?)

Similarly, with regard to culture, there are counter-arguments. The development of an indigenous culture is the thing, not the rejection of European and North American culture or their counter-balancing by African and Asian importations. Shakespeare is not a British export, but a universal heritage. One must grant, however, that the Afro-styles added a popular stimulus to the search for a style that will express the West Indian's own feeling for life—a search already undertaken with considerable success by our poets, novelists, artists, playwrights, dancers, singers and humorists.

But while we can find such answers to the critique of the Black Power



Mr. Hoad is president of the United Theological College of the West Indies in Jamaica.

advocate, it would be wrong merely to blunt the thrust of his challenge and forget about it. He has a point. And even where the militants and extremists receive scant following, the influence of creative Black Power ideas puts new confidence in the voice, new plans in the mind, new self-awareness in the heart, of many who (one would have thought) little stood in need of such reinforcement. Black Power of this kind redresses the imbalances of a long history of devaluation; it seeps into the subconscious, healing and strengthening. It releases the creative potential of the Black man for the good of all men. And at the same time it releases the White man from a posture that was leading to the death of his own creativity.

On the other large question—concerning the universality of middle class integration—I cannot pronounce. The rural Jamaican, with his churchmanship and his piece of land, has his own sense of pride and independence. He accepts a man, as the late Right Excellent Norman Manley once told me, not for his color but his worth. The question remains, however, and it is the point of entry for the Black Power militant: is economic and social mobility rapid enough to let a burgeoning working

class feel it is getting its place in the sun? That, too, I can only leave as a question mark and a challenge to be taken seriously and urgently.

In the end, as David McLelland argues in "The Achieving Society" and as the Black Power movement has itself demonstrated, an ideology counts. Things boil down not just to what is in a man's stomach but also to what is in his mind. The Caribbean experience, especially the Jamaican experience, points in the direction of an open-ended humanity. At least I think so. Some will argue that such a statement is fiction rather than fact. But fiction creates facts!

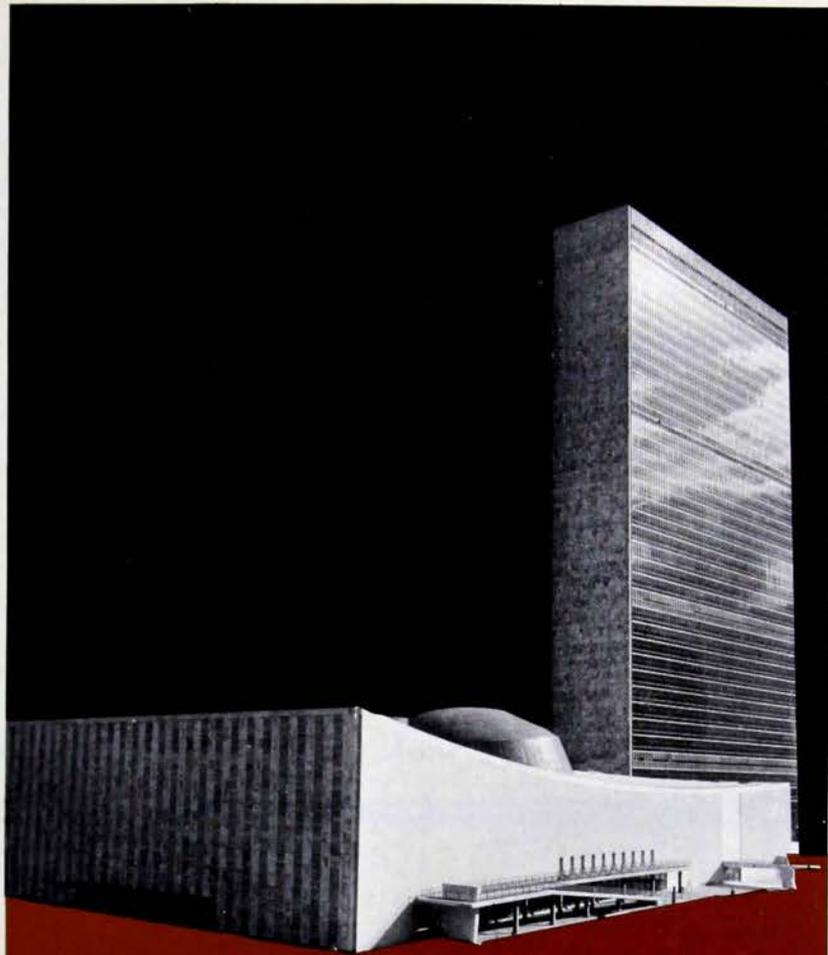
We are not the first generation to face deep racial divisions. The apostle Paul faced one such major cleavage and came, as he put it, to lose all "confidence in the flesh," all trusting to external status symbols of racial, national and religious origin, and to find a new status in a universal humanity in Christ, under God.

That too may be fiction, but it is a faith which creates a passport to a new dimension in race relations.

In that dimension Black Power will have done its work, and the Power of faith, hope, and love will alone remain, with (let us insist) due application in social and political justice. ■

Blacks in London demonstrate against British repression of independence in the island of Anguilla.





UN

TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY WINDOW ON THE UNITED NATIONS

Amy Lee

This is the theme for the 25th anniversary of the United Nations.

Several events have already marked the anniversary which moves to a climax with the convening of a commemorative session of the General Assembly, October 19. It will be attended by heads of states and governments.

This will be the first time since 1960 that a substantial number of chiefs of government have participated in an assembly session. Among the 21 prime ministers and presidents who attended the 1960 session were President Eisenhower, Fidel Castro, Jawaharlal Nehru, Tito, and Nikita Khrushchev.

United Nations Day, October 24, will be devoted to special ceremonies including the signing of a final document or documents, and the annual UN Day concert. A special choral work has been composed by Krzysztof Penderecki.

Celebrations during the year have been held at San Francisco, Geneva and at UN headquarters.

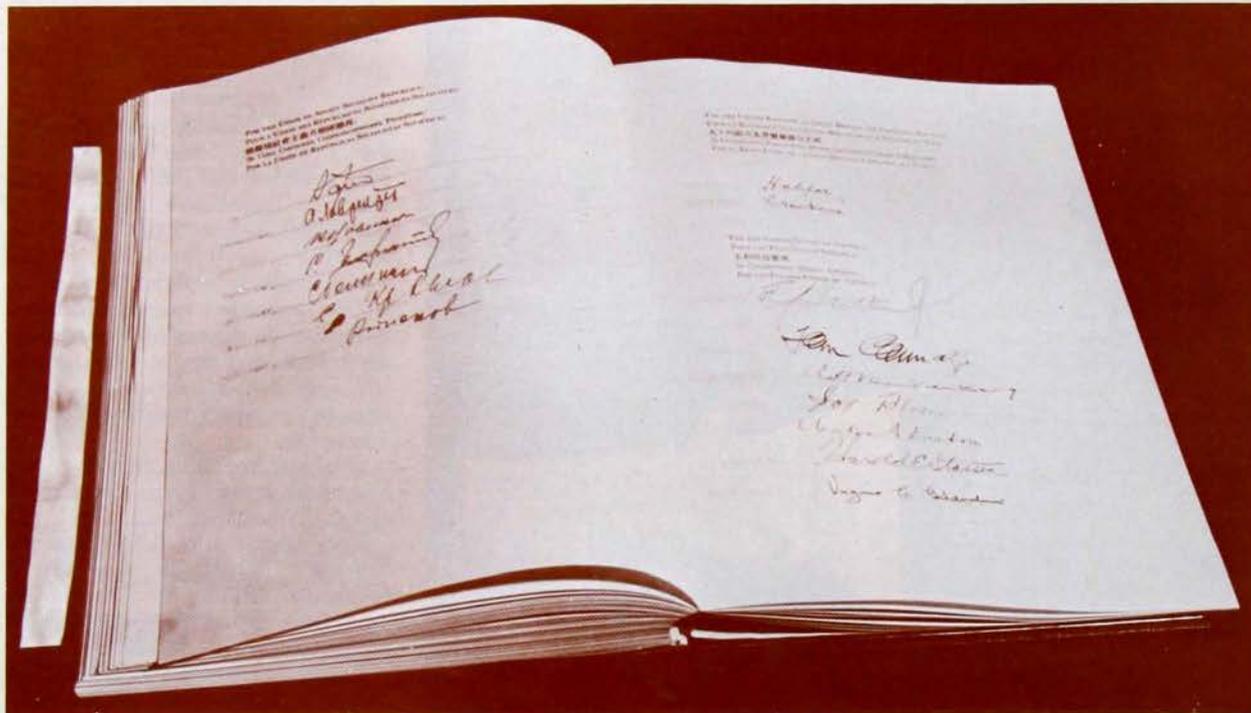
Upon invitation of the City of San Francisco UN delegates took part in ceremonies marking the 25th anniversary of the signing of the UN Charter in that city on June 26, 1945.

Delegates from 119 of the 126 UN Member States, UN officials, and others commemorated the event at the War Memorial Opera House. Peace in Indochina and the Middle East, making the Charter more effective, acceptance of Communist China and East and West Germany into the UN were called for in speeches. Speakers included past presidents of the General Assembly and signatories of the Charter in 1945.

On the evening of June 26 the San Francisco Committee was host at a commemorative dinner for 1,500 guests at the Fairmont Hotel. Secretary-General Thant was the main speaker. The original UN Charter was on display in San Francisco during the commemorative meetings.

On June 12 it had been transferred into the temporary custody of the UN. Article III of the Charter states that "the present Charter . . . shall remain deposited in the archives of the Gov-

The United Nations Charter (below) came into effect on June 26, 1945. Burma's U Thant (right) has been secretary-general since 1962.



ernment of the United States of America." Certified copies are in the possession of the other signatories.

Charles W. Yost, Permanent Representative of the United States, turned over custody of the Charter to UN Secretary-General Thant in a ceremony in the Secretary-General's conference room. Mr. Yost was accompanied by two U.S. Marine guards. Two UN security guards joined the group at the entrance to UN headquarters.

The Charter was kept in a 100-pound portable safe with a combination lock, under guard, until taken to San Francisco by UN security personnel. It has been returned to the United Nations and will be on display during the commemorative session of the General Assembly.

The Charter was also displayed in San Francisco during ceremonies that marked the 10th and 20th anniversaries of the UN.

The Charter has 51 original signatories.

On June 26, commemoration of the signing of the Charter was also observed at Expo '70 in Osaka, Japan. C. V. Narasimhan, Chef de Cabinet and Deputy Administrator of the UN Development Program (UNDP), represented the UN as special guest of honor. At the Pavilion on the United Nations he signed a commemorative scroll and rang the peace bell, which is on loan from UN headquarters.

In a speech to some 1,500 people at Festival Plaza, Mr. Narasimhan spoke of the UN's solid record of performance in economic and social development and the promotion of human rights. He emphasized that the UNDP had brought the benefits of technology to developing countries.

Akira Tamura, deputy commissioner-general of Expo '70, expressed the delight of the Japanese people in seeing the UN represented at the ex-

position and voiced confidence that visitors from all over the world to the Pavilion on the United Nations would be impressed by the organization's efforts to promote peace and harmony.

On July 6 a ceremony commemorating the UN's 25th anniversary took place at the Palais des Nations, Geneva, in conjunction with the summer session of the Economic and Social Council.

Also in July at UN headquarters in New York, anniversary commemorations took a completely new direction: the first UN-sponsored World Youth Assembly brought some 600 young people from 112 nations: communist and non-communist countries, member- and non-member states.

The top age level of 25 set by assembly planners was in many cases disregarded. One estimate was that only 68% were under 25.

Wrangling, delaying tactics by leftists, walk-outs, maneuverings and

counter-maneuverings gave the youth assembly the sadly familiar look of its elder counterparts.

Meanwhile, as the average citizen wonders what he can do about the UN, or contemplates local celebrations, he may find some current publications helpful. The U.S. State Department's booklet No. 6, "The United Nations," gives a pithy review of the UN, its structure, and major activities and accomplishments. It includes brief accounts of UN membership, U.S. representation, the Security Council, Secretariat, and UN agencies. It explains financing of the UN systems, presents reviews of UN activities in peace-keeping, economic development and social progress, international law and human rights, disarmament. It concludes with "The United Nations: a Look to the Future."

It may be purchased for 10 cents from the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

The United Nations Association of the U.S.A. (UNA-USA) at 833 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017,

is buzzing with leaflets, program ideas, posters, and other materials for celebrating the UN's 25th anniversary. In one flyer it asks, "What can you, the U.S. citizen, do about the UN on its 25th anniversary?" and answers, "You can make your opinion felt where it counts most—in Washington."

On UN Day, October 24, UNA-USA urges: "Let the President, the Secretary of State, your Senators and your Congressmen all hear from you—not just what is good about the UN, or bad (they probably know already), but what you think the U.S. should be doing in the UN to help make it more effective."

An excellent leaflet, "The United Nations—After 25 Years," published by UNA-USA and the League of Women Voters of the U.S., presents a checklist of UN accomplishments in the three major areas of Peace, Justice, and Progress—the three areas of need stressed in the Charter. It also lists UN specialized agencies and special UN programs, and discusses "The U.S. in the UN," "You and the

UN," and "The U.S. Share of UN Costs."

In a "Here's Hoping" salute, UNA-USA has issued a special edition of its magazine *Vista*, "The United Nations at 25." It features an imposing array of articles by experts in many fields, photographs, messages from government leaders, and essays on the UN. Among them:

"Letter to My Grandson," by former U.S. Chief Justice Earl Warren; "View from the U.S. Mission," by Ambassador Charles W. Yost; "The Technological Boomerang," by Raul Prebisch; "New Tasks for the '70s," by Richard N. Gardner, former member of the U.S. delegation and now Henry L. Moses Professor of Law and International Organization at Columbia University.

The UN itself will produce commemorative stamps, medals, documentary films and TV programs. A booklet, designed to give a panoramic view in words and pictures of the UN's first 25 years, was dropped when anniversary committee members couldn't agree on content. ■



THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF Human Rights

PREAMBLE—Recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world.

ARTICLE 1—All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

ARTICLE 2—Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. No distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the territory to which the individual belongs, whether that territory is wholly independent, trust, non-self-governing territory or any other category of area under special arrangement.

ARTICLE 3—Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

ARTICLE 4—No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery or the trade in slaves is prohibited in all its forms.

ARTICLE 5—No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

ARTICLE 6—Everyone has the right to be recognized as a person before the law.

ARTICLE 7—All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

ARTICLE 8—Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national authorities for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

ARTICLE 9—No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

ARTICLE 10—Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

ARTICLE 11—1. Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

ARTICLE 12—No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of

determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

ARTICLE 13—Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

ARTICLE 14—A common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge.

ARTICLE 15—1. Everyone has the right to a nationality.

ARTICLE 16—1. Everyone has the right to marry and to found a family, which is the basis of the peace and tranquillity of the world.

ARTICLE 17—1. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

ARTICLE 18—Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief.

ARTICLE 19—Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without fear and to receive and impart information and ideas without any interference, orally or in writing.

ARTICLE 20—1. Everyone has the right to peaceful assembly and association.

ARTICLE 21—1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

ARTICLE 22—Everyone has the right to equal access to public service in his country.

ARTICLE 23—The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

ARTICLE 24—Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

ARTICLE 25—Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing, medical care and necessary social services, and the right to education.

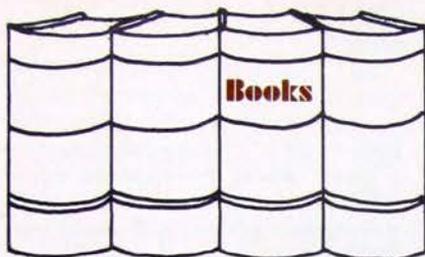
ARTICLE 26—1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Education shall promote understanding, peace, friendship, good will among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

ARTICLE 27—1. Everyone has the right to take part in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

ARTICLE 28—Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

ARTICLE 29—1. Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.





THE NEW LATINS, by Georgie Anne Geyer. Garden City, N.Y., 1970: Doubleday and Co., 340 pages, \$7.95.

Geography and history have made Latin America far more varied than Europe. Yet certain elements of the old order shaped a common Latin American reality. Miss Geyer, Latin American correspondent for the Chicago *Daily News*, identifies these elements as "the Amazon syndrome"—the tantalizing promise of fabulous wealth just waiting discovery, a promise never fulfilled; the inferiority complex of people who never win; the adherence to form without substance, exemplified in the ritualization of religion; authoritarianism, individualism, personalism; "machismo," the cult of manliness; and the love-hate relationship between the United States and Latin America.

Fateful change is coming to South and Central America, Miss Geyer says, detailing the case studies of Cuba, Chile and Peru. Each, she maintains, is a different path to modernization, but each is uniquely Latin. Miss Geyer's preference is for the orderly, planned change engineered by the middle-class Chilean Christian Democratic Party.

Assessing the trends which are irreversibly altering Latin America, the author devotes chapters to the new church, the new women (one of the best chapters), and the new military ("the man on the gray horse"). It is too early to really evaluate the new military leadership, the author says. There is a chapter on the revolt against authoritarianism which, she believes, explains such diverse phenomena as the bandits in Colombia, the guerrillas in Guatemala and the community organizations in the Dominican Republic. Miss Geyer also describes the upward mobility of the marginal slum dwellers, the assertiveness of the formerly passive Incas, the pioneer spirit of the people pushing into the interior of every country.

It is an optimistic book, strongly suggesting that the new physical and social mobility is forging a unified Latin American personality, more confident, egalitarian and cooperative.

Miss Geyer's conclusions are drawn from interviews with key figures throughout Latin America—Fidel Castro, Haydée Santamaría, Eduardo Frei, Camilo Torres, Helder Camara, Pablo Neruda,

as well as the lesser known politicians and poets, cholos, hacenderos, campesinos and guerrillas, and the sociologists who are analyzing them all. *The New Latins* puts the reader in intimate touch with the Latin persons and ideas which are most influential today. This is the book's chief asset.

E.C.

THE CENTER FORWARD DIED AT DAWN, by Augustin Cuzzani. New York, 1970: Friendship Press, 47 pages, paperback, \$1.50.

In this play in three acts, the Argentine dramatist Cuzzani has opened a window through which we may catch a glimpse of Latin America—a glimpse that is both fresh and frightening.

Aristides (Cacho) Garibaldi is the star center forward for the Nahuel Athletic Club. Cacho loves life and football and enjoys the admiration, devotion and loyalty of his teammates and his fans. He refuses an offer to play on another team for more money.

Into this honest and wholesome life Cuzzani injects Lupus, the "magnate of finance, industry, commerce and production." This greedy, cruel possessor of unlimited wealth and power purchases human beings as one might an ashtray. Cacho pleases him and for a million, six hundred pesos Lupus adds this "unique piece" to his collection.

Cacho discovers other "specimen" in this prison "showcase," determines that he cannot accept this destiny and plans with Nora, another specimen, to escape, but when Lupus realizes Cacho's intentions he condemns him to hanging.

Cuzzani suggests something profoundly significant for us as citizens of the wealthiest, most powerful nation in the world. All the elements are present in *The Center Forward Died at Dawn* for a new understanding of our participation in the humanization or the dehumanization of the world.

Ruth Clark

OUT OF THE HURT AND HOPE, edited by Jose Miguez-Bonino. New York, 1970: Friendship Press, 72 pages, paperback, \$2.25.

Would you know Latin American youth? Understand their hopes, dreams, frustrations, fears? Understand them as human beings struggling for full humanity, dignity, justice, self-determination and an end to exploitation by others? Hear what they feel about themselves and us and our relationships together? Latin American youth and clergymen invite you to such a mind-stretching experience in *Out of the Hurt and Hope*, for it is indeed out of their oppression and their dream for justice that they speak.

Dr. Miguez-Bonino, president of Union Theological Seminary in Buenos Aires, Argentina, has included in this col-

lection poetry by Pablo Neruda and Maria Elena Walsh, fiction by Julio Cortazar and Ciro Alegria, interviews with Uruguayan youth, an essay by an Argentine student, articles on youth as a whole in Latin America and a piece on football (soccer).

Recent events in Latin America have caught many citizens unaware, have frightened and angered many in the U.S. Why have these actions been taken? Where is the Church? These and other questions trouble us who are involved in the great land from Mexico to Tierra del Fuego.

We must reevaluate the meaning of our presence in Latin America. I commend this collection of poetry, humor, stories and factual material selected by our southern neighbors for our growing.

Ruth Clark

OUR CLAIM ON THE FUTURE: A Controversial Collection from Latin America, edited by Jorge Lara-Braud. New York, 1970: Friendship Press, 128 pages, paperback, \$1.95.

The six contributors to this slim volume are well-known Latin Americans whose views are provocative. Jorge Lara-Braud, the editor, is director of the Hispanic-American Institute in Austin. In the initial essay, he outlines "The Americas' Revolutionary Legacy": the contagion for independence, fostered by the 1776 revolution in the U.S., long thwarted in Latin America, is freshly alive today in the new awareness of the common man and the growing solidarity of peoples. In the final chapter, Lara-Braud ridicules the idea of labelling Latin dictatorships as "free," criticizes the Alliance for Progress, fleshes out the ideas of colonialism and imperialism, explores the alternatives of violence and non-violence and calls for a new future in which "one nation is safeguarded by the measure in which the future of all others is upheld."

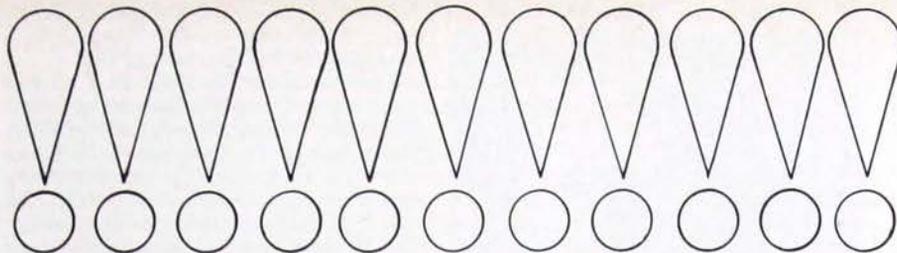
In between these chapters is an essay by Orlando Fals-Borda, a Colombian sociologist, on "Latin America's Frustrated Revolutions"—urbanization, industrialization, regional integration, agrarian reforms, community development. Fals-Borda explores the factors which have caused such "panaceas" to fail or produce ambiguous results in Latin America.

The Church is critically examined by the Roman Catholic, Ivan Illich, in "The Seamy Side of Charity," and by Reubem A. Alves, Brazilian theologian, in "Latin American Protestantism: Utopia Becomes Ideology."

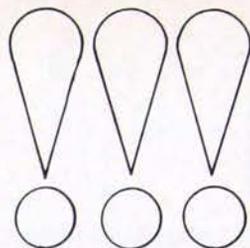
Two different perspectives on the Cuban lesson are given by a Cuban exile, Pablo E. Veitia, and by Rafael Cepeda, now president of the Council of Protestant Churches in Cuba.

E.C.

Miss Clarke is a missionary to Argentina.



**The
Moving
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WOMEN'S DIVISION HEAD SPEAKS ON WOMEN'S LIB

"Women are in large measure unconvinced of the need for their own liberation," said Miss Theresa Hoover, associate general secretary of the Women's Division, United Methodist Board of Missions, at a Church Women United observance of Women's Liberation Day here August 26.

Miss Hoover was one of two speakers at a noontime ecumenical rally at the Interchurch Center, 475 Riverside Drive. Several hundred women and a few men attended.

Miss Hoover, chief executive of the Women's Division, said that women "have bought the package of 'freedom'—the myth of 'inability,' the need to be 'protected,' and the fear of being thought 'manly.'" However, Miss Hoover said she thought the aims of the Women's Liberation Movement "are fraught with danger. The danger is that we'll settle for only surface attention, for instance the abortion issue. To treat the issue of life and death so lightly is to me to muddle the issue."

The movement is calling for free abortions, day care centers for children, and equal educational and job opportunities for women. Miss Hoover said she thought the equal education measure was the best area in which to work, pointing out that in Board of Missions offices there were "not too many women in top decision-making spots, yet 35 to 40 percent of the money for church work is raised by women."

Dr. Nelle Morton, former professor at United Methodism's Drew University Theological School, Madison, N.J., the other speaker, charged the church "has sacralized sexism by supporting the double standard in its offices, ministries, functions and quality of membership." She said "the church has supported commercialization of motherhood as the norm for the existence of a woman." She asserted that alleged male supremacy comes from ancient Hebrew cultural patterns and "that we still live under the old law is evident on every floor of this building and in every local church."

URUGUAYAN CHURCHMAN RELEASED BY POLICE

The Rev. Emilio Castro, president of the 2,700-member autonomous Methodist Church of Uruguay, was freed August 15 by Uruguayan police after being detained six days in Montevideo, according to reports received by the United Methodist Board of Missions here.

Dr. Castro was arrested, reports indicated, for allegedly trying to act as a media-



RNS Photo

MARCHING FOR LIBERATION

Women's liberation closes the generation gap as the feminist movement takes to New York's Fifth Avenue for a massive march. Throughout the nation, women marked the 50th anniversary of the women's suffrage amendment with parades and rallies aimed at dramatizing their demands for equality.

tor, along with a Jesuit priest, in the case involving the kidnapping by Tupamaros—Uruguay's urban guerrillas—of a U.S. agricultural advisor and a Brazilian diplomat. A third hostage, Dan Mitrione, chief U.S. police advisor to the Montevideo government, was shot by the urban guerrillas on either August 9 or 10. The body of the Indiana policeman was left in a car abandoned on a quiet street.

Dr. Castro is known for his leadership in ecumenism and Christian social concerns. A former Methodist Crusade Scholar, he is coordinator of the Provisional Commission for Latin American Evangelical Unity (UNELAM), treasurer of the Latin American Evangelical Mission Board, and has spoken at international meetings including the World Council of Churches' Conference on Church and Society in 1966.

In the midst of the kidnappings the guerrillas have staged recently, the Rev. and Mrs. Carl D. Shaefer, United Methodist missionaries to Uruguay, and their three children were forced to evacuate from the capital city of Montevideo on August 8, fol-

lowing a thwarted attempt to abduct their oldest son, Daniel.

Reports received by the Board of Missions indicated that four Tupamaro guerrillas in a pick-up truck attempted to seize the 18-year-old, six-foot four-inch youth on a street corner. One of the men got out of the cab of the truck and caught one of the youth's hands, the reports said, but he managed to break away and fled into the nearby British School, where he was given sanctuary.

The Tupamaros, thought to number several thousand, apparently operate almost exclusively in Montevideo, where almost half of Uruguay's 2.7 million people live.

The Tupamaros are demanding that the Government release all political prisoners—about 150 people—and President Jorge Pacheco Areco has held firm in refusing to yield to guerrilla pressure. As of late September, both the American agricultural expert, Claude L. Fly of Fort Collins, Colo., and Brazilian Consul Aloysio Mare Dias Gomide were reported by the guerrillas to be alive.

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DR. RALPH W. SOCKMAN DIES



Dr. Ralph W. Sockman, "dean of the American Protestant pulpit," died at his New York home Aug. 29. The minister-emeritus of Christ Church, United Methodist, was 80 years old. Dr. Sockman was one of the last of a group of New York Protestant ministers who swayed opinion with their radio sermons earlier in the 20th Century.

The Rev. Dr. Ralph W. Sockman, one of the United Methodist Church's best-known ministers and perhaps the nation's most widely heard radio preacher for many years, died August 29 at his home in New York City after a brief illness. He was 80.

From the time he entered the ministry in 1915, until his retirement in 1962, Dr. Sockman was associated with only one congregation—what is now the nationally known Christ Church, Methodist, on Park Avenue in Manhattan. Dr. Sockman's pastorate of 44 years and eight months is believed to have been one of the longest in United Methodism. He was associate pastor for two years of what was then known as the Madison Avenue Methodist Church before becoming pastor.

For 34 years of his pastorate at Christ Church, starting in 1928, Dr. Sockman was the regular preacher on what is perhaps radio's best-known religious program, "The National Radio Pulpit," of the National Broadcasting Company. Until his final sermon on March 25, 1962, Dr. Sockman's preaching brought in an average of 30,000 letters annually for many years, from an audience estimated to have been several hundred thousand. He was once referred to by David Sarnoff of the RCA Corporation as "broadcasting's most durable character."

Dr. Sockman's radio ministry and his many books, plus his reputation as a preacher, made Christ Church a center for thousands of visitors, and its pews were almost always crowded with members and out-of-towners. Among the many books

from his pen were *The Meaning of Suffering*, *A Lift for Living*, *The Higher Happiness* and *The Whole Armor of God*.

After retirement in 1962, Dr. Sockman was succeeded as senior minister at Christ Church by the Rev. Dr. Harold A. Bosley, present pastor. Dr. Sockman continued an active preaching ministry and occasionally was in the pulpit of his former church. Also in retirement, he continued as director of the Hall of Fame of Great Americans at New York University.

Born October 1, 1889, in Mount Vernon, Dr. Sockman attended Ohio Wesleyan University and was graduated with a B.A. in 1911. He also was a graduate of Columbia University with the M.A. and Ph.D. He received honorary degrees from many schools including Ohio Wesleyan, New York University, Union Theological Seminary, Dickinson College and Northwestern University. He was a special teacher and lecturer at many schools including Yale University where he gave the Lyman Beecher Lectures, and he was a trustee of such schools as Drew University and Syracuse University.

Dr. Sockman was active in the life of the former Methodist Church at all levels, and in ecumenical circles. He had been a delegate to many General Conferences, president of the former Methodist Board of World Peace, president of the former New York Federation of Churches and a member of the World Council of Churches' Central Committee. On several occasions, Dr. Sockman declined suggestions that he become a bishop, preferring he said to remain a local church pastor and preacher. He was a member of Methodism's New York Conference.

After six years as intercollegiate secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association and two as pastor of the Madison Avenue Methodist Church, Dr. Sockman was appointed full-time pastor of the church in 1917. In 1929 he led his congregation from its decaying building to new quarters at Park Avenue and 60th Street, where as Christ Church it has remained since. He is reported never to have missed a preaching assignment because of illness, though he once spoke over the microphone in a whisper because of laryngitis.

CLERGYMAN REVERSES CHURCH'S SIX-YEAR MEMBERSHIP DECLINE

A Presbyterian minister, who helped plan the restructuring of 43 church congregations, for the first time applied his skills to a church of his own and succeeded in reversing a six-year membership decline.

Now, one year after taking over Edgewater Presbyterian Church on Chicago's north side, the Rev. Robert C. Linthicum describes his congregation as "one of the most serious" he had ever encountered.

Coming into a neighborhood populated mainly by youth and senior citizens, Mr. Linthicum and his assistant, the Rev. Bob C. Sills, created a 56-member task force to restructure the church.

In effect, this was the 44th local church which Mr. Linthicum helped through the planning process since he got into the plan-

ning business while a student at McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago.

But this time, it was his own church, one that 10 years before had 1,500 members, but now had only 600.

Many church-going families had left the area and young people had moved in. The older generation also stayed on.

The initial restructuring plan was completed and approved in January, 1970, and according to the 33-year-old minister, "It talks about the creation of an urban lifestyle, in which men discover what it means to be human in a community dealing with the fundamental ills of modern life."

Translated, this means: a coffee house open three nights a week and "always packed," according to Mr. Linthicum; a club for the elderly; a referral and counseling center; and an "urban education institute"—among other things.

The six-year decline in membership was reversed. Attendance doubled in a year. Financial pledges almost doubled. Experimental worship services attracted "un-churched" youth.

In getting Edgewater Presbyterian "off the ground," Mr. Linthicum said his personal faith was "radically affected for the good" by his experiences there. (RNS)

CAMPAIGN TO WIN REPARATIONS FROM MICHIGAN CHURCH

A campaign to win "reparations" from the First Presbyterian church of Ann Arbor, Michigan, has been joined by the Welfare Rights Organization (WRO) and the White Panther Party.

A local group identified with the Black Manifesto, which was issued at the Black Economic Development Conference (BEDC), first asked "reparations" for past injustice last Fall. The congregation's administrative board refused.

In mid-August, the BEDC members and welfare supporters requested \$50,000 to buy clothes for children. The church leaders again said no. Demonstrators took over the building.

An early morning worship service was cancelled and most of the congregation departed when an attempt was made to re-read the Black Manifesto. Hank Bryan of the BEDC started the reading soon after the opening hymn.

The Rev. Robert Sanders said the congregation was dismissed. All but 12 left, although some 50 lingered outside the sanctuary to talk with protesters.

The two black groups had been joined by members of the White Panthers, who had posted revolutionary slogans around the church. Most of the demonstrators were welfare mothers.

Ann Arbor's First Presbyterian church is considered very prestigious since it numbers many politicians and University of Michigan professors among its membership of 2,200.

Mr. Bryant said the church could well give \$50,000 for welfare children out of its \$1.6 million annual budget.

The former pastor is Dr. Ernest Campbell, now senior minister at New York's in-

terdenominational Riverside church. Riverside was the first congregation to receive Black Manifesto demands in May, 1969. No money was given to the BEDC, but Dr. Campbell made one of the most sympathetic assessments of the Manifesto to be issued by a churchman. He found it appropriate that white churches should grant restitution to black people for the centuries of slavery and discrimination.

A restraining order against disruption of the worship service in Ann Arbor was ignored.

"Even Jesus lost patience with the church," said Mrs. Sandra Girard of the Welfare Rights Organization. "He chased the money-changers out of the temple because they no longer cared about the poor and needy. We're just religious fundamentalists who believe in His example." (RNS)

METHODISTS IN MEXICO, BRAZIL FACE CONFLICTS AND REFORM

The General Conferences of the Methodist Church in two Latin American nations illustrated an increased willingness of the churches to face up to internal problems and to move toward new concepts of leadership.

The July General Conference of the Methodist Church of Mexico gave youth a greater voice and took actions aimed at reuniting groups in the Wesleyan tradition. It also approved new standards for evaluating church-related institutions and authorized a study on use of personnel and funds from outside Mexico.

The General Conference of the Brazilian Methodist Church, also meeting in July, rejected a draft for reform of the Church constitution primarily because the new plan was not sufficiently radical. A special caucus of representatives from the six annual conferences was selected to draw up a new constitution, which will be sent to the annual conferences for ratification.

The Methodist Church of Brazil, which became autonomous in 1930, is the largest Methodist body in Latin America, with 57,756 members in 44 organized congregations. The delegates, especially laymen, felt it was necessary to make the constitution, and legislation which comes from it, more flexible and better adapted to the needs of the Methodist Church in Brazilian society. One of the changes proposed would permit ordination of women, stating that ordination is to be open to all church members "regardless of sex." Methodism would be the first church in Brazil to make this decision.

The Methodist Church of Mexico has 32,935 members in 146 organized congregations and is the second largest Methodist Church in Latin America. It too became autonomous in 1930. The General Conference accepted a document from U.S. missionaries calling for a depth study of the use of outside financial and human resources by the Mexican church. The missionaries said they would cooperate with any desire of the church, including request for their withdrawal.

The Mexican Church also took actions to

upgrade the professional quality of its institutions and to enlarge the training for deaconesses.

UNITED METHODISTS WANT THE NAVY OUT OF CULEBRA ISLAND

The Puerto Rico conference of the United Methodist Church has vowed "absolute support" of efforts to oust the U.S. Navy from



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the island of Culebra.

Action on the tiny island off the eastern end of Puerto Rico came at a special session of the conference, presided over by Bishop J. Gordon Howard of Philadelphia. Puerto Rico is part of the bishop's regular area.

The statement on Culebra was stronger than a position voiced six months earlier.

Residents of Culebra—about 600 persons on the island of 7,000 acres—want the Navy gone. For several months attempts have been made through federal courts and in the Puerto Rican Assembly to revoke a 1941 executive order giving control of Culebra to the Navy.

Lay and clerical delegates to the United Methodist conference asked that their support of the demilitarization of the island be publicized throughout the denomination.

There is one United Methodist congregation on the disputed island. The pastor is the Rev. Jose E. Rivera Bocanegra.

COURT ORDERS 'WHITE-ONLY' CEMETERY BURY BLACK G.I.

A "white-only" cemetery in Fort Pierce, Fla., was ordered by a federal judge to permit burial of a black soldier killed in Vietnam.

The suit against the cemetery was brought by Mrs. Mary Campbell, mother of the 20-year old soldier, Mrs. John Diehl, a white woman, and the NAACP.

Army Specialist 4 Pondexteur E. Williams was killed on August 8 in a Vietcong mortar attack. His mother applied for a gravesite in Hillcrest Memorial Gardens on the basis of advertisements that the cemetery would give a free plot to any serviceman who had served honorably in Vietnam.

The request was denied. Mrs. Diehl, 72, offered part of her Hillcrest plot. The cemetery still refused.

Judge William O. Mehrtens said he was sure the cemetery would comply with his orders and if it did not he "would use every means" to enforce it.

Mrs. Campbell has two younger sons. "After this I don't want them to go into the service," she said. (RNS)

RHODESIA OFFERS MINOR CONCESSIONS TO CHURCHES

In a conciliatory move, Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith announced that the country's Christian churches will not be required to apply for permits to carry on their present work in territory formerly classified as "mission land."

Mr. Smith also said that the Legislative Assembly would be asked to extend the deadline for the Churches' registering as "voluntary associations" for another six months.

A major bone of contention between the Smith regime and the churches has been the Land Tenure Act. The Act prohibits Africans from worshiping with whites without a permit, requires white missionaries to get permission to work among Africans and requires churches to register as "voluntary associations."

The Act also divides the country into two

racially exclusive areas—one for the country's 250,000 whites, the other for the nearly five million Africans—and prohibits "occupation" of one area by members of the other race.

The government announcement did not indicate whether the term "mission land" was understood as corresponding to the black areas, nor was there any explanation of what this meant for blacks who previously were involved with church programs in regions now designated as white.

The Churches have protested the provisions of the Act as "irreconcilable with the Christian faith," and so far have refused to register as "voluntary associations."

As a voluntary agency, a church would have permission to function in both white and black areas. However, they would be subject to conditions set by the Minister of Lands, who can revoke the authorization at any time.

WEST POINTER ASKS DISCHARGE AS A CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR



A senior at the U.S. Army Military Academy at West Point has asked to be discharged as a conscientious objector to all war. It is the first such request in the history of the academy and the Army's refusal to grant it has

been challenged.

Cadet Cary E. Donham, 20, of New Baden, Ill., applied last May 29 for the release. The United Methodist youth said he could not be part of "an organization which not only condones but also glorifies war and killing, at the expense of both the teachings of Jesus and each man's individual humanity."

The case came to light on August 5 when Mr. Donham's attorney, Mrs. Joan Goldberg, filed an appeal with Federal Judge Irving B. Cooper to stop a West Point aptitude board from taking any action on the cadet's military status until a ruling on the constitutionality of his petition could be heard.

Mr. Donham said he was turned down on July 22 by the Department of the Army on the grounds that he lacked "the depth of sincerity" required under Army regulations for a C.O. status.

Judge Cooper denied Mrs. Goldberg's appeal. He set a hearing for August 11, saying that if the aptitude board dismissed the cadet then a stay of order assigning him to some other military post could be sought.

According to Mrs. Goldberg, a member of the board told Mr. Donham that a recommendation would be entered that the cadet be dismissed from West Point and ordered to three years as an enlisted man.

A West Point spokesman, who did not discuss the specifics of the Donham case, told newsmen that cadets dismissed after two years were obligated to two more years of service unless disqualified for physical or mental reasons.

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Vol. 1, No. 2—*Self-Development of People*

Side 1—"The Meaning of Development"—Dr. John C. Smith speaking to The United Presbyterian General Assembly, May 1970, plus action by the Assembly.

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Cadets leaving for any reason before two years of training, he added, resumed the Selective Service classification they held when they entered the academy.

Mr. Donham entered West Point in 1967, after attending high school in Trenton, Ill. In his statement asking discharge, the youth said his objection to war began during bayonet training soon after he arrived.

He objected, he said, to having to shout that the spirit of the bayonet was "to kill, sir!" He said he began to ponder the purpose of the Army and decided it existed to wage war rather than keep peace.

The case differs from that of Lt. Louis P. Font, a West Point graduate who asked several months ago for discharge as a selective conscientious objector, that is, he is opposed to the Vietnam war. The Font appeal to civil court was denied in late July by a Baltimore court.

Under existing law and in light of recent court decisions, traditional religious beliefs are not required for objector status but the right of selective objection has not been recognized.

Mr. Donham made it clear that he was opposed to all war. Both Assistant Chaplain Michael B. Easterling of West Point and Mr. Donham's roommate agreed that his objection was sincere.

A MISSIONARY'S "SATISFACTION"

Some people question what kind of satisfaction a person can get from disrupting his own life standards in his home and going to some distant part of the world to live with a people and a culture that is alien to his own.

A COEMAR fraternal worker in the Philippines answers the question this way:

"The most satisfying aspect of a missionary's life is the face-to-face participation in Christ's mission with brothers and sisters of a different culture.

"We see ourselves a bit more clearly with the eyes of others. We experience more fully the love of God in the personalities of others, especially when it comes through a completely different cultural prism."

NIXON'S SUPPORT AMONG BAPTISTS GROWS AFTER CAMBODIA INCURSION

Support of President Nixon's Vietnam war policy has increased noticeably among Southern Baptist leaders since the incursion of Cambodia.

According to the latest survey conducted by the Southern Baptist Convention, support of the war effort increased seven percentage points among its pastors and 14 percentage points among Sunday school teachers polled.

The Baptist "Viewpoll" conducted last

October revealed that 80.7 percent of pastors and 70.7 percent of teachers approved the President's Vietnam policy.

Taken eight months later after the Cambodia invasion, a second poll of the same panel showed that 87.7 percent of pastors and 85 percent of teachers supported Mr. Nixon's handling of the war.

The Veiwpoll findings are based on a 92 percent response of panel members. Selection of the panel is designed to give a cross-section of public opinion within the Southern Baptist Convention. (RNS)

1600 UNITED METHODISTS RALLY FOR EVANGELISM

Sixteen hundred people met in Dallas' Hotel Adolphus for four days in late August for a "Convocation of United Methodists for Evangelical Christianity." They came from forty-eight states, Africa, New Zealand, the Philippines, and Mexico and they were about twice as many as the convocation steering committee originally expected. Success was attributed to prayer and not to publicity.

From the beginning it appeared this gathering would be different from other religious meetings of recent years. It was announced that "anyone interrupting these proceedings" would be "escorted out of the assembly" by the ushers to another room where they could speak to whoever wanted to listen. There were no disruptions.

There were also no resolutions, no petitions, no telegrams to the President, no multi-media presentations, no far-out music, no long-haired youth, no one yelling into floor microphones, no floor microphones, virtually no blacks or Spanish-Americans or American Indians, no non-negotiable demands, no committee reports.

The assembly believed in the spoken word; there were twelve major addresses in three and a half days. The seminars and workshops frequently consisted of more speeches. In between the speeches the crowd was inspired by the Lake Junaluska Singers, dressed in red, white and blue outfits, singing "O Happy Day," "Blessed Assurance, Jesus is Mine" and other gospel tunes. (Bishop Kennedy came in from southern California to say he was tired of "subjective hymns" and wanted to sing "objective hymns" of the grace of God.)

Sponsoring the convocation was *Good News* magazine, a three-year old periodical of "The Forum for Scriptural Christianity within the United Methodist Church." The magazine is edited by Dr. Charles W. Keyser of Elgin, Illinois.

Theme of the meeting was "Good News for the Church in Crisis." That crisis, as defined by Dr. Keyser in his opening address, is unfaithfulness. "We cannot remain spectators," he said, "while unfaithfulness to God and to our beloved church destroys the once great force for God known as Methodism . . . our silence in the face of the church crisis is our own contribution to that crisis. God is counting on you to stand for his truth."

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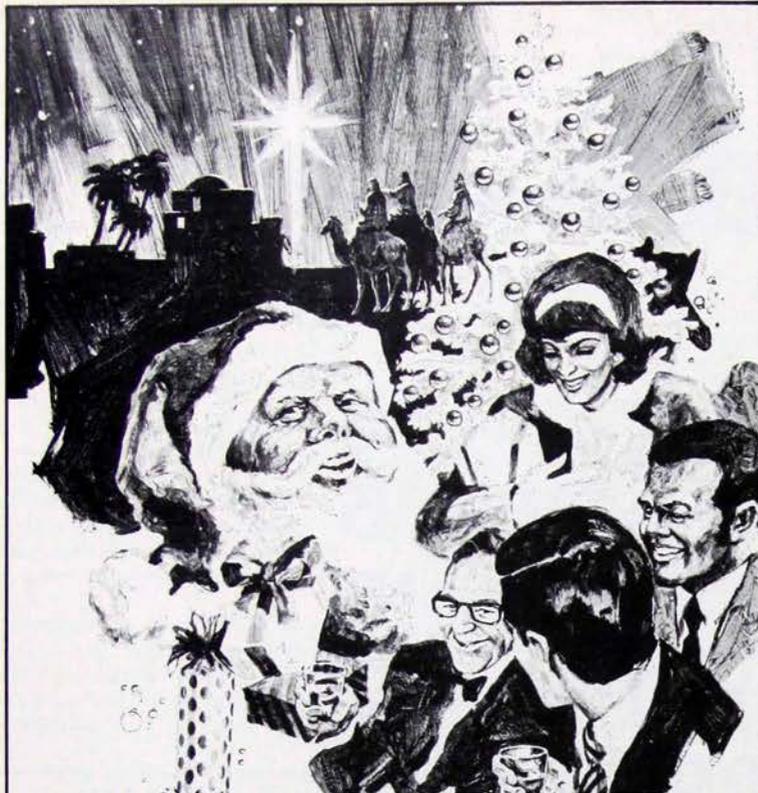
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Dr. Keyser was interrupted many times by applause as he denounced radical trends in the church, the misuse of money by church agencies, general apathy and a "cooling of devotion to Jesus Christ," *engage* magazine, a "blindness to both the social and eternal dimensions of Christ's two-sided gospel," church school curriculum, modern theologians such as Tillich and Bonhoeffer, and a "shriveling of United Methodist prayer life."

At a seminar on "Church School Literature Resources That We Can Use," which attracted many people, a common complaint was that the denomination's church school literature lacks an attempt to "confront the student with the person of Jesus Christ" and the necessity of a new life. Prominent exhibitors included the Scripture Press, Gospel Light, and the David C. Cook Sunday School Literature.

At seminars on "Strategies for Influencing the Church" the most frequent mention was the importance of electing people with an "evangelical perspective" to annual and general conferences and boards. There was also discussion of withholding funds. One leader said "Money is the entire ball game."

The convocation heard a wide range of ideas from the platform. Dr. K. Morgan Edwards of Claremont School of Theology declared that evangelicals have not given enough thought to the moral implications of American involvement in Indochina. E. Stanley Jones, 86 years old and leaning only slightly on the podium, said that "an individual gospel is a soul without a body and a social gospel is a body without a soul—one's a ghost and the other's a corpse." Black evangelist Tom Skinner told his audience they must repent for the racism in their hearts and become revolutionaries for Jesus Christ. Professor Claude Thompson of Emory University in Atlanta said he agreed with George Buttrick that the "critics of civil rights ought to be invited to leave the churches and take their wretched money with them." He also said he was distressed with the "too far left literature in the periodicals of the Board of Missions, *response* and *new/World Outlook*."

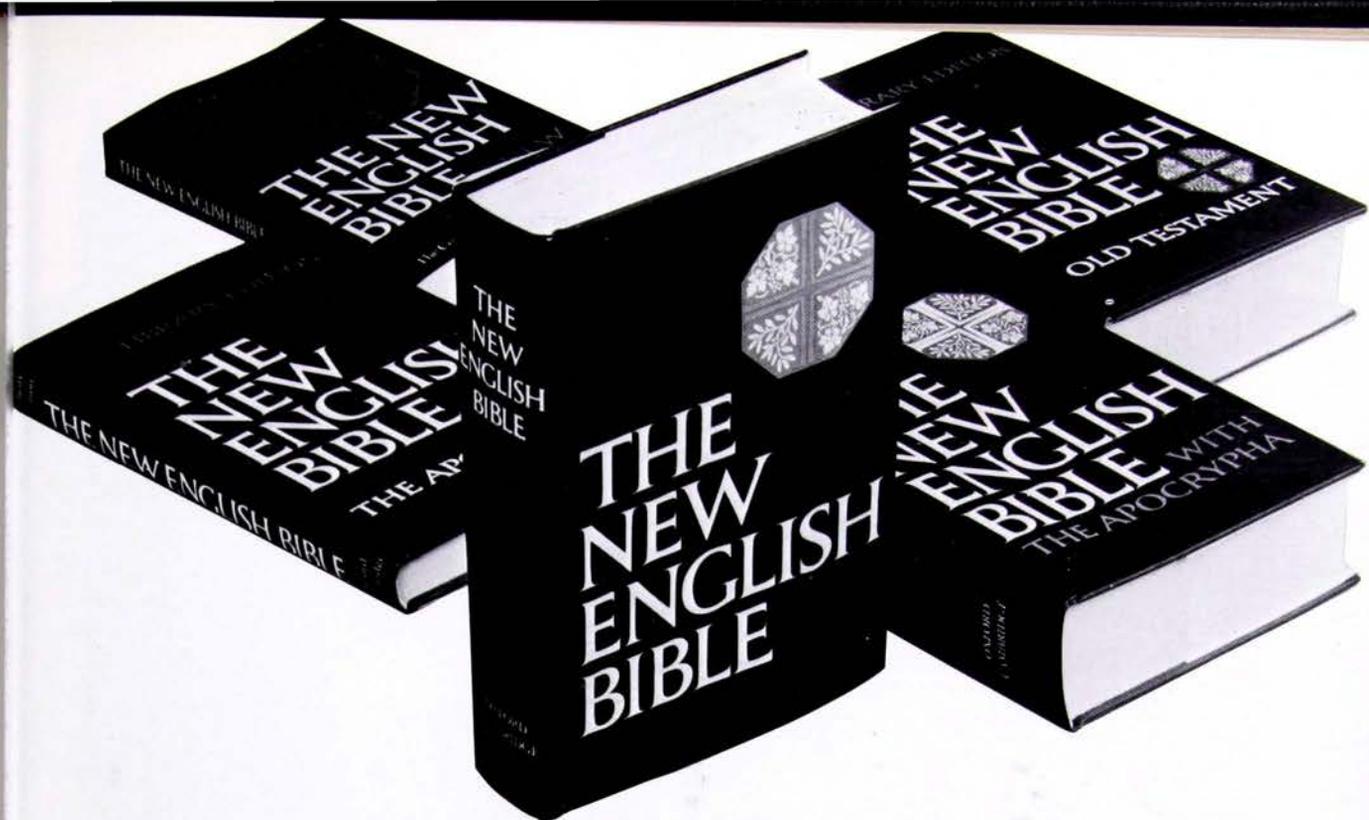
Symbol for the assembly was the cross and flame emblem of The United Methodist Church. The cross, however, was superimposed on a fingerprint, illustrating, according to convocation leaders, the primacy of reaching individuals with the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ.

(Charles E. Brewster)

IS GOD HE?

Betty Friedan, founder of the National Organization of Women (NOW) has predicted a new theological question for the 1970s.

Speaking at the "women's liberation" rally in New York, she said: "The great debate of the '60s was, 'Is God dead?' I think that the great debate of the '70s will be, 'Is God He?'"



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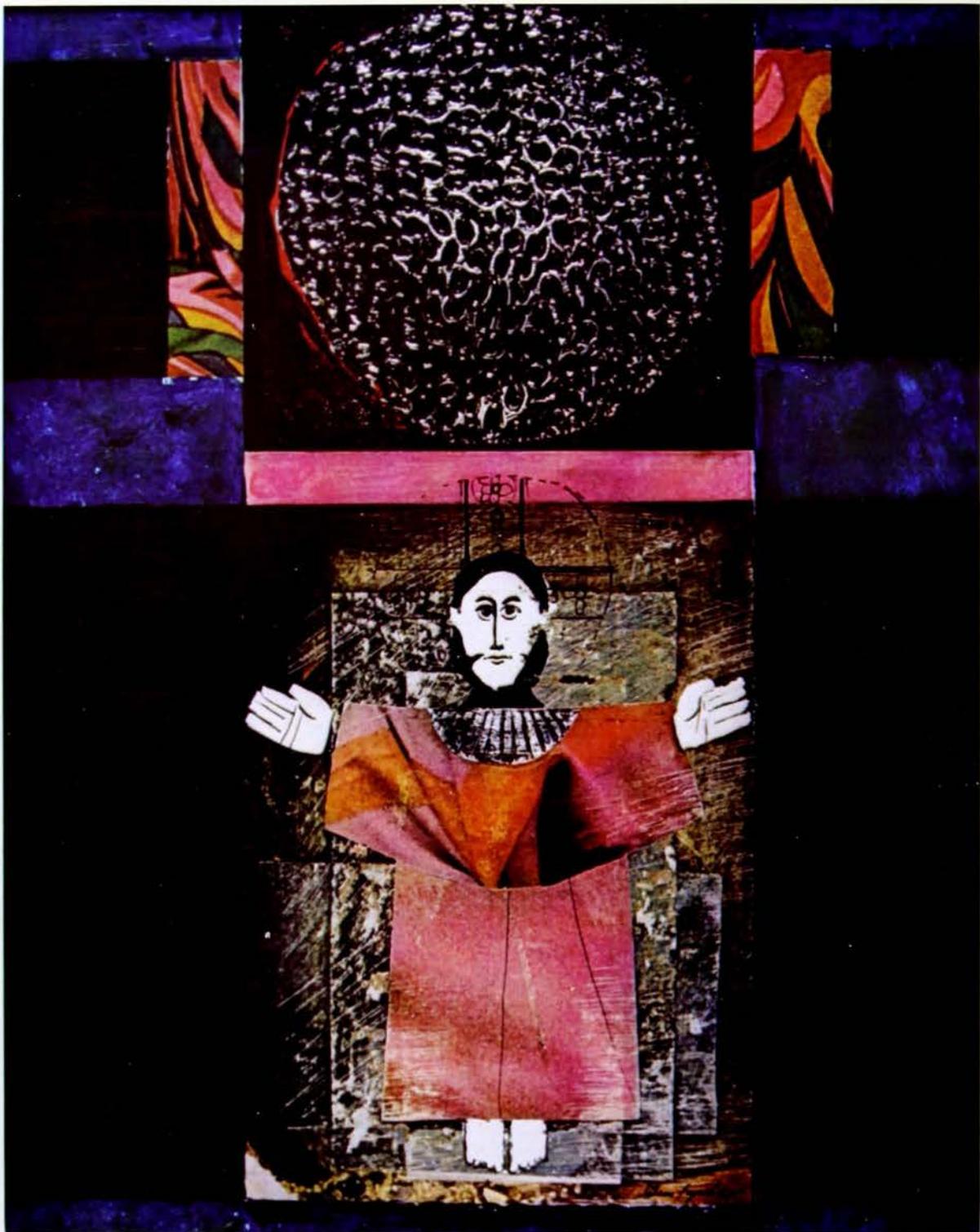
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Oscar Tejada is from Santiago, Chile, where he attended St. George's College. He studied at the School of Visual Arts in New York City and has exhibited at galleries in New York, Palm Beach and Jamaica and had his own design studio in Santiago. In this study of *The Risen Christ*, he uses both drawing and collage.