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A SCRIPTURAL STANCE TOWARD UNDOCUMENTED HISPANICS
AND SELECTED METHODOLOGIES FOR REACHING
THEM WITH THE GOSPEL

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty of
Concordia Seminary, St. Louis
Department of Practical Theology
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Theology

by

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May 1986

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CHAPTER I

HOW THE PAST HELPED TO SHAPE TODAY'S SPANISH-SPEAKING WORLD: A WORLD FROM WHICH MANY SEEK ESCAPE

Introductory Comments

It has been said that history should be written backwards, because today's events are largely determined by yesterday's, and yesterday's by those of the day before.

Why, then, do two or three million Hispanics enter the United States without documents each year? Various reasons are given. Included is this one: Because the Moors invaded Spain in 711 A.D. To these statements the adage applies: All generalizations are untrue including this one. However, the editor of the Roman Catholic mission magazine, Revista Maryknoll, defends and explains such illegal entry with several generalizations, one of which goes back 140 years:¹

As Mexican nun Maria Luisa Velez says on page 22, Mexico is going through a grave crisis. It's difficult to imagine solutions to problems like high unemployment, flight of capital, growing shortage of the most basic necessities, and the international debt.

But in the United States, the government and people pay little attention. Instead of seeking ways to help, the legislators attempt to devise methods for stopping the influx of the undocumented who come seeking work to survive. Too much money is invested in the most faraway nations; but to Mexico only blame is given.

Indeed, Mexico deserves blame for what is happening. The corruption is frightful. The policy of the ruling party has betrayed

¹Moisés Sandoval, "Crisis en Mexico," Revista Maryknoll, February 1985, p. 2. Translated from the Spanish by the writer of this dissertation.

the Revolution, a revolution that shed much blood at the beginning of this century for the purpose of freeing the poor. Regime after regime has favored the rich and powerful and taken advantage of the poor, especially of the Indians.

But the United States is also responsible for the suffering of the Mexican people. Each time the U. S. raises the interest rates for us here, Mexico's international debt increases by billions of dollars.

And the militarist policy of the U. S. has brought hundreds of thousands of Central Americans to Mexico.

Moreover, the U. S. has a historic responsibility for Mexico's poverty. Nearly 140 years ago, the U. S. took half of Mexico's territory--the best half. And Mexico's cheap labor continues to keep over 50,000 small U. S. enterprises in business. Therefore, our responsibility cannot be ignored.

The writer, who is of Mexican ancestry but lives in the United States, apparently places most of the blame for illegal entry on the United States. His arguments reflect in part the chant of the 1960's, "We (the North Americans) have met the enemy, and we are they." Sandoval goes back 140 years and identifies the Mexican-American War as one cause of poverty and resulting illegal entry.

The White Legend

Placing the blame for Latin America's ills and consequent emigration primarily on external factors is not new. Those who advance the White Legend have done so for centuries. A mixture of fact and fiction has woven a folk lore which the writer of this dissertation has collected and summarized thus: One of Spain's principal purposes in colonizing the New World was Christianization of the natives. Pope Alexander VI had granted to Spain and Portugal exclusive rights to all lands discovered or to be discovered in the West; in return, the sovereigns were to bring the Indians into the church. Yet throughout history, enemies have interefered with these attempts to establish true Christianity and civilization in the New World.

Protestant Queen Elizabeth's pirates attacked Spanish shipping, seizing the goods; British henchmen plundered ports and later fomented revolution. And through the centuries Latin Americans have been the hapless victims of British, Dutch, French, and then North American expansionists. After the Independence movements, it was the North Americans who dominated, exploited, and intervened militarily. In addition, greedy, unscrupulous bankers lent money to Latin governments at exorbitant rates. Thus the numerous causes of economic ruin are really external to Latin America; and the poor believe they have no choice but to escape the resulting crises.²

The Black Legend

Those who promote the Black Legend reply: Spain was raping Latin America for three centuries. The conquerors suffered from a fever only gold could cure. These cruel, ruthless men seized the treasures and despoiled the continent. The colonizers then reduced the Indian population from twenty million to two million through war, epidemics, and slave labor. When they needed workers to replace the dead Indians, they brought Blacks from Africa. The mining and the trading enriched Spain and its administrators but impoverished Latin America. Still today, descendants of slaves, serfs, and peons are dominated by a minority which promises heaven in the next life in exchange for hell on earth.

²See Shephard B. Clough, ed., A History of the Western World (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1969), pp. 377-79. See also Francis Houtart and Emile Pin, The Church and the Latin American Revolution (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1965), pp. 3-40, 67-86, and 159-99. For a discussion of the rivalry with Protestant powers, see John Francis Bannon and Peter Masten Dunne, Latin America, An Historical Reality (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1963), pp. 121-42.

The poor can't get out of their centuries-old cycle of poverty; they have no choice but to escape.³

The Gray Legend

Each of these legends is a partial distortion. Therefore Latin and United States "moderates" speak of a Gray Legend. They select elements from the White and the Black Legends in degrees varying with their own point of view or prejudices. Some contemporary Latins regard Spaniards as the old and North Americans as the new enemies who have created an economic quagmire which has benefited these enemies and harmed the Latins; thus Spain wanted the colonies to trade only with the mother country while more recently the United States has tried to dominate the trade. Some contemporary North Americans, on the other hand, consider the rightist Spanish socio-economic-political heritage as one explanation for unrest and communism as another; but when the two conflict, North Americans generally support the rightists even when they oppress the poor.⁴ Latins who enter the United States illegally seeking work, or asylum from a rightist regime, are usually denied a permit.

It is the contention of this dissertation that all the approaches presented above, which shall be discussed in detail, are inadequate. They do not incorporate sufficiently the beliefs, attitudes, motivations,

³Ibid. See especially Bannon and Dunne, pp. 27-198, 221-35, 295-322.

⁴A rather "moderate" analysis is made by Jorge Lara-Braud, Social Justice and the Latin Churches (Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1969).

and mindset brought from Spain and imposed on or merged with those of native Americans. In fact, this chapter contends that two or three million Hispanics illegally enter the United States from Latin America each year, in part at least, 1) because the seven-century-long Moorish occupation of Spain changed the Spanish character and society; and 2) because the Reformation was crushed in sixteenth-century Spain.

Some may call this contention quite preposterous, bigoted, antiquated, anti-ecumenical, or (at best) a non-sequitur. They may point to the rich culture brought to Spain by the Moors and to the humane influences generated by the church in Latin America. They will speak of the thousands of dedicated clergy who indeed enhanced religious and intellectual life in the Western hemisphere and instructed and defended the Indians.

But it is also true that the Spaniards learned warlike cruelty from the Moors, whom they fought with fierce devotion to Christianity. That same character resulted in an alliance, on the one hand, between the Spanish crown, army, and oligarchy, and on the other hand the higher clergy. As this dissertation will show, that alliance, required by the crown and supported by the Inquisition, resulted in religio/cultural isolation, delayed penetration of progressive influences from the outside and kept social structures relatively static for three centuries (1520-1820). After the independence movements of the 1820s, the role of the Spanish crown was generally assumed by the elitist national governments. When conservatives were in control, they protected the influence and immense wealth of the church. When liberals came to power, the church sometimes suffered. Yet by and large Latin American remained a

Spanish-style Roman Catholic region (with the exception of Brazil and a few small nations). Thus for nearly 450 years (1520-1950), beliefs, attitudes, and motivations underwent little change. A similar mindset prevailed. An absolutist tradition supported by the army usually held sway while the masses lacked participation in their own administration and destiny.⁵

The present social, political, and economic unrest results from and also in the shattering of the old structures. The shattering feeds upon itself. The transistor radio, for example, has placed the masses into contact with the outside world. Millions have migrated from country to city, and then to the United States. The Roman Catholic church, too, has entered a new era; many of its leaders have consciously switched loyalties from the ruling elite to the multitudes, and some defend or even facilitate emigration to the United States. The birth rate in certain countries, moreover, increases faster than the food and job supply while the Roman Catholic church officially opposes birth control. Simultaneously, from Soviet bases in Cuba and Nicaragua, the Marxists offer another solution to the centuries-old problems: communism; and many are listening. Yet millions still see illegal entry into the United States as their only hope.

To understand the beliefs, attitudes, and motivations of Latin Americans, it is helpful to ask the question: Would their present circumstances be different if the Moors had never occupied Spain and if the Reformation had triumphed in Spain? While it is impossible to reverse history, we can better comprehend the issue of illegal immigration

⁵Houtart and Pin, pp. 8-40.

if we look at the dogmas, ideas, customs, experiences, and world view that have contributed to and shaped present Latin American reality.

A review of certain religious and historical events in Spain and Latin America will focus on the shaping of a society that is distinct from those spared a Moorish domination but influenced by the Protestant Reformation.

The Moorish Presence in Spain

The Moslem Conquest

In a sense one could say that two or three million Hispanics enter the United States without documents each year, partly because the Moslems invaded Spain in 711, because, as a result, "Spain is an anomaly among the societies of the West" and "Moslem influence persisted in every aspect of Spanish life."⁶ Some 781 years of Moorish presence on the Iberian peninsula

placed a powerful stamp on the destiny of Spain. . . . The Arabs and Berbers contributed new blood to the heterogeneous inhabitants already there and gave them a new, fatalistic psychology. Under their sway the Jews returned to the peninsula. These factors not only gave a fresh eastern orientation to Spanish culture, but were a challenge to those who remained faithful to their Christian ideals.⁷

Rhea Marsh Smith details good and bad Moslem influences upon Spain, influences that were later carried to Latin America. For example, "the family, the basis of Moslem society, was under the supreme authority of the father."⁸ The Moslems also introduced exotic products and plants: the fig, orange, lemon, palm, banana, sugarcane, melon, rice,

⁶Rhea Marsh Smith, Spain, A Modern History (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965), p. 37.

⁷Ibid., p. 36.

⁸Ibid., p. 39.

silk, ceramics, and medicines.⁹ Of course, their architecture is reflected in types of church buildings existing in later Latin America and the North American southwest.

Yet in spite of their culture, distinctive characteristics of Moslems in Spain included ferocity and a thirst for vengeance. The prolonged hostilities between Moslems and Christians affected the psychology of the Spaniard and helped create a fierce, sophisticated individualism, accompanied by courage and self-reliance.¹⁰

The Reconquest

The zeal and power of the Roman Catholic Church in Spain, which was later to crush the Reformation, can be attributed in good measure to the fanatical desire of ridding the Iberian Peninsula of the Moslems. The dawning of a new day came in the eleventh century with the rise of Castile, and approached its zenith with the expulsion of the last Moors in 1492, excepting those who converted and remained.¹¹

With the Moors overcome, Spain could direct its energies to religious unity. This meant the expulsion of those Jews who refused to accept Christianity, and the testing of the Jews and Moors who professed Christianity. Because such genuine acceptance had in the previous generation been considered dubious, Pope Sixtus IV was to sanction the Inquisition in 1476. The Inquisition, which served primarily political aims, guaranteed an intolerant spirit that would help destroy the Protestant Reformation in Spain and protect the later Latin colonies from

⁹Ibid., pp. 4048.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 60-61.

¹¹Bannon and Dunne, pp. 35-40.

its message. Had it not been for the Moslem invasion and the subsequent reconquest, Spain might have been more open to Protestantism and the social changes and economic benefits that seemed to accompany it in much of Northern Europe and North America.

The Protestant Reformation in Spain:
Its Birth and Spread

The Reformation had early acceptance in certain Spanish circles (and the history of Latin America might have been far different if the movement had triumphed). Luther's writings had filtered into Spain by 1519. In that year John Froben, a printer in Basel, Switzerland, sent to Spanish intellectuals a series of Latin tracts written by Luther. His Epistle to the Galatians, which dealt with the very heart of the Gospel, was translated into Spanish in 1520; subsequently, Spanish translations of Christian Liberty and De Servo Arbitrio also found their way to Spain.¹²

In 1520 the personal secretary of Charles V accompanied him on a trip to Germany for the coronation of the Emperor-elect. He sent to Spain a report on the "Lutheran controversy." The following year this secretary, Alfonso Valdés, attended the Diet of Worms. Though horrified at Luther's daring, he recognized the need for reform and blamed the pope for not calling a general council. Valdés wrote in Spanish: "The pope is more interested in his private possessions than in the public good. . . . He would like to see Luther devoured by flames while all

¹²Tomas M. Crie, Historia de la Reforma en España en el Siglo 16 (Buenos Aires: La Aurora, 1942), p. 75.

Christianity goes to ruin--unless God intervenes."¹³

Valdés was not the only Spaniard in Charles' company to recognize the need for reform. Francisco de Angelis, head of a religious order, stopped in Basel on his return from Worms and discussed Luther's teachings with Swiss churchman Conrad Pellican, indicating agreement with most of Luther's views.¹⁴ Because some of Charles' retinue were becoming infected with Lutheran ideas, by March 20, 1521, Pope Leo X found it necessary to send two edicts forbidding the introduction of Luther's works into the country.¹⁵ Reacting to these edicts, Erasmus--who never missed an opportunity to needle the hierarchy--alluded to the bad reputation of Spaniards with a tongue-in-cheek comment: "The Spaniards are promoting Luther so that others will consider them Christians."¹⁶

Even though the Spanish Inquisition in subsequent years searched out and seized the commentary on Galatians, De Servo Arbitrio, Christian Liberty, and other books, Luther's new teachings continued to spread. Juan de Avila, one of the most respected ascetics in all Spain, was condemned as a Lutheran in 1525. (But he was canonized in 1970, because of his successful mission work in Andalusia.) By 1525 :

¹³Ibid., p. 76.

¹⁴Gustav Plieninger, Geschichte der Ausbreitung und Unterdrückung der Reformation in Spanien (Stuttgart: Brodhag'sche Buchhandlung, 1835), p. 132.

¹⁵M'Crie, p. 77.

¹⁶Plieninger, p. 135, states this as follows: "Die Nachricht von dieser Thatsache entlockte Erasmus die Spottrede, welche den Herzog von Alba so tief erbitterte: 'dasz die Spanier Luther begünstigen, damit sie für Christen gehalten würden.'"

the Franciscan order was also suspected of harboring Lutheran notions. Seville and Valladolid became the main centers for propagating the heretical movement, and "those most enthusiastic in accepting Protestant ideas were the men of high culture, those involved in politics, and even a few renowned churchmen."¹⁷

Prominent names after 1530 include those of Juan de Valdés, twin brother of Charles' secretary and himself secretary to the Spanish Viceroy at Naples; Francisco de Enzinas, translator of the Spanish New Testament (who worked with his brothers Jaime and Juan--Jaime was burned by the Inquisition in 1547); Rodrigo de Valero; Dr. Juan Gil (Egidio); Francisco de San Roman; Dr. Agustin Cazalla; Dr. Constantino Ponce de la Fuente; and Bartolome Carranza.¹⁸

Juan de Valdés not only embraced the Reformation doctrines, but worked actively to extend them throughout Spain despite the threats of the Inquisition. He wrote Advertencia a los Intérpretes de las Sagradas Escrituras (A Word to Interpreters of the Sacred Scriptures). The book circulated widely and had three main emphases: 1) to understand the Scriptures, we need not follow the church fathers; 2) we are justified by a living faith in the passion and death of Christ; and 3) we can be certain of our justification. It is thus believed that Juan de Valdés is the first native Lutheran who himself published

¹⁷Wilfredo Artus, Los Reformadores Españoles del Siglo 16 (Buenos Aires: La Aurora, 1948), p. 12.

¹⁸B. J. Kidd, The Counter Reformation (London: Soc. for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1937), p. 51.

Lutheran ideas rather than merely translating.¹⁹ Suffice it to say that his views, though parallel to Luther's, also exhibited a heavy mystical influence. After moving to Naples permanently in 1536, he wrote Spanish commentaries and a book on preaching, but these were condemned by the Inquisition.²⁰

Francisco de Enzinas was the first to translate the New Testament directly from the Greek to Spanish. In 1541 he traveled to Wittenberg University and resided in Melanchton's home for eighteen months. He then moved to the Netherlands and published the New Testament translation in Antwerp on October 25, 1543. The result was fourteen months of imprisonment for him even though he had dedicated the work to Charles V. Enzinas escaped from prison in 1545 and returned to Wittenberg. In 1552 he died of the plague in Strassbourg.²¹

Rodrigo de Valera (also called Valero) was a dissipated young nobleman who underwent a great change, studied Latin, and began memorizing the Vulgate (the only Bible permitted by the Inquisition). He began preaching Lutheran ideas and disputing with monks, priests, and theologians. He insisted that the Bible, not traditions or human invention, was the supreme norm, and that Christ gives authority to preach His Gospel, not a bishop.

Valera the layman out-argued and thus outraged the clergy. If they tried to avoid him, he would block their passage. He even began preaching in the streets, comparing the clergy to the Sanhedrin. When he was taken before the Inquisition, he confounded his inquistiors on

¹⁹M'Crie, p. 84.

²⁰Ibid., p. 86.

²¹Artus, p. 14.

justification, the church, the marks of the church, and similar topics. Because he astonished them and they seemed almost to fear him, they decided on a light sentence: his possessions were to be seized. But soon he began his fearless preaching again. When he bitterly attacked church errors and superstitions, he was taken a second time before the Inquisition. The inquisitors would have like to burn him then, but instead condemned him to perpetual prison. After he was led, with other convicts, to the church in Seville, he repeatedly interrupted the preacher, pointing out his errors. In desperation, the inquisitors, in 1541, sentenced him to solitary confinement. He died in prison at the age of 50.²² Yet his ministry had resulted in the conversion of many like Juan Gil--also known as Dr. Egidio.

Egidio, a distinguished scholastic theologian and a brilliant professor, had been unanimously chosen as preacher of the Seville cathedral. After Valera introduced him to intensive study of the Scriptures, Egidio abandoned scholastic argumentation in favor of Biblical exposition. He became a persuasive preacher of salvation by faith in Christ. Two clergy friends, Vargas and Ponce de la Fuente, joined him in explaining the Book of Romans and the Psalms.

Controversy now began between Egidio and his two friends on the one hand, and most of the clergy on the other. Egidio exhorted people to trust the merits of Christ instead of works while obeying God in love; the clergy placed emphasis on repetitive prayers, visits to holy places, confession, and pious works.

²²M'Crie, pp. 87-90. Plieninger, pp. 155-57.

Surprisingly, Charles V named Egidio bishop of Tortosa, giving him a post held by Adrian, a former cardinal and now pope. The Inquisition, fearing his prestigious role, had him thrown into a secret prison for teaching Lutheran doctrines such as salvation by faith. Egidio appealed to Scripture in his own defense, thus implicating himself in the same category with Luther--an act which his friends considered a mistake. Charles V, in a second surprise move, wrote a letter interceding for him. The Inquisition therefore asked for arbitration.²³

Egidio's best friends were unavailable, and he had to depend on a defense by Soto, a Dominican professor from Salamanca. Soto pretended to defend Egidio in a huge public meeting; but the two were far apart and Egidio could not hear Soto. He assumed Soto was presenting his case and nodded agreement. In reality, Soto read heretical statements, applying them dishonestly to Egidio. Thereafter Egidio was condemned to three years of prison as a Lutheran, with the condition that he must abjure Lutheranism or face the consequences. Betrayed, Egidio assented.

After three years in prison, Egidio returned to Seville, became ill and died. His bones were later taken from the grave and thrown into the fire. His possessions were seized and his memory declared dishonorable, "for he died in the Lutheran faith." His numerous writings in Spanish were never published.²⁴

The introduction of the Reformation in Valladolid was almost as extraordinary as in Seville, which was described as "crowded with Lutherans."²⁵ For the sake of brevity, this section is limited to the

²³M'Crie, pp. 90-95.

²⁴Ibid., pp. 95-100.

²⁵Kidd, p. 51.

story of San Roman. Francisco de San Roman, a young Spanish merchant, went to Bremen in 1540 to close an account. There he decided to visit a Lutheran congregation, because the Lutheran doctrine had created so much controversy in Spain. The preacher was Jacob Spreng, former prior of the Augustinians in Antwerp and one of the first Lutherans in Holland. San Roman was so impressed that he visited with Spreng and came to know other converts who gave him much spiritual help. He wrote enthusiastic letters back to Spain. Upon his return there, he was found to be carrying Lutheran books and was promptly imprisoned. Friends secured his release after eight months.

San Roman then went to Flanders and worked with Enzinas, spoke boldly of his faith, and was again imprisoned by locally-stationed Spanish soldiers. Brought before the Spanish Inquisition, he defended salvation by grace through faith, and was condemned to be burned. Monks urged him to abjure. A crucifix was placed before him and he was advised to nod if he abjured. He refused. He was tied to the stake and, as flames leaped up, the monks thought he nodded in abjuration. He was pulled from the flames. When he recovered, he asked: "Do you envy my joy?" He was returned to the flames. His bold death created a tremendous impression on the spectators. Some, including the English ambassador, wanted pieces of bone as a relic. Guards gathered his ashes (indicating they considered him a martyr) and were promptly imprisoned. (Curiously, the preacher at this burning in 1544 was Carranza, who himself was later condemned by the Inquisition for having books by Juan de Valdés. Carranza died in prison 17 years later.)

The ideas of the Reformation, which had come to Valladolid some years earlier, continued to be professed--but now in private. Yet the example of San Roman's heroism caused the "Lutherans" to seek each other out and eventually to form a private congregation.²⁶

One reason Reformation ideas found acceptance in Spain is that Spanish theologians were sent to other countries to help stamp out Lutheranism. But in many instances, the theologians themselves became convinced of the correctness of the new ideas and brought them back to Spain. Illescas, in Historia Pontifical (Pontifical History), laments: "Among those who went abroad to take the light to others, some were blinded themselves."²⁷

These ideas were brought also to monasteries and convents. Leading noblemen such as Don Cristobal de Padilla began teaching the new doctrines to other noblemen. Some noble families that turned Protestant had relatives in the priesthood who embraced the Reformation message.²⁸

Elimination of the Reformation in Spain

We do not know how many Lutherans or Protestants there were in Spain by the end of Charles V's career. Probably two thousand persons in the upper classes (noblemen, merchants, clergy, monks, and so forth) were suspected of holding, or actually held, Reformation views. In addition, perhaps between twenty thousand and forty thousand common people were exposed to these views in varying degrees. Neither do we know how many persons were imprisoned or executed by the Spanish

²⁶M'Crie, pp. 97-103.

²⁷Ibid., p. 134.

²⁸Ibid., p. 136.

Inquisition. Some Protestants claim between twenty thousand and forty thousand, while Roman Catholics give a much lower figure. Again, some who were identified as Lutherans were really Calvinists, Anabaptists, Erasmians or even Illuminists.²⁹ In addition, many Spaniards who sympathized with reform emigrated to other countries. One of these was Cipriano de Valera, whose revision of Cassiodoro de Reina's Spanish Bible, prepared in England, has rivaled the King James version in popularity during the past four centuries. (Valera was actually Calvinist rather than Lutheran).

While persons like Valera were able to escape from Spain, most "heretics" were confined to its borders. Philip II and his Grand Inquisitors put into effect an extensive police system. In Valladolid, for example, a representative of the Inquisition infiltrated the Protestant congregation. The wife of one member had followed her husband to the secret meeting place and then betrayed him to the Inquisition's representative. Before long the meeting places of numerous congregations became known. Soldiers made a simultaneous sweep of the country. In Seville alone, on the first night, two hundred were apprehended; and by the next day, an additional six hundred members had been located.

The Spanish believers were terror-struck. Some ran to the Inquisition to confess, hoping to obtain mercy. Others were seized by reinforced cavalries and jailed. Abroad, when and where the Inquisition could accomplish it, Protestant Spaniards were denounced by spies and

²⁹John Longhurst, Luther's Ghost in Spain (Lawrence, KS: Coronado Press, 1969), pp. 135-37.

forcibly returned to Spain for trial.

Certain monasteries fell into a state of confusion. The monks of San Isidro, for instance, had introduced Reformation teachings and practices. They now felt impelled to make a decision: Should they go against their consciences and re-introduce Roman forms, or attempt an escape and give up everything in Spain? How could so large and well-known a group make a long journey without being discovered? Or if some did escape and others not, wouldn't the escape cause suspicion and place the remaining members in danger? They voted to leave the decision to each individual. Twelve monks fled by different routes and escaped safely. A few days later, the combined wrath of Philip II, of the pope and the Inquisition fell upon the San Isidro monastery and upon sympathizers everywhere.³⁰ No one was to be spared.³¹ The sentence of death was to be applied to any who sold, bought, read, or owned a forbidden book. A fourth of a convicted heretic's property was to be given, on Philip II's orders, to anyone who denounced the heretic.

Basest passions were released. The Grand Inquisitor Valdés selected two assistants, Munbrega and de la Gasca, and asked them to move to Seville and Valladolid. Munbrega suggested the cruelest torture because "heretics have rooted in their hearts the commandment, 'Love thy neighbor as thyself;' therefore their flesh must be torn from their bones to make them inform on their brethren."³²

³⁰Plieninger, pp. 248-355.

³¹Ibid., p. 262, "mögen es nun Bischöfe, Erzbischöfe, Patriarchen, Cardinale, oder Legaten, --Barone, Grafen, Marquise, Herzoge, Prinzen, Könige oder Kaiser sein."

³²M'Crie, p. 152.

Multitudes of suspects were rounded up. More employees were hired. Additional horses had to be purchased. Therefore increased taxes were levied on the bishops to cover the expenses. Interrogations were endless. Suspects were promised release if they confessed or denounced others, but the next day the information was used against them and their friends.

Among those incarcerated was the favorite chaplain of Charles V and now head of the cathedral of Seville, Constantino Ponce de la Fuente. Notes found in a chest kept for him by his mother revealed that he reflected Luther's and Calvin's position on the pope, purgatory, indulgences, and the sacraments. But before he could be executed, he died of dysentery in the humid, noxious prison. The inquisitors alleged he had cut his veins with a piece of glass and committed suicide.

From 1559 on, autos da fe were held regularly. In these, some would be released upon final confession, others strangled or burned. Still others were simply left to die in prison.

Even abroad, in Europe and the New World, the long arm of the Inquisition was felt. Heavy restrictions were placed on anyone suspected of sympathy toward Protestantism. Some heretics were imprisoned and forced to abjure, while others (including shipwrecked Protestant sailors) were burned. By 1576, the Inquisition had stamped out the Reformation in Spain and its colonies.³³ This would affect Latin America permanently.

³³J. Lloyd Mecham, Church and State in Latin America (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), pp. 34-36.

Spain and the Colonies Since 1576

The Counter-Reformation solidified the power of Roman Catholicism and helped form Spanish Roman Catholic society. In a controversial but widely-read book Federico Hoffet contrasts what he calls "the Roman Catholic man" with "the Protestant man."³⁴ He believes that the dominant religion in a society shapes men more than any other factor, although he sometimes generalizes too much. He has amassed a rather convincing set of statistics which, at least superficially, blame the politics of Roman Catholicism for the poverty and turmoil in today's Spain, Latin America, and other Roman Catholic countries. Simultaneously, he credits Protestantism for helping the developed nations achieve their enviable position. If Hoffet's thesis were to be accepted, then two or three million Hispanics now enter the United States illegally each year partly because the Protestant Reformation was crushed in sixteenth-century Spain. (Obviously, many other elements have contributed to the differences between predominantly Roman Catholic and Protestant countries.)

Hoffet does recognize the influence of other factors upon the human personality: climate, geography, natural resources, outside influences, and so forth. Yet he considers all these secondary, claiming that Roman Catholic man responds to them in one way, Protestant man in another.

It is true that Spanish culture emphasized the church, the army and navy, class pride and aristocratic hospitality, and had a disdain

³⁴Federico Hoffet, Imperialismo Protestante (Buenos Aires: La Aurora, 1948), passim.

for manual labor. Protestant culture stressed hard work, thrift, honesty, investment, mercantilism, and capitalism.³⁵ It would appear that Roman Catholic culture promoted secondary and college-level training for the elite, while Protestant culture encouraged elementary education for the masses. Roman Catholicism praised contemplation, while Protestantism generally produced activism, love of work, and sense of civic responsibility. Roman Catholicism often resulted in dictatorship whereas Protestant countries frequently developed into democracies. Hoffet presents tables which imply that many Roman Catholic societies suffer from a high level of illiteracy, infant mortality, and poverty, while Protestant countries tend to be quite prosperous, with a low level of illiteracy and infant mortality. He points to Lutheran countries like Norway which before the discovery of oil, were poor in resources yet largely solved their basic economic and social problems. He then lists Roman Catholic countries with comparably good resources but with social turmoil and economic disaster. He particularly castigates Poland as disorderly and Spain as "the most Catholic country in the world and the classic land of anarchy."³⁶

Are Hoffet's conclusions correct? William Schurz, long recognized as an expert on Latin America, would agree in part. He writes,

The common Hispanic background permeates the way of life of all the Latin American peoples. . . . Above all, the Latin American is an individualist. . . . He is not a good organization man. . . . He does not take kindly to the restraints of teamwork and resents the discipline of the group. Among his interests, his family comes

³⁵Clough, pp. 535-606. For a discussion of Spanish disinclination toward work, see Bannon and Dunne, pp. 68-73.

³⁶Hoffet, pp. 55-57.

first--and the family is only a prolongation of the individual. The state, an impersonal and collective concept, comes last. He is seldom civic-minded and is little concerned with the public welfare.³⁷

What factors formed this personality? William Schurz includes the following:

a church all-powerful over men's minds; an absolute and arrogant monarchy, that crushed the movement of the Castilian cities for self-government and thereafter ruled with sublime indifference to the governed, whether in the peninsula or the Americas; wide distances between communities and classes; the violence of civil wars and dictator-presidents ruling in the name of democracy.³⁸

By the same token, Hoffet and Schurz agree that Latin man has many enviable qualities: hospitality, courtesy, strong family life, generosity.³⁹ Be that as it may, Hoffet argues that Roman Catholic culture has mortgaged the future of many nations and helped form societies incapable of governing themselves.⁴⁰

Hoffet is not the first to argue a relationship between economic progress and the Protestant Reformation, or between lack of economic progress in the West and Roman Catholicism. As early as 1920, the German sociologist Max Weber, and his French contemporary, Emile Durkheim, broke with positivists and economic determinists to demonstrate the progressive influence of certain religious beliefs on society. In 1920 and 1921, Weber published a massive three-volume work called Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie which has been

³⁷William Lytle Schurz, Latin America, a Descriptive Survey (New York: E. F. Dutton & Co., 1946), p. 322.

³⁸Ibid., p. 321.

³⁹Hoffet, p. 33; Schurz, p. 323.

⁴⁰Hoffet, p. 108.

translated into English in five different volumes. The most interesting for the purposes of this dissertation is the first volume.⁴¹

Weber argues that without the Protestant Reformation, modern Western capitalism would never have developed. He believes the Reformation had, as an unintended by-product, a new spirit that is unique in human history. The principal driving force behind emerging capitalism was not greed, he said, but a new view of work. Work was now viewed not as a means to acquire material possessions per se, but rather as a worthwhile activity in its own right. Thus the first main characteristic of the spirit of capitalism was dedication and commitment to work. Second, Weber held, economic judgments were no longer to be made on the basis of tradition; instead, each decision was to result from careful analysis and a judgment rendered on rational grounds. Thus the break with Rome also affected economic judgment. And third, the Reformation de-emphasized personal indulgence in favor of frugality and the long-range good.

Stated another way, magic (for example, mass, indulgences, merits of saints, and so forth) was eliminated as one means of salvation; life in society was to be unified and rational; work was not merely a penalty for sin but a means of glorifying God. And although Weber emphasized religion's effect upon economics, he clearly believed that religion influenced all other major institutional systems in society. Thus even if the impact of the Reformation on economic life has now been somewhat eroded, that fact does not deny, according to Weber, the role

⁴¹Max Weber, Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie, 3 vols., Vol. 1: The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, trans. Talcott Parsons (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), *passim*.

which the Reformers played, perhaps unintentionally at times, in laying the foundations for a progressive economic system.⁴²

It is quite possible that Hoffet's views, stated above, are really a recasting of Weberian theory.

But how does Lutheranism today fit into this picture, given the experience of Nazi Germany? Here Hoffet argues (somewhat unconvincingly) that the brains behind the National Socialist movement were Goebbels and Himmler who, like Hitler, were brought up Roman Catholic. (Goebbels was also trained by Jesuits and studied for one year in a Jesuit seminary,) Hoffet adds that the concept of the old Holy Roman Empire weighed more heavily in Nazi ideology than did the Reformation. Although he credits Luther with helping form "the specific Protestant qualities of extreme conscientiousness, eminent reliability, hard work, extreme discipline," he nevertheless blames Luther for otherworldliness and for letting the church become subservient to the state.⁴³

If it is true that religion is a major factor in forming personality, perhaps the church-state problems in Cuba will throw light on the question, Is the Counter-Reformation to blame for the turmoil in Latin America from which Hispanics seek escape?

A Case Study--The Cuban Experience

Spain, once the richest and most powerful nation in the world, had fused church and state in the New World--often to the detriment of

⁴²Ibid., passim.

⁴³Ibid., pp. 87-89. A more objective discussion of the relationship between religion and progress is given in Clough, pp. 470-73.

both. In Cuba, for example, the Spanish hierarchy and the priests in general were seen more and more as enemies of the common man.

As early as 1517, the first diocese was organized in Baracoa, where Columbus had disembarked on one of his journeys. The second bishop, Miguel Ramírez, used his office to enrich himself and crush those who opposed him. He connived with Governor Gonzalo de Guzman so that most of the land and of the Indian slaves were allotted to him and his supporters.⁴⁴ He was eventually recalled to Spain in disgrace.

Because Spaniards did not want to stoop to manual labor, more Indian and black slaves were brought from other countries in the succeeding years, as the Cuban Indian population died off. Simultaneously, priests deemed unworthy in Spain were sent to Cuba. Justo González claims that about one hundred unworthy priests passed through Cuba, shattering the moral fiber with their immoral deeds.⁴⁵

However, in 1802 Havana received its most remarkable bishop: Juan José Díaz de Espada y Landa. He reformed the clergy and made the church the leader of intellectual life. But another problem was taking root.

Spaniards looked upon the Cuban-born with increasing contempt, while the Cubans grew steadily more nationalistic. By the middle of the nineteenth century, conspiracies against Spain had become common. Since the Pope had granted to Spain sovereignty over Cuba, opposition to sovereignty was tantamount to heresy. In the confessional booth

⁴⁴Justo L. González, The Development of Christianity in the Latin Caribbean (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1969), p. 44.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 45.

priests would ask women if their husbands were conspirators. If the answer was affirmative, González alleges that some priests would inform the authorities and the husbands would be arrested. But more liberal ideas from the French and American revolutions could no longer be kept out of Cuba. Patriots met clandestinely as excommunication and prison became honorable, even though these patriots did not thereby renounce Christianity or Catholicism; they became anti-clerical but not anti-Catholic, although many did not practice their faith.⁴⁶

During the second half of the nineteenth century rebellions and wars broke out, and by 1898 the United States entered the struggle. After a decisive battle at Santiago, Cubans joined the Americans in celebrating the new independence--but an independence which gave Americans the right to intervene in case of political disturbances. Repeated intervention did occur, and Cubans maintain that a pattern of corruption developed while the American, Charles E. Magoon, governed the island (1906-1909). Constant political changes ended when Fulgencio Batista seized power on March 10, 1952. Because he had overthrown a duly-elected (though corrupt) administration, conspiracy grew. Yet the United States showed its partiality toward Batista. When he met conspiracy with torture and murder, his oppression was identified also with Yankee imperialism. Then Fidel Castro captured the imagination of Cuban and American idealists alike, for he promised a new, democratic, purified Cuba once the hated dictator was removed. Yet after Castro came to power in 1959, it was soon obvious that he had two platforms: 1) a fictitious one designed for public consumption, and 2) a

⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 47-48.

real one that was anti-Yankee, anti-upper class, and pro-Marxist. The resulting conflict between the Roman Catholic church and Castro resulted in eventual victory for the latter.⁴⁷

An Evaluation of the Cuban Experience

Why did Cuba, a Roman Catholic country, go communist? Why does communism have a strong appeal in other nominally Roman Catholic countries like Nicaragua? One answer might be latent anti-clericalism. Anti-clericalism among the masses does seem stronger in most Roman Catholic than in most Protestant societies. When this author was a missionary in Cuba, the first convert was a former taxi driver. He said his tasks each Friday night included taking a priest to a woman's house for immoral purposes and then picking him up again several hours later. He appreciated the fact that Lutheran "priests" marry. The great majority of Cuba's priests were, nevertheless, highly moral and self-sacrificing.

Cuba's anti-clericalism might be better explained by the following factors: 1) Cuba, like many other Latin American countries, has suffered from a lack of priests who could properly instruct the faithful in doctrine and life; 2) priests who did work in Cuba were usually from Spain or some other foreign country, and Spanish priests generally identified with Spain during the independence struggle; 3) the Roman Catholic church experienced decades of growth and glory but also of decline--depending upon the quality of its clergy and upon the political

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 83-98 and Mario Llerena, The Unsuspected Revolution--The Birth and Rise of Castroism (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1978), pp. 1-315.

situation; 4) during the Batista administration the church, like the United States government, seemingly supported the hated dictator; 5) a high percentage of the church's income was raised through gambling and the promotion of legendary apparitions of Mary or the saints; 6) the national lottery was allied with and supported Roman Catholic projects; 7) burial and the sacraments were "sold."⁴⁸

When Castro came to power, he could appeal to a degree of anti-clericalism in the Cuban populace while also pointing to certain Roman Catholic practices that exploited ignorance and poverty. He had turned the country first against Batista, then against the United States for supporting Batista, then against the foreign priests (600 out of the total of 700), then in favor of the Marxist Soviet Union which rescued him from economic disaster.⁴⁹

From Cuba the revolution has spread to Nicaragua and other areas where a semi-feudalistic society has held sway ever since the sixteenth century. It is from that kind of society that two or three million Hispanics seek escape each year.

At this point the reader might interject: But you have told only part of the story! Lutheran churches and clergy have also been participants in unjust societies which then became communist! Look at Hungary! Indeed, Hungary's Bishop Zoltan Kaldy, addressing a Lutheran World Federation committee, stated:

Now some words about the situation between the two World Wars (1920-1945). To tell the truth, the Christian churches in Hungary, including of course the Lutheran church, had made many blunders, but also had many good services. The churches yielded to the semi-feudal, reactionary system of the period and this system was based

⁴⁸González, Latin Caribbean, p. 88.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 86.

on social injustice. Our historians call this period of our history, of course, a period of "Christian regime" which was by no means Christian. It had meant only that the governments of that period raised the claim of being Christian in their ideology (nominal only). While they used hackneyed Christian phrases (which were utter platitudes) the country remained a country of three million beggars: peasants without land, families in great poverty. Most of the progressive movements and ideas were stifled.⁵⁰

Kaldy says that during the Nazi occupation, bishops of the Christian churches who were members of the House of Lords voted in favor of the bill that prepared an Act of Parliament against the Jews; thus many Jews were dragged away and killed (about six hundred thousand). By the time the Nazis were driven out by the Soviets, the churchmen had lost credibility and could not appear as champions of justice. Nor could the churchmen successfully oppose the Soviets. Therefore Kaldy and others decided to "submit to the higher powers" while at the same time proclaiming the Gospel in the new historical situation.⁵¹

Does the Hungarian example negate the argument that Roman Catholicism in Spain and Latin America is partly responsible for an unjust society? To answer the question in part, we look first at Hungary's religious composition. Ever since the Counter-Reformation, Hungary has been dominated by Roman Catholicism, which has claimed two or three times as many adherents as all Protestants combined. In this century, Hungarian Lutherans have numbered only five or six percent of the population, though many had been middle or upper class before communism took over. Reformed Protestants have claimed about 20 percent,

⁵⁰The Commission on Communication, which Kaldy addressed, met in Budapest, May 9-18, 1983 (copied from a xerox of his address).

⁵¹Ibid., p. 2.

while Roman Catholics list 54 percent of the people as adherents.⁵² If Hungary before communism was semi-feudal, it was also primarily Roman Catholic--even though this would not justify Protestant bishops for joining in a vote that led to Jewish extermination, or any other form of injustice.

The White and Black Legends Reviewed

To conclude this section: there is some validity to aspects of both the White Legend and the Black Legend. On the one hand, if Spain had become Protestant, there is no guarantee of vigorous Protestant mission work occurring in the New World for several centuries. Sixteenth and seventeenth century Protestants spent much of their energy arguing against one another: orthodox Lutherans against Philippists, Lutherans against Reformed, Calvinists against Arminians, and Anglicans against Puritans. The concept of the regional church, or Landeskirche, was psychologically limiting. The principle of cuius regio, eius religio was geographically limiting. Some Protestant theologians had also allegedly argued that the command of Christ to preach the Gospel to all the world ended with the apostles.⁵³ It was not until the era of pietism that Lutherans, for example, began to take foreign missions seriously.⁵⁴ Roman Catholics, on the other hand, made conversion of the Indians in the New World a top priority from the very beginning, and some of the religious orders performed with brilliance and

⁵²World Christian Encyclopedia, 1982, s.v. "Hungary."

⁵³Stephen Neill, A History of Christian Missions (New York: Penguin Books, 1982), pp. 220-23.

⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 228-30.

self-denial. By the same token, the well-intended system of encomienda carried with it a vulnerability to abuse. Under this system, Indians were "commended" to the Spanish colonists for protection and instruction in the Christian faith; in return, the Indians had to provide labor and tribute. Despite denunciations by the clergy, the colonists often treated the Indians cruelly and most died from disease or overwork.⁵⁵

The poverty and unrest endemic to Latin America is probably due to the convergence of many factors, and Protestantism would not necessarily have brought prosperity. One of these factors is the administrative pattern established by Spain: the king appointed the viceroys and underlings to rule with the help of army and church; and after independence, the native-born elite took the place of the foreigners and the pattern continued until the 1960s. The church since the 1960s has been turning its attention to the masses who are dispossessed, but it may be too late. And historically, the church must bear part, though not all, of the blame for the sad state of affairs throughout Latin America.

Roman Catholic Efforts to Rescue Today's
Latin America: Liberation Theology

The Cuban revolution inspired some Latin Americans and frightened others. Castro's program of mass education, housing, free medical care, industrialization, land distribution, and the many other "benefits" claimed by young Marxist regimes, captured the imagination of idealists all over the continent. High schools and universities vibrated with the vision of a new life for oppressed peasants and workers. The new

⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 170-72.

Marxist man, devoted to justice and work, was contrasted with the old religious man, a submissive victim of the old semi-feudalism. The old aristocracies, allied for centuries with the church, began to tremble. Were their days numbered? Would they lose their wealth and privilege? Or could the hierarchy still tame the masses in exchange for financial support? In the 1960s, this was the socio-political situation in at least some of the Latin American nations. And in the church itself, there was a full spectrum of reactions. Idealistic priests and nuns, both foreign and national, had begun working in city slums bereft of running water but irrigated by urine. They labored alongside idealistic, university-trained Marxists who taught reading or brought medical care. Many of these priests became convinced that Marx was right: Life is a class struggle; the church is aligned with the rich while Christ sided with the poor; only violent revolution will break up the old feudalism. Yes, they believed. Marx's analysis of societal ills fit Latin America. Some bishops, on the other hand, became terrified.⁵⁶ All this contributed to the development of liberation theology.⁵⁷

⁵⁶Books describing post-Castro Latin America include the following: Hugo Assmann, Opresión-Liberación, Desafío a los Cristianos (Montevideo: Tierra Nueva, 1971); Jorge Lara-Braud, We Reclaim Our Future (New York: Friendship Press, 1970); Rubém A. Alves, Religión: Opio o Instrumento de Liberación? (Montevideo: Tierra Nueva, 1968); Rubém Alves et al., De la Iglesia y la Sociedad (Montevideo; Tierra Nueva, 1971); Justo L. Gonzalez, Revolución y Encarnación (Río Piedras, Puerto Rico: La Reforma, 1965); and Vania Bambirra, et al., Diez Años de Insurrección en América Latina (Santiago, Chile: Prensa Latinoamericana, 1971).

⁵⁷The basic text (despite a flood of others) is Gustavo Gutiérrez, A Theology of Liberation (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1973).

The Second Vatican Council also helped set the stage for liberation theology by stressing Bible study. Though historically the Roman Catholic Church had persecuted Bible distributors, now suddenly the best customers at Lutheran bookstores were Roman Catholic priests and laymen. Now they read the Bible, but with political and social lenses. They decided that lack of sewers, streets, running water, or fair wages, all had political implications; only a change in the political and social structure would permit justice for the oppressed; and that change would come only through revolution.

What kind of God did they see in the Bible? A God who sets His people free from slavery and leads them to a land of milk and honey. Thus God's action against the oppressive Pharaoh of Egypt was also political. That is how history's God acts: He liberates His people from bondage. And there is only one history--a social/political/economic/cultural/spiritual history that frees from social/political/economic/cultural/spiritual sin. There is no separate sacred history of spiritual redemption from merely spiritual sin.⁵⁸

What kind of Messiah did they find in the Bible? The Messiah prophesied by Isaiah and revealed at Nazareth:

- 18 "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,
because he has chosen me to bring good news to the poor.
He has sent me to proclaim liberty to the captives
and recovery of sight to the blind,
to set free the oppressed
- 19 and announce that the time has come
when the Lord will save his people."
- 20 Jesus rolled up the scroll, gave it back to the attendant, and sat down. All the people in the synagogue had their eyes fixed on him, ²¹ as he said to them, "This passage of scripture has come true today, as you heard it being read."⁵⁹

⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 149-57.

⁵⁹Luke 4:18-21 (Good News Bible)

The Messiah described in Luke spoke of political and social dimensions to His mission and these dimensions led to His crucifixion. However, His resurrection happened historically and therefore God will bring to pass this multi-dimensional redemption within history. Christ is not dead. His liberating work will be fulfilled within Latin American history, too.⁶⁰

What kind of sin did the liberation theologians see all around them? A sin manifested in unemployment, poverty, malnutrition, insufficient education, and disease: A slavery to the powers of multinational corporations and of developed nations! In private conversation, one exponent of liberation theology told this writer:

My father was a tin miner in Bolivia. He earned the equivalent of ten cents an hour. The tin was taken to the United States and made into cans at five dollars or more an hour. My father could never afford to buy the can back, much less the contents. I have been told that Americans put beer into cans; after drinking it, they toss the can out the car window or into the garbage container. Now I know what happened to the tin my father mined--that is, until he contracted silicosis in the mine and died at the age of 35.⁶¹

A university professor expressed himself as follows: "Thirteen families control the economy of my country. They are kept in power by weapons supplied through the United States government. We need schools, not tanks and rifles."⁶² The tin miner's son and the professor were describing the types of sin and slavery liberation theologians see.

What must the church do to help God liberate man from sin and

⁶⁰Gutiérrez, pp. 261-69.

⁶¹Told to the author by a person he met in Bolivia in 1973, whose name is not retained.

⁶²Told to the author by a professor in Panama in 1975 whose name is not remembered.

slavery? It must follow the example of Christ given in Luke 4:18-21. This means that the church must denounce, announce, and act. The church denounces those who exploit, oppress, devour, despoil, and defraud (Matt. 23:14 and others). The church announces the Gospel, which is the good news of the presence of God's love "in the historical becoming of mankind," because

To preach the Good News is for the Church to be a sacrament of history, to fulfill its role as community--a sign of the convocation of all men by God. It is to announce the coming of the Kingdom. The Gospel message reveals, without any evasions, what is at the root of social injustice: the rupture of the brotherhood which is based on our sonship before the Father. The Gospel reveals the fundamental alienation which lies below every other human alienation.⁶³

The church acts by participating in the struggle of the exploited, also in concert with non-Christians, because the proclamation of the gospel has a politicizing function. And this function

is made real and meaningful only by living and announcing the gospel from within a commitment to liberation, only in concrete, effective solidarity with people and exploited social classes. Only by participating in their struggles can we understand the implications of the Gospel message and make it have an impact on history.⁶⁴

What is the salvation that the church helps God to bring? Salvation is a process, "which embraces the whole of man and human history." It is building a just, peaceful and fraternal human society.⁶⁵

⁶³Gutiérrez, p. 269.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵González, Latin Caribbean, p. 161.

The Influence of Liberation Theology⁶⁶

Liberation theology is known world-wide. Its influence grew soon after the meeting of Latin American bishops in Medellin, Colombia, in 1968. In that meeting the bishops heard papers which set forth the basic principles; as a result, the official reports of the conclave incorporated the word "liberation." And the new theology began to spread. Some bishops, of course, resisted; others became promoters.

Today certain Lutheran (as well as other Protestant) church leaders promote a version of liberation theology (even within Missouri Synod circles). Focus, a publication of Partners in Mission, printed an article that expressed concepts very similar to Gutierrez. For that reason, we reproduce the article in Appendix I.

The Merits and Inadequacies of Liberation Theology: An Appraisal⁶⁷

Because liberation theology is a tremendous challenge that cannot be laughed away, we must examine both its merits and its inadequacies. One great merit is the break with the oppressors who, from the time of the Inquisition, have maintained a feudal or semi-feudal society with the help of the Roman Catholic Church. That statement seems to summarize the sentiments of its promoters. One promoter, who travels frequently to Latin America, has said: "When you look out from the airplane, you see huge, gorgeous cathedrals surrounded by squalid huts.

⁶⁶For excellent discussions of this topic, see Donald G. Bloesch, "Soteriology in Contemporary Christian Thought," Interpretation 35 (April 1981):132-44; and Robert T. Hoferkamp, "An Evangelical Ethic of Liberation," Academy: Lutherans in Profession 38 (1982):193-205.

⁶⁷For this section the author gained helpful insights from Hoferkamp's "Ethic."

It's time the church broke its alliance with the wealthy and cast its lot with the poor masses who make up the vast majority of the people."

Another merit lies in taking concrete historical situations seriously. A personal experience may help explain. After Batista's military coup overthrew a duly-elected Cuban administration on March 10, 1952, the United States government immediately gave official recognition, as did Cuba's Roman Catholic hierarchy. Three days later, the major newspapers of Havana printed, on their front pages, a photo of the American ambassador playing pinochle with Batista. The populace was incensed. As this author made visits among the people, some would ask: "Why did you play pinochle with that dictator?" It was necessary to explain that, though American, this author had nothing to do with the State Department. Others inquired: "Does your religion take the side of dictators, like our cardinal did?" In his own day Luther certainly spoke to concrete historical situations, as did the confessing Lutherans under Hitler also. And today in El Salvador, Rev. Medardo Gomez (and others) must make decisions and give leadership in a concrete historical situation. Guerrilla sympathizers have come to his clinic for medical aid. He and his doctor were imprisoned and accused of subversion because they gave such aid.⁶⁸ (The government claims the doctor confessed communist sympathies.)

By the same token, the apparent merits of liberation theology are its greatest danger. Its primary text is not Scripture but the historical situation. Hence it suffers from a situational hermeneutic,

⁶⁸Lutheran World Information, "Anxiety Continues Over Fate of Lutheran Doctor in El Salvador," No. 17/83, 12 May 1983.

into which some portions of Scripture can be accommodated but others can not. While the Exodus is used as an illustration of God's action in history, the exiles are not. The political reverses of the northern and southern kingdoms, the extinction of the northern kingdom, the return of a mere nucleus from exile to the southern kingdom, God's punishments against the Jews for their idolatry and disobedience--all these are ignored because they do not fit the theses of liberation.

The merit of identification with the poor can become dangerously misleading if Christ's mission is described as essentially political. Indeed, Scripture abounds in exhortations on behalf of the poor and oppressed. Christ, His apostles, and His disciples showed deep concern for the suffering. But Christ's intentions were not essentially political. He did not form a socialist party.

Neither is socialism necessarily more God-pleasing than capitalism. Liberation theologians wax eloquent when describing man's suffering under slavery, feudalism, or even capitalism. But they are silent about the murder of millions in this century for the cause of socialism or communism. In many countries, the cure has become worse than the disease.

But perhaps the greatest danger of liberation theology is its concept of salvation--a process of eliminating poverty and building a just society. According to that concept, many believers of the past were not saved, since they were poor and oppressed. Such a concept strikes at the heart of the doctrine of forensic justification, because of which "a Christian is a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none,

and a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all."⁶⁹

An Alternative to Liberation Theology

To provide an alternative to liberation theology, we must first of all show the proper distinction between Law and Gospel. This distinction has been detailed for us by able theologians and need not be repeated here. But since liberation theologians do not profess forensic justification by faith and since they turn the Gospel into a new law, we must clearly explain what Law really is and does, and what Gospel really is and accomplishes. Then we will have an alternative to liberation theology.

In addition, we must emphasize the true nature of God's liberation. It is not essentially a freedom from political, economic, or social oppression. One can be a slave politically, economically, and socially, yet still be free spiritually. God's liberation is freedom from unbelief, despair, and other great shame and vice, as Luther reminds us. It is freedom from false security and self-love, freedom for service to the neighbor. It is freedom received through trust in Christ's vicarious atonement, an atonement that does not grace the pages of liberation theologians. It is a freedom shared within a community of believers who in turn share this Gospel with others.

As believers share God's Word, the Holy Spirit will help them identify certain causes of their own slavery. They will be led to change at least some of these causes, and thus attain additional

⁶⁹Martin Luther, "The Freedom of a Christian," 1520, quoted in E. G. Schwiebert, Luther and His Times (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1950), p. 478.

freedoms. To illustrate: José and Carmen's life was a chaotic disaster. He drank heavily, gambled, had extra-marital affairs, seldom worked, and mistreated his wife. Carmen worked to pay the bills but was also unfaithful and, when she became pregnant by another man, aborted the baby and then filed for divorce from José. At this stage, she met Christ in our worship services and Bible classes in Brooklyn, New York. Jesus' message to the woman taken in adultery and to the thief on the cross transformed her. José was astonished and investigated the reason for the transformation. In time, he, too, was converted--to the consternation of his companions (some of whom worked for the Mafia). The family stabilized, José became a responsible worker, and the couple gradually moved into the middle class.

This story may not prove that Latins in general can automatically better their lot by becoming devout Christians. But God does promise grace and every blessing to all who keep His commandments, unto the third and fourth generation.

As ever more lives are transformed, they will become as yeast is to dough. The society will be affected by the unfeigned love, the faith and commitment, the creative hope of the converts. As a fruit of saving faith, they will stress hard work, discipline, teamwork, conscientiousness, punctuality, frugality, reliability, civic service, and cleanliness. They will want justice for the widow, the orphan, the poor and oppressed. They will seek out the very best counsel for social and economic problems and by another route they may even reach certain conclusions similar to some of liberation theology's conclusions. That is, they will struggle against and denounce injustice and willingly

accept the consequences, but they will work for liberation from feudalism through peaceful means. They may promote a "Christian socialism" like that of Protestant Norway but unlike the totalitarian, non-democratic socialism of Cuba. They will warn against selling one's soul to Satan, as did some Christians in Cuba, who traded certain social benefits for absolute government control. And in all these efforts they will be free to make mistakes, because through Christ they are "perfectly dutiful servants of all, subject to all."

From a society formed--in part, at least--by such new creatures in Christ, need two or three million Hispanics escape each year? No, because new creatures in Christ can "dream the impossible dream" and "fight the unbeatable foe"; they can "bear with unbearable sorrow" and "walk where the brave dare not go." New creatures in Christ know that "God can make water run uphill."

CHAPTER II

THE INFLUX, DISTRIBUTION, AND CHARACTERIZATION OF UNDOCUMENTED HISPANICS

Introductory Comments

Some Spanish-speaking aliens believe they have as much--if not more--right to live and work in the southern half of the United States as any other linguistic group. For instance, they claim that the United States took this part of the Mexican empire from Mexico in 1845 via a war that cannot be excused. Then and subsequently, Mexican citizens maintain they were deprived of land and civil rights by English-speaking courts; and as a result, they add, their descendants became poverty-stricken, second-class citizens working at menial jobs. (These allegations will be documented and evaluated below, along with other charges of repeated United States interventions in Latin America.)

The injustice has been compounded, they argue, by official ambivalence toward those who have come into the United States in the twentieth century. Some United States farms and businesses have sought laborers for low-paid, tedious, back-breaking jobs; and the Mexicans--along with other Hispanics--have needed employment partly because of "U. S. economic domination." By the same token, many United States farmers claim they would go bankrupt without the undocumented laborers while certain food prices would rise astronomically. Other United States

businesses, such as the garment industry, would also be adversely affected. (Again, these arguments will be examined in several sections of this chapter.)

While immigration law must be enforced, this enforcement has been sporadic and inconsistent. In some cases the manner of enforcement has caused either exploitation of the worker or hardship for the employer, or both.

Furthermore, a few unscrupulous employers have taken advantage of the illegal status of their employees by forcing them to work long hours under hazardous, unsanitary conditions and without overtime wages. Some even call in the Immigration & Naturalization Service (INS) agents just before pay time so that the laborers can be deported without remuneration. Rev. Juan Martin of Chicago, in an October 6, 1983 interview, said he knew of such instances in the restaurant business.

Illegal aliens of late include not only Mexicans, but persons from Central and South America and from the Caribbean. They say they have come because of hopeless political upheaval, civil war, death threats, harassment, severe unemployment, or social injustice in their own lands. Some describe these aliens as 1) economic refugees or 2) political refugees. The distinction is important because the latter have more rights.

Historical Background to the Influx

Pre-Independence Spanish America

While Luther was still a child, Spanish-speaking adventurers

were already in the Western Hemisphere. In fact, more than half of the early explorers of the New World were Spanish. They traveled not only throughout the Caribbean and Central and South America, but as far north as Virginia and across the continent to California. They founded Santo Domingo by 1496 and settled Puerto Rico by 1508. Of course, though they colonized the Caribbean Islands, their chief interest was the mainland; thus the islands were stepping stones for expeditions to the mainland and a protection for shipping lanes.¹

By virtue of discovery and exploration, Spain laid claim to the entire territory now comprising the southern states of the United States of America--from the Straits of Florida north to Chesapeake Bay, and from the Atlantic coastline westward to California. "Northern Florida" eventually became Virginia and Georgia. What is today Florida was variously subjected to French or British control but generally remained under Spanish dominion until 1821.² (The area between Louisiana and Canada had passed to France and, in 1903, to the United States through the Louisiana Purchase.)

Post-Independence Mexico

In 1821, when Mexico gained its independence from Spain, that country included in its borders California, Texas, Arizona, New Mexico,

¹Antonio Guernica, ed., U. S. Hispanics -- A Market Profile (New York: J. Walter Thompson, 1980), p. 5. For a more detailed account see J. Fred Rippey, Latin America: A Modern History (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1958), pp. 48-61, and John H. Burma, Spanish-Speaking Groups in the United States (Durham: Duke University Press, 1954), p. 9.

²Encyclopedia Americana, 1965 ed., s.v. "Florida," by A. J. Hanna, 1965.

Nevada, Utah, and part of Colorado.³ (Thus when Mexicans illegally cross the United States border, they are coming back home to what was once Mexico.) North Americans had entered northern Mexico in the early 1800s, and the United States government on various occasions tried to purchase these sparsely-settled areas--but Mexico refused to sell. During the 1820s about 5,000 Mexicans lived in what is now Texas, and Americans were welcome to settle there as long as they recognized the authority of Mexico. Thus in the 1820s the American population in Texas grew from 300 to nearly 25,000. Waddy Thompson, the American minister to Mexico, later expressed the bellicose United States mood of that era: "That our language and laws are destined to pervade this continent, I regard as more certain than any other event which is in the future."⁴ He was voicing United States belief in a "Manifest Destiny"--that the United States was destined to stretch from the Atlantic to the Pacific and, if the land could not be bought, it could be obtained by other means.⁵

The Mexican government then placed restrictions on further North American immigration and ruled with dictatorial powers. Americans in Texas who had promised to respect Mexican rule now rebelled and proclaimed independence in 1836. The United States recognized the Lone Star Republic in 1836. When Texas became a United States state in 1845, Mexico accused the United States of planning the rebellion. In the

³Guernica, p. 6.

⁴Hubert Herring, A History of Latin America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), p. 316.

⁵Guernica, p. 7.

dispute that followed, the United States declared war on Mexico and pursued Mexico's army to California and Mexico City. Quickly defeated, the Mexican government signed over all territory north of the Rio Grande in exchange for \$15 million.⁶ Ulysses S. Grant was to call this "the most unjust war ever waged."⁷ And still today, Mexican school children from kindergarten on are taught that the southwestern states were wrenched from Mexico by conspiracy and treason.

After Mexico lost more than half its territory to the United States, English-speaking courts were set up in the southwestern states. Spanish-speaking natives had difficulty protecting their interests, and countless lands were taken over by the English-speaking settlers in most areas except New Mexico--which had a bilingual constitution. The majority of Mexican Americans ended up as subsistence farmers or as laborers for North Americans.⁸ During the remainder of the nineteenth century, there was virtually no in-migration of Spanish-speaking persons.

The Twentieth Century

In the early 1900s, Mexicans with or without documents began entering the United States. Laborers were in demand, and the United States government allowed the Mexicans to help build railroads, harvest crops, or perform other menial tasks in Chicago meat plants, Pittsburg steel mills, and occasionally even in Detroit auto plants. These laborers often left their families in Mexico and sent money home. By 1930 the United States Hispanic population surpassed two million.

⁶Herring, p. 323.

⁷Ibid., p. 324.

⁸Guernica, p. 8.

Of these, half had crossed the border in the previous three decades, and half were descendants of Mexicans that had become citizens when the United States acquired the Southwest in 1848.⁹

Before 1921 there had been few immigration restrictions. While no numerical limit was imposed on legal entry from Latin America, in 1921 a ceiling of 357,000 legal immigrants was placed on countries outside the Western Hemisphere; and in 1929 that ceiling was reduced to 150,000 a year, with restrictions directed particularly against Asians. The Great Depression suddenly brought stern enforcement of immigration law. Because jobs were unavailable, many communities raised money to send Mexican aliens back to their country. Hence the number of Mexican seasonal laborers declined to only 10 percent of the number available before the Depression. Immigration virtually came to a halt until World War II.

World War II and the Bracero Program

The need for workers in menial jobs revived during the war and post-war years. Legal and illegal immigration also revived. This led to establishment of the "Bracero Program" in 1951 (a "bracero" is a seasonal or temporary worker). The United States and Mexican governments signed an agreement allowing farms and factories to contract for the guest workers.¹⁰ Each year the number increased until it peaked at 445,000 in 1956. Nearly every town and village in Mexico had one or more representatives in this work force, which was recruited within

⁹Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁰Jack E. Taylor, God's Messengers to Mexico's Masses (Eugene, OR: Church Growth Institute, 1962), pp. 1-9.

Mexico and then processed further at Calexico, California; Nogales, Arizona; El Paso, Eagle Pass, and Hidalgo, Texas. From there the workers were sent to fifty thousand different farms and places of employment--in Michigan, California, Texas, Arkansas, Arizona, New Mexico, and other states. In addition to those who came under this legal program, an untold number of other laborers came illegally and usually worked for lower wages.

Roman Catholic pressure, mechanization, and the guaranteed minimum wage resulted in a winding-down and discontinuation of the legal "Bracero Program" in 1964. Catholics feared that many of their sons would be lost to Protestantism and therefore lobbied to stem the tide. The Labor Department, at the urging of William B. McFarland, tightened restrictions and promoted mechanization so as to close the program and "keep those workers in Mexico." (Roman Catholic fears had been partly "justified," for in the decades of the 50s and 60s, hundreds of thousands of Mexicans were exposed to the Gospel.) Most did return to their country, where some continued their Bible study and/or worship; others remained and blended into American society illegally and were aided by employers or congregations both spiritually and materially. Yet the end of the legal "Bracero Program" spurred the influx of illegal workers from Mexico.¹¹

Caribbean and Other Hispanics

From the Caribbean, Hispanics were also entering the United States during the twentieth century. The Spanish-American War resulted

¹¹Ibid., pp. 7-82.

in Spain's loss of Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam to the United States. United States efforts to add Cuba to its territory failed because Cuba insisted on independence. In 1917 the United States granted citizenship to Puerto Ricans, who ever since have been flowing back and forth between the island and the mainland.¹² Persons from other Caribbean islands have also come in legally or illegally.

The 1965 Immigration Act limited immigration from the Eastern Hemisphere to 170,000 yearly and from Western Hemisphere countries to 120,000 yearly, with a ceiling of 20,000 per country. Because of the long backlog of applications for visas in Latin American countries, undetermined numbers came in a variety of ways. Some were smuggled in. Others came with temporary visas (student, tourist, and so forth), and then did not return. Still others simply appeared on our shores in small boats and were either arrested or given asylum.¹³

Because so many Cubans were coming to the United States after Castro seized power in 1959, the United States president, Lyndon Johnson decided to aid these refugees from communism by providing orderly evacuation. Between 1965 and 1973, the "Freedom Flights" authorized by Johnson brought 270,000 Cubans to Miami. The Cubans were exempted from the restrictions of the 1965 Immigration Act, and about half a million registered at the Refugee Center in Miami during the sixties and seventies. These numbers do not include those who came

¹²Gary Davis; Carl Haub and JoAnne Willette, U. S. Hispanics: Changing the Face of America, 3 vols., Vol. 3 (Washington, D. C.: Population Reference Bureau, Inc., 1983).

¹³Guernica, p. 16.

through an intermediate country such as Spain. And in April 1980, Castro announced that anyone who wished to leave Cuba could do so. Another 125,000 arrived in Key West--until the Carter Administration realized that Castro was also emptying his jails and mental institutions and sending criminals and dissidents. Therefore unrestricted permission for Cubans to enter the United States was suddenly withdrawn.¹⁴ This caused hardship for some decent Cubans who had made arrangements to leave. For example, Adela Tanda de Plá had been a graduate of Clara Maass Lutheran Day School in Havana before Castro shut it down. She later served as church organist. When she learned of the opportunity to enter the United States in 1980, she contacted relatives who raised \$12,000 to bring her, the husband, and the son to Key West. The United States boat captain took the money but left her stranded. She could not remain in Cuba because she had turned everything over to the government, lost her job, and was persona non grata. In anguish her relatives found another captain who would bring the three persons in for \$7,000. But after she boarded the boat with her husband and son, the door at Key West slammed shut. She was taken to Costa Rica for temporary asylum, but the family cannot engage in business or labor. She was stranded in San Jose for three years. She was finally resettled in Puerto Rico.¹⁵ There are many like her.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 17.

¹⁵Based on correspondence received from Adela Plá by the author.

Distribution and Characterization
of the Hispanic Population

Research Findings

Nobody knows how many Hispanics there are in the United States. Some estimates place the number at twenty-two million, of whom one-third are said to be undocumented. The 1980 United States Census registered 14.6 million Hispanics; another 7.4 million may be uncounted or in hiding. Thus the United States Hispanic population, legal and illegal, is by far the fastest-growing segment of society. From 1970 to 1980, it increased by sixty-five percent. By 1990 or 1999, it may surpass the Black population. It expands so rapidly for a variety of reasons: the continued flow of illegal aliens; the larger Hispanic family and the higher birth rate; the younger median age. Large metropolitan areas like Miami are permanently changed by the Hispanic presence, and politicians seek support from this new force.

In 1981 a prominent research firm, Yankelovich, Skelly, and White, completed an exhaustive study of the present Hispanic population. Yankelovich subdivided Hispanics into four main groups (which will be subdivided further in another section): Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban and Other.¹⁶ The Mexican Hispanics are by far the most numerous, comprising sixty percent of the total. Their heaviest concentration is in the Southwest, particularly in Texas and California. At least forty-seven percent of Mexican Americans were born outside the United States.¹⁷

¹⁶Daniel Yankelovich, Spanish U.S.A. (New York: SIN National Spanish Television Network, 1981), p. 6.

¹⁷Marguerite Michaels, "Are Illegal Aliens Good for Us?" Parade 14 March 1982, p. 9. See also Fermin Whittaker, America's Ethnicity (Atlanta: Southern Baptist Press, 1983), p. 122.

(Of course, some Mexican Americans have been in the southwestern states for generations.) The Puerto Ricans comprise fifteen percent of all Hispanics. Since their heaviest influx, which began twenty-five years ago, they have settled primarily in the Northeast and in New York City. Most are middle-aged with young children who were born on the mainland. Cubans are concentrated in the Southeast and represent seven percent of registered Hispanics, or about one million. Of that one million, only seven percent were born here because the heavy Cuban immigration is only twenty years old. Finally, other Hispanics are in many cases the most recent immigrants, having come primarily in the 1970s. They make up eighteen percent of all registered Hispanics, or 2.7 million persons. They are mostly foreign-born young adults; only seven percent of this sub-group were born here. Up to half a million persons have come here illegally from countries like El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua. They are scattered but have strong concentrations in New Orleans, Tampa, Chicago and Los Angeles.¹⁸

One percent of United States Hispanics know English only. Nine percent are English-speaking but know enough Spanish to get by. About forty-seven percent are considered bilingual. One-fifth (twenty percent) know only enough English to get by and are Spanish-speaking. One-fourth (twenty-five percent) know Spanish only. Illegal aliens, and particularly the more recent arrivals, use Spanish only or know only enough English to get by. Thus ninety percent of the United States Hispanics speak Spanish, which is a common bond between them even if significant cultural and ethnic differences exist. Among all aspects

¹⁸Yankelovich, p. 6.

of culture that Hispanics want to preserve, the language ranks highest. Tied for second place is care for elders, and Spanish art or literature. Third is Spanish music and songs. The Roman Catholic religion ranks fourth--although this varies from ~~one~~ group to another. In other words, their language is even more important to them than their religion. Therefore, if the Lutheran Church is to reach Hispanics--and particularly illegal aliens--with the Gospel, a knowledge of Spanish is required.¹⁹

Other studies of the present Hispanic population support the Yankelovich description and add new ones. Cheryl Russell, writing in American Demographics, introduces the word "Hispano" to refer to Mexican-Americans whose ancestors settled the southern states and became part of the United States in 1848--a definition not accepted by everyone.²⁰ Russell then limits the name "Hispanic" to those who came after 1848. Thus she would say that there are one million "Hispanos" and twenty-one million "Hispanics." But she correctly defines as Hispanic a person who has one or more of these characteristics: 1) He was born in a Spanish-speaking country; 2) his language is Spanish; 3) he has a Spanish surname; 4) he is ethnically of Spanish or Latin American origin. After providing information similar to that of Yankelovich, Russell details attitudinal differences among Hispanics. For example, she says that if war broke out between the United States and Mexico, Hispanics in Southern California would tend to fight on the

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 7-16.

²⁰Cheryl Russell, "The News About Hispanics," American Demographics, March 1983, pp. 15-25.

side of Mexico while those in San Antonio would fight on the United States side.²¹ (Attitudinal differences will be treated again in another section of this dissertation.)

Rev. Carlos Puig, secretary for Hispanic ministries of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod adds further characterizations of United States Hispanics.²² He illustrates the terms "chicano," "pocho," and "hidalgo." A chicano was born in the United States but he wants to reaffirm his Mexican background and culture. The chicano may (but need not) be descended from an illegal alien; yet he has been educated in the North American system. The chicano uses what he has learned to better Mexican-Americans with whom he is in sympathy. He wants Mexican-American society to be recognized as a viable segment of United States society--somewhat as the French society is in Canada. The chicano tends to be avant-garde and may even be a revolutionary. A pocho is a Mexican-American who is content to be in the mainstream of United States life while the chicano regards the pocho as an Uncle Tom. Finally, Puig says the hidalgo is a Spaniard who, though perhaps living in the United States has kept his blood "pure Spanish" and has not intermarried with an Indian, Anglo, or Black spouse. As a rule, illegal aliens are neither chicanos nor pochos nor hidalgos, but their sympathies are with their friends the chicanos.

²¹Ibid.

²²Interview with Carlos Puig, The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, St. Louis, Missouri, 29 August 1983.

What Is It Like to Be an Illegal Alien Today?

Of course, the illegal alien is neither a United States citizen nor a resident alien but one who has entered without authorization or who--after legal entry--has overstayed and/or accepted unauthorized employment. Anglos may call him a "wetback." Resentful legal residents label him a "pollo" (chicken) and the smuggler who helped him enter a "pollero" (chicken plucker). The illegal alien is usually separated from family members, from his former life, from his community and friends. He knows the Immigration and Naturalization Service is looking for him. They may pick him up at any time, hold him in a detention facility, and then deport him. If he finds a job, he's not sure how long it will last.

To illustrate the dilemma of the undocumented Hispanic, we may consider the California agricultural worker (Ten percent of illegal aliens are farm workers). At Fresno, California, the boysenberries ripen quite suddenly and need to be picked quickly. Eighty percent of the harvesters employed by Donald Rosendahl in 1983 were illegals, but he didn't know if or when the Border Patrol would raid his operation.²³ This year the patrol did not show, but he recalls a previous year when it did. The officers ringed his field at the height of the season and most aliens fled before pay time. The \$100,000 berry crop was lost, but the following year the aliens came back because Rosendahl treats them well and pays them sooner or later. Berry-picking is a back-breaking job, and though the pay is low by United States standards,

²³Marilyn Chase, "California Growers Rail Against Efforts to Stem Flow of Illegal Aliens," Wall Street Journal 4 August 1983, p. 4.

it is three or four times as high as the workers could earn in Mexico or Central America (A day laborer in Guatemala earns two to four dollars).²⁴

The farm worker who is not apprehended follows the crops in California's fourteen billion dollar agriculture industry. He does the work which legal residents and citizens don't want. And he knows that not every employer is as kind as Mr. Rosendahl. He has met lettuce or tomato or grape or fruit or strawberry growers who hired illegals to pick the crop, then called the Border Patrol just before pay time so that the labor was "free." By the same token, the undocumented agricultural worker feels needed. His cheap labor prevents bankruptcies; if it weren't for him, acreage would shrink and prices would skyrocket. Yet he dare not be a trouble-maker. He is at the mercy of his employer. He cannot demand conformity to health codes, or minimum wage laws, or workmen's compensation. If pure drinking water is unavailable, or if his time card is manipulated, he had best keep quiet. Thus his life might be described as a perpetual trauma.

Besides the farm workers who perform menial tasks few others want, thirty-three percent of undocumented Hispanics are in the service sector as domestics, dishwashers, cooks, and so forth. Forty-seven percent work in the garment industry, construction, light manufacturing, and other blue collar jobs.²⁵ A factory in El Paso, Texas, for example, prefers to employ illegals because they work for less, create no problems, and work overtime without complaining. One employee boasted that

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Michaels, p. 15.

he put in thirteen hours a day six days a week and--in return--the boss would hide him when INS officers came around. A restaurant owner in Dallas employs illegals because citizens or legal residents do not last long as dishwashers or assistant cooks.²⁶

In summary, while some illegals may feel fearful or exploited, others know they are much better off in the United States than in their own country--and they even have money to send to relatives back home.

The Future of the Influx

The Escalation

The number of illegal aliens entering the United States now seems to rise continually. For example, during April of 1983, the Border Patrol picked up 49,511 intruders along a 66-mile stretch near Chula Vista, California, an increase of forty-six percent over the same period last year. Every month, twenty-five hundred Mexicans, Salvadorans, and Guatemalans are waved through the INS checkpoints south of San Diego; they have legal temporary or permanent documents. But for each one who is documented, perhaps fifty slip across the border illegally. Many of the latter head for Los Angeles, which had 822,300 Mexicans in 1970 but two million in 1980. The city had almost no Salvadorans in 1970 and now there are 200,000. There were few Guatemalans a decade ago but now they number fifty-thousand. Besides these, 100,000 Colombians, Hondurans, Cubans, and other Latins live in Los Angeles. They keep coming because their own countries suffer from forty to fifty

²⁶Ibid., pp. 13-14.

percent unemployment, or a ninety billion dollar debt, or civil war; and a Los Angeles warehouse or hamburger stand will pay them \$3.00 an hour.²⁷

What is true for the San Diego and Los Angeles areas applies elsewhere as well. A man who recently washed windows at the INS headquarters in Phoenix turned out to be an undocumented Hispanic. Ernest Gustafson, the director, said he was one of 11,200 caught in April 1983 alone--an alltime high. Seizures along the two thousand mile southern borders are thirty to fifty percent higher this year (1983) than last. With only twelve miles of fence and a shortage of manpower, it is impossible to police the entire border. Therefore the Border Patrol believes that up to two million may have crossed into the United States illegally by the end of 1983. Of those more than half a million probably remain in the United States permanently.²⁸ If there are now 7.4 million undocumented Hispanics, that number could be twice as large in another decade.

The Spanish Lutheran Hour office in St. Louis recently received a letter from the West Coast which stated as follows (adapted in translation):

I listen to your programs over radio station KALI. I need your advice. In my apartment building there is a man who works for the Mafia. He forges birth certificates, baptismal certificates, social security cards, green work cards, union cards, and other documents, and sells them to illegals. He can also get them food

²⁷Kurt Anderson, "The New Ellis Island," Time 13 June 1983, pp. 18-25.

²⁸Maureen Dowd, "Losing Control of the Borders," Time 13 June 1983, pp. 26-27.

stamps and other benefits. I should inform the police and immigration, but then the Mafia will kill me. What should I do?²⁹

With easily-forged documents, undocumented Hispanics can survive and even prosper in the United States during the decades ahead. They are settling in every state, and some even continue on to Canada.

~~Determining~~ the Root Problem

Aliens will doubtless keep coming because Latin America's problems will increase during the next fifty years unless a major change takes place. Though this writer considers the root problem to be spiritual, as indicated in Chapter I, most experts see only the economic, social, political, or military manifestations thereof. To illustrate, Anthony Lewis published an over-simplified analysis which is at least partially apropos to this discussion:³⁰

On a visit to Latin America in 1965, Robert Kennedy told a group of Peruvian students that the responsibility of our time was "to lead a revolution--a revolution which will be peaceful if we are wise enough, human if we care enough, but a revolution which will come whether we will it or not." To lead it toward freedom and justice was a formidable task, he said, but not impossible for us in our hemisphere:

"America is, after all, the land of becoming--a continent which will be in ferment as long as it is America, a land which will never cease to change and grow. We are as we act. We are the children and the heirs of revolutions. . . ."

It is 15 years this week since Robert Kennedy was murdered. How far we have moved in that time from his vision of the United States: as a country receptive to change, sensitive to injustice, ready to help victims of oppression struggle against ignorance and poverty. How far especially in our government's policy toward Latin America.

²⁹Original on file at the International Lutheran Laymen's League headquarters, St. Louis, Missouri.

³⁰"In Memory of Robert Kennedy," New York Times article reprinted in Southern Illinoisan, Carbondale, IL, 10 June 1983, p. 4.

Kennedy came back from the 1965 trip warning that, "if we allow Communism to carry the banner of reform, then the ignored and the dispossessed, the insulted and injured will turn to it as the only way out of their misery." Yet the leaders of many Latin countries, he said, denounced all efforts for justice as Communist.

"If we allow ourselves to become allied with those to whom the cry of 'Communism' is only an excuse for the perpetuation of privilege," he told the Senate--"if we assist, with military material and other aid, governments which use that aid to prevent reform for their people--then we will give the Communists a strength which they cannot attain themselves."

Today the United States is responding to turmoil in Central America in ways that, to many Latins, seem to align us with the defenders of privilege. In El Salvador the old forces of oppression are now undoing land reform. The military spends much of its time murdering civilians, including peasants and nuns who question the status quo. And the Reagan administration's answer is to identify us with the regime: to stake our reputation on its murderous ineptitude.

Everywhere in Latin America the policy is "anti-Communism" at any price. Washington winks at official mass murder in Guatemala. It cozies up to torturers in Chile and killers in Argentina. It ignores the appeals of our friends in Mexico and elsewhere for political negotiation.

The result of such a policy will be as Kennedy predicted: to make Communism more attractive to the dispossessed of Latin America, and improve the prospects for a revolution that is not humane.

North Americans--the Villains?

The opening paragraphs of this chapter presented a variety of criticisms against the United States government: (echoed in the above quotation) and against United States employers. How valid are they? Many, on the one hand, would say they are very valid, both historically and at present. These critics will appear throughout this dissertation. They insist that the United States has helped create the problems from which Latins flee, and then has said: "But you cannot flee into the United States." Susanna McBee, writing in U.S. News and World Report, says that North Americans now face two enemies in Latin America: 1) Marxist-inspired rebels, and 2) American's own history in the region.

She says that in the past 150 years the United States armed forces have intervened more than sixty times, "to topple governments, install friendly regimes, aid or suppress revolutions and support American interests."³¹ San Antonio Mayor Henry Cisneros, a member of the bipartisan National Commission on Central America (headed by Kissinger), agrees that America is in danger of "continuing a history by which we lose the people [to Communism]."³²

McBee says resentment against the United States "was compounded by a policy of intervention to establish and protect private United States economic interests," whether they were gold mines, banana plantations, or sugar cane refineries. For example, entire nations were turned into "banana republics." If the North American companies faced problems with hostile nationals, the United States government would send in troops. By 1912, President Taft was "substituting dollars for bullets." McBee says this described a practice of persuading United States banks to pay off debts of poor nations and then gain control of their economies. The practice came to be known as "dollar diplomacy." Although Franklin D. Roosevelt tried to forge new partnerships with Latin America through the Good Neighbor Policy, the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion initiated another era of interventions that included sending 22,000 troops to the Dominican Republic in 1965. Even when the United States forces did not enter a country, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) helped organize military coups. For example, after Guatemalan

³¹Susanna McBee, "Why Distrust of U.S. Runs Deep," U.S. News and World Report, 17 October 1983, pp. 36-39.

³²Ibid.

President Jacobo Arbenz seized United Fruit Company land in 1954, the CIA organized an exile force in Nicaragua that ousted Arbenz.³³

However, though they seem to be a minority, some observers see United States interventions in Latin America as occasionally justified (Recent Latin American histories list the interventions). I have discussed the negative views of the process whereby, for example, the United States gained control of Texas and the Southwest from Mexico. J. Fred Rippy presents a sympathetic evaluation of those actions:

The national government became a sort of flying trapeze--which, however, some of the generals and occasionally a civilian ventured to ride repeatedly. Three white aristocrats--Anastasio Bustamante, Nicolas Bravo, and Jose Joaquin de Herrera--tried it twice each. The ardent anticlerical reformer Valentin Gomez Farias mounted it five times, and Antonio Lopez de Santa Ana, the shrewd militarist and deft pronunciamento artist, displayed his skill on eleven different occasions and managed to hang on for as many years. A creole, like most of the others after the downfall of Guerrero, Santa Ana was the worst of the group. Having neither principles nor a sense of direction, he fought on both sides of every issue that arose.³⁴

Rippy describes Santa Ana as a tyrant, deceiver, and corrupt dictator. He was deposed because of his "despotism, extravagance, and plunder." If the Mexicans tried repeatedly to be rid of him, how much can one blame the Texans and other southwestern Americans for revolting? The Texan Christians were probably acquainted with Romans Chapter 13, but they also knew the slogan, "manifest destiny," which claimed that Americans were ordained by God to fill up the continent.

A similar rationale has been offered for other interventions. United States journalists do not always tell the whole story. The

³³Ibid.

³⁴Rippy, p. 204.

large stockpile of arms discovered in Grenada following the October 1983 invasion by United States armed forces indicates that Cuba, North Korea, East Germany, and the Soviet Union are now actively intervening in Latin America.³⁵ Without North American involvement, Latin America would perhaps have suffered a worse fate by falling prey in the past to European domination and, more recently, to Russian and Cuban communism. Thus even though Latins shout, "Yankee, go home," many add, "and take me with you" or "and let me come to your country." And despite some evidence of mistreatment of illegals by United States employers, undocumented Hispanics will probably keep entering the United States to escape continued economic or political unrest. A closing look at virtually any Latin nation bears this out.

The Mexican Example

The economy of Mexico, for example, has been shattered. Some predict that its citizens will keep on entering the United States illegally for the next half century.³⁶ Mexico will not police its own borders since it can't and doesn't want to--partly because the future looks so dim. The chart below compares Mexico today with Mexico 10 years ago.³⁷

³⁵Gerald F. Seib, "Reagan Declares Grenada Action Ended," Wall Street Journal, 3 November 1983, p. 3.

³⁶Carl J. Migdail, "Mexico's Poverty: Driving Force for Border Jumpers," U.S. News and World Report, 7 March 1983, pp. 42-43.

³⁷Ibid., p. 44. By December 1985, the peso had dropped to 600 to 1.

	<u>10 years ago</u>	<u>Today</u>
Population	54.3 million	73.1 million
Yearly inflation	5 percent	100 percent
Unemployment, underemployment	40 percent	50 percent
Food as share of imports	6 percent	17 percent
External debt	\$4.8 billion	\$80.1 billion
Pesos per U.S. dollar	12.5	150

Mexico's misery is spreading through the population. By the year 2000, Mexicans will number 100 million. The per capita food supply is declining. Jobs will be harder to find, which means fewer and fewer people will have to feed more and more while prices keep shooting up. Jorge Bustamante, a Mexican population expert, says the flow of illegal workers into the United States will continue as long as there's a gap of wage levels between the United States and his country, and as long as American employers want cheap labor. He's convinced the United States would never resort to mass deportation because this would bankrupt the southwestern region of our country as well as create havoc for the Mexican economy. He once thought the problem of illegal entry could be resolved in twenty years. Now he believes it will take fifty years.³⁸

What is true of Mexico applies to other Latin countries as well: conditions will deteriorate further unless a major change occurs. Therefore one Lutheran theologian proposes that Latins work for "some kind of socialism under which the resources accumulated by a few people can be shared in a more equitable way with the whole population," because

no one can avoid the answer to the central question of who is our neighbor. Our neighbor is an enormous mass of poor and undernourished people living without houses, education or adequate health

³⁸Ibid.

services. That is why the love of Christ motivates us to help this enormous mass of unfortunate human beings, not individually --that would be impossible--but in a global and structural form.

The theologian urges Latins to build a socialism that conciliates the centralization of the economy with a minimum of interference with individual freedom, "a socialism not dictated by any world superpower and its economic policies, but a democratic and undogmatic socialism."³⁹

Could such a socialism succeed and, in succeeding, stop the flow of illegal immigrants to the United States? If a country has a strong Christian base, like Norway, perhaps yes. If it lacks such a base, perhaps no. Rios Montt was ousted as Guatemala's president mainly because he was Protestant and opposed deceit and corruption.⁴⁰ Yet what is impossible for man is possible for God. "If God is for us, who can be against us?" (Rom. 8:31).

³⁹Lutheran World Information, "Theologian from Colombia calls for Shared Resources in Latin America," 22 September 1983, p. 3. The theologian is identified as Dr. Robert Hoferkamp, who addressed a meeting of Latin American representatives to the Lutheran World Federation Assembly that met June 22--August 5, 1984, in Budapest, Hungary.

⁴⁰James Kelly, "From Preacher to Paratrooper," Time, 22 August 1983, p. 37.

CHAPTER III

THE EFFORTS OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT TO DEAL WITH THE INFLUX OF UNDOCUMENTED HISPANICS

Introductory Comments

The Latin Americans' plight due to lack of major social change and the resulting emigration to the United States has already been mentioned above. A quotation from Anthony Lewis in the previous chapter illustrates the charges commonly made: the banner of reform is now carried by the communists; and many Latin leaders see efforts for justice as communist. However, Robert Kennedy had reported in 1966 that the United States was actually strengthening communism when it helped governments which used that aid to perpetuate personal privilege. Lewis himself argued that the United States still aligns itself with defenders of personal privilege and against the masses. Susanne McBee wrote about sixty instances of North American intervention to install regimes friendly to the United States and its businessmen. Again, J. Fred Rippy exemplified those who defend some intervention. A Lutheran theologian, on the other hand, unrealistically calls for a Latin American brand of socialism independent from the United States and all other outside powers. These assertions will be viewed from different perspectives throughout this dissertation. Hence some overlapping will occur.

Is there hope that the flow of refugees northward can be stemmed by massive North American aid? Senator Edward Kennedy, in an address at the University of Montana, recognized already in 1970 that the Alliance for Progress, which had supplied such aid, was a failure. The Alliance was to be that major change which Latin America needed, also to keep migrants south of the border. Yet Kennedy admitted:

The rate of economic growth per capita has averaged 1.8 percent for one decade, lower than it was in Latin America in the years when there was no Alliance. . . .

The Alliance has been a social failure. Land remains in the hands of a minute percentage of the population. . . .

The Alliance has been a political failure. . . .

If we are to end poverty and injustice for the vast majority of the continent's 270 million people, the second decade of development must produce fundamental changes in the distribution of power and wealth in Latin America.¹

Kennedy then urged the following steps: 1) reassert the need for democracy in Latin America; 2) withdraw all United States military missions from Latin America; 3) give economic aid only when it produces social justice, especially the re-distribution of land; 4) transfer certain private investments (like oil fields) to Latin American ownership, with losses to be insured by the United States; and 5) re-examine the boycott of Cuba which has driven that nation still closer to Russia.²

Since the death of the Alliance, Latin observers still debate reasons why it brought no major change. Many recent observers share Kennedy's apparent pessimism over past government policies. Author Walter LaFeber gives this reason for the failure of the Alliance for Progress: the United States wanted democracy to flourish and the wealth

¹Congressional Record (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, Ninety-first Congress, 20 April 1970), Vol. 116, No. 62.

²Ibid.

distributed equitably, but it did not want to give up power and influence in Latin America; for this it needed friendly regimes which meant working with the wealthy elite and its army. LaFeber, however, places most of the blame for the failure upon the political culture in many Latin countries, so that they can't or don't want to overcome their own violence and irrationality.³ They are, in a sense, prisoners of their own history.

Writer Tom Buckley, who covered the Vietnam War for the New York Times, sees particularly Central America as a future Vietnam, on a smaller scale but closer to home.⁴ Increased conflict fueled by poverty will of course mean more refugees streaming into the United States.

Editor Martin Diskin has collected a series of essays that primarily blame Latin governments' brutality for the quagmire and praise at least some of the leftists for being on the side of the people.⁵

Editor Richard Newfarmer has published a collection of essays similar to Diskin's, emphasizing in addition that "the symbol of the Reagan administration is the gunboat," and that force more than diplomacy is used to attempt solutions. Force invites counter-force.⁶

³Walter LaFeber, Inevitable Revolutions (New York: Norton, 1984), passim.

⁴Tom Buckley, Violent Neighbors (New York: Times Books, 1984), passim. See Phillip Berryman, Inside Central America (New York: Pantheon, 1985), pp. 57-80.

⁵Martin Diskin, ed., Trouble in Our Backyard (New York: Pantheon, 1984), passim.

⁶Richard Newfarmer, From Gunboats to Diplomacy (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1984), passim.

If the ominous picture presented by these books is even partly accurate, the United States Border Patrol will need far more than its staff of 2,600 to "stop them at the border."

Stemming the Influx of Undocumented Hispanics
by Stabilizing Latin America

On April 15, 1983, Secretary of State George Shultz held out new hope for a major change in Latin America when he spoke in Dallas:

I need not remind Texans that only the stability of our neighbors will prevent unprecedented flows of refugees northward to this country. Especially now, when a troubled world economy invites unrest, we must safeguard democracy and stability in our immediate neighborhood. . . .

The struggle for democracy is made even more difficult by the heavy legacy of decades of social and economic inequities. . . . We must also, therefore, support economic development. . . . We must also support the security of El Salvador and the other threatened nations of the region.⁷

Shultz recognizes, as did Kennedy and his allies, that the inequities are a basic problem. But he does not agree that the United States should throw in the towel nor accept most of the blame nor withdraw all military presence. On the contrary, he sees victory over leftist guerrillas as an eventual and a necessary first step in assuring democracy and economic growth, thereby reducing the flow of illegal aliens. To this he is committed.

How truly effective are United States' present efforts at helping stabilize Latin America? This question will be addressed again from still another perspective in a future section. Our interest here

⁷George P. Shultz, Struggle for Democracy in Central America, an address before the Dallas Chamber of Commerce (Washington: Bureau of Public Affairs, Department of State, 15 April 1983), Current Policy Statement No. 478.

is to establish that the relationship between Latin stability and control of illegal immigration is officially recognized and addressed as such.⁸

Despite the criticisms of past or present administrations, and despite civil war, there are indeed also a few signs of hope for democracy, peace, and development in Latin America. When Jose Napoleon Duarte was inaugurated President of El Salvador in June 1984, he became the first Salvadoran head of state chosen in free elections in fifty years. In 1982 Honduras returned to civilian rule. Guatemala held national and local elections in November 1985. Costa Rica has had democratic rule for over thirty-five years. Other evidences of social and economic advances do exist, such as some reduction in human rights abuses and the programs to meet housing or health needs. All these and many more are described in publications by the Department of State.⁹ Progress will continue to be slow. Latin America is a "mixed bag." And while we can be pessimistic about man, we dare to be optimistic about God.

Obviously, to stem illegal entry, changes are also needed to make the present immigration laws realistic, fair, and enforceable. In 1983 two United States Congressmen introduced a rewritten law which was accepted by two sessions of the United States Senate but only in a

⁸Ibid. The Bureau of Public Affairs of the Department of State has numerous policy statements on Foreign Policy in Latin America, which are available free of charge. These speak in detail of measures taken to stabilize Latin America and thereby decrease migration northward.

⁹See especially George P. Shultz, Sustaining a Consistent Policy in Central America (Washington: Bureau of Public Affairs, Department of State, April 1985), pp. 1-20.

much-altered form by the House of Representatives. The Senate considers the alterations of the House unacceptable. But confusion still reigns because exact information about illegal aliens is impossible to obtain and because special interest groups favor different versions of the bill. However, an agreement must be reached soon because this nation cannot continue to absorb huge numbers of immigrants. Even the strictest law will be extremely difficult to enforce, but the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) will continue to develop and improve methods of finding and deporting illegal aliens.

The Proposed New Legislation

The Simpson-Mazzoli Bill

Senator Alan Simpson, who chairs the Senate Immigration Subcommittee, and Romano L. Mazzoli, chairman of the House Immigration Subcommittee, prepared in 1983 the first major rewrite of United States immigration laws in thirty years. Simpson said the rewrite was needed for a variety of reasons. One is that the illegal aliens "gimmick the legal systems with their fake green cards, fake union cards, and fake Social Security cards."¹⁰

The successful Senate version

On 16 June 1983, this author telephoned the office of Senator Thomas Eagleton. His assistant, Steven Hayes, described the rewritten

¹⁰Marguerite Michaels, "Are Illegal Aliens Good for Us?" Parade, 14 March 1982, p. 18. For a thorough discussion of the bill, see James Fallows, "Immigration: How It's Affecting Us," The Atlantic Monthly, November 1983, pp. 45-106. Earlier bills are discussed by Maldwyn Allen Jones, American Immigration (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), passim.

immigration law introduced in Congress by Simpson and Mazzoli. The main provisions, he said, were these: employers are penalized for hiring illegal aliens; agricultural employers may legally import temporary aliens who must then return to their country of origin; immigration is limited to 425,000 legal entries per year; and amnesty may be granted to illegal aliens who came before 1977 (the issue of political asylum is not included). Hayes said the present situation has become chaotic and this bill--though not a final solution--is at least an attempt to change the situation for the better. The bill was passed by the Senate on 18 May 1983. The House has not accepted the Senate version.¹¹

The unsuccessful House version

The House of Representatives also recognizes the chaotic nature of the influx of illegal aliens; the solutions suggested, however, have been very different, and disagreement continues as of this writing (December 1985). This is true because representatives must be re-elected every two years and their constituency is much smaller. The desire to serve that constituency helps explain the variety of several proposed immigration bills, one of which passed the House but was not accepted by the Senate. In addition, groups like the Mexican-American Legal Defense Fund have been very successful in their lobbying at the House, thus promoting a more liberal mindset. Moreover, Hispanics have become politically active. Several new movements such as La Raza Unida ("The United Race") have swept Anglo-Saxons out of office and replaced

¹¹Fallows, pp. 99-108.

them with Hispanics who have entered local, state, and national politics. These movements make United States representatives more cautious.¹²

In the long distance telephone interview of 16 June 1983, Hayes said three characteristics appeared in the House versions: 1) there is no set level of legal yearly immigration; 2) amnesty is granted to aliens who came before 1982 (instead of 1977, as in the first Senate version); 3) provisions for agricultural workers are much more generous. Hayes said the discussions were at that time "in the infant stage and the balance may shift in one direction or another."

If a reasonable facsimile of the Simpson-Mazzoli bill eventually becomes law, its strongest restrictive measure may well be the fine of \$2,000 for employers of illegal aliens. And employers who repeatedly hire undocumented aliens could be jailed for six months. But two other provisions of one version are also forceful: newly-hired persons--under penalty of perjury--must certify on a government form that they are either United States citizens or legal aliens; and each job applicant must have "forge-proof" documents.¹³ (Someone has quipped that the only forge-proof identification is a laser-beam mark on the forehead.)

Besides the provisions set forth in the Simpson-Mazzoli bill,

¹²Maria T. Padilla, "Mexican-American Population of McAllen, Texas, is Beginning to Make Use of its Political Muscle," Wall Street Journal, 30 September 1981, p. 46.

¹³"Gate Starts Closing on Illegal Aliens," U.S. News and World Report, 30 August 1983, p. 8. See Fallows, pp. 99-108.

which were accepted by the Senate but not as such by the House, additional amendments and exceptions would have to be made from time to time. Otherwise the continued variables from one year to another or one area to another would make the law unenforceable.

A sample argument against the proposed legislation

As Hayes predicted, the balance in the Senate and the House has been shifting to and fro. Typical of the argumentation causing the shifts is the following example provided by a Wisconsin congressman:¹⁴

The Immigration, Refugee, and International Law Subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee recently passed an immigration reform bill, H.R. 3080, which among other things, would make it against the law for an employer to prefer to hire an American citizen over a non-citizen!

Immigration reform has been considered by the last three Congresses. In each, amnesty has been a central element. Amnesty provides legal status to illegal aliens and ultimately the privilege of becoming a citizen. It is because of amnesty that I have never been able to support the proposed immigration reform. No one has ever been able to tell me how we as a nation can tell people who have been obeying our laws and waiting for as long as twelve years to enter our country legally, that we are providing legal status and eventual citizenship to people who have been in our country for as little as three years illegally.

This Congress, there is another provision in the bill which I find even more disturbing than amnesty. It is the so-called Frank Amendment (authored by Congressman Barney Frank, D-MA). It says no one may discriminate against someone because of their citizenship status. On the surface, I admit, it doesn't sound so bad. Discrimination is against the law. However, what this really does is to give noncitizens more protections and greater rights under the law than citizens. All things being equal between two job candidates, it would be against the law for an employer to prefer to hire the U. S. citizen.

Universal employer sanctions were also included in the bill, which, simply stated, says it will be against the law for anyone to

¹⁴Jim Sensenbrenner, "Immigration," News From Congress, December 1985, p. 2.

hire an illegal alien. Similarly, the anti-discrimination language will cover every employer.

Our immigration policy is in desperate need of meaningful reform. Our economic situation is not the same as it was once. We can no longer afford to be a "nation without borders." This bill does not accomplish this, and I will be working to defeat it, unless major changes occur.

These arguments will be examined in detail below.

The confusion about the facts

Compounding the confusion is the considerable disagreement about the "facts." The United States Census Bureau has one set of "facts" concerning the number of aliens, their location, employment, use of welfare systems, and so forth. The "facts" possessed by other government agencies disagree. Lobbying groups and Hispanic movements present another set of "facts." Advertising agencies that sell to businesses in Hispanic areas have still different "facts." And when we approached the INS office in St. Louis for their "facts," they said: "We only know what we read in the newspapers." Of course, the "facts" in the newspapers may vary, depending on the writers' goals or prejudices.¹⁵

The Urgency of New Legislation

Even so, Simpson is not worried about differing provisions in the various bills. He is convinced the House and Senate will eventually work out disagreements because an immigration bill must be passed soon.¹⁶

¹⁵The most acceptable "facts" are probably those of Fermin Whittaker, America's Ethnicity (Atlanta: Southern Baptist Press, 1983), p. 122.

¹⁶Edwardsville Intelligencer, 19 May 1983. Fallows, pp. 100-101.

America, says Simpson, has nearly exhausted its capability to absorb the present influx. The two or more million newcomers to the United States each year (of late) represents double the number of immigrants that the rest of the world's countries together take in. For example, Japan admits only 5,500 immigrants per year. The two or more million figure is expected to increase unless an updated law is enacted, after which the number should theoretically decline to 425,000 per year plus an unknown number of people who will receive political asylum.¹⁷

The Difficulty of Enforcing the Legislation

Factors Militating Against Enforcement

A number of factors (some mentioned earlier) militate against enforcement of immigration laws, present and future. We have already detailed the non-cooperation of Latin American governments like that of Mexico in stemming the influx. We have pointed to, and will describe further, the inability of the United States government to police 1,936 miles of border plus thousands more miles of coastline. But a third factor, and perhaps the most potent, is the "marriage of convenience," referred to in chapter II, between the undocumented Hispanic and his United States employer. This marriage may make sanctions against employers relatively ineffective and difficult to enforce.

We illustrate this third factor with the case of Rennick Harris, one of the largest grape growers in the Napa Valley of California. His harvest crews are 80 percent illegal. He says he needs the cheap,

¹⁷Lutheran World Information, "U. S. Immigration: The Melting Pot May Be Cooling Down," Geneva 23/83 (9 June 1983), pp. 8-9. For a detailed discussion of this issue, see Fallows, pp. 105-106.

plentiful labor on crucial days and therefore declares: "If the choice is lose your crop or go to jail, we'll go to jail."¹⁸ The Simpson bill allows farmers to contract for foreign labor--but it must be done fifty days in advance. This is unrealistic because weather conditions vary and one cannot predict fifty days in advance the best time to pick grapes. In fact, so many of California's 250 kinds of perishable crops vary in the moment of ripeness, that the Simpson bill is considered unworkable. Harris believes a part-time, migrant force is essential because we don't have stable, year-around work to offer."¹⁹

And to obtain temporary legal workers is, as we have indicated, financially prohibitive also according to Harris. Moreover, to change the farm-labor pattern in California could take years. Many crops cannot be mechanized because machines bruise tender fruit and mangle vines. Therefore Rosendahl Farms, described in chapter II, is uprooting the boysenberry vines and replanting the fields with prunes--which can be machine-picked.²⁰

A fourth factor militating against strict enforcement of immigration law is foreign competition. Brazil, Spain, Turkey, Greece, and Israel are courting United States markets with cheap citrus fruits and raisins. In the past, United States crops have supplied markets not only in this country but in many overseas areas. Now to require United States producers suddenly to use expensive legal labor could mean--as

¹⁸Marilyn Chase, "California Growers Rail Against Efforts to Stem Flow of Illegal Aliens," Wall Street Journal, 4 August, 1983, p. 1.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 15.

²⁰Ibid. See Fallows, pp. 58-61.

said earlier--bankruptcy for some growers, and also an increasing deficit in the United States balance of payments. Similar cases could be made for other businesses such as garment factories.²¹

A fifth factor is the new civil rights legislation reflected also in the 1983 Simpson-Mazzoli bill. The bill would require the Border Patrol to obtain a warrant before entering private land. INS agents would need time to gather the required evidence and then find a judge to sign the warrants. By the time the agents served the warrants, the illegals would have moved on to another private field.²² This provision of the bill could, however, be changed.

A sixth factor is the "detective-type" responsibility placed upon the employer. One version of the Simpson-Mazzoli bill requires every business employing four or more workers to examine their identification papers to make sure they were authorized to work. A recent version approved by the House Judiciary Committee makes worker verification voluntary until an employer is caught using illegals. But in either case, identification papers can be forged. Most employers could not spot such a fraud. However, if they refused to hire on grounds of suspicion, they would be liable to a law suit.²³

A seventh factor is the mountain of papers and photocopies that would be required by the new legislation. Suppose an employer suspects forged documentation and makes photocopies. These would be sent to the

²¹Ibid.

²²Edwin Harwood, "Immigration Bill in Congress is Alien to Reality," Edwardsville Intelligencer, 29 September 1983, p. 4.

²³Ibid.

INS for their verification. The latter process would require INS interviews and investigations. The INS presently lacks the manpower for the process, and the papers would accumulate.²⁴

An eighth factor, referred to previously and recognized by the State Department, is the pressure for illegal entry resulting from catastrophic unrest. Some refugees are so desperate to get into the United States that no Border Patrol or Coast Guard can keep them out permanently. Those who do not cross our southern border can still come in under another category and simply remain. These would include visitors for business or pleasure; aliens traveling through the United States; alien crewmen, while their ship is in port; alien students; representatives of international organizations; athletic teams; dance teams; temporary workers; members of the foreign press; exchange visitors; fiances and fiancées of United States citizens, and the like.

Yet despite these factors militating against immigration law enforcement, the INS has developed and will continue to develop methods of detection of illegal aliens. Because they are "wanted lawbreakers," illegal aliens are subject to arrest and deportation.²⁵ To accomplish this task, INS will doubtless seek additional manpower and resources.

The Dilemma of Amnesty and Asylum

Amnesty, as referred to above, is often granted to a group of

²⁴Ibid. For a thorough treatment of the problems facing the Border Patrol, see Steven Anzonin, ed., The Problem of Immigration (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1985), passim.

²⁵U.S. Congress, House, Immigration and Nationality Act with Amendments and Notes on Related Laws, 96th Congress, 2nd sess., 1980, No. 13, pp. 63-65.

persons, while asylum is generally given on an individual basis. Amnesty is usually understood as a forgetting of an offense so far as the public interest is concerned; asylum is the granting of protection to a refugee so that he cannot be taken forcibly by the state that has territorial jurisdiction over him.²⁶ Thus the Hispanics that have been residing illegally in the United States in recent years hope that the new legislation will allow them amnesty so that they can continue to live here. Most of these would be economic refugees. Those Hispanics who claim they have fled death squads or civil war might request asylum because they consider themselves political refugees. As we shall see below, most requests for asylum are denied to Hispanics.

Who is entitled to amnesty or asylum? How strict shall the enforcement be? The Congress of the United States is wrestling with the first issue, while the Immigration and Naturalization Service is struggling with the second. The latter issue has prompted the sharpest confrontations between government and a growing number of churches, and can be illustrated in the case of the Central Americans, whose dilemmas will be discussed further in another segment of this dissertation.

The INS does not believe that most Salvadoran aliens should be granted asylum, no matter what legislation is adopted. Alan Nelson, who is himself a Lutheran, told officers and staff of Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service (LIRS), "Intelligence sources have no indication

²⁶William Allan Neilson, ed., Webster's New International Dictionary (Springfield, MA: G. C. Merriam, 1958), pp. 87, 171. For a detailed discussion of amnesty and asylum, see Grant S. McClellan, ed., Immigrants, Refugees, and U.S. Policy (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1981), *passim*.

that those who have been returned to El Salvador are being in any way killed, or persecuted, or whatever." He therefore believes Salvadorans in this country should be denied asylum. He said that 25,000 people had been deported to El Salvador in the past two years. However, Mary Solberg, coordinator of the LIRS' Central American Concerns program, disagreed. She said Salvadorans sent back to their country had been killed or persecuted and the same could happen in the future.²⁷ As indicated, this question will be explored from a different perspective in another section.

Thus the disturbing question comes, Whose application for asylum is fraudulent and whose is valid? And if the INS lacks sufficient investigators, how can the INS make a fair judgment? Because of the backlog of applications, Salvadorans routinely put in an asylum claim and are allowed to stay and work about a year until their case comes up. Heretofore Mexicans have usually followed a different strategy. When caught, Mexicans agree to return to Mexico voluntarily because they are spared five to seven days detention by waiving a deportation hearing. But on the same day they are deported, they may try to re-enter the United States. However, if the Simpson-Mazzoli amnesty provision becomes law, Mexicans with forged documents may demand hearings and insist on amnesty. There are not enough judges or detention facilities to handle the hundreds of thousands of cases.²⁸

²⁷News Bureau of The Lutheran Council in the U.S.A., 83-33, pp. 1-4.

²⁸Harwood, p. 4. Fallows, pp. 105-106.

Some believe the situation is so confused as to be hopeless. John Crewdson, a former New York Times bureau chief in Houston, has authored a new book called The Tarnished Door. In it he paints an extremely negative picture of the INS. He says that low-level INS officers routinely make life-changing decisions about aliens, causing them to be deported or allowing them to stay in the United States; and these decisions open the door to bribes and corruption. He believes little would be gained by passing a new immigration law, and that the present illegal immigration is a good thing for the labor market in the United States.²⁹

The Political Implications

The provisions for deportation, sanctions, amnesty, and asylum in the revised Simpson-Mazzoli bill have political implications, and democratic leaders in late September 1983, blocked these revisions. The reason: they feared Reagan would win Hispanic political support by vetoing the proposed new bill. This once again compounds the already existing confusion. Thus the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., informed Attorney General William French Smith on September 29, 1983, of fears that Reagan would score a political victory through a planned veto. But C. Anson Franklin, a White House spokesman, replied on October 1, 1983, that "any decision on the bill would be made on the basis of the merits of the bill and not on the basis of politics." And Smith said Reagan would veto the bill

²⁹"Should America Open or Close Its Doors?" Review of The Tarnished Door by John Crewdson, in St. Louis Post Dispatch, 18 September 1983, p. 4B. See Fallows, pp. 57-61.

"only if it cost too much."³⁰ Similar political jockeying has continued in recent years.

The Legitimacy of Enforcement

What conclusions can one draw about United States government efforts to adopt enforceable legislation and to deal with the influx of undocumented Hispanics? On the one hand, Congressmen have been too political. In addition, the INS has not been without its faults. Crewdson has documented many cases of corruption.³¹ By the same token, the INS has a legitimate purpose. United States unemployment continues to hover at ten percent. The country's resources are finite. The western frontier is gone. Unrestricted illegal immigration encourages low wages, poor working conditions, and other disadvantages for the already poor: the Blacks, the chicanos, the teenagers, the elderly, the Appalachian whites. To raise the country's lowest wages and improve its worst working conditions, tighter labor markets and tighter enforcement of a new immigration law are required. The established illegal aliens presently in the United States should be legalized to avoid further exploitation. And Americans should expect adjustments in United States agriculture and business while they prepare to pay more for vegetables, clothing, and so forth. United States legislators must therefore rise above politics and enact provisions that will help end the present chaos.

³⁰"House Democratic Leaders Block Revision of Immigration Law," St. Louis Post Dispatch, 2 October 1983, p. 3A. For the political implications, see also Anzonin, pp. 75-131.

³¹Review of The Tarnished Door, p. 4B.

All the above is written from the standpoint of the "kingdom of the left hand." Yet the Christian is also in the "kingdom of the right hand." His role in the latter may be different from his function in the former. This conflict will be explored in future sections of this dissertation.

CHAPTER IV

THE STANCE OF REPRESENTATIVE RELIGIOUS GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS TOWARD UNDOCUMENTED HISPANICS AND THE CONDITIONS WHICH IMPEL THEM

It is often said that Latin poverty or unrest and attempted illegal entry into the United States are "two sides of one coin." There is little agreement among Christians, however, concerning solutions to these problems. Thus a wide spectrum of opinions exists. The different stances are reflected in theological papers, essays, books, official or semi-official statements, and specific actions. While for the purposes of this dissertation it is necessary to distinguish between political refugees and economic migrants, many persons fail to make a clear distinction. As a result, much "fuzzy thinking" surrounds the issue of undocumented Hispanics.

The Stance of Latin Americans

Individual Theologians

Just as "ownership" is a new "in" word for North Americans, so "dependence" is becoming a popular word for some Latin Americans. Theologians on the southern continent are turning away from the option of economic development funded largely by wealthy capitalistic societies. Rather, they see the type of development urged by the Reagan administration as creating further dependence and economic slavery.

In a paper delivered to a Lutheran theologians' conference in Mexico December 7-14, 1985, Dr. Vitor Westhelle, a pastor in the Evangelical Church of Lutheran Confession of Brazil, defined dependence as "the category used in the social sciences in Latin America to describe and explain the social, political, economic, and cultural characteristics of the continent."¹ He exemplifies this ailment with a quote from the president of a foreign automobile company who said: "We made so much money in Brazil last year that it covered the deficit of our other factories."² Westhelle believes that Latin America has suffered dependency under three colonial powers: Spain, from 1492 to 1821; England, during the nineteenth century; and primarily the United States, in the twentieth century. Now, under neo-colonialism, multi-national corporations conspire with the moneyed class and the army, he says, while the workers earn fifty percent less in purchasing power than a decade earlier. Thus he says there is dependence of Latin Americans upon their own ruling class who in turn are dependent upon foreign capitalists. The solution to the growing poverty therefore lies not in development, as George P. Shultz suggests, but in breaking that dependence and promoting socialism. This Westhelle considers to be a theological issue because God wants to act on behalf of the poor, and we must act with Him. Faith must produce works; in Latin America this means working for equality and justice.³ Capitalistic, North American-financed development,

¹"Dependencia-Libertação-Justificação," paper delivered in Portuguese at the Lutheran Center, Mexico City, 9 December 1985, p. 1. Translation mine.

²Ibid., p. 3.

³Ibid., passim.

however, can not achieve equality and justice, he contends.

Westhelle's position was echoed by other participants in the conference and also represents the views of several Missouri Synod-related pastors in Central America.⁴ To re-iterate: church leaders in Latin America say that the increasing misery cannot be met with United States development aid for the reason that this only creates more dependence and misery--thus forming a vicious circle. Instead, the southern continent, like other Third World regions, must be liberated by destroying sinful capitalism and bringing in socialism.⁵

The Council of Latin American Churches

The Council of Latin American Churches, which claims to speak for most mainline denominations on the continent, is presently led by men with a mindset similar to Westhelle's. In a document directed to the world's Protestant and Roman Catholic officials, as well as political leaders, the Council denounced 1) "the extortionist debt" now impoverishing Latin America, and 2) North American "destabilization" of Central America.⁶ The implied relationship between debt or destabilization, and migration, will be repeated by others below.

⁴See Guillermo Flores, "Metodología Misional y Pastoral Luterana en Centroamérica," an unpublished paper presented to Central American Lutheran pastors in Panama, 12 August 1985. Flores condemns usury as practiced by capitalism and quotes Luther against usury.

⁵Presumably, once this is accomplished, it would no longer be necessary to emigrate. Socialism and justice are the two sides of the new coin! Yet the example of countries like East Germany suggests otherwise. For an opposing view, see Brian Griffiths, The Creation of Wealth: A Christian's Case for Capitalism (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1984), passim.

⁶"A las Iglesias y Organizaciones Cristianas de los EEUU, de Norteamérica," a document signed by the officers of the Council and

Pentecostals and Fundamentalists, however, tend to be more conservative and generally do not accept the analysis nor the solution suggested by Westhelle and others.

Among churches outside Latin America, one can identify four stances toward Latin problems and the subsequent entry of undocumented Hispanics into the United States: 1) "very liberal;" 2) "semi-liberal Roman Catholic;" 3) "more conservative;" and 4) "very conservative." These terms are of course subject to varied interpretations, but they are useful in locating stances on a spectrum. While a number of church groups can be quoted, four groups or agencies will be representative of them: the World Council of Churches, the Roman Catholics, Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service, and The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod. Because Roman Catholic involvement with undocumented Hispanics is the most vigorous and extensive, it will receive the greatest emphasis in this chapter. This section will not concentrate, however, on the Sanctuary Movement. This movement has been called by some "the principal religious news story of 1984." A separate chapter will therefore deal with the Sanctuary Movement as such.

The Stance of Churches and Groups Outside Latin America

The World Council of Churches: Very Liberal

The World Council of Churches has adopted a "very liberal" statement on the "two sides of the coin"--the United States role in Latin America and on "the increasing predicament of refugees who are

sent by Telex to Pope John Paul II, the United Nations, the Organization of American States, and other church and world leaders, 17 June 1985. Xeroxed copy.

denied asylum." The August 1983 Vancouver assembly, like the Latin American Council of Churches, accused the United States of destabilizing Nicaragua, supporting Guatemala's violent military regimes, resisting the forces of historic change in El Salvador, containing the aspirations of the Central American peoples, and then inconsistently denying asylum to victims of unrest that the United States "helped create." The World Council of Churches statement said some churches were in complicity with the forces responsible for 1) harassment, 2) human rights violations, and 3) massacres. Therefore the assembly encouraged member churches to educate their publics about these human rights violations and especially about land distribution problems. It asked churches "to monitor the implementation of land settlements to ensure the spirit as well as the letter of the law is upheld."⁷

The hard-hitting statement deplored "the use of a doctrine of national security to justify denial of human rights." Other clauses spoke of the persecution resulting from such denial and the increase in the number of persons seeking asylum or becoming migrant workers who then face unemployment or deprivation of their civil liberties. The assembly said churches must do more than talk about these problems but combine preaching with action. They must "make people aware of their responsibility for human rights implementation," and "strengthen existing work of monitoring, advocacy, and study." For this purpose the churches must raise more money and hold regional conferences to

⁷"Statements Issued on Afghanistan, Latin America," Canadian Churchman, October 1983, p. 9. (According to this article, the statement often criticized the United States but not the Soviet Union.)

evaluate how well churches were doing in this regard.⁸

The Roman Catholics: A Shift to "Semi-Liberal"

Of all the sources available to describe the Roman Catholic stance, we have selected material primarily from the Maryknoll Fathers because it best illustrates the joining of that church's philosophy of commitment to the poor with aggressive action. Since the 1960s, the Maryknoll Fathers in particular have prodded the bishops to move from a conservative to a semi-liberal position. (More recently, the Jesuits have also done so.) Although some fathers and bishops denounce the United States Government, their statements in general are kinder than those of the World Council of Churches and their efforts on behalf of the poor are much more effective. The United States Catholic Conference is now totally committed to support undocumented Hispanics in this country and opposes legislation calling for mass deportations. It has warned that it will stiffen its opposition to the new immigration law unless concerns expressed by Hispanic groups and individuals "are dealt with promptly and satisfactorily by our lawmakers."⁹ In fact, the United States Catholic Conference has frequently made declarations on behalf of illegal Hispanic aliens of whom perhaps ninety percent are Roman Catholic by tradition. Russell Shaw, a spokesman for the bishops' conference, said the United States Catholic Conference is now simply speaking even "more clearly." In addition, the conference's

⁸Ibid.

⁹"USCC May Oppose Immigration Reform," St. Louis Review, 15 July 1983, p. 4.

ad hoc Committee for Hispanic Affairs has issued its own statement saying that legislation as presently proposed offers "too little in the way of relief for the vast underclass of undocumented aliens." In general, Roman Catholic leaders of the United States Catholic Conference and the Committee for Hispanic Affairs consider that amnesty provisions for illegal aliens in the proposed law need to be "generous." They also oppose the sanctions against employers who would hire illegal aliens in the future.¹⁰ (Most Congressmen seem to favor such sanctions).

Besides the position expressed by the United States Catholic Conference and the Committee for Hispanic Affairs of the bishops' conference, the fourteen Hispanic bishops have published a 32-page pastoral letter that addresses the problems of both legal and undocumented Hispanics. The document is divided into four parts: "I. Our Historic Pilgrimage; II. Our Present; III. Artisans of a New Humanity; and IV. A Pilgrimage of Joy, Courage, and Hope." The letter appeals to the Hispanic's search for identity in the United States. It describes the ethnic mixing of Indian, European, and African peoples that took place in Latin America, thus creating a new mixed race, a great but poor race that has suffered much in the United States. This new race is then identified with the Roman Catholic Church and the Virgin Mary, particularly the brown Virgin of Guadalupe, Mexico, who they say appeared to the humble Mexican Indian, Juan Diego, centuries ago. Faith in this Virgin now aids the United States Hispanic in his daily struggle, also "in the detention camps and prisons where some are kept simply

¹⁰Ibid.

because they came seeking work and freedom--and that is considered a crime."¹¹ The pastoral letter appeals to such Hispanics who feel rejected, ridiculed, and insulted, yet who "have not taken up arms against this country but rather defend it."¹² The letter warns these persons against proselytizers, fundamentalists, and anti-Catholics "who try to divide our families and our peoples."¹³ As an alternative, such persons are invited to rediscover the Gospel, participate in Roman Catholic worship, renew parish life, study the Bible, become deacons or catechists, take part in processions and pilgrimages, and send offspring to become clergymen or members of the orders.¹⁴ To the Hispanic, and especially to the undocumented, the message is, you find your best support here in the Roman Catholic Church.

That the Roman Church wants to be a strong support to the illegal alien is one emphasis of popular Spanish-English (bilingual) magazines like Revista Maryknoll (Maryknoll Magazine). Nearly every issue discusses the dual problem of injustice in Latin America and injustice toward illegal aliens in the United States. For example, the June 1983 issue describes the work of the Catholic Immigration Office, which "defends the dignity" of undocumented Hispanics, "who are plagued with immigration problems." The office helps them with documentation problems, provides lawyers in deportation hearings, and opposes certain provisions in the proposed immigration law. "The law is very limited with regard to reunification of the family. What we seek is ample,

¹¹Carta Pastoral de los Obispos Hispanos de los Estados Unidos (Maryknoll, NY: Maryknoll Press, 1982), p. 13.

¹²Ibid., p. 16.

¹³Ibid., p. 18.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 19-32.

generous, and humane amnesty," says Father Francisco Dominguez, director of the New York-centered Catholic Immigration Service. He complains that the undocumented "contribute millions of dollars in taxes, yet receive nothing in return. They have no right to federal aid. All they are allowed is the right to leave the U.S." Dominguez says it is very frustrating to encounter rigid interpretation of the law, which opens no door and allows for no exceptions. He considers it his calling "to help defenseless people who live in fear of being discovered and deported and therefore don't even demand their rights. We can give them a sense of dignity and self-respect."¹⁵

The same issue of Revista Maryknoll describes the philosophy of Padre Hidalgo Center in San Diego, California: "We want to be the protagonists of our own history. We must initiate change--not simply react." The director, Leonor Ramirez, believes economic problems have driven the illegal aliens into the United States. These aliens bring "new vitality to church and society," according to San Diego's Bishop Gilberto Chavez. Serving the countless illegal immigrants and refugees being driven into the United States by want and war is called "the Church's greatest challenge of the future." Thus the center (which receives government funds!) promotes advocacy, education, job location, and better housing, especially for those who live in caves or in plastic shelters under trees. Sister Rosa Hernandez of the center considers these activities most important "so that Catholics do not change

¹⁵Carmen Fernandez-Aguinace, "Para Dar Dignidad," Revista Maryknoll, pp. 18-19.

to some other religion."¹⁶

Bishops, priests, and lay workers are ever more committed to the illegal alien, and ever more opposed to present United States government policies. Many have called the accelerated round-up of Hispanic aliens a "reign of terror." In Denver, Colorado, one hundred church leaders released a statement against Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) agents which said, "We are outraged at recent mass round-ups of undocumented persons . . . that cause immense suffering to those arrested and to their families who are left behind."¹⁷ Father Francisco Dominguez of New York, quoted earlier, added that the raids against suspected illegal aliens are made without due process of law:

While INS officials claim to be searching out workers in construction and computer-related industries, our information is that factories which employ unskilled workers are being targeted. No one questions the right of the Justice Department to apprehend illegal aliens . . . but it is of utmost importance that full rights to legal counsel and to a hearing before an immigration judge be afforded each individual.

Dominguez believes there is a move to deport a good number of aliens before a new immigration law can take effect regarding amnesty for undocumented workers. "Besides, the idea of raids is to send a message to potential immigrants in Mexico and elsewhere that tough enforcement is in process and there are less jobs." Bishop Mark J. Hurley of Santa Rosa, California, says the INS should look for illegal aliens from Canada and Europe who are in Hollywood and Wall Street, rather than "the farm hands at our local dairies, workers at our chicken and

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷"Immigration Arrests Anger Church, Hispanic Leaders," St. Louis Review, 13 May 1983, p. 6.

turkey plants, and at the mushroom and nursery business which earn wages of \$2 to \$5 per hour." He said that "these raids are now provoking ugly traces of racism."¹⁸ The Los Angeles Catholic Welfare Bureau has advised illegal aliens that "if they are arrested by immigration agents, they have the right to a deportation hearing before an immigration judge . . . to an effort to lower initial bond requirements, and to refuse to sign for an immediate voluntary departure." Roman Catholic publications are emphasizing the position of the Mexican government that "those detained have been intimidated, pressured into voluntarily accepting their precipitous exit from the country and thus denied the opportunity to receive salaries owed them and other severance benefits." Mexico's foreign ministry office has, according to Roman Catholic sources, accused the INS of violating diplomatic procedure by denying Mexican consular officials the right to interview arrested Mexican aliens.¹⁹

The San Diego diocese, which receives thousands of aliens into its area each month, has "voiced strong opposition to the roundups of undocumented immigrants by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. That is the type of public commitment which wins the respect of the people."²⁰ Thus the undocumented Hispanic is persuaded that the Roman church is on his side against the United States government.

The Jesuit order has now shifted its priorities in the United States and made "the Hispanic apostolate second in priority only to the

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰"Jesuits Reorient Priorities to Serve Hispanics Better," Revista Maryknoll, September 1983, p. 27.

nuclear war issue."²¹ For example, "in New York City, over a thousand Hispanics crowd adult education classes directed by Father Rene Dousdebes, a Jesuit from Ecuador. The students, many of them undocumented Dominican immigrants, come in the afternoons and evenings, seeking literacy in Spanish, English as a second language, a high school equivalency diploma and college preparation."²² The Jesuit order, which traditionally benefitted the middle and upper classes, has shifted its emphasis to the poor because "greater boldness is necessary in creating more meaningful ministries and educational alternatives and in promoting a sensitivity to Hispanic culture, especially that of the poor." Jesuits have been brought into the United States from Mexico to work with Hispanics. When the Jesuits held their 1983 meeting in Kansas City, Mexican Jesuit Carlos Orozco spoke on the topic, "The Immigration of Mexican Undocumented Workers to the U.S." He and others convinced the order to reorient its priorities in favor of Hispanics, and Jesuits have initiated an aggressive program of outreach in communities, prisons, and institutions of learning.²³ Again, apparently their message to the undocumented is not "Return to your country," but "We're on your side, against the U.S. government."

Hispanic or Spanish-speaking nuns are also defending the cause of illegal aliens. Sister Teresita Basso is national coordinator of Hermanas, the organization of Hispanic sisters. She says, "The Church is often the one place where newly arrived immigrants sense being at home. We need service in keeping with our needs, cultural and

²¹Ibid.

²²Ibid., pp. 27-28.

²³Ibid.

economic."²⁴ She deplors the fact that the church did not identify more with chicanos two decades ago and pleads, "Let's not make the same mistake again. . . . We have to be seen as an asset and not as a liability;" and some bishops do support the immigrants. She stresses the importance of "identity, self-acceptance, and the awareness of being loved."²⁵

To provide identity, self-acceptance, and an awareness of being loved, Roman Catholics are placing high priority on youth ministry. Thus Siffredo Lopez, an indifferent student from El Salvador, was invited to a California youth group. After attending mass and retreats for a time, he developed a high enthusiasm and a desire to become a youth minister. Though he had previously thought of returning to El Salvador when conditions permit, he has found the three qualities stressed by Sister Teresita Basso and feels at home in this country. Alba Hernandez came to the United States from Mexico at the age of thirteen. She wanted to return to her country to study with her friends. But in the youth group at Our Lady of Guadalupe parish of La Habra, California, she found new friends and now, at age nineteen, is studying at Cal-State Fullerton University. Jose Nunez, who coordinates Hispanic youth work in southern California, gives numerous examples of young people who have made the difficult adjustment to the United States because of Roman Catholic identification with their needs.²⁶

²⁴Moises Sandoval, "Partners in Mission," Revista Maryknoll, September 1983, pp. 14-15.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid.

Persons of all ages respond to parish efforts to serve illegal aliens. For example, Los Angeles' Our Lady Queen of the Angels Church was organized in 1784. Always rather small, in recent years the attendance at the eleven masses has risen dramatically to eleven thousand or twelve thousand per Sunday, and "most of the people who come are recent arrivals from Mexico." To accommodate the crowds, masses are held from early morning on to the evening. Claretian Father Luis Olivares says that "many of them have just crossed the border through San Diego; they haven't eaten yet and own only the clothes on their backs." When Olivares asks why they head for his church, popularly known as La Placita, they reply: "Because before we left Mexico we were told, 'If you are lost, go to La Placita. They will tell you where to go.'" Each weekend, hundreds of illegals have their babies baptized on the United States side at La Placita. When Father Olivares tells his local cardinal about the immense crowds and then asks, "What are we going to do?" the cardinal tells him: "Give thanks to God that they come." The new parish hall at La Placita offers immigration assistance, food and clothing, and referral for employment. When some pastors become uncomfortable with Olivares' activities, he replies: "What they can see here is the Church putting its material resources at the service of the poor, the alienated, the needy, the rejected of our society. . . . In what we do here the people can begin to identify the Church as an institution that really cares." This caring is extended by involving Mexicans in the mass--playing a musical instrument, singing, or reading the Scriptures. Hence while some claim Olivares helps illegals violate the law, he answers that "people cannot be turned away." His next project

is to promote the use of shrines, because "many people find in shrines a response to their search for God."²⁷

Not only in urban areas like Los Angeles, but in rural regions throughout the nation, illegal aliens see in the Roman Catholic Church a support and defense. The Lopez family, for instance, had lived in Chicago but decided to try fruit picking in Michigan. The husband and father, Pedro, went on ahead to look for work. The wife and mother, Maria, left several weeks later with her nine children--driving an old automobile. The car broke down and several children had to be hospitalized en route for food poisoning. Eventually they reached the Kalamazoo area, but Pedro still had not found work. The jobs had been taken by other illegals from countries like El Salvador. The Lopez family found a two-room shack with no toilet or bath, but the older children bathed the younger ones in an empty five-gallon pesticide container. Before long the children, their immunities debilitated, developed one or more of the follow: typhus, intestinal ills, amoebas, and dental problems. The father and several of the children did find work, thanks to a Roman Catholic social worker. A priest regularly gathered the workers for mass and to aid them with educational, health, housing, employment, or legal problems. However, increasing sweeps by immigration agents "sowed confusion, fear and humiliation." Soon the migrants were terrorized and feared going to gatherings of any kind. Similar experiences are related in areas served by food

²⁷Moisés Sandoval, "Our Lady of Angels," Revista Maryknoll, May 1983, pp. 13-17.

processors such as Heinz, Campbell, Libby, Del Monte, Stokely-Van Camp, Green Giant, and DiGiorgio.²⁸

The attitude of the Roman Catholic Church has become one of "solidarity with the poor." With respect to illegal aliens, this means, generally, taking their side against the United States government.²⁹ With respect to the other side of the coin, poverty and unrest in Latin America, this means--more and more--revolutionary-type changes and opposition to United States support of oppressive regimes.³⁰

Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service:
"More Conservative"

Lutherans have long been active in immigration and refugee service, perhaps more so than any other Protestant denomination. This may be the case because Lutherans have frequently been victims of European wars, border changes, and displacements. It is not surprising, then, that Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service (LIRS) is among those seeking just immigration laws and practices and testifies before Congressional committees regularly. At the same time, Lutherans have traditionally been law-abiding citizens, a fact that creates tensions for those who feel immigration reform is presently too slow and complicated.

Already in 1969 the Lutheran Council in the United States of

A. J. J. J.

²⁸Carmen Fernández-Aguinaco, "Un Largo Viaje," Revista Maryknoll, July 1983, pp. 14-18.

²⁹John Kavanaugh, "Solidarity with the Poor: We Are All Human, Frail," St. Louis Review, 14 October 1983, p. 10.

³⁰"Church in El Salvador Favors Revolutionary-Type Changes," St. Louis Review, 14 October 1983, p. 1.

America adopted, through its executive committee, a statement on immigration policies. Besides other suggestions, the statement proposed these objectives for immigration law:³¹

1. To admit to our permanent population a steady proportion of newcomers by (a) facilitating the reunification of families; (b) facilitating the entry of persons possessing special skills or other capacities needed by the American economy and culture; (c) assuming the United States' proper share of international responsibility for the resettlement of refugees and other persons urgently in need of the compassionate haven of a new homeland; and (d) admitting persons who choose the United States as their new homeland and who impart to their American neighbors an understanding of the culture, attitude and interests of other races and peoples of the world.
2. To admit annually a reasonable number of persons described above on an objective basis of selection which, while discriminating will not be discriminatory with respect to race, national origin, color or religion, testifying thereby to the United States' recognition of the interlocking and mutual interests of all nations with regard to the migration of peoples, the interaction of cultures and respect of universal human rights.
3. To provide reasonable access to nationality and citizenship for all immigrants admitted for permanent residence.

In 1980 the refugee agency commended to congregations and judiciaries seven additional recommendations. These are:³²

1. Amnesty for undocumented permanent residents.
2. An increase in the number of persons admitted from countries contiguous to the United States (Mexico and Canada).
3. Permitting entry to members of the immediate family of undocumented aliens (brothers, sisters, parents, children, spouse).
4. Helping undeveloped countries become self-sufficient through new kinds of economic pursuits.
5. Rejecting employer sanctions for hiring the undocumented.
6. Guaranteeing Bill of Rights protection to the undocumented.
7. Helping the undocumented become legalized so that they qualify for social service benefits.

It is not possible to determine exactly how direct the influence

³¹Conclusion to "A Statement on Immigration Policies: Moral Issues and National Interests," quoted in Study Document of Principles on the Issue of Undocumented Aliens (New York: Lutheran Council in the USA, 1980), p. 3.

³²Summarized from the Study Document, p. 4.

of the LIRS has been; but its Congressional testimonies have been well received and the new Simpson-Mazzoli bill sometimes uses language similar to certain recommendations given above. However, the bill does not accept several other principles: for example, it favors sanctions.

Be that as it may, the study document makes additional interesting statements like: "The Bible does not recognize such a classification (as unwelcome alien). The alien entering a foreign territory for non-aggressive purposes was to be welcomed with hospitality. The Bible offers no other attitude toward the 'stranger.'"³³

The document affirms that "no other attitude could exist for the people of God, who recognized themselves in a state of constant pilgrimage both historically and eschatologically." The document calls the drama of salvation "a series of journeys and border crossings for the working out of God's universal plan of salvation." Hence, "On the basis of Biblical history, then, there is no undocumented alien issue or problem." By the same token, the document recognizes that the church must address itself to historical changes, so that "what may not have been a problem in the first century can well be one today."³⁴

Although LIRS might not welcome the undocumented as aggressively as do Roman Catholics,³⁵ the agency argues that

the minimal expectation for human rights and simple justice causes some persons to flee from one nation to another without legal

³³Ibid., p. 1.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Bishop Rene H. Gracida of Corpus Christi has urged people to "bring out bedrolls and make halls and shelters available to the thousands of refugees who cross the border from Mexico into Texas. Welcome the stranger." See "Bishop Issues Guidelines on Aiding Illegal Aliens," St. Louis Review, 10 January 1986, p. 8.

authorization. . . . Imprisonment and torture have been the lot of many of them, in situations dominated by widely different ideologies.³⁶

While the agency admits that a few illegal aliens are criminals, more are persons of conscience viewed as subversives by those in power; and still more are victims of political, social, or economic repression. It is such persons that Christians are freed to serve because they are "people redeemed by the cross and resurrection of Jesus Christ and incorporated into Christ's body, the Church."³⁷

The agency mentions that

national borders . . . have been arbitrarily determined by humanity and often as a result of sheer power and even warfare. The establishment of this nation unfortunately bears that out.

Thus the church is urged to see borders "as a means of administration rather than of prohibition when it comes to celebrating the unity of the world and humanity under God." Considering borders arbitrary, the agency makes a distinction between human law and divine law. Thus crossing a border illegally is considered a violation of human law rather than divine law,³⁸ a concept probably not shared by the average lay member of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod.

The agency suggests that "people who are suffering from political or economic hardships have a right to migrate to another land in search of freedom, security, and better living conditions."³⁹ Again, laypersons in the Missouri Synod might be uncomfortable with that suggestion; some would feel that "my grandparents had that right but

³⁶Study Document, p. 1.

³⁷Study Document, p. 102.

³⁸Ibid., p. 2.

³⁹Ibid.

Hispanics don't, because the law has changed."

The agency document calls for a stewardship of God's gifts because "no one truly owns any part of God's earth but possesses it solely by the grace of God for the well-being of one's self and the world," and one is to use creation's gifts "chiefly to bless others."⁴⁰ A very conservative Lutheran, however, might call proponents of these views "not only soft in the heart but also in the head." He would point to unemployment and other social problems as reason enough to "keep those people out."

Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service commends to interested congregations a book written in 1981 called, Our Neighbors in Hiding.⁴¹ The author reflects the philosophy given above and makes practical suggestions for showing love to undocumented Hispanics.

Building upon previous documents and the book described above, LIRS continues to publish materials related to undocumented aliens. The LIRS Bulletin regularly addresses this issue, and a recent number illustrates its dilemmas. Ambassador Douglass, United States Coordinator for Refugee Affairs, wrote:⁴²

At present we are caught in the real moral dilemma of having to make distinctions between migrants and immigrants on the one side and refugees on the other. What makes this distinction difficult for many is the need to separate economic privation from political oppression, even while we can acknowledge that in many individual cases there is an inseparable mixture of the two. . . . I will not accept the term "economic refugee." . . . I have to make

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Paul Pallmeyer, Our Neighbors in Hiding (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1981), passim.

⁴²H. Eugene Douglass, "How Much Can We Do," LIRS Bulletin, December 1982, p. 6.

daily, hard decisions about where we are going to put our effort. . . . (I) invite you to cooperate and share with me not only a decisional burden but a moral burden as well. I am not able to do it alone.

Douglass does not believe the door should be opened for the millions who want to escape poverty by claiming to be refugees, but he admits that many are partly political and partly economic "refugees," a dilemma for which he has no answer. LIRS does, however, call for an increase in the number of immigrants received each year in either category. That position is probably less conservative than that held by most laypersons in The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod.

The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod:
"Very Conservative"

Lutherans have probably been more active in the resettlement of political refugees than any other Protestant denomination. In fact, H. Eugene Douglass says the Lutheran resettlement record is one of the best, if not the best, in the nation.⁴³ The number of political refugees legally admitted into the United States in a normal year has varied from about 60,000 to about 100,000--except for 1981, when the Mariel exodus from Cuba brought the total to 159,300.⁴⁴ Members of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod have no difficulty with the concept of political refuge, and their performance in welcoming political aliens has been very good.

At the same time, while discussion with the Synod's pastors and laymembers reveals a slight spectrum of views toward illegal aliens,

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Stephen Anzonin, ed., The Problem of Immigration (New York: Wilson, 1985), pp. 63-65.

nevertheless a very high percentage emphasizes obedience to immigration law. Even though a few persons, like the Rev. Herbert Schmidt of Tucson, are leaders in the illegal Sanctuary Movement, and a few more hide the undocumented in their basements, most Synod members take a conservative or very conservative stance, if by "conservative" we also mean "legal." LIRS has supported some efforts to provide sanctuary, but this is not a general practice in the Missouri Synod, where sanctuary is overwhelmingly rejected as a violation of the law. This does not mean that Missouri Synod Lutherans fail to show love to the undocumented; but they do so in a legal fashion, thus again being considered "very conservative," even though they serve the alien in need. To illustrate:

In a telephone interview on 3 November 1983, the Rev. Carlos Puig⁴⁵ said he sees illegal entry into the United States as civil disobedience. However, he does not automatically condemn individual undocumented Hispanics nor does he report them to the authorities, because he first wants to instruct them in Scripture. He is evangelical but also tries to help them legalize their status whenever possible. Thus he suggests bringing them the Law and the Gospel, then perhaps also gathering a fund to provide legal counsel, to see if the illegality can be corrected. He cites the example of a family with seventeen children that attended his services in Racine, Wisconsin, during the previous decade. Half of the children were born in the United States, half in Mexico. The parents were Mexican citizens who had entered

⁴⁵Puig is Secretary for Hispanic Ministries of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod.

without documentation. If those born outside the United States had been deported, the large family would have been split. With the aid of an attorney, Puig helped them legalize their status and thus preserve the family's unity. In another case, the family was deported by the government but eventually was admitted legally and now resides in Los Angeles. In Racine he had convinced them they should not break the law and live in constant fear, but should find a legal way of entering the United States. He believes there is room for the undocumented Hispanics presently in the country and that amnesty should be granted to those who came before January 1, 1980 or a similar date, because many have been here for years and their status should now be declared legal. Those who came after such a date should be allowed to remain on a "pending" status and their cases ought to be resolved on an individual basis. The church should aid them with legal assistance and without seeking punishment for them, Puig believes. Puig's position is still legal and by that definition conservative, because present immigration law permits one to feed, clothe, or temporarily house illegal aliens. One can also transport them within a city to see a doctor or lawyer. One can teach them English or help them legalize their status. The government permits meeting these human needs and, at present, even allows one to employ illegal aliens. However, one may not transport them between cities; nor may one hide ("harbor") them.⁴⁶

The Rev. Eugene F. Gruell takes a position similar to that of Rev. Puig. He does not approve violating the law. However, he helps

⁴⁶See Immigration and Nationality Act, 7th Edition, September 1980, Sec. 274.

the needy, shares the Gospel, and--if they are here illegally--tries to convince them to become legal, by whatever route may be indicated.⁴⁷ He tells of one alien who came into his church in 1982 saying, "I want food and clothing for my family and I'd like to make sure my family is secure." He spoke as if he would not be around much longer. Gruell gave him a Bible and showed intense interest and concern for the family, helping them with food, clothing and even resettlement. In the succeeding months the man accepted Christ as his Savior and then moved to Kansas City with his wife and children. After two months Gruell received a letter. The man said Gruell had saved his life in several ways:

I was going to commit suicide after I came to your church to get what my family needed, because I felt I was too disillusioned and confused to go on. When you shared Christ and showed love to me and my family, when you invited us into your fellowship, you just picked us right up off the floor. I owe God my life, through you.

The Rev. Joel Heck, however, has mixed feelings toward aiding undocumented Hispanics.⁴⁸ He believes we must help enforce the law because government is ordained of God. He makes a distinction between assisting persons displaced by war and persons who cross the border for economic reasons. He comments that organized labor opposes the latter because illegal aliens undercut labor-management relations. Yet he recognizes that Luther opposed the government of Charles V at the Diet of Worms (1521), and the Bible instructs us to show compassion to the

⁴⁷At this writing (3 November 1983) Dr. Gruell is pastor of St. Matthew's Lutheran Church in Miami, Florida, and 1st vice president of the Florida-Georgia District, LCMS. This interview was taped for KFUD on 6 September, 1983.

⁴⁸Interview with Joel Heck, Zion Lutheran Church, Valley Park, Missouri, 14 October 1983.

fatherless and widows, and to the aliens in our midst.

Mr. Gus Melde, former president of the Lutheran Laymen's League, is still more conservative: "We can't disobey the law just because we want to. When we come to a red light, we stop, because that's the law. Illegal aliens should be kept out of the U.S., and we should help keep them out, because that's the law."⁴⁹ This view may well be most typical of the average Missouri Synod layman, as the discussion of the Sanctuary Movement will demonstrate.

At this writing The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod has no official position on undocumented Hispanics. However, the 1983 convention adopted Resolution 1-11A which includes these statements:⁵⁰ "Our Lord Jesus Christ commands that we befriend those among us who are hungry, thirsty, naked, or sick" (Matt. 25:35); and "Caring for the outcasts and homeless of the world is a visible witness to the world of God's love and value for human life." Obviously, this does not imply participation in illegal activities, a question to which we shall return in the section on Sanctuary.

While not endorsing illegality, the Synod does promote settlement of political, legal refugees. Every year the church body observes "Refugee Concerns Sunday." For a recent observance, Bunny Zeller prepared a Bible Study which is produced here in toto.⁵¹

⁴⁹Melde expressed this view in an open discussion with the LLL district presidents, January 1982.

⁵⁰Supplied by Dr. Eugene C. Gunther, Board for Social Ministry Services of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, December 1983.

⁵¹Ibid.

Bible Study in Preparation for "Refugee Concerns Sunday"

Seven Biblical Reasons To Be Involved in Refugee Resettlement

1. God, throughout history, has come to the aid of the poor, the oppressed, the fatherless, widowed, afflicted, and the stranger. Gen. 15:13; 23:4, Ex. 3:7-9; 6:5-7; Dt. 26:5-8; 24:17ff; 10:17-19; Lev. 19:33-34; Ps. 146:9.
2. Because it is God's nature to side with the poor, oppressed, and stranger, He expects His people to have the same concern. Dt. 24:14 and 17-22; Ps. 82:3-4; Is. 1:17; Zech. 7:10; Ex. 22:21; Lev. 25:35; Pr. 29:7; Lk. 14:12-13, 3:10, 12:33; Matt. 5:42, 19:21; Acts 20:35; Heb. 13:1-3; James 2:2-16; I John 3:17-19; Gal. 2:10 etc.
3. How God's people deal with the poor, afflicted or stranger is an indication of their love for God. God takes our responses in this area very seriously! Pr. 14:21 & 31; 18:17, 22:9, 28:27; Ps. 41:1-3, 112:4-5; II Cor. 9:6-9; Lk. 6:35; Matt. 25:34-40; Lk. 6:20-25; Pr. 21:13; Ex. 16:49ff; Jer. 7:5-7; Ez. 22:7-9; Mal. 3:5; Matt. 25:41-46.
4. Refugees from oppression and injustice are to be welcomed by God's people not only because of their need but also as an expression of God's love of justice. Isaiah 16:3-5.
5. Care for the outcasts of the world is a very visible witness to the world of the love and value God has for human life.
6. As with all people, those refugees who do not know Jesus need to be shown His love and be offered salvation.
7. God calls us to care for the needy regardless of the cost. Matt. 6:43-48; Rom. 12:20.

Conclusion: An Analysis

A growing number of theologians in Latin America believe capitalism is evil per se and that conditions will worsen unless capitalism is substituted by socialism, which they consider closer to Scripture, particularly the Book of Acts. When North Americans ask, "How can we help you," they reply: "Please, please don't help us; it only makes us more dependent. Let us bring about the revolution ourselves. Please don't intervene." Once socialism is established, they believe justice will reign and the need to emigrate will gradually disappear.

It is the view of the writer of this dissertation that no one economic system can completely claim Scriptural endorsement, and human

sin will show itself in any social structure, including socialism.⁵²

The greatest need in both Latin and North America is for the people to draw closer to the Lord, find forgiveness, and ask for His guidance and strength. If communism continues to forge ahead in Latin America, God may be permitting this as a judgment upon the Roman Catholic Church and the people.

Many who hold membership in the World Council of Churches are vigorous in their denunciation of United States policies toward Latin America and toward those seeking asylum from unrest, although they never criticize the Soviet Union. They believe the United States helps create the problems in Latin America by supporting oppression yet does not want to offer asylum or sanctuary to those who escape the problems. Some Lutherans have concerns over United States involvement in Latin America while recognizing the dilemmas posed by isolation and Soviet/Cuban infiltration. Individual Lutherans can be found on both sides of the issues. (The conservative position of many Lutherans of the Missouri Synod will be detailed further under specific topics.) Many Roman Catholics--who had opposed the Bracero Program that brought temporary workers from Mexico in the fifties and sixties--have shifted their position. They now want to identify with the victims of poverty in Latin America and with the illegal aliens in the United States. They accept, welcome, and assist the undocumented Hispanics, partly to keep them within the Roman Catholic family and partly because their identification with suffering people is sincere.

⁵²For a relationship between socialism and economic inefficiency, see Griffiths, pp. 11, 25. Griffiths also argues that socialism denies freedom and dignity, p. 89.

We could characterize the above stances as follows: Latin American avant-garde--"sincere but naive;" World Council of Churches--"radical and bigoted;" Roman Catholics--"caring, but careless about legality;" Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service--"open and sincere but of late pro-Sanctuary and not sufficiently sensitive to the rights of United States labor and citizenry;" Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod--"Scriptural, evangelical, but cautious and concerned about obedience to the law."

CHAPTER V

THE SANCTUARY MOVEMENT

A Brief History

Many have traced the origin and rise of the Sanctuary Movement. But this cannot be understood apart from the social/economic/political/religious conditions in Central America, and these conditions in turn must be understood historically,¹ as we have already indicated.

The most complete account of the Sanctuary Movement to date, though not the most objective, is that provided by Gary MacEoin,² who has his doctorate in Spanish language and literature from the National University of Ireland and is also an attorney. He has specialized in Latin American affairs since the 1940s and has written more than twenty

¹For an excellent historical introduction, see Phillip Berryman, Inside Central America (New York: Pantheon, 1985), pp. 3-31. For an illustration of United States' involvement, see Richard H. Immerman, The CIA in Guatemala (Austin: University of Texas, 1982), passim.

²Gary MacEoin, "A Brief History of the Sanctuary Movement," Sanctuary (New York: Harper and Row, 1985), pp. 14-29. For additional information, see William Bole, "Sanctuary," Church & State, March 1983, pp. 15-16; Renny Golden and Michael McConnell, "Sanctuary: Choosing Sides," Christianity and Crisis, 21 February 1983, pp. 31-35; Jim Buie, "No Room at the INS," Church & State, April 1985, pp. 10-14; Eldonna Fisher, "Help for the Homeless," Presbyterian Survey, May 1984, pp. 24-28; Vic Jameson, "The Making of a Prophet," Presbyterian Survey, July/August 1985, pp. 16-20; Jim Gittings, "Sanctuary Trial May Become Major Church-State Test," Presbyterian Survey, October 1985, pp. 42-43; Joseph Weizenbaum, "Sanctuary in the Desert," Moment, April 1985, pp. 17-20; and Don McLellan, "Undercover Agents in Worship," The Lutheran Standard, 1 November 1985, pp. 4-8.

books. A symposium on Sanctuary was held in Tucson 23-24 January 1985, and MacEoin was encouraged to edit the presentations on behalf of the Planning Committee by Rev. Herbert Schmidt (Schmidt, a graduate of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri, had been Assistant Dean at Concordia College, Oakland; he is now campus pastor at the University of Arizona and principal leader in the Sanctuary Movement).

In July 1980 a coyote (a professional smuggler), after taking their savings, abandoned twenty-six Salvadorans in the Arizona desert. Half died from thirst or the sun. After the survivors were discovered and taken to Tucson, the local churches developed a program of medical and emotional aid. The survivors began telling what they said occurred in El Salvador: death squad murders, torture and assassination of pastors, nuns, priests, and Archbishop Romero, civil war, and repression. When the media began carrying the claims of the survivors, MacEoin says Immigration and Naturalization Service arrested the Salvadorans for deportation. The local Roman Catholic Diocese and Saint Mark's Presbyterian Church of Tucson immediately raised bond money and requested political asylum for the survivors.³

About the same time, Guatemalan Indians were fleeing attacks on their villages in the provinces of El Quiche and Huehuetenango. Thousands crossed Mexico into the United States, were arrested, and were deported. The Tucson Ecumenical Council therefore created a task force. This group held weekly prayer services outside the offices of Immigration and Naturalization Service (and continues to do so without a break). It contacted lawyers and physicians. Over several years it raised

³MacEoin, pp. 15-16.

\$750,000 for bonds and legal expenses from Lutheran and other churches. It achieved passage of shareholder resolutions forbidding airlines to transport Salvadorans back to their country. It initiated legislative, judicial, and publicity programs.

By October 1981 a network had developed, and delegates from California, Arizona, Texas, and Washington, D. C., met at El Centro, California, to work out strategy. Rev. Gus Schultz, a Lutheran pastor in the San Francisco area, gave impetus to the network because of his previous experience in providing sanctuary to opponents of the Vietnam War. Two other persons, Jim Corbett and John Fife, also became prominent in the network.⁴

Corbett, who says he was tricked and mistreated by immigration authorities when he tried to obtain asylum for Salvadorans, subsequently became a "crusader." He began housing twenty or more Salvadorans in his garage after they had been bonded to await their hearing. Before long, he was sheltering also non-bonded illegals. Corbett asked John Fife, pastor of Southside Presbyterian Church in Tucson, to help. After hearing the stories of the Salvadorans, Fife's congregation eventually decided to declare its church a sanctuary. Southside became the cradle of the movement. Fife wrote the attorney general of the United States, William French Smith, as follows:⁵

We take this action because we believe the current policy and practice of the U.S. government with regard to Central American refugees is illegal and immoral. We believe our government is in violation of the 1980 Refugee Act and international law by continuing to arrest, detain, and forcibly return refugees to the terror, persecution, and murder in El Salvador and Guatemala.

⁴Ibid., pp. 18-21.

⁵Ibid., p. 21.

We believe that justice and mercy require that people of conscience actively assert our God-given right to aid anyone fleeing from persecution and murder. The current administration of the United States law prohibits us from sheltering these refugees from Central America. Therefore we believe that administration of the law is immoral as well as illegal.

Also prominent early in the movement was University Lutheran Chapel, Berkeley, California, Rev. Gus Schultz, pastor; and Luther Place Memorial, Washington, D. C., Rev. John Steinbruck, pastor. Within a year, the Chicago Religious Task Force was acting as coordinator for a network of forty-five "public sanctuary sites," established by Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, and other groups. The national media continued quoting Salvadorans or Guatemalans who spoke of government-sponsored torture and killing of noncombatants.⁶

The Immigration and Naturalization Service, however, did not move publicly against Sanctuary communities until February 1984 (By this time there were nearly one hundred such communities). The first persons arrested were Stacey Lynn Merkt, Roman Catholic Sister Dianne Muhlenkemp, a newspaper reporter, and three Salvadorans from Resurrection Lutheran congregation in San Salvador (a mission related to The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod). Their car was intercepted by the Border Patrol in South Texas.⁷ Various Lutherans then supplied financial and legal assistance in the case and sought support from prominent United States Lutherans. At this writing, Merkt is appealing her felony conviction of knowingly transporting an illegal alien. In March 1984 Jack Elder of Brownsville was arrested on a similar charge. He and Merkt were charged a second time in November 1984. Elder is serving a

⁶Ibid., pp. 22-23.

⁷Ibid., pp. 24-25.

six-month sentence. In all these trials, the judge rejected defenses based on freedom of religion or on conditions in Central America. In January 1985 a federal grand jury in Phoenix indicted two priests, three nuns, Pastor Fife, Jim Corbett, and nine others on seventy-one counts. Each felony conviction carries a maximum penalty of five years in prison and a \$10,000 fine. Among those expressing support of the Sanctuary Movement in one way or another are Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service and national bishops of the Lutheran Church in America, The American Lutheran Church, and the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches.⁸

Within the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, a very active supporter is Rev. Herbert Schmidt, one of the planners of the 23-25 January 1985 symposium on Sanctuary held in Tucson. In his report on the symposium, he included these paragraphs:⁹

In the closing celebration of the consultation, led by the refugees themselves, the people shouted out the names of martyred Central Americans, starting with Archbishop Oscar Romero of San Salvador, the Rev. David Fernandez (a Lutheran pastor killed in November 1984), the nuns and religious worker killed in El Salvador, and many more friends, relatives and companions who have been killed during the past few years.

The reading of names was followed by the group chanting "presente" to symbolize that the dead who were tortured and killed in Central America were still with us. This also indicated solidarity and renewed commitment to care for those refugees from Central America so that they will not be deported or face probable imprisonment, torture, rape or death.

Sanctuary congregations and workers believe they are acting legally while the U.S. government is acting illegally by not granting refugee status or extended voluntary departure status to the Central Americans.

⁸Ibid., p. 26.

⁹News Release, Lutheran Council in the U. S. A., "Sanctuary Movement Gains Momentum," No. 85-6, 5 February 1985, pp. 13-14.

The Rev. Jack Lundin, a Lutheran pastor from San Jose, Calif. and consultation participant, urged Lutherans not to be neutral at this time.

Too many Lutheran churches take refuge in the notion that neutrality is safe either because the situation is too complicated or because one admits to the fear of being identified with a Marxist movement in Central America. But whether we like it or not, neutrality, as Elië Wiesel (who gave the keynote address at the symposium) so eloquently reminded us all, "never helps the victim but always helps the oppressor." Lutherans must join the movement toward compassion and care for the refugees lest our safe neutrality becomes an exercise in damning piety.

These statements will be examined further in another section.

The Two Sides in the Sanctuary Debate:
Legally and Politically

Numerous articles and several books have appeared in support of or opposition to the Sanctuary Movement. Among the clearest statements for or against, from the legal and political perspective, are those made by William Sloane Coffin and Alan C. Nelson.⁹ This dissertation presents a summary of their statements arranged in juxtaposition so that the areas of disagreement are obvious.

Pro-Sanctuary (Coffin)

1. The asylum process does not work for Central Americans. From 1980 to 1983, 71 percent of Iranians applying were given asylum but only 3 percent of Salvadorans and 1 percent of Guatemalans applying received asylum. Sanctuary is the only option.
2. More Central Americans are denied asylum because their governments (except Nicaragua) are considered "friendly"

Anti-Sanctuary (Nelson)

1. Central Americans come for economic instead of political reasons; that is why a difference exists between Iranians and the Salvadorans. To show its good faith, in 1984 the U.S. gave asylum to over 500 Salvadorans.
2. The reasons are legal, not political. If you disagree with a decision, you can appeal to the courts. Many

⁹Extracted from "A Debate on Sanctuary," Church and State Abroad (July 1985), pp. 1-8.

- and don't produce political refugees. The reasons for such denial are political.
3. It is very difficult to determine if a fleeing Salvadoran is an economic or a political refugee.
4. When applications are virtually identical, one family member will be called an economic, the other a political refugee. The latter is admitted, the former deported.
5. The 1980 Refugee Act is being violated by the INS. In 1983 not a single refugee visa was issued in El Salvador. From 1983 to 1985, not one refugee visa was issued to a Guatemalan. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees says the U.S. is not adhering to the UN Protocol for Refugees. The State Department determines refugee policy.
6. U.S. support of brutal regimes creates refugees.
7. People deported to Central America are in danger of rape, torture, and murder. We have proof.
8. The Bible tells us to offer sanctuary.
- from other countries received no asylum either: Mexico, Britain, Sweden, etc.
3. The law requires that we make a determination. And one can work within the law to change the law.
4. Same as No. 3 above. The burden of proof rests with the one claiming well-founded fear of persecution. The Congress is wrestling with this; Congress makes the law, we enforce it.
5. Same as No. 3 above. Sanctuary undermines the legal system. We operate under interim regulations. We propose that in the future, asylum claims not be referred to the State Department, though it can be consulted. There already are 500,000 Salvadoran illegal aliens in the U.S. There are many political, legal refugees without sponsorships; sponsor those.
6. A refugee must prove he is a refugee. The U.S. need not prove he is not. Smuggling in such persons is illegal. Salvadorans have been entering the U.S. illegally for 50 years.
7. Even if names are the same, the people could be different. There is no proof.
8. Of the 330,000 religious groups in the U.S., only 200 agree to offer sanctuary. The rest disagree.

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|---|--|
| <p>9. Our movement grows daily. Thousands of churches support our stand.</p> | <p>9. Many vote not to support. You flout the law repeatedly and must accept the consequences.</p> |
| <p>10. The First Amendment guarantees freedom of religion. This is a religious issue.</p> | <p>10. This is a legal issue. You are undermining the legal system.</p> |
| <p>11. The government sends spies with tape recorders into our communion services, Bible classes, and church meetings. This isn't Russia or Nazi Germany!</p> | <p>11. Same as No. 10. You seek publicity. Your motives are political. We must safeguard the Constitution.</p> |
| <p>12. We know these aliens and they need our protection.</p> | <p>12. You are not the ones to determine who deserves asylum. Instead, you should help legal refugees.</p> |

A Clarification of Legal and Political Issues
Surrounding Sanctuary

Because the legal and political questions surrounding immigration are so confusing, this writer will attempt here to summarize in logical manner those that affect the decision to support or not support the Sanctuary Movement.

The Present Government Policy on Asylum¹⁰

As we have hinted in the material above, the Refugee Act of 1980 expanded the definition of the word "refugee." After World War II a refugee was generally considered as one coming from a Communist country or from the Middle East because of persecution or fear of persecution on account of race, religion, or political opinion. An asylum seeker

¹⁰See Patrick A. Taran, "The Protection of Asylum Seekers in Western Countries--United States Country Profile," paper presented at the World Council of Churches Consultation at Niagara Falls, Canada, 14-18 May 1984, pp. 1-3.

or asylee was not automatically a refugee. The Refugee Act of 1980 broadened the definition of the Refugee-Escapee Act of 1957 to include others besides those from Communist or Middle Eastern countries, namely, also persons recognized as refugees by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. The refugee was then given permission to enter the United States. But even after 1980, the United States government still distinguishes between a refugee and an asylum seeker or asylee. The latter category applies to those who are already in the United States, whether legally or illegally. Asylum seekers must meet certain requirements which sanctuary supporters allege are politically biased. That is to say, they must clearly prove that they face or fear they face persecution if returned to country of origin. Even bullets in their bodies, wounds from torture or shooting are not considered enough for asylum, sanctuary supporters claim, especially if such wounds were caused by agents of a Central American government friendly to the United States. If asylum were granted, which occurs rarely, the asylee may after one year apply for permanent residence, and thereafter, for citizenship.

Temporary Safe Haven Status¹¹

As of this writing Congress has passed no law permitting temporary safe haven status. However, Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) can by administrative decision grant an extended voluntary

¹¹See Ibid. and "Salvadorans in the United States--The Case for Extended Voluntary Departure," a public policy report of the American Civil Liberties Union, Washington, D. C., December 1983.

departure to a particular group of persons. The United States Attorney General is head of the Department of Justice under which the INS operates; and the Attorney General can use his discretion to grant a particular group extended voluntary departure (EVD) for a specific time after which they are to return to their countries. Thus Lebanese were granted EVD during the 1975 civil war and Nicaraguans were given EVD from mid-1979 through 1980.

Sanctuary supporters correctly say that the Attorney General refuses to grant EVD to a large group of Salvadorans or Guatemalans, just as the INS has refused to grant asylum to individuals from these countries; thus Sanctuary workers say they have no choice but to harbor aliens illegally.

In addition to opposing a ceiling on legal immigration,¹² spokespersons for Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service (LIRS), who support some aspects of the Sanctuary Movement, are asking the Congress to pass a law permitting temporary safe haven, thus making sanctuary unnecessary. Congressmen DeConcini and Moakley have introduced H.R. 4447 to grant extended voluntary departure to El Salvadorans in the United States. In testimony favoring such legal action, Dale de Haan and Ingrid Walter were very critical of the United States government and stated:¹³

¹²See "Immigration Control and Legalization Amendments Act of 1985," a statement by Dr. Donald H. Larsen, director, LIRS, before the Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees, and International Law, U.S. House of Representatives (SIRIL), Washington, D. C., 9 September 1985.

¹³"Statement of Church World Service Immigration and Refugee Program and the Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service in Support of H.R. 4447," presented by Dale S. de Haan and Ingrid Walter, SIRIL, Washington, D. C., 12 April 1984, pp. 9-10.

While it has been said that the existing political asylum procedure provides the mechanism to identify and protect any persons with a legitimate fear of political persecution if returned, our experience tells us that this is simply not the case. Members of our churches have assisted literally hundreds of Salvadorans in applying for asylum. These are persons whose stories of persecution and whose fears we know to be as real as refugees from anywhere. We see application after application rejected as without merit, while official statistics say less than three percent of Salvadoran applicants have been granted asylum over the last three years.

In the face of this response by our government to the plight of these homeless refugees amongst us, some churches have become increasingly politicized. More and more church congregations have felt that the sanctity of human life is violated by the policy of returning Salvadorans to possible death or persecution in their homeland. Some from among those churches providing "sanctuary" have decided that they must publicly and dramatically protest and challenge current policy by engaging in what appears to be public civil disobedience. Over one hundred churches have now publicly announced that they are providing "sanctuary" to undocumented Salvadoran refugees in the face of laws which characterize harboring of undocumented aliens as a felonious act. Some of these sanctuary churches and others have also begun to perceive connections between foreign and military policies with respect to El Salvador and the arrival of increasing numbers and the official non-recognition of refugees in the United States. . . .

These concerns have been communicated frequently to the Administration, along with the recommendation that extended voluntary departure status be utilized for Salvadorans. In the absence of any other response, we have concluded that such a legislative remedy as H.R. 4447 is the most appropriate measure that can be taken at this time.

Mass First Asylum¹⁴

Immigration authorities have not been prepared for the masses seeking haven in the United States since 1960. The Cubans who came after Castro's victory in 1959 were accepted under the 1957 Refugee-Escapee Act because they fled Communism. Since the influxes were staggered, the existing procedures and machinery were able to handle them. But in 1980, the nation was suddenly confronted with an additional 125,000 Cubans

¹⁴Taran, pp. 4-8.

coming in the Mariel "boatlift," plus many thousands of Haitians. The Refugee Act of 1980 had not established provisions for such a human onslaught. The Carter administration created a new category called "Cuban/Haitian Entrant (status pending)." These Cubans and Haitians of 1980 and following years were not formally admitted to the United States but placed into a legal limbo.

Another onslaught of 300,000 Central Americans entered illegally from 1980 on, creating yet a more serious dilemma. The Reagan administration has been far more restrictive than that of Carter. In fact, the standard of asylum determination and the interpretation of the United Nations definition have both been narrowed. In addition, a United States Court of Appeals decision recently ruled in a major court case that the United States Constitution does not guarantee even the right to apply for asylum to foreigners arriving in the United States. Thus when Alan Nelson says those who disagree with the INS can take the INS to court, a growing number of churches feel frustrated.

Refoulement

Refoulement is a French word which means "rejecting" or "returning." Because no Mass First Asylum policy presently exists in the United States, the government almost automatically rejects or returns Central American illegal aliens who are apprehended. Even though some aliens may apply for asylum when arrested, the request is seldom granted. The United States is signatory to the United Nations Convention and Protocol on the Status of Refugees, which commits it to non-refoulement of refugees. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees suggested

in 1982 that the United States may be in violation of the Protocol because of its refoulement of Salvadoran and Gautemalan citizens. The Immigration and Naturalization Service, however, argues that the persons in question are not refugees but economic migrants.¹⁵

Church Responses

Assistance

Over thirty projects to aid Central Americans, plus six to aid Haitians, are funded by LIRS and Church World Service. They have supplied over one million dollars since 1980 to provide fulltime staff plus basic needs (food, clothing, shelter, counselling, and other assistance). The staff identifies persons arrested by the INS, tries to stop their deportation, offers legal assistance to those claiming asylum, and mobilizes local resources. All this is proper and within the law. But when participants proceed to hide or harbor the aliens or transport them from one city to another, they thereby cross the line from legal to illegal activity.¹⁶

Advocacy

At the local and national level, individuals and organizations write congressional representatives or lobby before Congress on behalf of illegal aliens. They ask for more humane treatment of asylum seekers and have helped develop the DeConcini-Moakley Bill to stop deportation of Salvadorans.¹⁷ Such legal activity may well be encouraged.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 7-8.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 8.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 9.

Sanctuary

Nuns from the Adorers of the Blood of Christ order in Ruma, Illinois, have at this writing (January 20, 1986) become the second religious organization in the St. Louis area to provide illegal sanctuary. They are typical of others throughout the nation when they violate immigration law because they "denounce as illegal" the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service's "policy and practices of denying asylum to and deporting Guatemalan and Salvadoran refugees." Some eighty nuns from the order, out of a total of four hundred nuns, provide a "ministry of Sanctuary" to the Godines family, which travelled on foot from Guatemala to Arizona.¹⁸

The illegal movement, utilizing some 235 facilities, has captured the attention of the national media and has publicized Central American political issues perhaps more than any other endeavor for asylum. For reasons to be given below, the writer of this dissertation does not consider the movement an appropriate option for North American Christians; Canadians, however, have a more open attitude toward the Sanctuary Movement.

Relations with government

About seventy-five percent of all political refugees admitted legally (60,000-100,000 yearly) are resettled by LIRS, Church World Service, United States Catholic Conference, and the International Jewish Migration Agency. Because the government provides funds for resettlement

¹⁸Deborah Peterson, "Nuns Explain Support for Sanctuary Movement," St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 20 January 1986, p. 4A.

of political refugees, the agencies believe they are subtly pressured not to "rock the boat" concerning economic migrants. Nevertheless, the agencies have taken an independent stance and sometimes express views that differ widely from those of the government.¹⁹ The present crackdown on Sanctuary may be a result, in part, of the expression of such different views.

Of late, relations between the government and some Lutherans have become strained. The latter have apparently been provoking and welcoming reaction from the former, seemingly exploiting the compassion of church people for refugees and using this for political purposes, and unfortunately, helping create a backlash of generous Americans against all refugees.

For example, The American Lutheran Church has joined in filing a suit against the United States government and two of its agencies.²⁰ Alzona Lutheran Church in Phoenix, Arizona, which had been engaged in the illegal Sanctuary Movement and in criticizing the United States role in Central America, charges that it was infiltrated by government informants from March 1984 to January 1985. The INS was then preparing for a trial against Sanctuary workers. Other plaintiffs in the suit are Camelback Presbyterian Church of Scottsdale; Sunrise Presbyterian church of Scottsdale; and Southside Presbyterian Church of Tucson. More denominations are expected to join in the first suit ever

¹⁹Taran, pp. 9-10.

²⁰News, The American Lutheran Church, "Churches File Suit Against U.S. Agencies," 86-1-HD, 10 January 1986, pp. 1-3. See also from the same source, "Lutherans, Presbyterians Join in First Amendment Suit," 86-5-AK, 16 January 1986, pp. 105.

of this kind. The Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) has already committed itself to the joint suit. The defendants are the United States Department of Justice, headed by Lutheran Edwin Meese; the INS, headed by Lutheran Alan Nelson; and the United States of America. In addition the suit names two informants and several regular employees of the INS. The suit charges "inappropriate government entry into church gatherings and church communities."

According to the suit, Jesus Cruz, an informant of the INS, posed as a Sanctuary Movement sympathizer and began taping worship and Bible study sessions at Alzona Lutheran Church of Phoenix in March 1984. This was done, the suit states, in violation of government guidelines, without a warrant, and without reason to believe the sessions represented illegal activities. When the infiltration was discovered, participants in the Bible studies were subsequently arrested by the government. The government's case against the four congregations cited above plus other Sanctuary workers and asylees is based primarily on about one hundred tape recordings made by undercover agents or informants who carried concealed tape recorders into church sessions.

If indeed the congregations engaged in no illegal activities, they have nothing to fear. On the other hand, Alzona's pastor Oines says some people are now afraid to come to his church for fear their lives are in jeopardy, or in the case of North American employees, for fear they will lose their jobs.²¹

Churches are not above the law nor immune to investigations; and it is lamentable that for the first time a government agency has felt

²¹Ibid.

the need to plant undercover agents with secret tape recorders in a church.

An Analysis of the Legal and Political Issues
Surrounding Sanctuary

Deliberate Violation of the Law

There is a difference between dissent and violation of the law.²² The Sanctuary Movement represents a violation of immigration law. On the one hand, the Constitution recognizes the need for freedom to speak, to protest effectively, to organize and demonstrate. Yet it also acknowledges the necessity to maintain order and enforce the law so as not to impair other people's rights or the peace and security of the state. Thus for example, the Constitution protects the right to assemble, to criticize United States involvement in Central America, to stage "freedom walks," to picket, or to hold mass demonstrations, as long as these activities are legal and peaceable, and the protesters comply with reasonable regulations. However, freedom of speech does not, for instance, guarantee the right to shout "fire" in a crowded theater. If the intent of one's activities is to cause a harmful, unlawful action (a riot, an assault, a smuggling of aliens), or to cause injury to property (broken windows or doors), the perpetrator can be arrested. If the activities violate the rights of others (such as blocking traffic or harboring illegal aliens who may take jobs from citizens or use their resources), the perpetrator cannot claim protection under the Constitution.

²²For an exhaustive discussion, see Abe Fortas, Concerning Dissent and Civil Disobedience (New York: Signet, 1968), passim. Fortas was an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Those wishing to change United States' Central American or immigration policy need not violate the law. Dissent can be expressed in Bible classes, in the pulpit, on college campuses, on public platforms, in the press, or by boycotts, marches, picketing, and demonstrations, all within proper restraints (Where there are no restraints, there is no liberty).

The Constitution guarantees that ours will be a rule of law rather than a rule of men. Yet when religious leaders promote the Sanctuary Movement, they are in some sense supporting a rule of men rather than of law. The Central Americans streaming into the United States say they are escaping the rule of men; visitors to their countries say the rule of law hardly exists. But Sanctuary workers promote lawlessness, the very problem refugees want to escape. To violate immigration law undermines the Constitution. The Sanctuary Movement has been compared to burning the American flag. Valid laws exist which forbid the burning or desecration of the flag; because these laws are constitutional, violators cannot claim protection under the Constitution. Similarly, laws protect our citizenry and our borders from illegal migration. One would need to show that an immigration law is unconstitutional if he seeks to disobey it with impunity by smuggling or harboring illegal aliens.

To reiterate: Those who disagree with an administration's policies need not violate the law; they can 1) vote that administration out of office and 2) change the laws through legal means.

Disrespect for Legal Institutions

Those who promote Sanctuary are in effect saying: "I am the one who knows which persons should be admitted into the country. I am the one who decides which laws shall or shall not be obeyed. I will not follow the American system which has established a legislative, an executive, and a judicial branch. I decide which law shall exist for me, which shall be enforced, and how my activities shall be judged, because that is freedom of religion." Such an attitude shows disrespect to duly constituted authority. Freedom of religion is not an excuse for anarchy or for breaking the social contract. The institutions enforcing immigration law are doing so for the protection of the society. The United States presently admits twice as many immigrants as all other countries combined, a record more countries should emulate. Our government has a right to control our borders. Our citizens should respect the institutions designed for that purpose.

By the same token, this fact does not deny that a refugee crisis exists within Central America. Phillip Berryman and many others have traced the cause to oppressive governments which are plagued with corruption and which deny basic human rights to the peasants and urban masses. These governments "are propped up by U.S. military aid."²³ Two percent of the population in Central America has an income twice as large as that of the lower fifty percent of the countries' citizens, income sometimes spent on Mercedes Benz automobiles or on world-wide tourist

²³Berryman, passim. For a thorough discussion of the possible relationship between Third World misery and First World dominance, see Wolfgang J. Mommsen, Imperialismustheorien (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1977), passim.

travel, income often invested in foreign banks or industries which do not help the region's poor. Most of the peasants, on the other hand, are still without enough land to raise their own food; civilians in villages are bombed for suspected subversion; and the urban masses face fifty percent unemployment. Since all peaceful attempts at solving the problems have failed, the peasants, villagers, and urban masses increasingly see not democratic elections of elitist candidates, but violence as the only way out. That violence brings more repression, more arms, more violence, and more refugees.

But the Sanctuary Movement, by its illegality, may actually deflect attention from America's role in rescuing bona fide refugees. As indicated, the United States already is admitting more legal refugees than any other nation and finding resettlement for them. The Sanctuary Movement may now turn law-abiding Americans against refugee resettlement of any kind.

Again, all of the above is expressed from the legal and political view, from the kingdom of the left hand. The Sanctuary Movement will be examined also from the kingdom of the right hand in the following chapter. Some overlapping will necessarily occur as this author discusses various aspects of illegal entry from different perspectives.

CHAPTER VI

A SCRIPTURAL STANCE TOWARD UNDOCUMENTED HISPANICS

Approximately two million Hispanics enter the United States illegally each year, but this should not surprise us--for a number of reasons. Some explanations for the influx (given in previous chapters) are historical, political, social, cultural, economic, and religious. On the one hand, the United States "flows with milk and honey," while, on the other, misery exists in Latin America. The "milk and honey" are too attractive to be resisted. Autocratic, oligarchical Latin regimes maintain with weapons a semi-feudalistic society that has not been transformed by the Gospel. Such a society can hardly have the devotion of the subjects. Nor can the regimes instill a respect for law or promote democratic institutions when the foundation for both is lacking. In addition, we must consider the Scriptural teachings which reveal the motivations that control natural man and--to some degree--even converted Christians. For only with such a basis can we properly understand the powers that drive undocumented Hispanics. Indeed, only with such an examination can we properly assess the opposition United States Christians might display toward these illegal aliens. There is, of course, a difference between a value system founded on natural law and the uninformed conscience, and that based on Scripture. Often those who judge the illegal alien issue confuse one with the other.

By way of introduction, there is here presented six levels of reaction related to the entry of undocumented Hispanics into the United States. These are summarized from the six stages of moral development identified by Lawrence Kohlberg, whose theory of moral judgment parallels Piaget's work on logical development.¹

Stage 1 has an obedience/punishment orientation. Employers and potential aliens obey the law to avoid punishment. Thus an employer would argue: "I'd better not hire illegal aliens, because the Immigration and Naturalization Service may send agents to create problems for me." And the undocumented worker in Mexico would reason: "I'll not cross the border, because I'll be apprehended and detained." Physical consequences decide if the action is right or wrong; obedience to a superior power determines what is correct.

At Stage 2, satisfaction of one's own needs is the basis of right action. The employer who needs inexpensive labor for picking tomatoes and insuring a profitable harvest, will prefer to hire an illegal alien. The average North American consumer may applaud the decision because he can buy the tomatoes at lower cost. The alien, too, is delighted. For in Mexico he earns two dollars a day, while in the United States he can make several dollars an hour. Employer, consumer, and alien agree: "You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours."

At Stage 3, right action is that which has peer approval, helps others, and conforms to stereotypical images. The lettuce grower says:

¹Peter Scharf, ed., Readings in Moral Education (Minneapolis: Winston Press, 1978), pp. 28-35 and 52-59.

This Mexican migrant must feed ten children back home. Besides, all the growers in this valley want to keep prices lower than what the competitors upstate charge. What is more, local citizens don't want this work anyway. I'm glad I can help both the workers and the valley growers.

The alien, in turn, asserts: "My buddies and I work fast. We don't cause trouble. We want to do our job because the grower treats us like human beings. We'll do him a good turn."

At Stage 4 there is a shift in the value system. Maintaining social order for its own sake becomes important. Respect for authority and fulfillment of duty become primary. The good citizen says:

I uphold the law. I don't hire illegals. I report them to the authorities, illegals have no right to take jobs away from Americans. This country would be in a disastrous state if we let those illegals keep coming.

But the Mexican alien, on the other hand, might reply:

You Americans are unfair. In the early nineteenth century, we Mexicans let you Americans come into northern Mexico (Texas), on the condition that you obey our laws. That was the agreement you accepted. Then you occupied our lands, despised our authority, and declared a rebellion. You seized the northern half of Mexico through an unjustifiable war. When we enter what you call the southern U.S., we are actually returning to what is historically a part of Mexico. You are on our land.

At Stage 5, law is based on the consent and welfare of the citizens rather than merely, as at Stage 4, on respect for authority. Stage 5 implies the need to change unjust laws through non-violent means and within the system. The rights of others are respected, even if they are in the minority. Duty is defined in terms of contract. At this stage the United States citizen might say,

Undocumented Hispanics can make a contribution to our society. Some have been in our midst for years, while others are more recent arrivals. Let's not divide up families. Let's grant amnesty to those who came before January 1, 1984. All who arrived after that date may depart voluntarily without penalty. In the future, we will

permit 150,000 to come to the U.S. each year from Latin America, with a ceiling of 25,000 for any one country. After all, our citizens have rights, too. Illegal immigration must be halted. Violators will receive firm treatment.

To this the undocumented Hispanic might respond:

Our lobbyists propose that you grant amnesty to all who are in the U.S. as of this date. You may close your borders as of now. But we ask that 300,000 Latin Americans be permitted legal entry each year for the next 15 years.

At Stage 6 the conscience plays a major role by appealing to universal moral principles. The law is secondary. Conformity to law is subordinate to justice. At this stage, the citizen might argue:

We can't set ceilings on immigration. El Salvador alone has seen 40,000 innocent victims killed by terrorists. You cannot deny asylum to potential victims of death squads, even though the letter of the law forbids sanctuary. We will hide illegals in our churches.

A Salvadoran Lutheran pastor might comment:

Yes, we have helped guerrillas. They came to our clinic for medical treatment. We aided them, even though the government calls such action subversive. When possible, we help the unfortunate escape to the U.S., even though it is against the law.

Sample judgments of United States Lutherans and other Christians concerning undocumented Hispanics usually fall into one of the above categories. For instance, Stage 4 is illustrated by this view:

We have laws. Undocumented Hispanics are breaking the law. Just as it's wrong to let a person go through a red light and get away with it, so also it's wrong to let Latins enter illegally and get away with it. We Christians must uphold the law.

A similar Stage 4 position is:

We must send these people back to their country of origin and say, "Go home and sin no more." I fought a war for my country. I uphold its laws. To ignore an illegal alien is the same as ignoring a murderer. Deliberate lawbreakers are damned before God. As Christians we must render unto Caesar what is Caesar's.

One more Stage 4 view often heard says: "If you see a burglar, don't you report it? Is it any different with an illegal alien?" A pastor who spent much of his ministry with Hispanics is closer to Stage 5 when he says:

Don't help Latins cross the river from Mexico illegally. But if they're here, don't inform the INS. Talk to the illegals; maybe you can win them for the Lord and, just maybe, you can convince them to return to their country of origin.

Finally, Sanctuary workers would claim that they are in Stage 6.

To give the United States Christian a Scriptural stance toward undocumented Hispanics and to assess the motivation of illegal aliens properly, however, we must apply to this situation certain basic doctrines and Biblical principles. These doctrines and principles include the depravity of man and universal grace; the place of the sojourner or alien in Scripture; the Scriptural concept of sanctuary; the example of Jesus; the doctrine of the two kingdoms in Scripture, in Luther's writings, and in the Lutheran Confessions; and the issue of civil disobedience. Some statements may seem simple or even simplistic; but an important, difficult question will be, How do the statements apply specifically to undocumented Hispanics, to the societies that produce them, and to our approach in both cases?

As stated, some overlapping will occur while we consider concrete situations from the perspective of several doctrines and principles. Because these situations are neither black nor white but confusingly gray, at times it will appear that we are looking into a kaleidoscope; and honest Christians will disagree as to what it is that they actually see. That disagreement is evident also among Lutherans. For reasons such as this, Chapter VI has been the most difficult of all to write.

But the author has attempted to follow Paul's and Luther's example of responding to actual circumstances and real-life experiences.

The Depravity of Man

Any discussion of a Scriptural stance toward undocumented Hispanics should begin with the confession of Psalm 130, verse 3: "If you, Lord, should mark iniquities, O Lord, who could stand?" Thus the Commission on Theology and Church Relations of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod describes every person's need of justification by stating:²

The one who is justified by God is sinful man, man ungodly (Rom. 3:23; 4:5; Eph. 4:20-24) and guilty (a) because the offense and guilt of Adam, the first man, have been imputed, or reckoned, to all mankind (Gen. 3; Rom. 5:12-19) and (b) because every human being is a sinner by the hereditary corruption of his nature (Rom. 7) and sins daily (Ps. 51:5; Eccl. 7:20; John 3:6; Rom. 1:32, 3:12, 16-18, 23; 5:6, 8; 6:23; Gal. 5:19-21; 1 John 1:8; AC II:III; 3; XIX; Ap II, 5-13; IV, 34, XII, 142; SA III, 1; SC III, 16; LC III, 86-87, FC SD 1,53)

All people born according to the course of nature stand before God as sinful and guilty, owing an insurmountable debt, and condemned to eternal hell and punishment (Lev. 19:2; Deut. 32:4; Is. 6:3; Matt. 5:20; Luke 10:15; Rom. 1; 2:5, 8-9; 6:23; Gal. 3:10; Rev. 15:4; AC III 3; LC I, 31-34, 234; FC SD I, 6)

Because of man's sin, God, who is absolutely holy and righteous, is angry against all sinners, and there could be no forgiveness or justification except for the fact that propitiation and satisfaction were made by Jesus Christ. (Deut. 27:26; Ps. 5:5; Gal. 3:10; 2 Tim. 2:13; Heb. 2:9, 9:22; AC II, 2; Ap II, 40; IV 40, 128; LC I, 122, 234; II, 68; FC SD I, 6).

Before God, the undocumented Hispanic cannot boast; nor can I who may want to judge him. For we have both shared a common depravity. And from that very deep depravity, no one can make his own escape.

²Commission on Theology and Church Relations of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, Theses on Justification (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1983), p. 9.

Many undocumented Hispanics lack this proper understanding of the Law and the wrath of God. Yet some recognize in their conscience that it is wrong for them to enter the United States illegally. Hence those who have a Roman Catholic understanding of the Law, try to make amends through penance. Still, they know they have never done enough penance.³

Universal Grace

The Theses on Justification also express the universality of Grace. Several theses are particularly apropos to this discussion:⁴

The source of the sinner's justification before God is solely God's grace in Jesus Christ. (John 1:16-17; Eph. 1:7, 2:5b; Ap IV, 41, 53; LC II, 43; III, 96; IV, 37; FC SD XI, 43)

God's grace whereby He justifies and saves the sinner is His undeserved mercy and loving kindness, His powerful and active love which sent Christ to be the Savior of the world. (John 3:16; Rom. 3:24, 5:15, 20; 2 Cor. 8:9; Eph. 1:19; Titus 2:11; AC III, 1-3; Ap II, 50; LC II, 65; III, 51)

The scope of God's grace in Christ is universal, including all people of all times and places. (John 3:16; Rom. 11:32; I Tim. 2:4; 4:10; FC SD XI, 28, 68)

Christ is the Savior of all. This means that the whole world of sinners has been redeemed, forgiven, and reconciled to God in Him. (Rom. 3:24-25; 5:10; 2 Cor. 5:19; 1 Tim. 4:10; Heb. 9:28; Ap IV, 103; XXIV, 22-24; FC SD III, 57; XI, 15)

Faith mediates and reconciles the opposites. One opposite is the judgment of God, by which the Law declares man to be a sinner; the other is the Gospel declaration that man is righteous. Faith has the key to the secret. Faith hears God call the sinner righteous even

³Interview with Rev. Juan Martin, Santisima Trinidad Lutheran Church, Chicago, IL, 6 October 1983.

⁴Theses on Justification, pp. 10-11.

though he is a sinner and remains a sinner. We call undocumented Hispanics to such a faith.

This revision in the relationship between God and man is more than an adjustment in thinking. It is rather hearing the revelation of the Gospel, which brings about the new relationship. Hence this justification by faith is the article with which the church stands or falls. But the Gospel story must be proclaimed; the hearer must be confronted. He must hear that the Gospel is meant for him. Hence faith is a venture that puts itself in opposition to everything else that man knows or has. And it is faith contrary to what is otherwise believed. One throws himself before God and is embraced by Him because of Christ. In all this, the Law is not rejected; rather, trust in works done according to the Law is rejected. But trusting boldly in Christ, surrendering self to Christ, man now wants to be a little Christ.⁵ We say, "Undocumented Hispanic, this Gospel is for you."

With the Scriptural understanding of man's depravity and God's universal grace, we see the undocumented Hispanic in a new light; and we seek first of all, not to deport him but to bring him into that light. In that light he can pray in Spanish the thoughts of an old German prayer:

Hab' ich Unrecht heut' getan, sieh' es, lieber Gott, nicht an.
Deine Gnad' und Christi Blut, machen alle Schaden gut.⁶


⁵For a thorough discussion of these concepts, see Werner Elert, The Structure of Lutheranism, trans. Walter A. Hanson (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1952), *passim*.

⁶"Dear God, if today I have done unrighteousness, do not look upon it. Your Grace and Christ's blood make amends for all wrong things."

The Alien or Sojourner in Scripture⁷

The "ger" Is Clearly Distinguished
From the Citizen

Strictly speaking, undocumented aliens as we know them today did not exist in Old Testament times; but today's alien and the sojourner of old could be considered in a similar category. Rev. Dale Meyer, former professor at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, says he illustrates the New Testament Greek equivalent in 1 Peter 2:11 by referring to undocumented Hispanics.⁸

Particularly the Old Testament abounds in allusions to the alien or sojourner. Various Hebrew words are translated "alien," but for our purpose the term  - "ger" is perhaps most helpful, as Prof. Daniel Rhoades explains:

The word "ger" . . . carries with it the concept of a people under attack who have been driven out of their land by famine, war, or whatever, and had to go and seek refuge in an alien land away from one's own tribe, one's own people, or one's own homeland. This is equivalent to being without protection. That's the concept which the word "ger" carries, not that of a hostile people, but of a people seeking refuge in our land.⁹

The people of God were to minister to this "ger" so that he could become one of them. The undocumented Hispanic also needs to be ministered to, so that he may become part of God's people.

⁷For this and subsequent sections I gained helpful insights from Oscar D. Casachahua, "A Ministry Approach to the Undocumented Hispanic in the United States of America." (Research report, Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne, May 1980, Typewritten and photocopied).

⁸Interview with Dale Meyer, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, September 1983.

⁹American Friends Service Committee, Undocumented Workers in the U.S. Labor Market (Pasadena, CA: American Friends Service Committee, 1980), pp. 32-33.

Of course, the Old Testament made a distinction between the alien and the citizen, just as the United States government does today. Several passages will illustrate this distinction:

. . . whether he is a stranger (sojourner) or a native of the land (Exodus 12:19)

. . . the stranger (sojourner) as well as him who is born in the land (Leviticus 24:16)

. . . whether he is native born or a stranger (sojourner) (Numbers 15:30)

Citizens and Aliens Protected

But despite the clear distinction, God's law and God's protection apply both to the citizen and to the non-citizen--the stranger, the alien, the sojourner, the "ger." The essence of God's law reminded the Israelites:

He (God) administers justice for the fatherless and the widow, and loves the stranger, giving him food and clothing. Therefore love the stranger, for you were strangers in the land of Egypt. (Deut. 10:18-20).

The God who administers justice told the people, "You shall neither mistreat a stranger nor oppress him, for you were strangers in the land of Egypt" (Exodus 22:21). The Israelites were to share with the "ger" by leaving grapes and grain for him (Lev. 19:10; 23:22; Deut. 24:19, 21). They were to let him rest on the Sabbath (Ex. 20:10; 23:12). Their six cities of refuge were "for the children of Israel, for the stranger, and for the sojourner" (Num. 35:15).

Besides these privileges, the "ger" had some of the same religious duties. He was to observe the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:29) and the Feasts of Weeks and Tabernacles (Deuteronomy 16). He was not to have leaven on the Festival of Unleavened Bread (Ex. 12:19); he could

offer sacrifices (Lev. 17:8; Num. 15:14); he needed to obey the laws of purification (Num. 19:10-13); he could not eat what had died of itself (Lev. 17:15; Deut. 14:21). And while the "ger" need not keep the Passover, since his people were not slaves in Egypt, yet he was allowed to observe the Passover if he was circumcised (Ex. 12:48). In general, the rules that applied to the Israelites also were valid for the "ger" (Num. 15:22-31).

The Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service document on this subject states that compassion, impartial justice, and protection are due the alien because

No other attitude could exist for the People of God, who recognized themselves in a state of constant pilgrimage both historically and eschatologically. Indeed the whole drama of salvation from Genesis to Revelation is a series of journeys and border crossings for the working out of God's universal plan of salvation.¹⁰

In fact, as Prof. Dale Meyer would point out, all Christians are really aliens on this earth (1 Pet. 2:11; Phil. 3:20), just as the people of Israel were aliens in Egypt. With this mind-set, then, we view the undocumented Hispanic in the United States today.

The Concept of Sanctuary From the Scriptural Standpoint

Although reference has been made above to the question of sanctuary from the political and legal standpoint, a clear description of sanctuary according to Scripture is needed. This is true particularly because Lutherans and other Christians disagree about its applicability to undocumented Hispanics from Central America. On the one hand, a

¹⁰Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service, Study Document of Principles on the Issue of Undocumented Aliens (New York: LIRS, 1980), p. 1.

spokesman for the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod declares that "divinely instituted authority (government) has a claim on our respect," and that "the most erroneous outcome that could result from the current sanctuary debate would be a scofflaw attitude on our part." While he recognizes sanctuary as a Biblical concept, he believes that those who challenge the law of the land must "assume the heavy burden of proof and the much heavier burden of blame."¹¹ He apparently does not believe that the Biblical concept of sanctuary can validly apply to undocumented Central Americans. On the opposite pole, Lutheran clergyman John Steinbruck says, "The church by definition is a sanctuary. If we don't accept that, we ought to stop false advertising and close up shop."¹² Steinbruck's congregation has declared itself a sanctuary.

The Double Meaning

Correspondent William Bole gives the Biblical rationale offered by those who defend Steinbruck's view:

In declaring themselves sanctuaries, the churches invoke an ancient custom dating to Old Testament times when the Hebrews created cities of refuge to protect strangers fleeing persecution. The sanctuary was a holy, sanctified place where God's law was higher than the civil law.

The religious sanctuary, in the Old and New Testament understanding of the term, represented both the place of worship and a place of refuge and protection--a dual role which the churches now say they are trying to revive. "The place of worship is to serve as a place of protection. Love of God and love of neighbor are inseparable," declares a booklet published in Chicago by the Religious Task Force on Central America, which is supplying information

¹¹Edward C. Friedrich, "Sanctuary," Northwestern Lutheran, 15 May 1983, p. 12.

¹²Richard M. Ostling, "Betray Not the Fugitive," Time, 25 April 1983, p. 118.

nation-wide to churches and synagogues interested in the movement. The network's organizers add that, in addition to its Old Testament support, the concept of church as sanctuary from the law was recognized in Roman law, medieval Catholic canon law, and English common law.¹³

A variety of publications describe sanctuary-style movements that have appeared in history, including the underground railroad for fugitive black slaves fleeing the American South and the recent experience of sanctuary to Vietnam War resisters--all claiming justification in Scripture. The Biblical concept of sanctuary therefore needs careful analysis, even though references are scanty and interpretation is often arbitrary.

The Case of Cain

The oldest instance of "sanctuary" was that promised to Cain, the world's first fugitive, who feared: "Anyone who finds me will kill me" (Gen. 4:14). Thus "the Lord set a mark on Cain, lest anyone finding him should kill him" (Gen. 4:15). What the mark was, no one knows. Luther presents the view of many church fathers that "there was in Cain a violent tremor of the head and of all his limbs."¹⁴ He then suggests that it could have been a different sign, for "we note in almost all murderers that their eyes immediately change and take on a sullen look." In any case, Luther was sure it was "a ghastly and awful

¹³"Sanctuary," Church and State, March 1983, p. 15. More extensive is Renny Golden's and Michael McConnell's "Sanctuary: Changing Sides," in Christianity and Crisis, 21 February 1983, pp. 31-36. Booklets on the subject are available from Chicago Religious Task Force on Central America, 407 S. Dearborn, #320, Chicago, 60605.

¹⁴Jaroslav Pelikan, ed., Luther's Works, 55 vols. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1958), 1:307.

punishment that Cain was compelled to carry."¹⁵ Others, however, argue that the sign "secured immunity for him against any avenger of blood."¹⁶ Whether bearing a mark of shame or of protection or both, Cain sought refuge and sanctuary in the land of Nod.

The Cities of Refuge

The Mosaic law also made provision for sanctuary in certain cases of unpremeditated murder:

He who strikes a man so that he dies shall surely be put to death. But if he did not lie in wait, but God delivered him into his hand, then I will appoint for you a place where he may flee. But if a man acts with premeditation against his neighbor, to kill him with guile, you shall take him from my altar, that he may die (Ex. 21: 12-14).

Six cities of refuge were appointed--three on each side of the Jordan River--to which citizens, strangers, and sojourners could flee. In these a manslayer was, under specified restrictions, safe from his avenger (Num. 35:6-28; Deut. 4:41-43; 19:4-13). Thus the manslayer, having acted without premeditation or hatred, was innocent of the blood he had shed and no more innocent blood was to be added to the first. In the interest of justice, the sanctuary broke the cycle of vengeance.

The Horns of the Altar

Besides the cities of refuge, the horns of the altar were considered a place of sanctuary. Thus when Adonijah presumed to be king after David, and Solomon was declared the true successor, Adonijah ran to the altar to seize its horns (the elevations on the corners).

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Paul E. Kretzmann, Popular Commentary of the Bible, 4 vols. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1923), 1:12.

Adonijah pleaded for his life and Solomon, on that occasion, spared him (1. Kings 1:50-53). Now then, our conclusions must be limited as follows.

Sanctuary Since the Time of Christ-- the Varying Interpretations

Just as there were no illegal aliens in Old Testament times in the same sense as we have them today, so the concept of sanctuary for unwitting manslaughterers is not necessarily the same as sanctuary for undocumented Hispanics. But sanctuary is an ancient practice. In a sense, early Christians who illegally practiced their faith at times sought safety or "sanctuary" in catacombs or elsewhere. Later, Roman law, medieval canon law, and English common law recognized the concept of sanctuary.¹⁷ One document declares:

English common law provided sanctuaries for accused criminals in order to provide a due process for determining guilt or to enable the accused to leave the country in safety. Potentially every church could serve as such a sanctuary. "Although often abused, sanctuary prevented excessive use of capital punishment and safeguarded against uncontrolled blood vengeance and execution without trial," according to an article on the subject in the Encyclopedia Britannica.¹⁸

The Encyclopedia Americana describes this custom as follows:

From the early fourth century Christian churches were considered places of sanctuary, and the practice was recognized and regulated in 392 by a decree of Emperor Theodosius I. The right of sanctuary continued to be acknowledged through the Middle Ages. It was based

¹⁷George W. Cornell, "Some Churches Harbor Illegal Latin Refugees," St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 10 April 1981, p. 11A.

¹⁸Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service, "Giving Sanctuary-- a Living Tradition," LIRS Bulletin, March 1983, p. 11. (A summary of a statement by the Tucson, Ariz., Ecumenical Council). For similar information see "Churches Have Provided Sanctuary for Ages," Milwaukee Journal, 2 December 1982, p. 8.

in part on the sanctity of the consecrated church but also on the duty of the Christian priest to show mercy to an offender, to intercede for him, and to persuade him to repentance instead of handing him over for immediate execution. The system provided a useful check on acts of summary private vengeance in time of disorder, but, with the growth of more effective judicial systems, came to be regarded as an abuse. . . . The right of sanctuary was restricted in the later Middle Ages, and almost everywhere abolished [in Europe] between 1750 and 1850.¹⁹

While the proponents of sanctuary almost never mention the abolition of this practice in Europe, they do stress its use in America:

The early Puritans regarded America itself as a "sanctuary from repression." In "Three Centuries of New Haven, 1638-1938," author Rolin G. Osterweis tells about two Englishmen who, having signed the death warrant of Charles I, escaped to New Haven when Charles II was restored to the throne. The king's agents sought the assistance of New Haven authorities to capture the escapees but were put off by being told that no action could be taken on the Sabbath. The agents had to attend a service of worship and hear a sermon from Isaiah 16:3-4: ". . . hide the outcasts, betray not the fugitive; let the outcasts of Moab sojourn among you; be a refuge to them from the destroyer." The New Haven authorities broadcast the agents' intentions at a public meeting and, according to Osterweis, "made clear indeed to their people what they expected of them. The kings' messengers searched in vain for the colonels, receiving everywhere polite consideration but finding no trace of their quarry."²⁰

The LIRS Bulletin referred to above, lists other applications of the sanctuary concept, particularly during the past century, when the "Underground Railroad" provided refuge and protection for fugitive slaves. "Frequently churches were used to hide the escapees. Thereby they also functioned as centers of resistance against the oppressiveness of the established order of racism and slavery."²¹

¹⁹Encyclopedia Americana, 1966 ed., s.v., "Sanctuary," by Brian Tierney.

²⁰LIRS, "Giving Sanctuary," p. 11.

²¹Ibid. For a discussion of slavery and the churches, see Thomas A. Askew & Peter W. Spellman, The Churches and the American Experience (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1984), pp. 47, 50, 98-101, 117-21.

In the twentieth century, the sanctuary concept has received various applications, among them the hiding of persecuted European Jews under Hitler, and the hiding of North American Vietnam War resisters. During the Vietnam War era, for example, a Presbyterian church in Marin City, California, adopted this statement:

The offer of sanctuary means what the medieval church offered to individuals who were being persecuted: namely, the moral protection of the Christian community. The doors of the building are open to those who have taken a conscientious stand of non-cooperation with the Selective Service System. Food and lodging will be offered so that if there is to be an arrest, it can take place in the church building where the moral confrontation will be obvious.²²

Still today the principle of sanctuary remains a part of Roman Catholic canon law, which states: "A church enjoys the right of asylum so that criminals who flee to it are not to be removed from it, except in the case of necessity, without the assent of the ordinary or the rector of the church."²³

As indicated previously, Milwaukee Archbishop Rembert Weakland involked this canon law in January 1983, when he welcomed four illegal alien families into a church. As a result, federal immigration officer Ronald Swan threatened to act against churches guilty of such practices because federal law "does not recognize the concept of a church sanctuary." Thereupon Marquette University law professor Thomas Cannon disputed Swan's claim. "Given the fact that sanctuary is recognized by canon law," said Cannon, ". . . any violation of a church sanctuary

²²Marshall Dill, Jr., Germany: A Modern History (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961), p. 371.

²³LIRS, "Giving Sanctuary," p. 11.

could be an unconstitutional intrusion on religion."²⁴

Because the Biblical references to sanctuary are scanty and the modern-day applications quite diverse, the debate appears now to shift from Scriptural proof to customs that have the force or effect of law; and here, again, the political element enters. Before 1984, officials in Washington were not coming to the defense of officers like Ronald Swan in his threat against the churches. Rather, they said they then had no intention of raiding churches for refugees. "We're not about to send investigations into a church and start dragging people out in front of TV cameras. We'll just wait them out. . . . This is just a political thing dreamed up by the churches to get publicity," said Bill Joyce, assistant general counsel for the Immigration and Refugee Service.²⁵ This view changed in 1984, however, perhaps as the result of provocation by some sanctuary promoters.

A Jewish attorney who is acquainted with the sanctuary offered Jews during the Nazi persecution in Europe, does not defend church involvement in the practice in the United States. "I would be inclined to doubt [sanctuary] is constitutional," Leo Pfeffer, legal counsel for the American Jewish Congress, said.²⁶

As may be expected, a trustee for Americans United for Separation of Church and State, Robert W. Nixon, states: "I don't think the

²⁴William Bole, "The Week in Religion," Religious News Service, New York, 28 January 1983, p. 1.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid. See the discussion on constitutionality, supra, 118.

concept of sanctuary has been adopted in the United States. I'm not sure it would even be recognized in Europe anymore."²⁷

While the sanctuary debate continues, the following paragraph summarizes the view of LIRS:

Once again churches are called to consider the significance of sanctuary in their ministry with refugees from Central America. Churches cannot protect the refugees from arrest by U.S. authorities, but they can provide sanctuary for them as a way to dramatize the inhumane policies of the government as carried out by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. The refugees are not criminals. They merely seek a haven of protection from the brutal conditions in their homelands until they can safely return. In this desperately important situation the theological significance of sanctuary emerges with clarity and power.²⁸

The conditions in their homelands are described by a team of American Lutheran Church bishops who visited Central America late in 1983. They claimed that these conditions required a Christian response. One of them writes:

The darkness deepens as the human rights of people continue to be violated with late-night raids into the homes of anyone suspected of being subversive in any manner. Homes are ransacked, people are beaten, arrested and then some simply disappear. Others are found later, strangled and tortured while some are imprisoned without any charges for indefinite periods of time.

Land reform, meaning land bought with bonds or cash from the owners and distributed to the peasants, is not having much success. This is true partly because "death squads" harass, intimidate or murder the peasants when they seek to take possession. But also because (of) some great problems getting clear titles, credit, seed or equipment even if they are permitted to stay on the land. . . . Identifiable leaders are in grave and immediate danger because they are seen as subversive.

Our nation's best interest is not being served by our present policy which identifies the U.S. with those who bully, torture, imprison or kill defenseless civilians by the dozens, even hundreds, every week.²⁹

²⁷Ibid. ²⁸LIRS, "Giving Sanctuary," p. 11.

²⁹August E. Wenzel, "Concluding Comments on Central America," Southern Lutheran, December 1983, p. 2.

The dilemma facing the United States Christian in this sanctuary debate, as we have hinted earlier, may be summarized thus: 1) the regimes in Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras, for example, are considered "friendly governments" by the present United States administration--which means that by definition they produce no political refugees; 2) the Immigration and Naturalization Service therefore cannot grant asylum to citizens from such countries because they cannot be considered "political" refugees;³⁰ 3) the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees disagrees with the United States government and with the INS and has officially stated: ". . . the apparent failure of [the U. S. Government] to grant asylum to any significant number of Salvadorans coupled with continuing large-scale forcible and voluntary return to El Salvador would appear to represent a negation of the responsibilities assumed upon its adherence to the Protocol (on refugees)";³¹ 4) some refugees, even so, may not be "bona fide"; 5) one must therefore decide if he should consider the sanctuary principle applicable in the particular case of a bona fide refugee, thereby exposing himself to prosecution and imprisonment, or if he should delay in the perhaps vain hope of seeing whether conditions in these violent societies normalize so that sanctuary becomes an unnecessary option in the future. But during such a delay, more could die innocently.

³⁰Bernard A. Survil, "Sanctuary: A Wholistic Response," Houston, 14 January 1983, p. 1, (typewritten and photocopied).

³¹Allu Kalumiya, "UNHCR Mandate Definition of Refugees and the Situation of Salvadoran Asylum Seekers," United Nations High Commission Report, New York, February 1982.

Those who defend illegal sanctuary say they are saving innocent human life. The Rev. Herbert Schmidt of Community of Christ Lutheran Church (LC-MS) in Tucson says he is "involved in a life-and-death struggle between demonic forces and the power of our God."³²

However, in response to Schmidt's action, the Lutheran Laymen's League received this letter:

If the Lutheran Church is going to set itself up as the law of the land, then I'm afraid I can no longer be Lutheran--at least the donating end.

I'm 49 years old, ex-Marine (Korea), and believe in what Pres. Reagan is trying to do.

Morally, why don't you give me a rebate on what I've given you and the International Lutheran Laymen's League over the years?³³

The sender had mistakenly identified Schmidt's action with the Lutheran Laymen's League.

As indicated above, the first persons arrested by the Immigration and Naturalization Service in the anti-sanctuary crackdown, were two Salvadoran Lutherans and their hosts. The News Bureau of the Lutheran Council in the USA gave this account:

Mauricio Valle, 23, and Brenda Sanchez-Galan, 19, were arrested by the U. S. Border Patrol officers before dawn on Feb. 17 on an isolated country road about 40 miles northwest of this south Texas city (McAllen). Arrested on separate charges of transporting undocumented aliens were a nun, a Catholic law worker, and a newspaper reporter, who were traveling in the same car.

"If I'm deported, I'd disappear from the face of the earth. They (the Salvadoran government) would say I had left the country but never returned," said Sanchez-Galan, who was interviewed by the

³²"Sanctuary Covenant for Aliens Binds 12 Churches, Groups," Arizona Daily Star, 11 June 1984, p. 4.

³³Original on file at the Lutheran Laymen's League, St. Louis, MO.

Lutheran Council News Bureau at the home of a Methodist minister here where she is out on \$9,000 bail.³⁴

Sanchez-Galan was a practical nurse at "Faith and Hope" camp outside San Salvador, which is affiliated with the mission of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod. She said the government sees the relief work as "subversive" even though the church has steadfastly claimed it is not aiding the guerrilla movement. Most of the camp's six hundred refugees are elderly persons, women, and children. Some of its key people have been arrested, imprisoned, and even tortured. Sanchez-Galan and Valle are at this writing free on bail totalling \$18,000.³⁵

The concept of Sanctuary will receive a final analysis toward the end of this chapter, after viewing it from additional perspectives. But at this stage several conclusions can be drawn. First, no one will deny that the Central American conflict has dislodged and displaced many thousands, even millions of innocent persons. Refugee camps do exist, however, in neighboring nations like Mexico and Honduras; these are supported financially by the United States and other countries. Admittedly they are overcrowded. But Central Americans can be directed to these as one place of first asylum. Second, the United States should not be considered by Christians as the only place of asylum. Potential asylees could be directed by the churches to other countries like

³⁴Daniel Cattau, "Arrested Salvadoran Lutherans Face Another Trial in U.S.," News Bureau, Lutheran Council in the U.S.A., 6 March 1984, pp. 1-7.

³⁵Interview with Otto G. Hintze, Board for Mission Services of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, St. Louis, 26 January 1984.

Canada where wages may be lower but where a frontier still exists and where the government has a rather receptive policy toward asylees. Third, Sanctuary workers should not draw false analogies from the Scriptures.

To assist refugees is a commendable act, but the cities of refuge in the Old Testament are not as sanctuaricians claim, a direct parallel of the facilities granting Sanctuary in the United States. This is true for the following reasons. The cities of refuge were located in the refugee's own country; no Israelite had to travel more than thirty miles to reach the nearest city. They were for citizens, not illegal aliens. Besides the difference in location, the function of the cities of refuge was different: the refugee was to be admitted for involuntary manslaughter (Under the same charge, a refugee would not be admitted into the United States). The refugee was guilty and his flight an admission of guilt (Sanctuary seekers in the United States say they are innocent).

The Scriptures do indeed record cases of political refugees, as when Joseph fled with Mary and the infant Jesus to Egypt. Earlier, when the Assyrians destroyed Samaria in 722 B.C., many Israelites fled into Judah. When Babylon destroyed Jerusalem in 586 B.D., many residents of Judah fled to Egypt. Jeroboam fled from Solomon into Egypt (See 1 Kings 11:40). There were even economic refugees. Abraham and Jacob took refuge in Egypt (Genesis 12 and 46). Naomi and her family took refuge in Moab because of drought and famine. But when Sanctuary workers justify their activity using as principal argument the cities of refuge, they draw a false analogy.

The Example of Jesus

The undocumented Hispanic is, generally speaking, in the same category as the persons Jesus served during His earthly ministry. These included the hungry and thirsty, the naked, the prisoner, the halt, the lame, the blind, the poor, the powerless, the abused, the maligned, the mistreated, the misunderstood, the despised, the hated, the sick, the sinful, the outcast. Hence when the Pharisees asked, "Why do You eat and drink with tax collectors and sinners?" He answered: "Those who are well do not need a physician, but those who are sick. I have not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance" (Luke 5:30-32). It should therefore not seem strange that on Judgment Day He will say to the blessed:

Inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: for I was hungry and you gave Me food; I was thirsty and you gave Me drink; I was a stranger and you took Me in; I was naked and you clothed Me; I was sick and you visited Me; I was in prison and you came to Me" (Matt. 25:34-36).

So well known is this ministry of Jesus that it should be unnecessary to describe it at length.

The Doctrine of the Two Kingdoms, in Scripture, in
the Writings of Luther and in the Confessions

Excellent documents have been prepared on this doctrine by others, and a detailed development thereof will not be necessary; but an application to our concerns will be helpful.

Clear Principles, Unclear Issues

The doctrine of the two kingdoms is apropos to this thesis, because the Scriptural principles for the social order are clear. The

Bible, the writings of Luther, and the Lutheran Confessions, provide insights and guidelines for church and state in any country. And unanimity of judgment among Lutherans can be expected in clear-cut cases such as governmental interference with worship.

However, Lutherans and other Christians may hold a variety of opinions on questions facing church and state, when such questions deal with unclear issues. For example, spokesmen for the Lutheran Council in the U.S.A. have generally opposed prayer in public schools because they believe this would result in a watered-down petition directed to a rather undefined God. Thus they encourage prayer and devotions in the home. Brazil Lutherans, on the other hand, promote prayer in public schools because the government invites Lutheran pastors or teachers to give Christian instruction in state schools. Lutheran clergy and laypersons have also been active on both sides of the nuclear freeze debate. Some German Lutheran ministers openly organize demonstrations against the placement of missiles in West Germany, while many United States clergymen support the Reagan administration's nuclear arms buildup as a defense against atheistic communism. This difference of opinion is illustrated in the case of the Rev. Birte Andersen. During a Christmas Eve service transmitted on Danish television, Andersen of the Lundehus Church in Copenhagen condemned the "peace" of the United States that protects Europe as "based on hidden control, moral corruption and hidden violence," a peace based on power. But fellow Danes from the opposing Center Democratic Party said she was making political use of the pulpit. Defending her, Bishop Ole Bertelsen of Copenhagen said a good sermon will always have political consequences, and "the Danish constitution

does not demand that the church support the state, but only that the church is supported economically by the state." Nevertheless, two other bishops told reporters they were against "the pulpit being used for party politics."³⁶

With respect to illegal aliens, as we have indicated, Canadian Christians seem to accept them more readily than do many Christians in the United States, also according to Ted Ulmer and Gary Ritter of the Lutheran Hour office in Kitchener, Ontario.³⁷ Canadians have a more open attitude toward economic and political refugees.³⁸ They have even maintained rather close ties with communist Cuba while the United States has economically isolated Cuba--an attitude that spills over into the United States churches. It is not surprising, then, that Bethlehem Lutheran Church of Vancouver, B.C., should help to welcome about eighty Central American refugees coming legally or illegally to Vancouver every month.³⁹ This practice is publicly endorsed by many Protestant churches in Canada.⁴⁰

United States Christians will probably never reach unanimity in their attitude toward illegal aliens, just as they have not reached unanimity on prayer in public schools, Sunday business laws, alcoholic consumption laws, Christmas celebration on public property, abortion, social security tax exemption, tuition credits for parochial school

³⁶Lutheran World Information, "Danish Pastor Accused of Political Misuse of Pulpit," Geneva, 12 January 1984, p. 11.

³⁷KFUO interview taped in St. Louis on 16 January 1984.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰"Church Offers Assistance to Illegal Immigrants," Canadian Churchman, January 1984, p. 1.

pupils, or other issues involving our peculiar church-state tensions. Even so, a careful study of the doctrine of the two kingdoms will help inform enlightened consciences so that they make reasonable judgments as they consider alternative approaches (Admittedly, some Lutheran theologians today consider the doctrine outmoded).

Various Approaches

The doctrine of the two kingdoms, church and state, can be approached from several angles. The Commission on Theology and Church Relations (CTCR) has prepared a detailed report that treats four topics: The Christian and Government; The Christian and Civic Order; The Christian, Violence, and War; and The Christian and Conscience.⁴¹

The Roman Catholic versus the Lutheran View

The difference between Lutheran and Roman Catholic teaching on church and state results from the latter's use of Aristotle and from the point of view that the state is built solely on natural law. Roman Catholic theologians insist that the creation of man included the institution of government.⁴² This may be one reason why liberation theologians emphasize the political dimension of "salvation": they are ready to work with non-Christians to create the new socialist man.

⁴¹Commission on Theology and Church Relations of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, Guidelines for Crucial Issues in Christian Citizenship (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1968). For another approach to the same doctrine, see Albert G. Huegli, ed., Church and State Under God (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), pp. 13-58; also see Wilhelm Oesch, "Die Zweireiche-Lehre--auf unsere Zeit angewandt" (The teaching of the two kingdoms, as applied to our time), Evangelium June/August 1983, pp. 100-15.

⁴²Huegli, p. 23.

The Power of Satan to Pervert

Lutherans, on the other hand, emphasize the interim nature of government, which regulates relationships among men between the Fall and the Lord's return. Hence government was not part of creation but came later. Satan is the prince of this world who works in the children of unbelief and rules in their hearts. Were there no Satan and no Fall, government as we know it would be unnecessary.⁴³ Satan and his followers are determined to usurp God's rule, and apart from Christ "the whole world lies under the sway of the evil one" (1 John 5:19). Paul calls Satan the "prince of the power of the air" (Eph. 2:2) and the "god of this world" (2 Cor. 4:4).

The contest between God and Satan is now so fierce, that only the whole armor of God is equal to its demands (Eph. 6:11). Against the background of this contest, we view the doctrine of the two kingdoms, for both state and the outward organization of the church can be perverted by Satan. As we consider the conditions from which a Hispanic flees in his own land, the motivations of one who enters our country illegally, and the response of church and state in the United States, we must ask: Is there a Satanic perversion in this particular instance? If so, on the part of whom? We shall return to these questions below.

The Necessity of Government

Government, as has been said, is not based on natural law and is not the product of man's ingenuity. On an interim basis, it has been instituted by God. Therefore Peter writes: "Submit yourselves to every

⁴³Ibid.

ordinance of man for the Lord's sake" (1 Pet. 2:13). The Greek word (*κτίσις*) is used in Scripture only of God's work as Creator; and therefore the passage is best rendered, "Submit yourselves to every institution ordained for men."⁴⁴ While we do not know the exact time or manner in which the state came into being, it became necessary because of man's rebellion against God. It is the servant of God for good, and its agents are ministers of God (Rom. 13:4). Even the pagan king Cyrus was the Lord's anointed (Isaiah 45:1-14). And Paul taught obedience to the Roman emperor (Romans 13).

The Old Israel and the New Israel

In ancient Israel, church and state--the two kingdoms--were united in a theocracy. Though Israel was chosen as a nation to be God's "own possession among all peoples" (Ex. 19:5), Israel in time despised its heritage and was unfaithful to its destiny. Therefore God, in the fullness of time, called into being a new Israel--the church, composed of exiles who are not fully at home in this life. While they are here as pilgrims, they live under various kinds of government, remembering that they are headed for a promised land. These Christian exiles are scattered and in the minority, sprinkled among the nations of the world (1 Pet. 1:1, 2). They may be outside the social stream or even against it. By grace they were chosen, from before the foundation of the world, before there were nations and states, to be God's very own. The state is only an arrangement in time; the church has roots in eternity. This we remember as we look at undocumented Hispanics.

⁴⁴Ibid.

The Doctrine of the Two Kingdoms in Luther's Writings

Luther's concept of the state changed as the Reformation progressed, according to Lewis W. Spitz, Jr. This outstanding Reformation scholar says Luther, in his early years, referred to the state as a great robbery (magna latrocinia).⁴⁵ We of course admire his stand against the emperor and the church authorities in Worms--surely one of the most magnificent scenes in history. Even in later years, he openly criticized the vices of certain rulers and called on them to obey the laws of God.

But in general, after 1521 Luther thought kindly of the state, even though the concept of state as we now understand it did not exist in his day. Rather, Luther spoke of Obrigkeit, or secular authority. The Obrigkeit is the kingdom of God's left hand, while the church is of the right hand. Hugh Thomson Kerr has brought together Luther's various writings on these two kingdoms, from which we quote these excerpts:⁴⁶

There are two kingdoms, one the kingdom of God, the other the kingdom of the world. . . . God's kingdom is a kingdom of grace and mercy, not of wrath and punishment. In it there is only forgiveness, consideration for one another, love, service, the doing of good, peace, joy, etc. But the kingdom of the world is a kingdom of wrath and severity. In it there is only punishment, repression, judgment, and condemnation, for the suppressing of the wicked and the protection of the good. For this reason it has the sword, and a prince or lord is called in Scripture God's wrath, or God's rod (Isaiah xiv). . . .

Now he who would confuse these two kingdoms--as our false fanatics do--would put wrath into God's kingdom and mercy into the

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 68-69.

⁴⁶Hugh Thomson Kerr, A Compend of Luther's Theology (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1943), pp. 213-15. These same documents and others are found, in more recent translation, in Helmut T. Lehmann, ed., Luther's Works, 55 vols. (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1966 and 1962), vols. 44 and 45.

world's kingdom; and that is the same as putting the devil in heaven and God in hell.

--"An Open Letter Concerning the Hard Book Against the Peasants."

The two powers or governments, God's and Caesar's, or spiritual and temporal kingdoms, must be kept apart, as Christ does here (Matt. 22:15-22), in a clear and brief declaration, making a distinction not only, but also illustrating finely how each is to be constituted and administered. When he says, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's," he refers to the relation of subjects to their rulers; the other part, "Render unto God the things that are God's," is especially intended for such as are in authority.

For it is thus ordained of God that subjects must and shall give to their rulers what they need; when he commands them to give, it is implied that these may take; and where we are to give what is due, there we infer that we owe them something, so that the language might be: "to return," rather than simply to render or give. That is something for subjects under civil authority.

On the other hand, there are restrictions placed upon rulers that they govern in the same spirit, and not take from their subjects what is not due them; but remember to give and do also what they are in duty bound to do by virtue of their presiding over countries and nations, so that they may grow and prosper. That is why they were elevated by God to their respective positions of honor, not that they sit there simply as place-thieves, and doing what they like.

--"Gospel Sermon, Twenty-third Sunday after Trinity."

These excerpts provide a flavor of the massive material Luther preached and wrote on the Christian and the state. He denounces rulers who rob, plague, harass, or deal unjustly with their subjects. By the same token, he says rulers would not be needed if all the world were composed of real Christians. Since this is not the case, "a man who would venture to govern an entire country or the world with the Gospel would be like a shepherd who should place in one fold wolves, lions, eagles, and sheep together."⁴⁷

Thus God is at work in both church and state. In the church He works through the Gospel; and all believers are governed by His Word.

⁴⁷Kerr, p. 218.

Yet in the temporal realm He works through secular authority. He is hidden and disguised in rulers who are His instruments of governance.⁴⁸

Applying the Two Kingdoms Doctrine to Our Context

Luther had not envisioned a pluralistic society. Thus in religiously pluralistic societies like the United States, complication could apparently present itself in applying Luther's distinction, but not necessarily. North Americans who are Christians are citizens of both kingdoms. In some cases the church and the state are comprised of the same persons. For such as these, Jesus asks, "I do not pray that You should take them out of the world, but that You should keep them from the evil one" (John 17:15). There is no absolute separation between church and state. When Christ said, "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's" (Mark 12:17), He was not building a wall of separation, but asserting the state's validity, which is distinguished from the church's validity. As the Augsburg Confession declares in Article XXVIII: ". . . the power of the church and the civil power must not be confounded."⁴⁹

Whom, then, shall the United States Christian obey when the state and the church appear to be in conflict? As a general principle, the Christian is subordinate to the government (Rom. 13:5).

Of government servants, Paul says: "He is God's minister to you for good. But if you do evil, be afraid; for he does not bear the sword in vain; for he is God's minister, an avenger to execute wrath on him who practices evil" (Rom. 13:4). The Lord is a God of order. He uses

⁴⁸Huegli, pp. 67-68.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 30.

government to maintain order, to defend or extend justice and freedom. He is against lawlessness (2 Thess. 2:3-7). And illegal immigration is one form of lawlessness.

Yet "we ought to obey God rather than men" (Acts 5:29), when God's will is in conflict with the state (or even with certain religious authorities). In the context of our thesis we therefore ask: Is it God's will that we aid illegal aliens?

A Case Study: 14 American Lutheran Church Bishops

As Christian citizens, we advocate passage of laws or changes in policies to extend justice and freedom. How we proceed will depend also on our own analysis of causes for injustice or oppression. Differences among Lutherans and other Christians will obviously occur. For example, late in 1983 thirteen American Lutheran Church (ALC) bishops and presiding Bishop David Preus spent ten days in Central America. They returned urging, among other things, that the United States government change its policies because it was "aiding and abetting" communism and creating refugees. "We all agreed the present United States policy is not getting us what the government said it is getting us," said Charles Lutz, director of the ALC office of church in society. "We're seen as kind of a bully trying to determine for those people what their lot ought to be," Lutz said. "I consider myself an active opponent of Communist regimes or any other totalitarian government, but I cannot see that the United States is winning the hearts of people by supporting those oppressive regimes," Lutz concluded.⁵⁰

⁵⁰Kay Miller, "Preus Criticizes U.S. policy in C.A.," Minneapolis Star and Tribune, 12 October 1983, p. 1B.

More illegal aliens are entering the United States because of United States policies in the region--that is one of eleven conclusions of the fourteen ALC bishops. Therefore the policies must be changed, they believe. These Christian bishops are opposing the state for a variety of reasons, most of which have been mentioned earlier. In their words, they include the following:⁵¹

1. The root problem is the injustice worked on the many poor people by the few rich people.
2. The unrest in Central American countries cannot be settled by military means.
3. The possibility of rising out of poverty and the claiming of full human and civil rights are necessary pre-conditions for peace in the region.
4. The countries of Central America are rich in natural and human resources; potentials for a prosperous society are present.
5. The turning of Central America into an East-West battleground is a tragedy imposed by nations outside the region, including the U.S.
6. The people of all Central American countries live in daily fear of warfare. The people of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras especially also live in daily fear of summary executions, disappearances, and imprisonment without charges.
7. The absence of a history of democratic practices, of peaceful changes of government, of a loyal political opposition able to dissent without fear, make solutions in Central American countries very difficult.
8. Negotiated solutions are necessary if long-term peace with justice and freedom is to become a reality.
9. The U.S. should vigorously support short- and long-range negotiated solutions with special concern for regional self-determination.
10. The churches have the responsibility to press for negotiations as well as provide and encourage humanitarian aid.
11. The refugee flow is an increasing tragedy. Churches and governments will need ongoing commitments to assist these victims.

⁵¹David W. Preus, "Joint Reflections by the Presiding Bishop and a Group of District Bishops" (Minneapolis: n.p.; 10 October 1983), pp. 3-4. Similar views may be found in U.S. News and World Report, "Central America: Storm Clouds," 2 January 1984, p. 40.

Changing Tensions

Rev. David Preus and his church body have become progressively more opposed to United States government approaches to Central American unrest, and "the resulting migration to the U.S." In the fall of 1982, the ALC convention recommended that economic--not military--aid be sent to the region, that the Reagan administration support a policy of justice, and that relations with Nicaragua be normalized. Then in June 1983, the ALC church council went a step further urging the United States government to suspend covert operations against Nicaragua and to support nonmilitary resolution of the conflicts in Central America. In October 1983, Preus surprised some in his own denomination with his vigorous attack on United States government policies.⁵² The attacks are successively more pointed. As of this writing (22 January 1986), the American Lutheran Church is suing the United States and two of its agencies for electronic surveillance of one of its congregations, which was involved in harboring illegal aliens from Central America.⁵³

Is the church, in this instance, exercising a prophetic role against government? Or are Preus and his bishops failing to obey the powers that be? Do those who hide and transport illegal aliens place themselves under the condemnation of Romans 13? Do the aliens heap up judgment for themselves? These and related questions will be explored further under the topic of civil disobedience. Surprisingly in our

⁵²Miller, p. 1B. For a similar criticism from the area itself, see "Central American Jesuits Urge Non-Military Solutions," St. Louis Review, 13 January 1984, p. 4.

⁵³See News, The American Lutheran Church, "Churches File Suit Against U.S. Agencies," 86-1-RD, 10 January 1986, pp. 1-3.

open United States society, church members can freely criticize the state, take it to court, and seek to change its laws and policies. Their main concern, however, should be to proclaim God's Word and see that the sacraments are rightly administered.

Are some United States Christians being sidetracked from that concern? As they sound out the Good News, they should ask fellow citizens to be subject "for the Lord's sake" (1 Pet. 2:13), while they remind them that "Jesus Christ is Lord." Within that tension, their responsibilities will vary from one year to another or from one issue to another. When they face a choice, they need to be certain in their own minds that their consciences are informed by principles that conform to God's will, and that they are not merely seeking publicity for themselves. Mindful that Satan can pervert government officials and citizens but also Christians and church leaders, they will pray that their decisions are pleasing, first of all, to their Lord, and that their Word and sacrament ministry is kept uppermost.

Civil Obedience and Disobedience

Similar Principles but Different Settings

The same Scriptural and Confessional principles expressed under the doctrine of the two kingdoms are generally applicable also to questions of civil obedience and disobedience. A separate document on these questions has been prepared by the Commission on Theology and Church Relations (CTCR). This separate document lists seven guiding principles that for our purposes may be summarized thus:⁵⁴

⁵⁴Commission on Theology and Church Relations of The Lutheran

1. Christians should respect and obey civil authority since it is God's institution for punishing evildoers and praising those who do well.
2. Some laws may be unjust; others that are just may be unenforced. Christians should try to help to repeal unjust laws and enforce just laws.
3. When there is a conflict between civil law and God's precepts, Christians must obey God and accept the consequences.
4. Christians who disagree about complex social problems should show love and be careful not to judge one another.
5. In accord with these principles, a congregation may take corporate action, but should first reach substantial agreement.
6. The pastor must, in such situations, speak a word of judgment and healing.
7. Due process of law should be followed whenever possible; but breaking of an unjust law does not necessarily reflect anarchy, contempt of law, or criminal intent.

What appears as we consider the wording of these principles is the fact that they were drafted in a North American setting. They are indeed applicable to United States Lutherans. But let us suppose, for example, that one is a Lutheran Christian in El Salvador today. He seeks agrarian reform because five percent of the people control the land and the economy of the country. He favors cooperatives, education for all, medical attention for all. He tries to follow the seven principles listed above. But when he does, his activity is classed as communism.

The Problem of the Death Squads

The result is a situation described by a prominent United States magazine:⁵⁵

Church-Missouri Synod, Civil Obedience and Disobedience (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1967). For a variety of approaches to civil disobedience, see William Bole, "Religious Groups Find New Ways to Oppose U.S. Intervention in Central America," Religious News Service Week in Religion, 28 December 1983, p. 10.

⁵⁵James-Wallace, "Is El Salvador a Lost Cause for U.S.?", U.S. News and World Report, 5 December 1983, pp. 41-44. For further discussion of this and related problems, see James Wallace, "Kissinger's

Also disturbing to U.S. officials is a resurgence of assassinations and intimidation by rightist death squads that well-informed local sources say are either part of the government security services or protected by them.

Since El Salvador's civil war broke out in 1979, nearly 40,000 civilians have been murdered. Some were victims of leftist groups, as the Reagan administration long has contended. But people who know El Salvador well say that an overwhelming percentage were killed by rightist terrorists,

. . . Recent victims have included leaders of rural cooperatives and trade unions, educators and medical workers. Prime targets are agrarian-reform advocates and specialists working on cooperatives established on farms taken from big landowners.

. . . The surge in killings comes only weeks after the Reagan administration "certified" that human-rights progress is being made in El Salvador, a requirement for continued military aid.

The article concludes that little will change because it alleges that 1) the Reagan administration will wink at almost anything done in the name of combatting Communism; 2) right-wing top government officials equate almost any reform with Communism; 3) too many people have seen bodies dumped along street curbs or had relatives disappear and therefore they do not want to become involved.

If the information in the article is found to be correct, then in some cases the civil authority punishes those who do well and praises evildoers. The Christian is now faced with the dilemma: does Scripture require him to obey such a civil authority or should he disobey and face the consequences? If he chooses a third possibility, that of slipping into the United States illegally, will he be apprehended and returned to El Salvador? This dilemma is illustrated by the following case:

The first illegal Salvadorans (known fictiously as Julio and

Rescue Plan," U.S. News and World Report, 29 January 1984, pp. 22-25. Also Phillip Berryman, Inside Central America (New York: Pantheon, 1985), passim.

Maria) to slip into the St. Louis area as part of the Sanctuary Movement were harbored by Immanuel Lutheran Church of 3540 Marcus Avenue. They said that because their country was in a no-win situation, they had been active in seeking the overthrow of the Salvadoran government and were threatened by a death squad; they therefore made their way to the Lutheran Seminary in Mexico City and hid in about ten churches on the way to St. Louis.⁵⁶ Most Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod members polled have denounced Julio and Maria's anti-Salvadoran government stance and the decision of Immanuel congregation to harbor them. One employee of the Lutheran Laymen's League said, for example:

How do we know Julio and Maria are truthful? They could be spies. Immanuel church is disobeying the law, yet saying: "Look how nice we are; we're helping these people." Why do they flaunt them on television and in the newspaper? It's all propaganda. I feel sorry for victims of oppression, but if Reagan really is helping a bad government, we should insist that he stop that. If Immanuel feels our immigration laws are unjust, why don't they work to change them? Instead, they disobey the law, and that's wrong.⁵⁷

However, another employee of the same organization said:

I am my brother's keeper. These people are our brothers. We must take them at their word. If their lives are threatened, we should look out for their welfare in the interim. Yet if we don't support the El Salvador government, communism will take over.⁵⁸

⁵⁶Albert L. Schweitzer, "Even in Sanctuary Here, Salvadorans Feel Threatened," St. Louis Globe-Democrat, 26 January 1984, p. 11A. An unpublished outline, "the Ministry of Sanctuary in Saint Louis," also describes the goals and methods pursued by Immanuel Lutheran Church of St. Louis and is available from its pastor, the Rev. Theodore W. Schroeder. Similar material is published by Confessing Community, 317 W. 23rd St., Tucson, AZ 85713.

⁵⁷Interview with Glen Van Keuren (now deceased), LLL, St. Louis, 26 January 1984.

⁵⁸Interview with Tom Baker, LLL, St. Louis, 26 January 1984.

Commentator Jack Anderson confirms the information on the existence of the Salvadoran death squads, information proclaimed by Julio and Maria above. While Julio and Maria's entry into the United States can hardly be equated with murder, it is still illegal. And although Immanuel congregation is publicizing its civil disobedience, it apparently hopes thereby to awaken North Americans to the plight of death squad victims. Whether this effort by Immanuel is successful (and whether its methods are ethical) can be debated. However, Anderson believes the death squads are beyond control. He makes these startling allegations, which are presented in summary:⁵⁹

1. The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency may have set up the first death squads in 1954. Their purpose was to overthrow the Guatemalan government of Jacobo Arbenz, considered to be a leftist. The CIA-supported effort was successful.
2. The CIA remains in contact with the death squads. Names of death squad leaders were provided to the interim civilian president of El Salvador, Alvaro Magana, by the Reagan administration.
3. The death squads are deeply entrenched in Central American governments and cannot be extricated. These governments (except Nicaragua) are threatened by hard-core revolutionaries trained by Cubans and Soviets. In the opinion of present White House aides, even when they are oppressive, anti-communist governments must be supported as an alternative to communism.
4. Some death squads operate through the World Anti-Communist League, which is supported by some of the same persons that support the Reagan administration.

Anderson claims the death squads, known as La Mano Blanca ("The White Hand"), are protected by a Mafia-like code of loyalty and silence. The president of El Salvador insists he is powerless to crack down on the assassins.

⁵⁹"U.S. May Be Unable to Stop Death Squads," St. Louis Globe-Democrat, 26 January 1984, p. 1. See also George Russell, "An Election Hinges on Death Squads, Land Reform and Gringos," Time, 30 January 1984, p. 22. See also Berryman.

Anderson's views are confirmed by other reporters, such as Newsweek's Robert Rivard.⁶⁰

Disobeying Soldiers and Aiding Their Victims

Besides the death squads, the regular Salvadoran army also engages in brutality and assassination from time to time, as indicated. Therefore Lutheran Christians sometimes disobey government soldiers and aid or hide victims. Occasionally they help refugees escape illegally to the United States. We translate the story of Cecilia Flores Ayala from a Spanish report on Faith and Hope Lutheran Center, San Salvador, related to a mission of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod:⁶¹

Cecilia was born in Santa Teresa on Nov, 22, 1966, one of ten children. She is 17 years old.

During an air attack supported by the infantry, she hid in San Pedro Hills. She went five days without food. There was a severe drought and she returned to her town to seek water. Soldiers began surrounding her as she felt birth pangs coming on. She felt obliged to flee again in the night, but she could find no place to give birth--if she remained (in the town) they would have killed her.

She crossed the Pan American Highway and entered a dead end road that led to a garbage dump. She could continue no longer and decided to live or die there.

Ricardo was born there (at the garbage dump). She cut the umbilical cord with a rusty piece of metal and tore off a piece of her apron to cover the navel. She was afraid the boy would contract tetanus. She went without food seven days and had nothing to give the child. A family took pity on her and gave her honey, beans, and tortillas.

Strengthened again, she and some of the townspeople went back into the hills. This time she stayed 22 days. She learned that

⁶⁰Robert Rivard, "El Salvador--a New Setback for the Army," Newsweek, 9 January 1984, pp. 41-42. For still another confirmation, see "Shultz Assailed Salvadoran Rebels and Death Squads," Wall Street Journal, 1 February 1984, p. 1.

⁶¹Roberto G. Huebner, "Faith and Hope Community," Cápsulas, January 1984, p. 4. For similar stories of horror, see George Chancey, "Our Policy in Central America is Wrong," Presbyterian Survey, February 1984, p. 16.

two of her father-in-law's brothers had been skinned alive, cut into pieces and thrown into the Lempa River.

The Lutheran church serves that region and the refugees asked their aid. The church, in turn, asked the aid of the Green Cross. The church and the Green Cross made four attempts to reach them and, in the fifth attempt, succeeded. With five buses and two ambulances, they gathered 200 persons and brought them to Faith and Hope Community.

Within two hours, an army detachment demanded the names of all refugees and would not leave until they had them. A corporal pointed to Cecilia and demanded she go with him as his mistress. When he did not succeed, he came on three successive nights. Before the third night, pastor Gomez had already placed her in hiding in the capital.

Ricardo was born with a very large head. It was feared he had hydrocephalus. However, the doctors at the center confirmed that his head was swollen because of many falls before and after birth, when the mother tried to dodge bombs and bullets. Thanks to the center's efforts, the child is now healthy and normal. He was baptized by Pastor Gomez and Cecilia was confirmed in the Lutheran faith. She is an active member. Now she wants to help others find hope and faith.

When feasible, refugees like Cecilia should be cared for within their own country. For that purpose, Lutherans have generously supported Faith and Hope Center near San Salvador. But even there, some are in danger and, like Julio and Maria, need to escape to another country. For such persons, refugee camps do exist in Honduras and Mexico, although these are crowded.

A Presbyterian churchman who visited Central America in November 1983, claims that the current United States policy in the region is morally and politically wrong and should be opposed or disobeyed by Christians. He says:⁶²

Our government (is) wrong in supporting former members of the hated National Guard of the deposed dictator Somoza in their efforts to overthrow the Sandinista government of Nicaragua. . . . I passed a small house in Managua and saw through an open door the

⁶²George Chancey, "Our Policy in Central America Is Wrong," Presbyterian Survey, February 1984, p. 16.

candle-lit casket of a 17-year-old boy killed in a United States-supported bombing of a village near the border.

He describes attacks on refugees in El Salvador because, as Christians, he says, they had questioned "the way things are" and had to flee to an abandoned, dark church building:

Government security forces in United States-supplied jeeps occasionally park outside the church and from time to time fire a burst of United States-supplied bullets against the building just to further intimidate and torment those inside.

The 400 refugees of San Roque dare not go outside for fear of being seized. They live, eat, sleep, pray, care for one another and try to survive, 24 hours a day, inside those four dark walls. A handful of nuns with them have begun taking the children outside for brief periods because some were going blind (in the darkness).

San Roque is a symbol of the suffering of defenseless people to which our government is committed. It raises the question: What does it mean to be a Christian in a nation that supports the powers of death?⁶³

Obviously, such activity by government is not in harmony with the Christian faith, although Luther recognized that some men in government are corrupted by Satan and use the sword to inflict suffering and injustice on their subjects. At the same time, he considered some political misfortunes as punitive or chastening acts of God.⁶⁴ In this connection we recall a visit with a seminary professor in East Berlin. When we asked, "Do you think it is God's will that your church suffer under communism?" he replied, "Yes. God is chastening and cleansing His church."⁶⁵ He was standing tall in the tradition of Luther, who believed non-Christian governments could be sanctioned by God to serve temporary ends--although, ideally, a true Christian should make the best ruler. But a good prince is "a rare bird." Rulers should remember, then, that

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Huegli, p. 69.

⁶⁵ Based on an interview in October 1975.

God has ways of keeping them in check because "others have fists too and other people live on the other side of the hill."⁶⁶

Since a few in Central America who call themselves Lutheran favor violent overthrow of a repressive regime, we need to ask, Would Luther approve? Generally speaking, the answer would be no; in fact, he might have opposed the United States War of Independence. In his "Earnest Exhortation to All Christians, Warning Them Against Insurrection and Rebellion," he writes:

No insurrection is ever right, no matter how good the cause in whose interest it is made. The harm resulting from it always exceeds the amount of reformation accomplished. . . . My sympathies are and always will be with those against whom insurrection is made, however wrong the cause they stand for, and opposed to those who make insurrection, however much they may be in the right.⁶⁷

In his Large Catechism, Luther compared loyalty to secular authority with loyalty to one's parents.

Nevertheless, Luther reminds us to obey God rather than man.

"When a prince is in the wrong, are his people bound to follow him then too? I answer no, for it is no one's duty to do wrong." Yet his overarching principle is:

According to Scripture, it is in no wise proper for anyone who would be a Christian to set himself against his government, whether it acts justly or unjustly, but a Christian ought to endure oppression and injustice, especially at the hands of his government.⁶⁸

⁶⁶Quoted in Huegeli, p. 78. (Cubans thought they would solve all their problems by overthrowing the defiant dictator Fulgencio Batista in 1958. Batista thus discovered that "others have fists, too." Yet years after his departure, many older Cubans still long for the Batista era--to which they can never return. God, who chastened in times past, now chastens in yet another way, in the opinion of this writer.)

⁶⁷Quoted in Kerr, pp. 228-29.

⁶⁸Ibid.

Some would call this position non-democratic or un-American. Yet for his time Luther was really quite advanced. The apostolic view of the state had been lost during the Middle Ages, and Luther restored the Scriptural definitions of the origin, nature, and goal of the state. This reassessment, in the opinion of Lewis W. Spitz, "proved to be of momentous historical importance."⁶⁹ That democracy exists in the United States and Costa Rica, and that other Central Americans strive for it, is due in no small measure to Luther. And as has been stated earlier, if Latin societies were transformed by the Gospel, other blessings would follow and illegal entry into the United States might become quite unnecessary. Instead, Latin Christians could sing, in their own language:

Oh, bless the Lord, my soul,
Nor let His mercies lie
Forgotten in unthankfulness
And without praises die!

'Tis He forgives thy sins;
'Tis He relieves thy pain;
'Tis He that heals thy sicknesses
And makes thee young again.

He fills the poor with good;
He gives the sufferers rest;
The Lord hath judgments for the proud
And justice for th' opprest.⁷⁰

North American Christians, for their part, should pray and help achieve such a transformation. In the meantime, when they look upon those who have entered their nation illegally, they would do well to

⁶⁹Huegli, p. 67.

⁷⁰Intersynodical Committee on Hymnology, The Lutheran Hymnal (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1941), #27, vv. 2, 3, 5.

remind themselves and others of these words:

May we Thy precepts, Lord, fulfill
 And do on earth our Father's will
 As angels do above;
 Still walk in Christ, the living Way,
 With all Thy children and obey
 The law of Christian love.⁷¹

A Scriptural Stance for the Future

Some politicians believe that money and weapons will solve the difficulties of Latin America, thus also eliminating the pressure for undocumented Hispanics to enter the United States illegally. For example, the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America urges eight billion dollars in United States aid for that region over the next five years. This will include a significant increase in United States military assistance. Most commission members also reject power-sharing with "leftists." The United States-backed president of El Salvador at this writing, Alvaro Magana, says the commission's proposals would "solve the structural problems of the region."⁷²

However, a Salvadoran pastor who begs to remain anonymous, claims that some Salvadoran army officers have allowed United States weapons to be captured by rebels so that the civil war continues. This assures increased United States financial aid and permits skimming for personal advantage. One Salvadoran leader has allegedly taken large sums of United States aid thus far and placed it into personal bank accounts in other countries. Whether or not this is true cannot be confirmed.

While there is undoubtedly a Marxist threat in Latin America,

⁷¹Ibid., #412, v. 1.

⁷²Wallace, pp. 22-25.

dollars and guns alone will not erase the problems that invite Marxist expansion. Human nature being what it is, the flow of aliens into the United States will probably continue. The United States government has placed a ceiling of 120,000 legal immigrants yearly from Latin America. The limit on refugee admissions for the Federal Fiscal Year (1 October 1983-30 September 1984) is as follows:

Africa	3,000
East Asia	46,000
Eastern Europe & Soviet Union	15,000
Caribbean	2,000
Near East and So. Asia	6,000
	<u>72,000 total</u>

Actual legal refugee admissions from all countries will probably total between 60,000 and 100,000, however.⁷³ This means that many who, rightly or wrongly, consider themselves refugees beyond that number, may try to come into the United States illegally.

At this writing The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod has no official position on undocumented Hispanics. Because conditions change, it is not possible to establish an all-encompassing statement that will cover all cases. However, certain general, basic principles cited earlier in this dissertation can be summarized here (For additional principles, see the sections above).

First of all, we must carefully distinguish between Law and Gospel, also when referring to undocumented Hispanics. This means that we will not give Gospel answers to Law questions, nor Law answers to Gospel questions.

⁷³Interview with Eugene C. Gunther, Board for Social Ministry Services of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, December 1983.

God is the Lord of justice and order. Since the fall, all creation has been groaning in travail, revolt, and confusion (Rom. 8: 19-23). God has chosen government to restrain evil and anarchy. The Christian, too, lives under certain political and social structures regulated by law.

In other words, the Christian, who is in the kingdom of God's right hand, is also in the kingdom of God's left hand. The latter does not govern with the Gospel but with controlled force to resolve problems that yield to no other approach. Thus aliens who transgress the law by illegal entry should expect to be arrested and deported. The Christian accepts that procedure because "he who resists the authorities resists what God has appointed" (Rom. 13:2).

Second, the church as a visible organization (which includes hypocrites) is also under the kingdom of the left hand. That is to say, as an institution incorporated under the laws of the state, it is like other such institutions subject to the government. When its true members pray, "Give us this day our daily bread," they likewise ask for good government. The organized church as ~~institution~~ obeys its nation's laws, as under the Fourth Commandment.

Third, the Christian and the organized church as an institution know that, under certain circumstances, the government can occasionally adopt or enforce unjust laws. One example would be state laws which formerly discriminated against Blacks. In such cases, Christians work within the Law to change the law. In some countries, ~~outside~~ the United States, government can become a blasphemous beast which makes "war on the saints" (Rev. 13:7). In those instances, Christians there "must obey

God rather than men" (Acts 5:29). United States Christians should pray for such brethren while they thank God they themselves live freely.

Fourth, Christians are also in the kingdom of the right hand and use as their weapons Word and sacrament. As the redeemed community, they live on the primary level of love. Their first goal is to share that love and win others to the invisible church as "the temple of the living God" (2 Cor. 6:16).

The 1983 convention of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod adopted Resolution 1-11A which demonstrates how love responds. This resolution will help provide a Scriptural mindset also toward aliens in our midst. The United States Christian does not countenance violation of immigration law; yet he sees the violators as human beings in need of the Law and the Gospel. His goal is to convince the violators to obey the nation's laws, but in the meantime he also remembers the words of Resolution 1-11A: "our Lord Jesus Christ commands that we befriend those among us who are hungry, thirsty, naked or sick (Matt. 25:35)."

The United States Christian citizen can help provide legal counsel to determine which, if any, illegal aliens could legitimately claim refugee status under the Refugee Act of 1980, or which, if any, have a right to asylum. For as Resolution 1-11A states, "Caring for the outcasts and homeless of the world is a visible witness to the world of God's love and value for human life."

By the same token, the United States Christian citizen can encourage aliens who are here illegally without right to refugee status or asylum to legalize their status or return to their country of origin or enter some other country (for example, Canada) that will receive them.

Finally, the United States Christian citizen can urge the Congress to rise above politics and adopt an immigration policy that is just not only for the many millions who seek entry into the country, but also for the citizens who presently reside in it. To ignore the rights of these United States citizens is injustice of another kind.

With specific regard to the Sanctuary Movement itself, the writer of this dissertation recommends the following stance:

1. We affirm the efforts of fellow Lutherans particularly in El Salvador as they provide haven for refugees at "Faith and Hope Center" near San Salvador, urging that they be "as wise as serpents and harmless as doves." We encourage refugees to remain as close as possible to their place of origin, be it within their country or in a neighboring country that provides refuge.
2. We not only teach, but seek to learn from, devoted church leaders in Central America who are themselves poor and minister to the poor and oppressed. When they identify with the poor and peasant classes, we recognize that they may be considered "subversive" by certain governments because the church leaders want to protect the poor from abuses.
3. Within the framework of the Scriptures and the Lutheran Confessions, we recognize the right of Central American churches to develop their own prophetic and pastoral role.
4. In the United States we continue to work within the law to change an unjust law.
5. Because it is within the law we continue to sponsor legal refugees. But we can also provide legal and advocacy programs for those awaiting deportation hearings. We can provide funding toward bail bond, living expenses, and employment assistance. We can help provide interpreters or teachers of English.
6. Above all we provide a Christian witness to those who are here illegally.
7. We foster educational opportunities about Latin America among United States citizens. These may include seminars, visual aids, study tours, and the like.
8. We prod our congressmen to practice self-scrutiny concerning our country's involvement with questionable activities in Central America, such as the mining of Nicaragua's harbors. We speak on behalf of justice. We let it be known that we take these matters very seriously. We insist that our government respond to humane needs. We demand that such response be based, not alone on political expediency (as sometimes happens), but upon justice. By the same token, we inform ourselves on the dangers of a Communist buildup in the region.

9. We promote collections for Lutheran World Relief that fund projects to aid refugees in Latin America, thereby lessening their need to migrate.
10. We lead our people into a study of civil obedience and civil disobedience, based on Scripture.
11. We point to Paul and Peter, who urged believers to be subject to human institutions (Rom. 13:1, 1 Pet. 2:13-14), but we also point them to the Apostles who sometimes had to obey God rather than man (Acts 5, 16, 19, 21) and who also insisted on their legal rights (Acts 16:37-39; 22:25-29; 25:11).
12. We urge those who give Sanctuary to examine their motives: do they mainly want to make a dramatic statement against United States government policy, or are they primarily concerned about the safety of human beings? Have all legal courses of action been exhausted? Do they know the alien's life is endangered in his own country? Are they willing to face prison, fine, and confiscation of property?
13. We continue in prayer for the poor people seeking release from their misery while we strive to understand their history, culture, suffering, needs and victimization. We thank God that we live in a democracy that permits us to test a law, change it, or--when it conflicts with God's law--disobey it and willingly accept the consequences.

In summary, in order to apply Scripture properly to the Sanctuary Movement, due respect must be shown to both the counsel of 1 Peter 2:13-14 and that of Acts 5:29.

CHAPTER VII

SELECTED METHODOLOGIES FOR REACHING UNDOCUMENTED HISPANICS WITH THE GOSPEL

The Need to Reach Them With the Gospel

Is there really a need for Lutherans to reach undocumented Hispanics with the Gospel? Roman Catholics would say no. We have already detailed the efforts the Roman Catholic Church is expending on their behalf. In certain areas of the United States, these endeavors become their highest priority. United States Catholic bishops have written a first-ever pastoral letter pledging their commitment to Spanish-speaking people in churches and American society. These people include the undocumented. The pastoral letter of 8,800 words is titled, The Hispanic Presence: Challenge and Commitment, and was unanimously adopted by the three hundred bishops. It calls the Hispanic heritage "completely Catholic" and reflects the stance of the earlier 32-page pastoral letter by fourteen Hispanic bishops (see Chapter IV). What is more, the full weight of the document comes down hard on Protestants who "cause divisions in Latin families" and create an "anti-ecumenical" atmosphere. Although Roman Catholic bishops generally allow prayer, dialogue, and cooperation with mainline Protestants, this document places a special claim for ministry among Latins.¹

¹John Dart, "Bishops Pledge to Meet Needs of Latinos," Los

But can Roman Catholics claim an exclusive right to ministry among undocumented Hispanics? Rev. Kenneth Behnken, missions administrator for the Southern California District of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, would reply in the negative. He believes fifteen percent of these Hispanics are active Roman Catholics, five percent are practicing Protestants, and eighty percent are in actuality unchurched. He does, however, admit that most come from a Roman Catholic culture, while he emphasizes: "Hispanic ministry is probably the most important outreach for the Lutheran Church of this district in the 1980s. We must meet that challenge now or count ourselves out with these people." He then reaffirms the statistics on growth which we gave in Chapter II.²

Rev. Carlos Puig, mentioned in Chapter IV, agreed with the percentages given by Behnken, when Puig addressed the Hispanic Conference of Texas on 8 February 1984.³ If these figures are correct, then eighty percent of the undocumented Hispanics are in need of evangelization; for Christ has said: "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations" (Matt. 28:20).

Angeles Times, 18 November 1983, p. 10J. (Protestants in general reject Roman Catholic claims to exclusive ministry among the undocumented. Even the Episcopalians assert their right to such ministry in the article, "Presencia Hispana en Norteamérica," Anglicanos, March 1984, p. 4.)

²Interview with Kenneth Behnken and his staff, Southern California District of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, Los Angeles, 15 November 1983. See Jose A. Reyes, Los Hispanos en los Estados Unidos (Cleveland, TN: White Wing, 1985), passim.

³Carlos Puig, Hispanic Conference of Texas, San Antonio, 8 February 1984. See address by Juan Carlos Miranda, "La Realidad Hispana en Norteamérica," Crystal Cathedral, Anaheim, California, 15 October 1984, tape-recorded, for additional details.

Reaching the Undocumented Through Diakonia (Service)

The same diakonia (service) principles that motivate Lutheran World Relief (LWR) may also be applied to undocumented Hispanics. Norman Barth, executive director of LWR's New York office, enunciated these principles in a recent interview on radio station KFJL, St. Louis:⁴

Lutheran churches in the United States express their concern for their neighbors in need. It is a fruit of their faith. This concern does not necessarily spring from pity for human misery, but from God's overflowing goodness in freely granting forgiveness and eternal life through Jesus Christ. This is both the wellspring and the motivation. We love because He first loved us. The planet on which we live is a global village. What happens overseas affects us. . . . For example, a few years ago a hundred thousand Cubans came to the United States. What happened in their country affected us vitally. . . . But we do not serve only Lutherans. LWR holds no bias with respect to national origin, color, race, sex, or religion. Jesus ministered not only to the Jew but also to the Gentile; not only to the rich or the taxpayer but also to the poor. We have the same philosophy. We provide assistance to people who need assistance.

LWR therefore supports Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service (LIRS) projects on behalf of illegal aliens. One such project, for example, is directed by Rev. Juan Rubio of New Orleans, Louisiana.

Rubio himself is a refugee from El Salvador. When Archbishop Oscar Romero was assassinated during mass on March 24, 1980, Rubio was an aid to an assistant district attorney with the El Salvadoran government. His task was to gather evidence against the assassin and help present the case in court. He says he concluded that the assassination

⁴Interview with Norman Barth, Lutheran World Relief, New York, broadcast in St. Louis on 1 February 1984. (Obviously, we do not support the criminal element among the undocumented. Of the 125,000 undocumented Cubans who came in 1980, perhaps 30,000 were criminals. For more information on drug smugglers, murderers, etc., see Joseph Galloway's "The Battleground Los Angeles Cops Hate--and Love," U.S. News and World Report, 30 January 1984, pp. 50-51.

order was given by a top government official. As a result, Rubio says he had to leave El Salvador because he could be in danger himself.⁵

Rubio, who has been colloquized by The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, now provides legal and economic assistance to undocumented Hispanics who come to his center. He is aided by an attorney and a social worker salaried by LIRS. Some applicants have, like himself, been fearful for their lives. Others are really "economic refugees." He himself does not try to judge who deserves political asylum or who should return to El Salvador. Nor does he judge on the basis of religion, sex, color, race, or political affiliation. Some of those he helps eventually show up in his Spanish services, but that is not his first goal.

Specifically how can a pastor or layman provide diakonia to undocumented aliens? First, he must become acquainted with the law himself or have available someone who is. These laws, printed in both English and Spanish publications, are extremely complicated. They are also revised or replaced from time to time. But for the moment, we have found Publication M-50 most helpful. This document discusses, in Spanish, topics such as the following: Visting the United States; documentation; preferred immigrants; immigrants without preference; special immigrants; relatives; refugees; visas; passports; re-entry permits; students; work certificates; expulsion; legalization of illegal aliens; asylum, and so forth.⁶

⁵Interview with Juan Rubio in San Antonio on 8 February 1984. He revealed the name of the person who ordered Romero's assassination but requested that the name not be used.

⁶Servicio de Inmigración y Naturalización (immigration and

It is not necessary for a pastor to become an expert on legalization of illegal aliens; but he needs to know that they are all "wanted" by the INS and subject to deportation, as stated by the Immigration and Nationality Act:

Any alien in the United States (including an alien crewman) shall, upon the order of the Attorney General, be deported who-- . . .

(2) entered the United States without inspection or at any time or place other than as designated by the Attorney General or is in the United States in violation of this Act or in violation of any other law of the United States; . . .

(9) was admitted as a nonimmigrant and failed to maintain the non-immigrant status in which he was admitted or to which it was changed pursuant to section 248, or to comply with the conditions of any such status.⁷

Most undocumented Hispanics from Mexico would be deportable under Section 2 above. That is, they slipped into the United States without documents and without inspection. But some persons from Central and South America might be deportable under Section 9. That is, they came with a tourist visa, student visa, and so forth, and then overstayed or violated the condition of admission. Thus Rubio (or any other person assisting the undocumented) must first determine under which section the Hispanic is deportable and so inform him. When the opportunity presents itself, he may make a theological witness to Law and Gospel and explain how these would lead us also to obey the laws of the United States.

One can provide daikonia to the undocumented, second, by

Naturalization Service), Leyes de Inmigración de los Estados Unidos (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980).

⁷U. S. Congress, House, Immigration and Nationality Act with Amendments and Notes on Related Laws, 96th Cong., 2nd sess., 1980, No. 13, pp. 63, 65 (Referred to in Chapter III).

describing the arrest and deportation process. This, too, is explained in INS publications and in the Immigration and Nationality Act. We quote:

(a) Pending a determination of deportability, upon the warrant of the Attorney General, the alien may (1) continue in custody, (2) be released under bond, no less than \$500.00, with security approved by the Attorney General, containing the conditions prescribed by him, or (3) be released on conditional parole. Both the bond and the parole may be revoked at any time.⁸

Persons like Rubio have supplied legal counsel in such cases because the government doesn't always do so. They have paid the \$500.00 (or more) bond when required. On occasion, they have succeeded in convincing the INS to grant a conditional parole until such time as the merits of the case are considered further (sometimes up to one year).

Simultaneously, diakonia can be offered to aliens in the form of groceries, medical services, and so forth. Of course, if one is certain that they are merely economic refugees (or migrants, as the INS calls them), one would ask them to legalize their status (which may be impossible) or return to their country of origin. But if in fact they are political refugees seeking asylum for valid reasons not yet recognized by the United States government, the church may help them argue their case. This complicated problem is also illustrated by the experience of St. John's Lutheran Church in San Francisco, which reports 70,000 Salvadoran, 30,000 Nicaraguan, and 20,000 Mexican illegal aliens in the area (note that some are economic, others political, refugees):

A large number of the arrivals are men of draft age, 18-28 years old. Their situation is often the saddest. Unlike most of the others, they arrive without a family and have to live on the street. They usually have used up their small savings, giving it to the people who have helped them leave Central America. They are afraid to turn back because they fear both their own government and

⁸Ibid., p. 68.

the guerrilla groups. Half of those who come are women. They are here hoping to find work to support their families back home with their US earnings. They enter the electronics industry or textile work for an hourly wage of one dollar with no benefits or rights. They are vulnerable to all kinds of social, economic and sexual exploitation.

In the Lutheran church-supported legal assistance office, attorney Samuel Kratz said he is well acquainted with the legislative and bureaucratic pitfalls. The granting of political asylum is a long process. Kratz says that asylum is given primarily to those refugees from leftist regimes. For this reason the Nicaraguans are more easily granted a haven than the Salvadorans. "Cases are complicated. Illegal aliens who are arrested are deported within two or three weeks. It happens very quickly. Prisons along the [United States] border are inhuman, and hunger strikes cause unrest. Without the effort put in by the churches, conditions would be even worse. It is a crime to send illegal aliens back to their home country if it would endanger their lives, but how can this be proven to the authorities? How can someone who cannot speak the language and who has no legal status prove it?"

Legally, it is complicated to distinguish between economic and political refugees. Presently, the U.S. Congress is discussing the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill, which would give a different status to illegal aliens. Kratz criticizes the bill among other things because it does not provide social assistance or schooling to those in need. St. John's Lutheran Church has to deal with just these types of problems. It has some 70 English-speaking members. Its Latino program receives aid from some other Lutheran churches. The budget for this year is U.S. \$70,000, and the program forms part of a larger project for immigrants and refugees. The congregation serves as a kind of rights aid office and arranges for jobs.⁹

Rubio in New Orleans and Kratz in San Francisco illustrate how Lutheran congregations try to show the faith that Norman Barth of LWR described--a faith active in love. But this love does not mean one engages in unethical activities. For instance, Rubio says some aliens seek a marriage "of convenience" with a citizen so that they will not be deported. In fact, a married alien might try to divorce his Latin wife, send her back home, marry a United States citizen to achieve

⁹"Undocumented Aliens Continue to Stream into U.S., Says Lutheran Pastor," Lutheran World Information, Release No. 7, 16 February 1984, p. 4.

legalization, thereafter divorce the second wife and bring in the first. Under no circumstances could a Christian assist in such an arrangement. Avoiding illegal or improper procedures (except where one must obey God rather than man), one can nevertheless help meet basic needs: food, clothing, perhaps housing, job, and the like. Such assistance is legally permissible. And since documentation is difficult even when it is legal, the Christian can help the undocumented through the legal labyrinth. He can provide an interpreter, or accompany him to various offices, or furnish transportation, or fill out forms, or teach him English. If the undocumented does not qualify for remaining in the United States legally, the Christian might encourage him to go voluntarily to the INS, offer to leave the United States voluntarily and inquire about legal re-entry. In this process of diakonia, the alien will generally develop a trust relationship with his benefactor, who will hopefully have opportunity to say: "By this we know love, because He laid down His life for us. And we also ought to lay down our lives for the brethren"(1 John 3:26). He will say that because he remembers this warning: "But whoever has this world's goods, and sees his brother in need, and shuts up his heart from him, how does the love of God abide in him? My little children, let us not love in word or in tongue, but in deed and in truth" (1 John 3:17-18). The illegal alien often opens his heart to God's Word, by the power of the Holy Spirit, after he sees we have identified with him in his deepest need. He may respond to diakonia, when it is accompanied by a witness to the Word.

We have deliberately placed diakonia first in this segment,

because most Hispanics have no information or wrong information about the Lutheran church. The following true experiences illustrate this fact.

When we first came to Cuba in 1949, we asked the Cuban Telephone Company to install a phone for Trinity Lutheran Church. The clerk said she had never heard of such a church. "Is that the same as communist? Do you believe in God?" she asked. When the Spanish version of the Martin Luther film was to premiere at a Havana theatre, we handed out flyers on the street corner. The police detained me, asking: "Why is Martin Luther putting on a movie here? Isn't he one of those rebels in the mountains?" After interrogating me, the police captain finally released me. Subsequently he was removed from office for allowing a "clandestine subversive" to get away. When we advertised for a maid so that my wife could teach, a sixteen-year old girl came with her mother. Horrified to see the Lutheran church sign, the mother asked: "Isn't this the devil's church? My priest said there are two chairs up front in the Lutheran church--one for the pastor and one for the devil. He said anyone who stepped over the threshold of a Lutheran church went to hell. Anyway, Luther got kicked out of the church because he wanted to marry a nun." Occasionally, when we announced that we were from the Lutheran church, people would burst into laughter because they read the comic strips. The Katzenjammer Kids appeared in Spanish newspapers, and the pig was named Lutero. Some even asked: "Do you pray to that pig?" When we initiated services in the Vedado suburb, we made 1,000 visits to homes, inviting the families. All politely said they would attend. Only two families did.

In 1952, we moved to the Marti suburb, where there was no church. Response was very limited until we put diakonia into practice. Each time it rained the suburb was flooded. Women who walked to the bus stop sank to their ankles in mud. A foot of water entered each home. The streets deteriorated and the holes tore the oilpans from the cars. I visited the families and said, "We've got to do something about this." Their answer was, "The government should." And I replied, "You know nothing will happen unless we ourselves act." I gathered a committee of community leaders. We asked every family to give five pesos a month, which today would correspond to about fifty dollars. I was made treasurer because they thought I could be trusted. After gathering 19,000 pesos in one year, we went to the newspapers and television stations to explain what we were doing. Thereafter we visited the mayor of Havana, the minister of public works, and the president (dictator) of Cuba. They had heard about our efforts through the media and offered to match our funds, lend machinery and knowhow, and sell us materials at reduced prices. I worked with the men of the suburb, sweeping streets or hauling supplies. After two years we had dug a drainage ditch to the bay and constructed good quality roads. In the process, a strange thing happened. Government officials held our project up as a model for others. People began saying, "That religion can't be bad. I'm going over to see what it's all about." On occasion, such as a Christmas pageant, as many as five hundred persons would show up.

Christian diakonia had an effect. Of course, many "curiosity seekers" discontinued attending services. Some even turned against the church. Some tried to use it for political purposes. But some were

instructed in the Word and a remnant remains faithful to this day. Thus in reaching undocumented Hispanics in the United States, diakonia should be given high priority. Yet by itself, diakonia will convert no one unless he or she is brought to repentance and faith through proclamation of the Word of God. That must always be the primary goal and highest priority. Thus when diakonia is presented as one blade of the scissors for evangelism, and proclamation as the other,¹⁰ the analogy is essentially incorrect. Only the Gospel transforms.

Reaching The Undocumented Through Radio--
Euangelizomai, Keryssein, Martyromai

Because radios are inexpensive, virtually every undocumented Hispanic owns one or several. There are over seven hundred United States stations with Spanish format listed by the computer of the International Laymen's League (Int'l LLL), and about one hundred of these broadcast in Spanish fulltime. Others program half their broadcast day, or less, in Spanish. The Federal Communications Commission has been promoting minority ownership of stations, and the number of Hispanic stations will no doubt continue to grow.¹¹ Their message is transmitted not only to the continental United States but also to listeners within Mexico, Cuba, and other countries of Latin American that can receive the long-, medium-, and short-wave broadcasts.¹²

¹⁰So used by Reyes, p. 97.

¹¹"The Spanish Word Goes Out Over More and More Stations," Television/Radio Age, 15 December 1980, p. A-16.

¹²Micahel Fones, "Two Worlds Together," Advertising Age, 6 April 1981, p. S-22.

However, in reaching Hispanics one must remember that their understanding of a word may not be the same as ours. We have already described the negative image evoked by the names "Luther" and "Lutheran." For this reason, the Int'l LLL often avoids program titles like "The Lutheran Hour" and instead uses "Bringing Christ to the Nations," "Perspective," "A Moment With God," "New Life," and so forth.

In addition, typically Lutheran vocabulary may convey a wrong meaning, or no meaning, to the listener. We illustrate this fact with an incident that occurred in Chile in 1973. The country was moving into the Marxist orbit, and we asked an officer of the Christian Democratic Party what his nation's most serious problems were. He replied, "Legalism and unionism." We were about to judge him a typical Missouri Synod Lutheran until he explained what those words meant in Chile. "Legalism means that the wealthy landowners won't give up their rights to their vast holdings. They say these have been in the family legally for generations, and the courts will uphold their claims. Thus they can refuse to sell land to the government, and the peasants continue landless. Unionism means the trade unions have become so powerful that they cripple the economy with strikes."¹³

Textbooks on communication tell us that communication involves a source, an encoding, a message, a decoding, and a respondent.¹⁴ As

¹³Interview with a Christian Democratic Party official at the party's headquarters in Santiago, Chile, February 1973.

¹⁴Significant work on this subject is reported by Claude E. Shannon and Warren Weaver, The Mathematical Theory of Communication (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1949). Textbooks have been borrowing from this source even to the present day. See David J. Hesselgrave, Communicating Christ Cross-Culturally (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1980), passim.

the speaker encodes, he must be conscious of the respondent who decodes. Suppose, then, that the speaker says, "You must imitate Christ." The respondent has an image of the Spanish Christ, who is weak, or hanging from a cross, or dead in a glass-enclosed case. The message which he decodes may therefore be quite different from that which the speaker encoded. Or, if the speaker says, "God is like a father," the respondent may conclude that God is distant, or strict, or harsh. Successful communication of the Gospel to undocumented Hispanics thus requires acquaintance with their culture, value systems, and world view. Communication also implies acquaintance with the best points of contact and with the psychological needs of the respondent. For instance, one can present a message that is thoroughly Lutheran, but the listener may be preoccupied with a personal problem and therefore uninterested in what the speaker has to say. However, if the speaker addresses a topic such as a desire for revenge, loneliness, insecurity, rejection, interpersonal conflict, or temptation, the undocumented Hispanic may immediately pay attention. From the felt need he can be led to the good news of God in Christ, the euangelion. As euangelizo and euangelizomai indicate, this Good News is to be expected; it contains a promise with a fulfillment in the future; it is missionary in nature. It tells of a Deliverer, or of the kingdom of God, or of eternal salvation offered through Christ.¹⁵

¹⁵For an analysis of the Scriptural references, see Joseph Henry Thayer, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament (New York: American Book Co., 1945), pp. 256-57. Other scholars, like William F. Arndt, Gerhard Kittel, and also Erwin J. Kolb, have provided helpful insights for these and related terms. The most exhaustive, of course, is Kittel's Theological Dictionary of the New Testament.

The Good News can be proclaimed without apology to the listener, because its content has been fixed in advance, as keryssein suggests. Based on God's plan of salvation, John the Baptist, Jesus, and all the apostles exhorted to repentance and promised forgiveness of sins.¹⁶ That is still the kerygma (proclamation) the undocumented needs to hear.

The proclaimer is himself a martyrs (witness). He has been personally involved in his martyria (testimony). He has a personal relationship with Christ (Acts 1:22, 2:32, 3:15, 10:39). As the Holy Spirit has worked in his heart, so He can work in the heart of the undocumented (Acts 15:8).¹⁷ The Spirit will enlighten the Scriptures to those who bear and those who hear this martyria (Luke 24:44-48).

We have already described the characteristics of the undocumented Hispanics. Keeping these in mind, we have as one goal to reach as many of them as possible through the medium of radio so that they may come to a saving knowledge of their Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ. To achieve that goal, we use many different formats.

A "soap opera type" drama known as Ayer, Hoy y Siempre ("Yesterday, Today and Forever") has proven surprisingly effective in reaching the undocumented. The script writer is Mario Martin, a Cuban-American professional who has written several kinds of radio dramas for other clients. He knows how to touch the heartstrings of the listeners. As an undocumented listener from the Yakima Valley in Washington writes, "Those stories are so beautiful, sad, and true, that I cry all the way

¹⁶Thayer, p. 346. For an excellent discussion of these concepts, see Hans-Lutz Poetsch, Grundsätze evangelistischer Verkündigung (Gross Oesingen: Lutherischen Buchhandlung, 1981), pp. 37-43.

¹⁷Thayer, pp. 391-93.

through."¹⁸ Because the writer is of Roman Catholic origin, the material is carefully supervised by Dr. Eugene F. Gruell, a Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod pastor in Miami, Florida. Many or most of the plots come out of Gruell's own ministry. He presents these to, or discusses other plots with, the writer. Martin then prepares the dialogue for a first draft. Despite some five years of supervision by Gruell, Martin still occasionally reflects a Roman Catholic influence in the dialogue (For example, "if you're good enough, you'll get to heaven."). Gruell therefore corrects each script and weaves in the kerygma, using the "tripod" approach. That is, the same message is expressed at least three times but in three different ways. This approach has caused even some LCMS missionaries to say that the Gospel is overly explicit. But our own conviction is that one can hardly be too explicit with undocumented Hispanics.

A sample plot will illustrate the content and method. A young woman finds employment as an interior decorator. A man asks her to come to his house to suggest a decor. Soon after she arrives, he rapes her. Emotionally shattered, she goes home, packs her clothes, and disappears. She moves to another area, locates a new job, and becomes a loner. She even stops attending church. In the meantime, through a series of events the rapist meets Christ, grasps the euangelion, and is converted. Now he wants to amend his sinful life. He searches for the young woman but encounters only the father. He convinces the father that the conversion is real and they both look for the young woman. One day by chance the ex-rapist sees the woman and follows her home. He

¹⁸Original on file at the headquarters of the Int'l LLL.

tries to speak with her, but she is terrified and refuses. He tells the father, who eventually persuades her to let the ex-rapist beg her forgiveness. In the process, the kerygma is proclaimed several times. The rapist has become a martys. She forgives him. He asks permission to return. In time, they are married.

When my Argentine Jewish secretary read the script, she was incensed. "I would have killed that man," she shouted. "This story is unreal. You don't forgive rape!" But as Gruell would say, "God makes water run uphill."

Stories like these appeal to Hispanics. In fact, a chiropractor in California secretly taped the dramas from one station, then took them to another station near his office and broadcast them as his own product. He offered reduced prices to listeners who came in response to the drama. A pharmacist has, without permission, taped the program and advertised his pharmacy with it, using another station. A fortune-teller who also lives in California tunes in each week and takes notes on the problem-solving that occurs in the dramas. When clients come to her for advice, she consults her notes and, for a fee of three dollars, gives the counsel she learned from one of the programs. However, she omits the kerygma. A radio station owner makes a personal copy of each drama and plays it back for friends who visit his home. Another station neglects to return the tapes weekly as per agreement, lets them accumulate, and keeps repeating them daily at 10:00 a.m. That station says that a taxi driver, who turns on the broadcast for clients at 10:00 a.m., is sometimes told, while the meter is running, "Wait, I don't want to get out of the cab yet. I want to hear how the story ends."

The content appeals to both deocumented and undocumented Hispanics alike.¹⁹

At present seventy-five United States stations broadcast the program. About fifteen percent charge for the time, and the remaining eighty-five percent air it free of charge. Another sixty-five stations in Latin America also play the tapes gratis. One station, WQBA of Miami, at first hesitated to give free time for the drama. About three years ago, the station agreed to grant time on its AM band, on a trial basis. The response was very good. Thereafter Gruell and other Spanish-speaking pastors suggested the drama be followed by a panel discussion of the content. The station donated another fifteen minutes. As a result, the station's listenership has quadrupled in southern Florida and Cuba. WQBA has become the leading Spanish station in Miami, partly because of the drama and the panel discussions.²⁰ Similar stories from other areas, such as Chicago, can also be related. Each drama, which is recorded under the auspices of Susquehanna Productions of Miami, costs the Int'l LLL about \$1,300. Susquehanna pays the writer, the professional actors, the engineer and mixer, the supplies, and so forth. Although less-expensive companies are available, the Int'l LLL prefers to use top-notch talent and thus place high quality dramas free of charge (Radio stations are normally profit-making centers).

The dramas are duplicated in St. Louis with three different

¹⁹Material in this paragraph is based on information in the files of the Int'l LLL.

²⁰Ibid.

endings: one for a local contact, one for Puerto Rico, and one which gives the St. Louis address. Additional closings are prepared in Caracas, Venezuela, for use in Latin America. Wherever possible, a local contact pastor is sought so that he can follow up on the response. Listeners are asked to write in or phone in. When no local contact pastor is available, the listener is directed to the St. Louis office.

Besides the regular weekly drama, seasonal dramas of fifteen minutes and thirty minutes are prepared under Gruell's supervision. They may have a contemporary setting. Or, they may be re-enactments of a Biblical account, or fictionalized versions in the tradition of Ben Hur, The Robe, The Nazarene, Joseph of Arimathea, and so forth. Stations that will not accept a weekly religious drama often look for Christmas or Holy Week material. As a result, about 265 stations in the United States and Latin America transmit the kerygma free of charge. Roman Catholic and government stations, even networks, will place an Int'l LLL Spanish drama on December 25 or on Good Friday. Many of the respondents are undocumented Hispanics who feel particularly "religious" at such times of the year.

Futhermore, the Int'l LLL supports locally-produced devotions in six large metropolitan centers with heavy Hispanic populations, such as New York City. Again, much of the response comes from illegal aliens who have found a Friend in Jesus. Finally, programs prepared in Venezuela are also broadcast on a few United States stations. These include a five-minute devotional; a one-minute thought and prayer with classical music; and seasonal spots of thirty or sixty seconds. The five-minute

devotional, called Perspectiva ("Perspective"), always presents the kerygma. The short programs may be pre-evangelistic. They speak to a specific need and provide an address or phone number (For example, "Do you have a problem with alcohol? God can help you. Write to . . . or phone this number . . ."). Seasonal spots for Christmas and Holy Week have also been prepared on twelve-inch records for free broadcast.

Some listeners to these various formats may never join a Lutheran church. But many, also among the undocumented, have come to know the euangelion.

To help sensitize English-speaking persons to the Hispanic presence in the United States and elsewhere, the Int'l LLL prepared for the 1984 Christmas season, in cooperation with the Mexican Consulate in St. Louis, a new thirty-minute special broadcast called, "Christmas in Mexico." Some twenty-three hundred stations carried the program in English, plus another four hundred in Spanish. It portrayed the Incarnation as understood by believing Hispanics. Complete with marimba music, "Christmas in Mexico" convinced even more persons that Hispanics, too, are objects of the Great Commission, who, when they come to faith, carry out that commission to others.²¹

Reaching Undocumented Hispanics Through Television

It is difficult to measure the effectiveness of television

²¹For additional information on the use of radio, see J. D. Douglas, ed., Let the Earth Hear His Voice (Minneapolis: World Wide, 1975), pp. 526-66.

programs among undocumented Hispanics. They are not likely to respond to surveys, because they fear "the investigator might really be from the Immigration and Naturalization Service." Then, Hispanics are not prone to writing letters. Moreover, some move frequently. John Paley, an executive with Lotus Communications in Los Angeles, says that "we're dealing with a population that cannot be measured in the same way as the Anglo population." He supposes that Hispanics "desire not to be embarrassed." Yet he thinks the future of Spanish-language communications is secure because "it is less and less necessary to speak English. . . ."22 Paley is convinced the waves of undocumented Hispanics will continue and this will foster "language and cultural isolation."²³

The Dramatic Growth of Spanish Television Since 1976

The Spanish International Network (SIN) agrees with Paley. Although SIN has existed since 1961, it began to experience dramatic growth in 1976. In that year it became the first United States television network to interconnect its affiliates fulltime via satellite. The network now has 387 affiliates serving virtually every major Hispanic area in the nation, as well as Mexico and other countries. Eleven affiliates are conventional UHF stations. Ten are Low Power Television Stations (LPTVs), and more LPTVs will begin telecasting each year. But the third group of affiliates, and the fastest-growing, is the cable systems. Several hundred systems, outside the areas covered

²²Bob Marich, "Broadcast: Los Angeles Espanol," Advertising Age, 6 April 1981, pp. S-10, 11.

²³Ibid.

by over-the-air affiliates, now carry SIN programming.²⁴

SIN strives for programming that is broad-based, family oriented, and originally produced in Spanish. This is acquired from Hispanic production centers in Latin America and Spain, although an increasing amount of programming is produced by SIN in the United States. Perhaps the most popular service is the news coverage. On June 1, 1981, SIN launched its most costly project: the SIN Television Network News. This is a daily, Monday-Friday, half-hour network newscast at 6:30 p.m. (NYT), which has gained a wide following. It telecasts major news from the world over but places particular emphasis on events of interest to America's Hispanics. Besides the international and local news programs, SIN provides talk shows, dramas, variety, musical, and comedy programs. SIN is advertiser-supported and its clients include soap companies, airlines, breweries, food manufacturers, and the like.²⁵ We have related this information in some detail because SIN is the Int'l LLL's major target for television marketing in Spanish. In addition to the SIN affiliates, there are several dozen independent Spanish TV channels; their number varies from one year to another due to bankruptcies, new acquisitions, mergers, and the like.

The Use of Seasonal Episodes

To reach America's documented and undocumented Hispanics via television, the Int'l LLL has dubbed seasonal specials into Spanish.

²⁴Based on personal interviews on various occasions with officers of the network. The principal interview was with Ms. Rosita Peru, SIN's program director, 7 September 1983, in New York City.

²⁵Ibid.

Partly because seventy-five percent of the SIN network owners are Mexican Roman Catholics, they are not inclined to give free time to Lutheran Television. They would, of course, sell the time but at a prohibitive cost. When we first approached SIN for free time during the Christmas and Holy Week seasons, there was hesitation on the part of the network. Even so, we presented them with high-quality dubbed Spanish versions of several Christmas and Easter shows. These included "Christmas Is," "The City That Forgot About Christmas," "The Stableboy's Christmas," "The Other Wiseman," "Easter Is," and "The Day That Shook the World." After network personnel had viewed the programs on a 16mm. film or a 3/4-inch videocassette, there was no response for months. Suddenly the program director called to say the Lutheran dramas were the best they could find anywhere. On December 25, 1983, SIN telecast two Christmas shows for its affiliates in prime time: 7:00 to 8:00 p.m. (EST). The Int'l LLL sent the films to KWEK-TV in San Antonio, Texas, and from there they were beamed to the nation via RCA-F4-83^o-Transponder 1. Perhaps eight million Hispanics saw them, nearly three million probably being undocumented. The Int'l LLL has sent sample responses to SIN, and the network aired "The Other Wiseman" in Spanish. The following Easter it also transmitted "The Day That Shook the World." Each Christmas, SIN now uses LLL Spanish dramas.²⁶

Not only SIN, but some twenty-three independent Spanish television stations have likewise aired the Int'l LLL's seasonal special dramas, thus increasing the listener potential in metropolitan markets.

²⁶Based on information in the files of the Int'l LLL.

The Difficulty of Weekly Placement

Naturally, the goal of Lutheran Television is to place the weekly THIS IS THE LIFE dramas, dubbed into Spanish, on as many channels as possible. Although SIN may not grant free time for such a purpose, twenty-three television stations in the United States do air them. Of these, four are located in California, one in Arizona, two in Colorado, four in Florida, two in Chicago, Illinois, two in New York, six in Texas and two in Puerto Rico. Other countries, like Venezuela, also use the dramas.

The Response From Illegal Aliens

Although Hispanics are not in the habit of writing letters, about five hundred persons respond to the television shows each year and some openly declare that they are in the United States illegally. One such letter, written February 25, 1984, from Watsonville, California, states:²⁷

We ask you please to help us find work at some place that pays well, either by the hour or by contract. We really need that kind of work. Excuse us for bothering you. We shall await your answer. Make it as soon as possible. Let us know if we can count on your help. We are here from Mexico. For the moment, this is all we have to say. Thanks very much for giving your attention to this letter. Please send us your telephone number.

Another letter from the same area, which has a high percentage of undocumented Hispanics, says:²⁸

Please send that booklet, "My Hand in His." I would like to get all the booklets you can send me. Your program is marvelous. Keep on airing it. Even though it always makes me cry, I still rejoice over

²⁷Original on file at the Int'l LLL headquarters.

²⁸Ibid.

the things God can do with one's life. I'm not Lutheran. I don't belong to that religion. But I have been so strongly attracted to your program, that I have wanted to go to your church. But around here I don't know about any Spanish services. Nor do I know if any pastors speak Spanish here. I would like to talk to one and take my boy to him. He is at a dangerous age. With tact, one must take precautions, to protect him. I won't weary you any longer with my worries. Thanks and God bless you.

People who contact Lutheran Television, including illegal aliens, receive a personal reply and appropriate literature. When possible, they are referred to a Spanish-speaking local pastor or layperson. In some instances, a nearby congregation can invite them to Spanish services and to a showing of an older Spanish THIS IS THE LIFE film provided by the Int'l LLL. At present the Int'l LLL has about ninety programs available in Spanish on film and/or videocassette, which are rented or sent free to stations, churches, hospitals, and prisons. One of the best clients for the Spanish episodes is the cable system serving the Roman Catholic diocese of New York. In this way, ever more undocumented Hispanics are confronted with the euangelion.

Each year, from six to thirteen additional episodes are dubbed into Spanish by E & C Productions of North Hollywood, California. In some cases, undocumented Hispanics participate in the dubbing and are themselves brought to faith.²⁹

Reaching The Undocumented Through Cassettes, Printed Matter, Bible Studies--Matheteuo, Didasko, Paideuo

Cultivating and Nurturing

It is not enough to plant the seed of the euangelion in the undocumented Hispanic. He must become a disciple, be taught, and be

²⁹Interview with Edith Diaz Ponton, E & C Productions, North Hollywood, 8 January 1983.

nourished. Otherwise, the seed of the Gospel may wither and die.

The New Testament introduces the word matheteuo (disciple), a concept not found in the Old Testament (except as talmid, which has a different connotation). In the Gospels and in Acts, a mathetes (disciple) was a person who had a direct relationship with Jesus Christ. There is no instance where mathetes is used without the implication of a supremely personal union. A disciple's personal attachment to his Master means the latter exercises upon him a formative power. This idea is evident, for example, in Luke 11:1, where we read that "one of His disciples said to Him, 'Lord, teach us to pray, as John also taught his disciples.'" Christ Himself has called His disciples (Luke 5:10), and even after the crucifixion it is still the person of Jesus who draws their allegiance (1 Cor. 2:2). This allegiance implies accepting persecution and suffering (John 15:18).³⁰ The Evangelism Department of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod has prepared an excellent study called "The Biblical Picture of a Disciple." It discusses the definition, marks, formation, work, and suffering of a mathetes.³¹

When Christ commanded His followers to disciple all nations, He also used the word didaskontes (teaching). Unlike matheteuo, didasko does echo an Old Testament concept, particularly the word למד, which the Septuagint renders as didaskein. While the Old Testament prophets use the word in connection with the covenant rather than the

³⁰Thayer, p. 386.

³¹Continuation Committee of the Great Commission Convocation of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, Discipling in the 80s (Saint Louis: The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, 1980).

coming salvation, didaskēin, is one of the most prominent functions of Christ's own ministry. He comes into conflict with the rabbis who teach the law only for its own sake, for His emphasis is upon the will of the Father--which He is doing perfectly. And He calls upon the mathetes to follow His example. He transmitted more than knowledge. He transmitted the will of God. Of course, didaskēin includes instruction in the Law (Rom. 2:21; Acts 15:1). But the word is never used in a purely intellectual sense.³²

Although paideuo denotes primarily the upbringing of the child who is growing to maturity, the word can be applied also to adults.³³ Thus the writer to the Hebrews declares, "You have forgotten the exhortation which speaks to you as sons: 'My son, do not despise the chastening (paideia) of the Lord, nor be discouraged when you are rebuked by Him; for whom the Lord loves He chastens, and scourges every son whom He receives'" (12:5).

Case Study of a Cuban

The undocumented Hispanic must become a disciple who is steeped in a knowledge of God's will and nurtured or chastened until he achieves maturity in the faith. This need is demonstrated in the case of Alex and Jesse. These two brothers, aged 23 and 21, came to the United States from Cuba in 1980. They were among 125,000 persons who fled or were expelled from the island during "the Cuban boatlift." Few of the 125,000 had a proper visa and at this writing they are still considered "undocumented." However, their status is different from that of the Mexican

³²Thayer, p. 144.

³³Ibid., p. 473.

or Central American undocumented, in that they were given "temporary political asylum" until such time as a permanent designation could be made (Most now have the permanent designation).

As a child, Jesse completed second grade and went to work in a foundry. He was a functional illiterate. Alex finished seventh grade and became a mechanic's apprentice. Because Alex was rebellious during military service, he was imprisoned by Castro. During the "boatlift," when Castro also emptied his prisons, Alex was placed on an overcrowded launch, but he survived the trip to Key West, Florida, with one hundred fellow prisoners. A week later, Jesse was also given permission to leave Cuba. Eventually the two brothers met again in an internment camp at Fort Chaffee, Arkansas. Criminal inmates rioted and North Americans who had been sympathetic to the refugees became hostile, except for a limited number like the staff members at Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod headquarters in St. Louis. A headquarters staff committee gathered offerings and filed a sponsorship request with Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service. On December 17, 1980, Alex and Jesse were put on a plane to St. Louis and met there by Synod Vice-President Robert Sauer and others. They were taken to a furnished apartment stocked with food, and provided employment at Synod headquarters. Then seminary student Mark Wessling began teaching them English, but he soon discovered that their religious knowledge was almost non-existent. When a Christmas tree was set up in their apartment, they were puzzled as to what that strange object was.³⁴ In fact, they had never heard of Christmas.

³⁴Fred Pankow, "Synod Staff Helps Cuban Brothers Start New Life," LIRS Bulletin, February 1981, p. 10.

Using Cassettes and Study Guides

Synod staff member Eugene Gunther secured funds for a cassette player, and the Int'l LLL began supplying the two brothers with cassettes in Spanish. These consisted primarily of fifteen-minute dramas also broadcast on the radio as Ayer, Hoy y Siempre ("Yesterday, Today, and Forever"). By listening to the cassettes in their apartment, Alex and Jesse became better acquainted with the euangelion, but additional teaching materials were required. Therefore the Int'l LLL began preparing more cassettes with bi-lingual scripts and/or study guides. One such cassette reenacts the life of Martin Luther in two dramas. The first presents the background of the Reformation and ends with Luther nailing the Ninety-five Theses to the Castle Church at Wittenberg. The second traces the Reformation to the time of Luther's death. Professional actors were used and the events seem to be transpiring before one's eyes. Cassettes such as these are now played for undocumented Hispanics as teaching devices, both at ports of entry like Del Rio, Texas, and in cities as far north as St. Paul, Minnesota.

Other Printed Matter

In addition to the cassettes, the Int'l LLL has printed a fourteen-lesson course called, Conoza a Cristo ("Know Christ"), which was written especially for Hispanics, including the undocumented. The author is Professor Alberto Garcia of Concordia Theological Seminary in Fort Wayne, Indiana. Garcia served as a pastor for five years in Chicago, which has the fourth largest Hispanic population in the United States after Los Angeles, New York, and Miami. A high percentage of

Chicago's Hispanics are undocumented.³⁵ Garcia has himself taught such persons, and anyone who completes his course knows what a mathetes is.

Students from Concordia Seminary in St. Louis began Bible studies with Alex, Jesse, and others in 1981, using Garcia's course plus other materials. But then Alex met an undocumented young woman. He began living with her, even though he had a wife in Cuba. The Synod officers learned of the situation and the synodical staff stopped paying his rent. Simultaneously the Immigration and Naturalization Service deported the young woman. Thereafter Alex and his brother moved to California and he has not been heard from since. He and Jesse had learned the euangelion; they were being disciplined and instructed in God's will. But the flesh was strong. They were chastened by Synod staff representatives, apparently to no avail.³⁶ Similar experiences occur in other cities.

The Int'l LLL also enrolls undocumented Hispanics in three correspondence courses in Spanish. These deal with fundamental doctrines, with the life of Christ, and with the life of Paul and his epistles. Of the six hundred persons in Chicago alone who study by correspondence, perhaps thirty percent are undocumented. Whenever possible, they are placed into contact with a Spanish-speaking church worker. Thus a marriage can occur between study by correspondence and study with a local leader. The latter is helpful because many of the undocumented are unfamiliar with the Bible and its teachings. Since the sixteenth

³⁵Interview with Rev. Juan Martin, Lutheran Church, Chicago, 7 March 1983.

³⁶Interview with Eugene F. Gunther, Board for Social Ministry Services of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Aynod, St. Louis, December 1983.

century Reformation did not reach the Spanish colonies, most Latin Americans until quite recently were ignorant of, or even afraid of, the Bible.

The Rev. Carlos Puig (identified earlier) places Bible study ahead of formal worship during the early stages of a mission. He believes it could be a mistake to initiate formal Lutheran services if the undocumented and/or documented Hispanics are not yet ready for them. He says we must first form the mathetes, teaching him and bringing him up in the faith. Then the mathetes himself will ask for worship services and Holy Communion.³⁷

Obviously, if the illegal alien is deported, he may lose contact with those who taught him the Word. Not infrequently, however, a person who has become a mathetes writes to the Int'l LLL or to his ex-instructor, reporting that he is now in Mexico (or elsewhere) and wants to continue study by correspondence. It is not unusual for such a person to complete all three Bible correspondence courses, and then to share his newfound faith with others.

Printed matter is not limited to study courses. Prayer manuals and personal devotional booklets are appreciated by undocumented Hispanics amidst their insecurity or loneliness. Much in demand is the pamphlet, Enseñanos a Orar (Teach Us to Pray). Twenty Spanish-speaking workers have contributed seventy-four original prayers rising from within a Hispanic context. Topics addressed include anxiety, adversity, lack of work, setting out on a journey, not getting along with others,

³⁷Interview with Carlos Puig on Radio Station KFUD, St. Louis, February 1982. For similar views see Juan Carlos Miranda, Manual de Iglecrecimiento (Miami: Vida, 1985), pp. 100-17 and passim.

and so forth. People sometimes write, "I lent that prayer booklet to someone else and she still hasn't returned it. I need another one. Can you send it?"³⁸

To introduce undocumented and other Hispanics to the heart of Luther, the Int'l LLL has printed Nuestro Pan Diario (Our Daily Bread). Prof. Alberto Garcia has adapted into Spanish twenty selections from Luther's sermons on St. John's Gospel. Profusely illustrated, the devotions include titles such as "God's Love"; "Sinner, You Will Not Be Condemned"; "Christ Is Our Brother"; "Christ Lives and Comforts Us," and so forth. Much of the material falls into the area of paideia (nurture).

Nearly two dozen booklets are now ready for use with undocumented or documented Hispanics. Among the most popular are My Hand in His, Why Are You Worried?, Does Your Life Have Meaning?, and I Am An Alcoholic.

Each year the Int'l LLL prepares a full-color calendar listing the Sunday Scripture readings and daily Bible passages and presenting monthly prayers in Spanish. Many have called it "the most beautiful we've ever seen." When they move, as often happens, they take this item with them. One year a person may request it from Florida, the next from New York, and the following from Puerto Rico.³⁹

The Int'l LLL also prints or purchases colored pictures and posters. A ten-year-old boy wrote: "When I was in Chicago, you sent

³⁸Originals on file at Int'l LLL headquarters.

³⁹Requests are kept in an alphabetical file at Int'l LLL headquarters.

me a large poster of Jesus. In golden letters it proclaimed, 'He Lives.' But Immigration picked us up and now I'm in Mexico. I need that poster for my bedroom. Please send it."⁴⁰ The Int'l LLL has distributed these 17 x 24 inch posters by the thousands because most Hispanics need a personal, intimate relationship with a risen, not a dead, Christ. That is part of being a mathetes.

Reaching Undocumented (and Documented) Hispanics
Through Fellowship and Worship--Koinonia,
leitourgia, latreia; proskyneo

The New Testament concept of koinonia may be defined as fellowship, association, community, joint participation, intimacy, and--by extension--a benefaction jointly contributed.⁴¹ Thus the persons of a church gather to accomplish a purpose. This expresses an inner relationship; there is two-sided giving and receiving; there is a common enterprise involving a bond formed by Christ's redemption; there is a readiness to share material possessions. Love is the motivation; Jesus is the Guide.⁴²

However, when Anglo-Saxon Lutherans reach out to undocumented Hispanics with the Gospel, they often discover to their frustration that the two groups have a cultural barrier between them. Fellowship is hindered because the values are different. Prof. Alberto Garcia (identified previously) has assembled a list of thirteen such differences and these are given in Appendix II. For example, among

⁴⁰Original on file.

⁴¹Thayer, p. 352. Kittel, Dictionary, Kolb and others also have helpful insights.

⁴²Ibid.

Anglo-Saxons communication is more direct and to the point; among Hispanics it is more indirect and symbolical. The former suppress emotions, while the latter believe feelings bestow dignity.⁴³

Happily, God's agape (love) can overcome these barriers. The process can be painful for both groups, but in time progress will be made. The early Christians proved that fact. In Corinth Paul found Jews from Rome, Jews from Jerusalem, and Gentiles from a variety of origins. Though Christ was a stumbling block to some and foolishness to others, both Jews and Greeks learned, after conversion, that "the foolishness of God is wiser than men and the weakness of God is stronger than men" (1 Cor. 1:25).

The Anglo-Saxon Lutherans who want to express koinonia with illegal Hispanics should become acquainted with their culture and language.⁴⁴

Several kinds of specific helps are available. Useful books include Understanding Latin Americans by Eugene Nida, and Spanish-Speaking Americans by Bertha Blair and others. Prof. Garcia conducts workshops in Hispanic ministries. Multi-Media Productions has prepared filmstrips with phonograph records that discuss topics of interest to persons who work with Hispanics--educators, social workers, pastors, and so forth. One such topic, "Conflict of Cultures," is treated in three two-part lessons. A Teachers Manual is provided.⁴⁵

⁴³For a slightly different listing, see Reyes, pp. 85-86.

⁴⁴Miranda, pp. 161-73, prefers the homogenous unit principle, but see Reyes, pp. 89-95.

⁴⁵Obtainable from Multi-Media Productions, P.O. Box 5097, Stanford, CA 94305.

Helps of a more general nature include the book Communicating Christ Cross-Culturally. This five-hundred-page work, which is perhaps the best in its class, approaches the subject from both a scientific and a Christian stance.⁴⁶

In the final analysis, of course, it is the Holy Spirit who changes the hearts of people and makes them accept each others' differences. This can be illustrated by the experience of St. Mark's congregation in Brooklyn during the 1960s. When we arrived there in 1961, a German congregation of seventy persons worshipped in a one hundred-year-old building that had served three thousand Lutherans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Members were nostalgic for the days when a thousand would jam the edifice on a typical Sunday. But the community had changed. In one direction lived the Blacks; in another, Jews and Italians; and occupying the worst rat-infested apartments were the Hispanics, some of whom were undocumented and in hiding. Each ethnic group was suspicious of the others. Although the English congregation, numbering 225 on a Sunday, was integrated, there were few social contacts between Germans, Blacks, Italians, and others. The most recent arrivals, the Hispanics, were at the bottom of the ladder and were considered the most incomprehensible of all. The Hispanics, in turn, were afraid of the church. After all, the German name was carved above the entrance: "Ev. Lutherische Sankt Markus Gemeinde." The Hispanics knew it was a Nazi church because some watched "Hogan's Heroes" on television. Anything German had to be Nazi.⁴⁷

⁴⁶See Supra, p. 216

⁴⁷Based on conversations with Hispanics during home visits.

In about a year, we had gathered some forty Hispanics who began attending the Spanish services. But the walls separating the German group, the English-speaking group, and the Hispanics still remained. After some trial and error, we developed multi-ethnic cell groups. In various locations, about three Germans, three Blacks, and three Hispanics were invited to a Bible study in a home. Frequently it was necessary to translate certain phrases. And the cultural conflict loomed large. But as those individuals studied the Word together and relished each other's refreshments, they gradually forgot their differences. The mental designations changed from "that spic," "that nigger," or "that Nazi," to Señor Rodríguez, Brother Dabney and Herr Schneider. They saw each other as part of Christ's body.

The small choirs also learned hymns in each other's languages. Though they didn't understand a word of German, the Hispanic singers, including several aliens, learned to mouth all the stanzas of

Gott ist die Liebe,
 Hat mich erlöset.
 Gott ist die Liebe,
 Er liebt auch mich.⁴⁸

After the Hispanics sang in the German Christmas service, several of the "Nazis," with tears in their eyes, embraced them. Now it was the Germans' turn. Their choir performed "Die Himmel Rühmen" ("The Heavens Are Telling [Praising]) in Spanish translation, during a Hispanic celebration. The English choir followed suit.

Soon the three congregations were cooperating in neighborhood Scripture distribution campaigns, an international agape (love) meal,

⁴⁸A literal translation of this hymn verse is "God is love, He has redeemed me, God is love, He loves even me."

a vacation Bible school, a Reformation service. The voters' assembly also brought together representatives from all three groups, with equal representation on the church council. Within five years, koinonia was expressing itself in many ways. The old people who were eased out of Cuba, or the illegals from Santo Domingo, knew they could find overcoats for the cold winter at that church with the German writing over the door. Others who had arrived with five dollars in their pocket got a hot meal. And the image of the congregation underwent a change. The message was passed by word of mouth from one apartment to another, "You're accepted there, no matter who you are." Even Jewish people began visiting the "Nazi" church and some actually joined. As was to be expected, Satan was unhappy and occasionally "roared like a lion." Serious conflicts sometimes erupted. During a young people's dance in the parish hall, the church president (a Yugoslav German) angrily complained to a Hispanic teenager about the noise. Because his machismo (manhood) was challenged, the youth broke a chair over the president's head. His skull wound required thirteen stitches. Dances were thereafter suspended.

Although inter-cultural conflict at St. Mark's was not completely overcome, German-, English-, and Spanish-speaking Christians discovered the joys of koinonia, gave and received, and recognized their common bond in Christ's redemption. (Admittedly, the Church Growth movement does not recommend this type of approach.)

Other German-American congregations, like Redeemer and Trinity in Cleveland, Ohio, have had similar experiences. Rev. Karl Heimer, himself a Cuban, began serving Hispanics in the Cleveland area--many

of them undocumented--in September 1971. He made the rounds of the grocery stores, owned by Lutherans and non-Lutherans alike, to pick up dented cans or outdated food. From a center located first at Immanuel, then at Bethany, and finally at Redeemer, he began helping political refugees from Chile and economic refugees from Mexico and elsewhere. Cleveland Lutherans collected clothing and household items for distribution. In January 1978, Heimer became pastor of both the English and the Spanish groups meeting at Redeemer. This permitted him to identify the koinonia through activities similar to those described for St. Mark's in Brooklyn. When 125,000 undocumented Cubans arrived on Florida's shores in 1980, Heimer's two groups actively participated in resettling some of his compatriots in Cleveland. Again, the koinonia grew stronger in the process.⁴⁹

In the same year that Heimer became pastor at Redeemer, Rev. Douglas Groll moved from Caracas, Venezuela, to Trinity, Cleveland. Soon the two were cooperating. The Lutheran Laymen's League further facilitated the cooperative efforts by providing radio time. The League's fifteen-minute drama was combined with the music of certain ethnic groups in the city. One Sunday's program, for example, would be dedicated to the Mexican immigrants. Typical folk tunes from Mexico, with a word of praise for that country's culture, would be played before or after the drama. The following Sunday might be devoted to Chile. In this manner persons from the various countries who began meeting at Redeemer or Trinity felt accepted and affirmed. They experienced koinonia.

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Based on several interviews with Heimer in St. Louis and in Miami, Florida.

This koinonia is now expressed, also with the undocumented, through Trinity's community programs. These include a nursery school, an athletic program for youth, a tutoring service, a summer camping program in rural areas, a day camp, a nutrition education program, and counseling for the undocumented.⁵⁰

As indicated, Church Growth experts point to the barriers that continue to separate different ethnic groups. They believe growth is more rapid within a homogeneous setting. The Rev. Roger Leenerts, Secretary for North American Ministries of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, recognizes that this emphasis on homogeneity has been severely criticized. He states:⁵¹

One principle [of church growth literature], which draws the most attention from critics, is the one on the homogeneous unit. Basically, this is a recognition . . . that people are different--culturally, linguistically, ethnically, etc. And therefore they need their own expression . . . in their worship of God. . . .

It's a nice theory to say the congregation should in its make-up reflect the neighborhood . . . God wants us to be one. We wouldn't argue with that factor at all. It's a matter of an approach. How do we get people to listen to the Good News of Jesus Christ in a setting and a language that they understand, so that through the work of the Spirit they come to know Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior, grow in their relationship with the Lord? How can they begin to realize that life in the Lord is more meaningful than being a German or a Black or a Hispanic?

.
If we have a church sitting here on a corner, and we say, "Well, we want the church to be one," that is basically saying to the community, "if you're one like us, or become like us, then we'll all be one in the Lord. . . ."

That tends to create problems and conflicts; and creates . . . diversity rather than unity. We're seeing today many . . . Hispanic

⁵⁰Taped interview with Douglas Groll, Trinity Lutheran Church, Cleveland, 7 July 1983.

⁵¹Interview with Roger Leenerts, North American Ministries of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, St. Louis, broadcast over Radio Station KFUO, 4 February 1983.

[groups near] Anglo churches, that as they grow together and worship separately because of language and culture differences, that slowly they start coming together on fellowship terms and on worship terms. And we see the unity of the church being expressed more quickly and clearly under those circumstances than under the "integrationist" model of the past.

Leenerts was challenged with this question from the interviewer:

There were five Lutheran churches within three blocks of each other. They were established separately by Swedes, Finns, Slovaks, Germans, and Norwegians. Because the neighborhood is now Black and Hispanic, the churches are empty. Isn't this a bad result of homogeneity?

To this he replied:⁵²

It's bad unless you're one of the outsiders, trying to come in. For example, if you're Finnish, and speak and understand that language, it's very difficult to worship in a German church. However, if you're one of the Germans, it's a great church to belong to. So it's a matter of perspective of what's great and what isn't so great.

Which method for reaching undocumented Hispanics best expresses New Testament koinonia? Some would answer that the homogeneous unit approach is sound sociology but poor theology. They believe integration is closer to the model left us by the Apostle Paul. But Church Growth exponents like Leenerts would argue that koinonia is their goal, too. Lest cultural barriers disturb koinonia, they suggest that fellowship be practiced first within the homogeneous unit and, as the barriers are overcome through acculturation, koinonia may then occur in a wider circle.⁵³

Naturally, Hispanics feel comfortable with those most like them, In fact, major differences exist between the immigrants from the various

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³See Miranda, pp. 161-73 and Reyes, pp. 89-95.

countries, as we have indicated in an earlier chapter. Therefore Guatemalans would feel more at ease with other Guatemalans than with Argentine or Dominican aliens.

Dr. Herbert Sims, a professor at the Hispanic Training Institute at Concordia Teachers College, River Forest, Illinois, has addressed this question and considers either approach valid, depending upon the pastor and the circumstances.⁵⁴ He stresses mutual respect for cultural differences. He says we dare not judge one culture using the value system of another. By the same token, he emphasizes the love of Christ which overcomes linguistic, cultural, and ethnic barriers to unite us in a common koinonia.

Rev. Carlos Puig believes a separate Hispanic group with its own facilities can best reach out to undocumented Hispanics. Yet he recognizes that this approach on a large scale is financially prohibitive. Therefore parallel congregations using the same facilities may be economically more realistic. In either case, spiritual koinonia exists between all people who believe in Christ, even though it may sometimes lack visible expression.⁵⁵

Undocumented Hispanics who have koinonia with fellow believers will want to share in worship (leitourgia, latreia). To aliens who have no living relationship with Christ, they will say, "Oh come, let

⁵⁴Herbert Sims, "Esparciendo la luz--dispersando las tinieblas," a keynote address to the Fourth National Hispanic Lutheran Conference meeting in Tampa, Florida, 8-10 February 1983.

⁵⁵Interview with Carlos Puig, Hispanic Ministries of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, St. Louis, February 1982.

us worship and bow down (proskyneo), let us kneel before the Lord our Maker" (Ps. 95:6).⁵⁶

What form shall this worship take? Shall it resemble a Roman Catholic mass, since nine out of ten undocumented Hispanics possess a Roman Catholic heritage? The Rev. David Stirdivant would answer yes. He has been a missionary among Hispanics since 1947. At present, he serves in the Bell Gardens area of Los Angeles. Some of his adherents --most of whom are fairly recent arrivals from Mexico--have been warned to avoid Protestant heretics. Thus Stirdivant wears all the vestments of a Roman priest. His communion service includes the elevation of the host, the tinkling of the bell, the bowing of the knee during consecration of the elements. His vocabulary is Roman Catholic. He does not call his worship culto (service) but misa (mass). He is a padre (father) rather than a pastor (pastor). And though Protestants use orar for "pray," he uses rezar, which often means a mechanical recitation like the rosary.⁵⁷

Are such practices improper and deceptive? If the elevation of the host, the tinkling of the bell, the bowing of the knee do indeed communicate transubstantiation, yes. Any practice inconsistent with Biblical theology should be avoided. Any practice subject to misinterpretation deserves a clear Scriptural explanation. By the same token, we must take people where they are and lead them to the truth gradually.

⁵⁶For further analysis of these terms, see Thayer, pp. 375, 372 & 548. Kittel and other scholars also provide helpful insights.

⁵⁷Based on a visit to Our Savior Lutheran Church, Bell Gardens, CA, 9 January 1983.

Their own misunderstandings may keep them from worship.

Therefore to research an answer, we visited another mission in Beverly Hills with a parallel problem: Ahavat Zion congregation. For just as "Lutheran" connotes one who worships the devil among some Hispanics, so "Lutheran" suggests one who is vigorously anti-Semitic, among Jewish people. The Rev. R. John Perling ministers in a sector of Beverly Hills that has become ninety-seven percent ethnic Jewish (though some practice no religion): For these people the cross is an upside-down sword driven into the Jewish heart. Many carry a tattooed number on their arm, and all such persons lost relatives at the hands of "Christians" in the ovens of Dachau, Auschwitz, and other camps. Perling cannot carry on a normal conversation with these Jewish people without being drawn into a discussion of the Holocaust.

Perling now has a Jewish heart and uses a Jewish vocabulary. He invites his neighbors to shabbat (Friday evening Sabbath services). These are conducted in Ahavat Zion, in a shul (synagogue) next to Mount Calvary Lutheran Church. The building, which housed Mount Calvary congregation before the new edifice was constructed, does indeed look like a synagogue. On Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement), as many as two hundred persons gather. In the spring, Perling holds a seder (Passover meal) for five hundred persons at a nearby gymnasium.

Orthodox rabbis' protests have been carried nationally on ABC News and CBS News. They call Perling a deceiver who wants to destroy the Jewish people. They say his synagogue has no right to use a menorah (branched candlestick), the six-pointed star of David, the two tables of the Law, the Scripture scroll inside the cabinet. They

complain that the men in the shul wear yarmulka (prayer shawls) and speak ancient Hebrew prayers. They resent the playing of Hebrew songs like "Hava Nagilah" and "Eli, Eli" over the loudspeaker or the carillon. They are angered at the congregation's name, Ahavat Zion ("For the Love of Zion").⁵⁸

But Perling has an answer for the rabbis. The sign in front of the synagogue boldly declares, "We believe Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah of Israel." Each service begins with that same announcement. The worshippers call themselves not merely converts to Lutheranism, but "completed Jews." The ancient Hebrew prayers they speak are revised to confess that God is Triune and, again, that Jesus is the Messiah of Israel. Perling insists the decorations in the shul are Biblical and that synagogue is also a New Testament word (James 2:2). The rabbis' protests have only brought to Ahavat Zion more people who say, "We've been looking for a group like this."⁵⁹

The missionary to undocumented Hispanics can likewise strive to be "all things to all men." As long as he communicates Scriptural truth and explains his words and practices properly, he may legitimately use vocabulary, vestments, gestures, Gregorian chants, or artifacts that help the undocumented feel at home, just as the "completed Jews" feel at home at Ahavat Zion.

Nevertheless, some missionaries consider it unnecessary to "appear Roman Catholic." Pastors like Douglas Groll believe our liturgy,

⁵⁸Edith Pankow, "Bringing Christ to a Jewish Community," Lutheran Layman, April 1984, pp. 6-7.

⁵⁹Ibid.

edifices, and vocabulary are sufficiently similar to those used by the Roman Church; and to suggest that we are the same creates a new set of problems.⁶⁰ It makes the task more difficult, they believe, for pointing out differences such as those summarized from Lutheran doctrinal statements:

The Roman Catholic Church (RCC) The Lutheran Church

The church is the final authority.

Scripture is the final authority.

The church was built on Peter.

The church is built on Christ.

The RCC is the only true church.

The true invisible church includes all who believe in Christ. The true visible church is found where the Gospel is preached and the Sacraments rightly administered.

The Vatican is the seat of the church, which also has civil authority.

The church has no temporal power except to admonish or advise the state in moral or spiritual matters.

The clergy is on a level superior to the laity.

All believers are priests before God.

We are saved by faith and works.

We are saved by grace through faith without the deeds of the Law.

The merits of Christ and the saints are kept in a "treasury" and can be earned through alms, sacrifices, and prayers.

Faith lays hold of the gift of salvation; works are a fruit of faith.

Auricular confession to a priest is essential for communion. The priest may assign penances such as prayers, a pilgrimage to a shrine, alms, etc.

Auricular confession can be helpful, but one may confess directly to God through Christ without a human intermediary.

⁶⁰ Interview with Douglas Groll, 7 July 1983.

We pray to the saints and the Virgin Mary. Mary has appeared physically as the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico, the Virgin of Charity in Cuba, etc.

We honor the saints and Mary, but we do not pray to them nor worship them; they, too, needed salvation from their sins.

Power in the church is from top to bottom, from the hierarchy on down to the people.

Power resides in the members and the congregations. The leaders derive their power from them.

We must pray for the souls of the deceased in purgatory.

Faith in Christ is the only key to heaven. Heaven is ours only by the grace of God. Purgatory does not exist, for it is unnecessary.

A Lutheran pastor who wishes to use distinctive Roman Catholic words and practices must in good time make clear the differences listed above, at the very minimum. Otherwise he will be endorsing false doctrine by implication.

Moreover, we have already mentioned the low percentage of undocumented aliens who are active in the Roman Catholic Church. A considerable number of inactive baptized Catholics may actually be seeking an alternative to their church. That is the position taken, for example, by the Pentecostals. The Hispanic Lutheran Conference of Texas, meeting February 7-9, 1984, in San Antonio, heard Rev. Benjamin Flores advance that theme. Flores is pastor of a large Pentecostal congregation that includes undocumented Mexicans. He believes his success is due, under God, also to the participation in worship he provides to Mexican males.⁶¹ He has written a book outlining his method which is

⁶¹ Benjamin Flores, "Reaching Hispanics Through the Pentecostal Church," paper presented to the Hispanic Lutheran Conference of Texas, San Antonio, 8 February 1984.

used throughout the United States.⁶²

Presbyterian pastor Carlos López, also addressing the conference, agreed with many of Flores' views. Cuban-born Lopez thinks a more informal, lay-centered service is actually preferred by a high percentage of Hispanics.⁶³ And Rev. Roberto Rivera, director of Spanish publications for the Church of God, brought a similar message.⁶⁴ Finally, the Rev. José Ortiz says attendance at Baptist services depends to a great extent on the following characteristics of the pastor⁶⁵ (not necessarily in the order given below):

1. The ability to communicate the Gospel, to preach, teach, visit, administer, and plan.
2. The ability to relate well with people.
3. Experience.
4. Sharing worship and ministry with others.
5. Dedication.
6. Stability. Remaining at the post.
7. The ability to develop and use leaders.
8. Concern for the personal problems of the listeners.
9. Orientation toward the community.
10. Total stewardship.

It is interesting that Ortiz makes no reference to the Roman Catholic heritage, even though the ability to communicate and relate will take that heritage into account.

The Rev. Michael Graham led the San Antonio conference in a

⁶²The book is called Dinámico Curso de Liderazgo and is available from him at 2310 El Paso Street, San Antonio, Texas 78207-5398.

⁶³Carlos Lopez, "Reaching Hispanics Through the Presbyterian Church," paper presented to the Hispanic Lutheran Conference of Texas, San Antonio, 8 February 1984.

⁶⁴Roberto Rivera, "Reaching Hispanics Through the Church of God," paper presented to the Hispanic Lutheran Conference of Texas, San Antonio, 8 February 1984.

⁶⁵Printed material provided by Rev. Carlos Puig.

four-part discussion of Hispanic Lutheran Worship.⁶⁶ As a result, the conference agreed to summary statements that include the following:

1. True worship occurs only when one worships the true God with true faith in His Son, Jesus Christ. Whoever lacks such true faith is incapable of true worship.
2. True worship includes certain necessary elements (prayer, praise, etc.).
3. The manner in which we worship is affected culturally, socially, and individually.
4. Worship manifests itself publicly, but the Bible does not provide much information on the form of worship. Therefore a variety is permitted based on the culture, character, and personality of the worshippers.
5. The Bible does provide examples of worship, both before and after Christ.
6. Everything we do in public worship must be in conformity with the pure doctrine of the Scriptures. This includes the liturgy, music, preaching, and the prayers, but it does not include the form in which we express our worship.
7. Freedom to use various forms can be both a danger and a blessing. It is a danger if we invent forms or create an atmosphere that hinders the people's worship. It is an advantage if it helps the people's worship.
8. Before we invent new forms or evaluate old forms of worship, we must remember the purpose of public worship in the life of the church.

Where do these conclusions leave us? Rev. Douglas Groll would say that traditional Lutheran worship strikes a happy balance between Roman Catholic and non-liturgical Protestant forms.⁶⁷ If properly explained and taught, Lutheran forms can reach undocumented Hispanics from Roman Catholic and Protestant backgrounds alike.

There are various methodologies for reaching the undocumented Hispanics which we have not mentioned. Those could be the subject of still another dissertation. And no matter which methodology we use, some who are reached will in the time of testing fall away. Yet others,

⁶⁶ Graham has been very active in reaching illegal aliens with the Gospel in the Houston, Texas area.

⁶⁷ Interview with Douglas Groll taped in St. Louis 7 July 1983.

even though they are deported to their homeland, will remain faithful. They will live with Christ (2 Cor. 7:3; Rom. 6:8), suffer with Christ (Romans 8), be crucified with Christ (Romans 6), die with Christ (2 Cor. 7:3), be buried with Christ (Rom. 6:4), be raised with Christ (Col. 2:12), be glorified with Christ (Rom. 8:17), receive the inheritance with Christ (Rom. 8:17), and reign with Christ (2 Cor. 2:12).

APPENDIX I

"WHEN DID WE SEE YOU HUNGRY?"

Reflections by Joel Mugge

The martyred Columbian priest, Fr. Camilo Torres, once said in reflecting upon Matthew 25:31-46, "In today's world there is only one way to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, care for the sick and imprisoned, as Christ invites us to do: To change the structures of society which create and multiply every day these conditions."

Torres' words reflect a new way of living the faith that is emerging in Latin America, a new way of perceiving the Church as defending the poor rather than the powerful and the status quo.

Latin American Christians call us to realize that God's saving activity necessarily includes liberation from poverty, hunger, malnutrition, torture and all kinds of oppression--the roots of which lie in the political and economic structures of society, particularly in the dependent relationship of Third World nations on developed nations.

Furthermore, Christians who say they must be impartial in the struggles of society to change these conditions have missed the Biblical imperative of commitment to the poor. To say "I am in the middle" is to say "I support the status quo." Commitment to the poor does not exist in the middle.

As North American Christians, what ought to be our response to this imperative from the Latin American Church?

First, it seems to me, we have a responsibility to speak out against our own government's policies which help to perpetuate these conditions of poverty, hunger, oppression, and injustice. This is particularly critical right now. The United States continues to ship arms and supplies to repressive governments in El Salvador and Guatemala--governments that maintain their power through terror and violence. And in Nicaragua, we continue to try to destroy a government that reflects the will of the majority--a government that is making a serious attempt to build a just and equitable society for all its citizens. To be truly committed to the poor, it seems to me, means to condemn and vigorously work to change those kinds of policies.

Secondly, the existing faith and commitment of Latin American Christians challenge us to rethink our concept of "mission." When we walk with these Christians we discover that Jesus is already there, alive in their suffering and struggle. In the voices of these poor, oppressed, and suffering ones of the world we hear a witness from God to us. And it is from them that we learn more clearly both what the Gospel means for us and the nature of our mission to our own people.

"As you did it to one of the least of these my brethren, you did it to me." (Mathew [sic] 25:40)

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APPENDIX II

A COMPARISON OF CULTURAL VALUES IN THE HISPANIC AND ANGLO CONTEXTS

ANGLO	HISPANIC
1. A person is an individual that can manage by himself/herself.	1. An individual becomes a person when he/she integrates well as a member of the community.
2. Society is based on individual rights. Identification by occupation.	2. La familia is the basic unit of society. Identification by family names (both mother and father) and place of origin important.
3. Family, then, is nuclear. Independence is encouraged.	3. The extended family is important and basic to society.
4. Individual is guided by a task. Therefore the individual's time orientation is more directed toward the future.	4. Persons are oriented to live and enjoy the present.
5. Fame is obtained by accumulation of wealth. This is to have power over events.	5. Wisdom, the articulation of truth, insures fame.
6. Therefore, the non-productives are burdens to society.	6. The aged are sages. They deserve our respect and willing ears.
7. Trading-commerce is the way to success.	7. Success depends upon "harmony" with people and nature.
8. Competition is the source of growth and expansion.	8. Harmony depends upon generous contribution to the common good, each according to his/her order.
9. Separation of church and state: life is divided between sacred and profane.	9. The secular and the sacred are a living experience that cannot be separated.

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| 10. Work is an end in itself. Wealth manifests God's grace. Art and self-expression is secondary. | 10. Work is a necessary quality, a punishment for sin. Leisure is freedom to be spiritual and contemplative. |
| 11. Emotions are to be suppressed; enjoyment in this life is frivolity and sinful. | 11. Feelings bestow dignity. Sensitivity to life dictates celebrations of joy and sorrow. |
| 12. Communication more direct and to the point. | 12. Communication is more indirect and symbolical. |
| 13. Education is a way to mastery. (Task oriented.) | 13. Education is a way to harmony and understanding. (Person, family oriented.) |

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