

RELIGION & DEMOCRACY



July 1990

NCC Central America Study Out of Touch

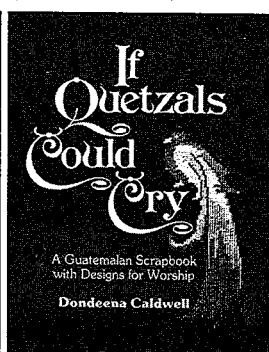
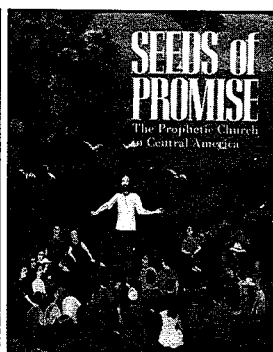
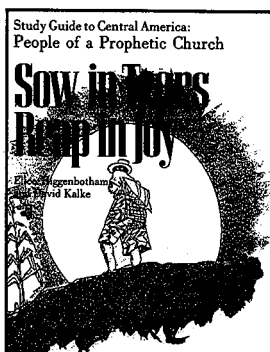
Annual educational materials present one-sided view of region's problems

Each year the National Council of Churches publishes study materials on various aspects of the mission of the Church. These materials, intended for use in local church study groups, are perhaps the most important means by which the council communicates its vision to the people in the pews. For 1990-91 one of the NCC's featured topics is Central America. The materials include: a principal text, **Seeds of Promise:**

The Prophetic Church in Central America, by

Guillermo Melendez; a supplementary text,

People of Hope: The Protestant Movement in Central America, by Carmelo Alvarez; a collection of original sources on Guatemala,



If Quetzals Could Cry, edited by Dondeena Caldwell; and a study guide, **Sow in Tears, Reap in Joy**, by Elice Higginbotham and David Kalke. IRD Research Director Alan Wisdom reviews these NCC materials.

Between March 1989 and December 1990, something unprecedented will have happened in Central America. The people of every nation of that region will have had an opportunity to choose their leaders in free elections. So far the people's verdict has been sweeping: a repudiation of the Marxist Left, a triumph for democrats -- and even conservatives.

Most dramatically, Violeta Chamorro ousted Daniel Ortega in Nicaragua. But candidates of the more conservative parties -- advocating individual liberty, a market economy, and a pro-U.S. stance -- won decisive victories also in El Salvador, Honduras, and Costa Rica. Marxist groups have polled less than five percent of the vote, except in Nicaragua.

In times like these, what is one to say of a book which proclaims "the success of the socialist revolution in Cuba" as a model for Central America? How should one react to a statement which affirms, "The popular Sandinista Revolution is building in Nicaragua

...." How does one respond to an author who declares, "The crisis that afflicts liberal capitalism is evident in Central America today"?

Should we simply laugh at these materials, so out of touch with current

realities? Perhaps we may allow ourselves a moment's amusement; however, as church people, we will soon feel other emotions: embarrassment, anger, grief, and disappointment. For these materials, quoted above, are supposed to represent the best insights that our U.S. National Council of Churches can offer into Christian mission in Central America.

We will be embarrassed by the superficial and sloppy analysis propounded in the NCC books. In *Seeds of Promise*, Guillermo Melendez divides Central American societies much too neatly:

On one side is the people's coalition, made up of peasants, workers, and other poor people, but also

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Nepal's Non-Hindu Faiths Face Uncertain Future

Despite recent reprieve from persecution

By Wendi Richardson

Nestled in the mountainous terrain between China and India lies Nepal, an impoverished nation of 17 million people. The world's only Hindu kingdom, Nepal has been ruled by King Birenda, who is recognized as the reincarnation of the Hindu God Vishnu. While about 90 percent of the population is Hindu, in recent years the number of Christians in Nepal has increased dramatically to an estimated 50,000, and this despite severe discrimination and persecution from the Nepalese authorities.

In recent months Nepal has experienced a surge of popular unrest calling for greater freedom. The authoritarian monarchy has responded with significant concessions. A 29-year ban on political parties has been lifted and an interim government has been named until elections can be held next year. A number of political and religious prisoners have been freed. Nevertheless, the situation is far from stable. The monarchy maintains control of the army that only weeks ago clashed with protesters, killing many. Furthermore, within the anti-government movement itself is a strong communist element. There is no guarantee that a future government will necessarily be less oppressive than the old.

The protection and maintenance of the Hindu culture has been central to Nepal's legal system. Any attempt to disrupt the traditional Hindu community has been strictly prohibited. This has resulted in the explicit denial of the most basic of human freedoms, the freedom of conscience. For example, according to the Nepalese constitution, every individual "may profess his own religion as handed down from ancient times and may practice it having regard to the traditions" (Article 14). That is, a person has the "right" to practice only the religious faith into which he or she was born. To convert to another religion is a criminal

offense which has been punishable by up to a year in prison, substantial fines, and a forced recantation.

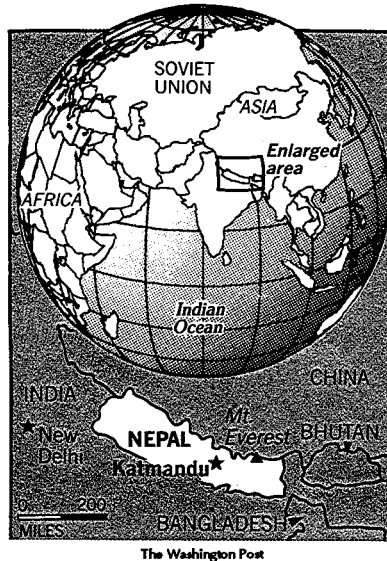
Evangelical Christians in Nepal have faced especially severe persecution. In fact, in 1989 there were record number of arrests on religious grounds. In its February 1990 report, the Puebla Institute documented the extensive repression. Last November in the city of Bhaktapur, near the capital of Kathmandu, police forces arrived at the close of Pastor Tir Bahadur Dewan's church service. Thirty-three people were incarcerated and were forced to watch police brutally beat their 76-year-old pastor. Six women were detained after refusing to bow down to a Hindu idol. Earlier that year, a Christian convert was arrested while conducting the funeral service for his ten-year-old daughter. Probably the best known case internationally is that of Protestant pastor and human rights activist Charles Mendies, who was sentenced to six years in prison for proselytizing.

There have been hopeful signs. The interim government granted amnesty to religious prisoners, including Charles Mendies, who was released on June 15. In April, several hundred Christians were able to participate in an Easter parade in Kathmandu.

Though the anti-government movement in Nepal has widespread support, there is serious concern as to the direction the reforms will take. The protest movement is an alliance with little in common but the goal of toppling the monarchy. One important force in the movement is a relatively loose coalition of seven communist parties, ranging from moderate to radical, known as the

United Left Front (ULF). The ULF, led by the widow of a Maoist leader, has placed many of its members in the interim government. It is demanding a leading role in the drafting of a new constitution. The ULF has great appeal among the young of Nepal who see communism as the only alternative to the repressive government that has ruled their country since 1950.

Nepal is at a crossroads. If the radical faction of the ULF gains control of the unstable situation in Nepal, political and religious freedom will most likely continue to elude the Nepalese. Still, there are many in Nepal who feel that disposing the Hindu monarchy



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Christianity and Economics: New Documents for the 90s

Editor Lawrence Adams and Economic Studies Associate Fredrick Jones contrast the development of two recent manifestos aimed at building greater consensus in their respective communities. A complete version of this report is available from the IRD for \$2.

Before the celebration of this spring's Earth Day as the crescendo of renewed environmental consciousness, Christians from various traditions were working toward two distinct understandings of what it means to be stewards of creation. These attempts necessarily dwell on sensitive political and economic matters.

The Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation (JPIC) convocation organized by the World Council of Churches was driven by the need to make a radical departure from existing modes of Christian ethics due to a sense of a human-fabricated crisis leading to the brink of apocalypse. The Oxford Declaration on Christian Faith and Economics, while sensing urgency, seems driven more by a new confidence in the ability of Christians to connect the recent lessons of current events to historical orthodoxy.

JPIC: Manifesto for a New Age

JPIC was unveiled in March as part of a WCC "conciliar process," intended to clarify a new and comprehensive approach to understanding the world that would result in "common and binding pronouncements and actions on the urgent questions of the survival of mankind."

Thus, it was no surprise that the resulting document, with its recommended "acts of covenanting," redefines the orthodox meaning of the gospel. Those entering into its ecumenical affirmations are required to leap from the broad framework to urgent public policy action. Before

the 2,000-plus participants gathered, there was little doubt that the consensus being attempted would be achieved.

The early drafts of JPIC foresaw the emergence of an order that would integrate global environmental concerns into existing justice and peace movements in the churches. The document called for specific "acts of covenanting" by the churches with "peoples' movements", liberation movements, peace groups, and with the earth. These covenants gave "confessional status" to such specific actions as altering "the present international economic order and the debt crisis," "the demilitarization of international relations", and "the protection of the earth's atmosphere," and "the energy problem."

Three trends seemed to join to produce this new emphasis: 1) The loss in the late 1980s of the previous apocalyptic concern over militarization and potential nuclear holocaust, which deflated the peace movement. 2) The ripening of long-standing concerns in the WCC and ecumenical world about the environment, which began in the 1960s, and received major attention at WCC meetings in 1983, 1989 and 1990. 3) The desperate need in the ecumenical world for a framework that will integrate and unify its fragmented perspectives. Because it has abandoned traditional dogma in favor of contextual theology that looks to experience and human need as the determinants of truth, it is pulled in multiple directions (feminist theology,

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The Years of Giving Dangerously

*For all of the money that has been pumped into the Third World by governments, churches and others, there are only occasional signs of hope for the poor. IRD Economic Studies Associate Fredrick Jones reviews two books, **Lords of Poverty** by Graham Hancock and **Foreign Aid and American Purpose** by Nicholas Eberstadt, to probe why the Third World isn't filled with success stories.*

According to Graham Hancock in *Lords of Poverty* (Atlantic Monthly Press, 1989), "Criticizing humanitarianism and generosity is like criticizing the institution of motherhood." But someone has to do it. Hancock is not simply upset over abuses in the world of official international relief and development assistance. He argues that such assistance is a hazard to the poor and "should be stopped forthwith before more damage is done."

Hancock lumps together his criticism of bilateral and multilateral giving agencies (including the United Nations, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund) for the purpose of striking a summary blow. He says that foreign aid has: financed the creation of monstrous projects that, at vast expense, have devastated the environment and ruined lives; it has supported and legitimized brutal tyrannies; it has

facilitated the emergence of fantastical and Byzantine bureaucracies staffed by legions of self-serving hypocrites; it has sapped the initiative, creativity and enterprise of ordinary people and substituted the superficial and irrelevant glitz of imported advice; it has sucked potential entrepreneurs and intellectuals in the developing countries into non-productive administrative activities; it has created a "moral tone" in international affairs that denies the hard task of wealth creation and substitutes easy handouts for the rigours of self-help; in addition, throughout the Third World, it has allowed the dead grip of imposed officialdom to suppress popular choice and individual freedom.

A journalist formerly with *The Economist*, Hancock supports this tirade by compiling anecdotes without any explicit theoretical framework to explain the numerous and sometimes conflicting reasons why nations offer development assistance. He tells stories of ill-prepared development projects and subsequent malfunctions, personal abuses of power and a lost sense of mission among many development professionals, and the alienation of the poor from decisions about development made by the "aristocracy." The stories form a runaway train of evidence that leaves the reader anticipating a final chapter ending with a crash -- one that destroys whatever hope the poor still retain.

Though he goes easy on private, and church-sponsored emergency relief agencies, Hancock says that competition among them in the field too often leads to the wrong services being made available to the wrong people. Also, so many unusable or unsafe items (at least by the time they arrive) are donated for tax write-offs that many nations needing relief supplies have become more bold in refusing such "help."

Hancock is much tougher on the

official bilateral and multilateral agencies he calls "development incorporated." The poor are so alienated from these huge bureaucracies (and the organizations and consultants clamouring for contracts from them), and the pressure to invent large and technically magnificent solutions to problems is so great, that the goal of serving the poor is lost. Worse than doing nothing, says Hancock, such efforts often reduce the quality of life among the impoverished.

The real beneficiaries, according to Hancock, are the contractors from the giving countries who too often have no clue as to what will work in different climates and cultures, the consultants and government professionals who live lavishly relative to Third World standards and have little contact with the needy, and the local elites and government leaders who, with virtually no accountability, are able to siphon off funds for their own power and enrichment. While Hancock's cynical (sometimes naively so) and occasionally trivial account is open to



Making stoves in Indonesia

World Bank Photo by Ray Witlin

challenge, the weight of evidence offered is sufficient to breed skepticism as to whether much of aid really "helps" the poor.

Nicholas Eberstadt's *Foreign Aid and American Purpose* (American Enterprise Institute, 1988) approaches foreign aid by studying historical trends and turning points more than anecdotes. He, too, suggests that official U.S. foreign aid has lost its way. An unfortunate result of the Marshall Plan's perceived success after World

War II was that it inspired "a certain confusion about the potentialities of foreign aid under less extraordinary circumstances."

Still, early development assistance was anchored in certain principles, Eberstadt says. Developing world leaders were required to create a domestic "climate" for foreign aid in sync with the booming, U.S.-backed liberal international economic order. Instead, however, many new, post-colonial leaders were "almost uniformly preoccupied with augmenting the power of the state apparatus under their control."

Lest people get the wrong ideas about aid, America also made other things clear: Overseas humanitarian aid was to remain free from economic interests and lobby groups back home; distinctions were made between grants, which were charitable, and loans, which were commercial; and military aid was to be clearly separated from development assistance.

Eventually, according to Eberstadt, some of these fell by the wayside. Aid shifted away from skill transfers and infrastructure building that would help developing nations participate in the world economy and became "a program to quell domestic discontent in low-income regions" which "ultimately equated rising living standards with diminishing political opposition." Shifts in the roles of the World Bank and the IMF, not to mention the generally anti-market UN, also served to undermine the participation of developing countries in the liberal international economic order. The result, says Eberstadt, is that: the United States no longer understands the nature of the problems facing poor people and poor countries. Far from contributing to the goal of self-sustained economic progress in the low-income regions, our funds are instead being directed to a tragic extent into the construction of barriers against such progress and in some cases may actually be paying for the creation of poverty.

Neither author shows how development aid could succeed. Eberstadt

is stronger in showing the failure of U.S. policies than he is in demonstrating how the various forms of aid should relate to "American interests." U.S. support for the liberal international economic order it has anchored for 40 years surely must take into account many changes in the world scene; yet little such awareness can be found in Eberstadt's reaffirmation of "interests." Hancock, however, is no help at all at the policy level. His call to 'STOP!' is neither realistic nor responsible when reconsidering how public and private agencies can and should be involved in the Third World.

Budget squeezes and changing world realities make the time ripe for program re-evaluation. The failure of old thinking on development has forced even parts of the UN development establishment to adopt new empowerment strategies. In this process, it would be helpful for Christians to consider raising questions about international aid giving through the few accountability channels open to influence. Christian or church-sponsored relief and development organizations might also see this as an opportune time to re-examine whether they too have gone astray, and whether a new consensus can be formed about how to help the poor. The writings of Hancock and Eberstadt, if nothing else, help create a climate of sobriety to make this possible.

The following questions may be useful for such discussions:

- 1) In what ways does competition among private relief and development organizations create confusion, inaccurate need analysis and ineffectiveness in the field?
- 2) Is there adequate accountability (both on the giving and receiving end) for the activity of private groups and the official development agencies (and the contractors they use)?
- 3) Is economic development truly empowering the poor to work meaningfully, or is it displacing, injuring and/or making the poor dependent on aid?

4) Especially in war-torn areas, is relief and development done with a vision for a just public order with free, vibrant and diverse institutions? Or is aid simply focused on the political and military conflict? Are human rights problems taken into account by those giving official aid?

5) Are aid programs being guided by adequate consultation with the intended beneficiaries of programs? Has the trust of the poor been lost? Are programs being driven by developed world interests that might not really benefit the poor?

Briefs

New Social Issues to Hit Shareholders

220 shareholder resolutions have been filed this year by various church denominations through the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility. Advocates hope some 157 corporations will review and take action on these resolutions at upcoming annual meetings. The majority of the resolutions deal with divestment from South Africa but other hot issues include militarism, affirmative action violations, and the marketing of infant formula in the Third World. Environment issues are a rising concern, with the "Valdez Principles," a set of environmental guidelines for corporations, gaining prominence among responsible investment advocates.

Presbyterians Recognize Business Practices

For the first time, the Presbyterian Church's (USA) Mission Responsibility Through Investment Committee suggested that several corporations be recognized for their positive business practices and contributions to society. Among the ten corporations on the list, Chevron was commended for its involvement in international hunger relief efforts and Caterpillar's worldwide business conduct code was favorably cited.

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liberation theology, etc.). JPIC attempts to join everything under a framework of "interconnectedness" and "inclusiveness" -- a new unified dogma requiring new confessions and radical action.

Oxford: New Hope for the Old Age

The Oxford Declaration owes its origins to a process of dialog begun in 1987. According to one report, the early discussions were dominated by skepticism of the market's role in the economy. Yet by 1990, an appreciation of markets and less-intrusive government was held not only by American conservatives, but also by participants from the developing world.

The discussions at Oxford last January were much less ambitious than JPIC, though they included more than 100 theologians, economists, ethicists and development practitioners, and other leaders from various parts of the world who were exploring evangelical consensus. Frankly, few probably expected anything to come of it. Who it will serve in the future is unclear; the declaration's vagueness about specifying the responsibilities of various cultural institutions leaves it, perhaps, all dressed up with nowhere to go.

Many owed the success in drafting the document to the new context of international life -- the more desperate condition of impoverished peoples and the extreme failure of certain policy structures (primarily socialism) to do anything but make it worse. The relaxing mood of superpower relations freed everyone to take a fresh look at these now irrefutable realities.

Oxford is unabashedly orthodox and evangelical in its theology. The Bible is held as the supreme authority, and God is acknowledged as sovereign over his creation. What follows is focused on the God-human-creation relationship: "Much of human aggression toward creation stems from a false understanding of the nature of creation and the human role in it." While humans were designed to exercise dominion over the earth, they do not have "license to abuse" it. This implies the need to maintain a healthy ecologi-

cal system over time. Failure to exercise this careful stewardship usually results from either "selfish individualism" that neglects human community or a "rigid collectivism" that stifles human freedom.

Perspectives in Contrast

JPIC and Oxford are a study in contrasting approaches. The JPIC group went to Seoul with a great deal of theological diversity and socio-political unity, while the evangelical group

JPIC and Oxford illumine a great gulf between public philosophies in the church

went to Oxford with greater socio-political diversity and theological unity. JPIC is broad and inclusive in theological terms, but specific and single-minded when analyzing the world's condition and prescribing policies. Oxford is focused and exclusive at relevant theological points, while ambiguous and umbrella-like on broad socio-political matters to include as many participants as possible.

Though direct comparison of the documents requires oversimplifying, some key points of contrast between the two reveal stark differences over theological reflection on stewardship.

1) **Revelation.** While Oxford begins with submission to Scripture and Christian tradition, JPIC listens to the urgent "cries" of the earth that compel humans to act. To Oxford God remains a person -- Father, Son, Spirit; JPIC speaks of the "Triune" Creator, Sustainer and Liberator in order to indicate God's ties to creation.

2) **Anthropology.** Oxford holds that humans are uniquely in God's image with special responsibility for the creation. JPIC, by contrast, sees human

"dominion" over culture as exploitative; humanity, instead, needs to see itself as equal to all other created things.

3) **Evil.** In JPIC it is found primarily in the structures developed by human culture, which divide and oppress. They must be rejected in favor of a new consciousness based on the interconnectedness of all things.

Oxford recognizes the extensiveness of evil and its social sources, but seeks to reform existing social life according to its God-given characteristics.

4) **Poverty.** JPIC sees poverty as the result of structural injustice. Therefore, it stresses overhauling the structures -- such as the international financial regime that produced the debt crisis. Little is said of empowering the poor directly. In Oxford, poverty is said to have complex causes that cannot be reduced to structures of oppression dominated by the rich. Oxford finds the roots of economic poverty in powerlessness. Since "work" -- the cultivation of creation -- is a profoundly human task, the poor need to be helped by the community so that they may help themselves and make a contribution to the community.

5) **Policy.** JPIC makes large leaps from theological premises to specific policy prescriptions without any intervening steps showing their relationship. Oxford similarly makes a big jump from theology to a select list of pressing issues, but makes no attempt to design specific public policies.

6) **Redemption.** JPIC limits its scope to the restoration of the earth and earthly "peace and justice." The atoning work of Jesus has no particular place in the framework, nor does personal salvation. Oxford begins by acknowledging the particular redemption found in Christ, which in turn affects the condition of creation, and human responsibility for creation.

Both documents represent significant, inclusive movements within their communities. Yet the contrast between them illumine a great gulf between cultures and public philosophies in the church that we will witness for many years to come.

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intellectuals and progressive sectors in the churches. On the other side is a kind of anti-people's coalition, which includes the traditional ruling classes, the business class, and a good portion of the conservative Roman Catholic bishops and other conservative sectors of the churches.

Melendez does not leave much room for the complications of real life: that there is a genuine democratic center between the extremes, that many peasants and workers are in fact centrist or even conservative, and that many truly "progressive" church people would not accept being lumped in a "people's coalition" with the likes of the Sandinistas.

But Melendez never defines that slippery term "progressive," nor does he specify which groups comprise "the people's coalition." He drops hints that Marxists play an important role; however, he never discusses the nature of Marxism. Indeed, the NCC study avoids any deep exploration of the ideological alternatives facing Central Americans. Readers receive only a caricature of the conflict: the wicked, right-wing rich versus the righteous, left-wing poor.

We will be angered by the gross political imbalance of the NCC materials. In total, the four books contain 103 separate passages referring to human rights violations committed by rightist governments and movements; only two passages allude to any such violations by leftist groups. One of these is a brief assertion that the FMLN guerrillas have killed "some" civilians in El Salvador, in the midst of a stronger condemnation of the Salvadoran military. The other reference is preceded by a (fictionalized) account of how Guatemalan soldiers casually massacre a whole peasant village, "sometimes tossing the littlest children into the air to see who could shoot them before they hit the ground." Then it is noted that leftist guerrillas did occasionally "bother" peasants in the same region.

The NCC authors several times grant that "we cannot ignore the real limitations and faults" of the "people's coalition" and its "prophetic church" members. Melendez mentions "tactical errors" by the Sandinistas in dealing with the Catholic bishops, and even a "difficult" relationship with their own supporters in the Catholic Church. Yet he does not go into any detail on this point. On the whole, Melendez is quite pleased to report on Christians taking up arms in the "liberation struggle." He sees "a profound

maturation" in the "prophetic church": "It understands more clearly what Christians can offer the movements for revolution: to defend the legitimate aims of the movements, to imbue them with a Christian spirit, to humanize them, and to help keep them from becoming rigidly dogmatic." So while there are deficiencies on the Left, the NCC study seems to assume that they cannot be anything like the fundamental, "structural" sins of the Right.

We will be grieved at the uncharitable way in which the NCC authors treat those with whom they differ politically. Melendez interprets U.S. policy as driven by the crassest of motives. He describes a



MANAGUA, NICARAGUA -- The NCC study materials rarely mention churches that don't fit their "prophetic" mold. Compared to the small historical Protestant churches, Pentecostals, such as those listening to Evangelist Alberto Motessi, tend to be cautious about political involvement.

sinister "Reagan Plan" for "regaining control" of Central America, putting it "in the service of great international corporations," and imposing upon it "a foreign, consumer-oriented, and violent culture." He dismisses the U.S. concern for human rights as a mere "propaganda ploy," and our economic aid as a device "to disguise the repression practiced by the military governments." Throughout the NCC materials, U.S.-backed Christian Democrat reformists are derided as "puppets."

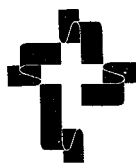
Within the Catholic Church, likewise, the motives of non-leftists are consistently impugned. Melendez portrays reformist and conservative Catholic leaders as power-seekers, trying "to rebuild the church-state alliance" by placating the ruling classes. Catholic bishops who criticize the "prophetic church" are depicted as "weak and impressionable," easily swayed by pressure from the Vatican, from Washington, and from local governments. Such *ad hominem* attacks on fellow Christian leaders are unworthy of an

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organization which calls itself ecumenical.

We will be disappointed to see the NCC study's neglect of crucial sectors of the Central American churches. The narrow focus on the politicized "prophetic church" prevents the NCC from doing justice to the many other forms of religious life. It is,



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in fact, the conservative evangelical churches -- not the leftist "base communities" -- which are drawing increasing numbers of the poor.

One would expect that *People of Hope*, Carmelo Alvarez's survey of Central American Protestantism, would devote careful attention to this important phenomenon.

Nevertheless, Alvarez does no more than take a few cheap shots at the "fundamentalists." He characterizes them as a projection of "neo-colonial" U.S. missionaries. He charges them with being "apathetic toward historical processes, disconnected from the everyday reality that surrounds them." Incredibly, Alvarez condemns the conservative evangelicals

for "worrying more about the building up of the church than working for the coming of God's reign" -- as if the two were contradictory.

The NCC materials do contain some solid stuff. Carmelo Alvarez delivers a striking meditation on the meaning of the cross of Christ for Latin America's poor. Despite the ideological axe-grinding heard elsewhere in his book, here Alvarez lets the voice of innocent suffering ring clear: "I saw Jesus die in Peru at the age of ten days. He was born in a manger and died crucified by the lack of medical care. This is the sad fate of the tiny Christs of Latin America."

If Quetzals Could Cry concludes with an observation by Alfonso Ayala, Jr., a Guatemalan doctor:

The restoration of God's image among the poor and the needy is a difficult mission. More than human intervention is needed, however, if that restoration is to become a reality. God's love and faithfulness, expressed through God's people, are a source of encouragement and empowerment for the poor and the oppressed. This is a primary resource, one that many fighters for social change do not possess. The NCC's authors, as all who seek liberation for the poor, would do well to bear Ayala's point in mind.

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would rob them of spiritual leadership and cultural identity. If the monarchy re-establishes its authority, persecution of Christians may again intensify.

**Taking
Action:**

Concerned readers should consider praying daily for Nepal through this crucial summer. Pray that Christians and democratic forces present in Nepal will take courage and be instrumental in providing direction to the reform movement so as to gain genuine political and religious freedom.

Religion & Democracy

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