

*“Moral Leadership  
In Times Of  
Segregation and Immigration”*

Presented by

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On Christmas Eve, 1865, in the law office of Judge Thomas Jones, in the little town of Pulaski, Tennessee, six young men, all confederate veterans, met as the 'moral leaders' of their community.

They met to organize a society that they first called *Kuklid*, from the Greek word '*Kuklos*', meaning a circle. Before the meeting was over the official name adopted was *Ku Klux Klan*.

Their statements of principles were:

1. to protect the weak, the innocent, and the defenseless; to relieve the injured and the oppressed; to secure the suffering and unfortunate, especially widows and orphans;
2. to protect and defend the Constitution of the United States; and
3. to aid and assist in the execution of all Constitutional laws.

At the time, their main objectives were to arouse public curiosity, to surround the organization with an atmosphere of mystery and secrecy, and to represent the 'spirits' of dead Confederate soldiers.

Without much effort or serious purpose this organization spread rapidly during the winter of 1865-1866. This quick status of influence gave the KKK a sense of power as it spread over rivers and mountains and within months the idea that some great and holy mission awaited the movement was born.

The conditions, both physical and psychological, in the South were ripe for a movement that offered, in the despair of defeat, a hope to bring order back into disordered lives of many communities.

By 1867, the need for greater organization and communication among the several hundred "dens" of the Klan was needed and the first 'secret' convention was held in Nashville.

The unbearable conditions in almost every Southern community, and the belief that nothing could be hoped for from national or even local authorities gave great impetus to the convention.

One of the orders that came out of the convention was that a KKK parade was to be held in each county seat in Tennessee on the night of July 4, 1867.

*“On the morning of that day the citizens found the sidewalks thickly strewn with slips of paper bearing the printed words - The Ku Klux will parade the streets tonight.”*

While some reported that the number of KKK members in the parade was 10,000 the actual number was about 4,000.

The “Invisible Empire,” as KKK was often called, exercised real power and influence over individuals and communities.

*“Masked riders and mystery were not the only Ku Klux devices, carpetbaggers, and scalawags and their families were ostracized in all walks of life; in the church, in the school, in business wherever men or women, or even children gathered together, no matter what the purpose or the place, the alien and the renegade, and all that belonged or pertained to them, were refused recognition and consigned to outer darkness and the companionship of Negroes.”*

The first Grand Wizard of the KKK was the former Confederate General Nathan Forrest, born in Chapel Hill, Tennessee to a poor family. He eventually established himself as the owner of a large cotton plantation, a slave trader and land developer.

Forrest enlisted in the Southern army as a private, fought and was wounded in Tennessee. He gave General William Sherman such serious problems that Sherman shouted that Forrest had to be *‘hunted down and killed even if it costs 10,000 lives and bankrupts the Federal treasury.’*

Forrest was still fighting the day Robert E. Lee surrendered on April 9, 1865.

Today, KKK historians give credit to the work of the Klan in restoring constitutional government to Tennessee, to the extent that in February 1869 the Grand Wizard Forrest declared that the KKK dissolve and disband. This proclamation had little effect beyond the borders of Tennessee.

The many investigations by Congress and the President of the US into the Klan activities produced a secondary if not primary benefit in that it exposed the misgovernment and criminal exploits of the reconstruction leaders in the south.

Debates in Congress and in to the press began to educate the people of the US as to the poor conditions of Southern communities and the roots claims of the Klan.

In 1872, seven years after the ending of the Civil War, Congress passed an act restoring the right to vote and hold office to the capable men and leaders of the South. Federal troops were withdrawn and what was known in the North as *“The Great Ku Klux Conspiracy”* was thought to be at an end.

The 'Civil Rights Movement' of the 1920-60's created another opportunity for the Klan, and its understanding of 'moral leadership.'

When Robert Teel, a 'member' of the Klan, decided to open a store in the mainly black community of Oxford, NC, called Grab-all, many white members of the community thought it strange, and the mixed community did not welcome him. There was a grocery store and a coin laundry open to anybody, and a barbershop where Teel cut hair for whites only.

On the night of May 12, 1970 a black man 'said something' at the store to a young white woman. Robert Teel and two of his sons ran out of the store and shot Henry Marrow to death in front of at least half a dozen witnesses.

*"This won't no God-damn murder mystery and the son of bitch lived three blocks from the police station." (p4)*

That night the riots started in Oxford, and years later Timothy Tyson wrote ***Blood Done Sign My Name***, about his father Rev. Vernon Tyson and this "little postage stamp of soil" (p117 – William Faulkner) that changed his life forever.

Many of the white churches of this time wanted what Timothy B. Tyson's father felt his church wanted of him.

*"In Oxford, Daddy began to feel as though all the members wanted him to do was to marry them and bury them and stay away from their souls." (p16)*

On that summer day in 1970, when ten-year-old Tim Tyson was playing with his neighborhood friend, Gerald Teel, and Gerald whispered to him, "Daddy and Roger and 'em shot a nigger," a racial conflict that reeked the small tobacco town of Oxford, North Carolina began and is reported in a commentary by Rev. Eugene Winkler in the Nov. 2, 2004 issue of *Christian Century*.

"Timothy B. Tyson, professor of Afro-American studies at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, offers more than a personal account of the events surrounding the murder of Henry "Dickie" Marrow, 23, a black military veteran. His book is also a candid examination of the African-American struggle for freedom.

Until the aftermath of Marrow's murder, Oxford had been almost untouched by the civil rights movement. Murder charges were leveled at Robert Teel--who had a criminal record and ties to the Ku Klux Klan--and at two of his sons. When an all-white jury acquitted the Teels of all charges, a group of black Vietnam veterans organized mass protests and a march on the state capital. Demonstrators burned down Oxford's

tobacco warehouses, which represented the heart of its economy. The white establishment called in reinforcements.

At the time, Tim Tyson's father was the ambitious young pastor of the First Methodist Church of Oxford. With large sections of the town destroyed, Vernon Tyson pressed his congregation to reach across racial barriers and come to terms with the town's racial history. But such an appeal was too incendiary for his all-white church, which thought the Tyson family was betraying southern honor. The bishop transferred Tyson to another church.

Thirty years later, Tim Tyson returned to North Carolina to try to make sense of the events that had changed his life and compelled him, after a long period of rebellion and dissolute living, to earn a Ph.D. in Afro-American studies.

Tyson interviewed Robert Teel, who told him, "*That nigger committed suicide, coming in here wanting to four-letter-word my daughter-in-law.*" He also talked extensively with black radicals, who understood the power of money and greed to prevent change, and with the former mayor, who admitted that he and the police had made mistakes in trying to quell the riots.

The strength of the book is that Tyson not only paints a conscience ridden picture of Oxford but also examines the policies of "gradualism" in racial matters. "Gradualism nearly always rested on empty promises; 'later' always meant never."

As in his earlier book, Radio Free Dixie: Robert F. Williams and the Roots of Black Power, Tyson sketches with humor and insight southern characters who questioned the status quo. One such person was Thad Stem, a kind of legendary figure in Oxford and the one man who challenged Pastor Tyson to risk his career and his ambition for the sake of justice and truth.

In his oval way, Tim Tyson has continued in his father's tradition by reaching across barriers--in this case the barriers of time and place--to examine a tragic chapter of U.S. history."

Part of what made up this chapter in U.S. history was the passage by the US Congress of the Civil Rights Act in 1964.

However, as Tyson records, this act "*did not make a dent in Oxford*" and many other Southern communities, where the Civil War was still referred to as 'The War Between the States' and 'The War of Northern Aggression.'

From the early days of slavery, the African Americans forged a Christian faith that affirmed their own humanity and sometimes called their masters to judgment. (p26)

About the South's four million slaves W.E.B. Du Bois wrote;

*“God was real. They knew Him. They affirmed that they were all children of the same Lord who’d brought the Israelites out of bondage, the same Lord who’d rescued Daniel from the lion’s den, the same Lord who’d given a little shepherd boy a slingshot to bring down mighty Goliath. They knew that God, in His Grace, had sent Jesus to be nailed to the cross to raise them up, and that, their names were written in the Lamb’s Book of Life, and they sang “Ain’t you glad, ain’t you glad, that the blood done sign my name.” (p29)*

*“What the white man fears,” the editor of the Warren Record wrote in 1955, “and what the white man is fighting to prevent at any cost is the destruction of the purity of his race” (p38)*

In the 1920s the KKK numbered about 4.5 million, then dropped to an estimated 60,000 during the civil rights era (1954-65) and bottomed out at fewer than 2,000 members by the mid-1970s, according to Brian Levin, Director of the Center for the Study of Hate and Extremism at California State University in San Bernardino.

An Anti-Defamation League lawyer, Deborah Lauter, stated; *“If any one single issue or trend can be credited with reenergizing the Klan, it is the debate over immigration in America. New groups are sprouting in parts of the country that have not seen much activity.”*

Before entering into the details of the Immigration Bill and debate, I wish to offer a Biblical and Theological understanding of the issue written by Dr. Dana W. Wilbanks, a Presbyterian minister and professor emeritus of Christian ethics at Iliff School of Theology.

“In Christian Scripture, the obligation to extend hospitality to the stranger is a key requirement of faithfulness. Who is the neighbor whom we are to love? Frequently in the Bible the answer is the stranger. In fact, right at the center of Christian faithfulness is the challenge and the opportunity to love the stranger as ourselves, to love the stranger as God loves the stranger, to love the stranger as one with whom Jesus explicitly identifies.

This biblical teaching does not tell us precisely what U.S. immigration policy ought to be. But it does require us to ask-in the midst of our debates about immigration-what it means for Christians and Christian churches to be bearers of the tradition of hospitality today. I believe it means three things: we must practice mercy, establish justice, and seek transforming relationships.

**First, practice mercy.** The stranger is often characterized by the condition of vulnerability. The stranger, by definition, is an outsider. As such, she or he may be excluded from the networks which insiders rely on for the satisfaction of their daily needs. Christian teaching about hospitality, however, insists that strangers be treated

the same as insiders. Indeed the outsiders become our neighbors. They are created in the image of God. They are valued by God no less than others of us. As such they have certain basic rights that they do not have to earn. From a Christian standpoint, they have these rights simply by virtue of their humanness.

Some of the immigration legislation currently proposed would deny basic services to undocumented workers, and in fact would make it a crime to provide such assistance. Many Christians have responded with outrage at these proposals. They fly in the face of elementary decency much less the mercifulness of Christian hospitality. A good society will ensure that the basic needs of all people living within its borders will be met, documented or not. For Christians the vulnerability of strangers reminds us of the dependence all of us have on the generosity of God.

**Second, establish justice.** The stranger is often treated unjustly. In many cases the stranger does not have structures for addressing injustices. Certainly this is the case with undocumented workers. They are an underground work force who must seek to remain invisible in order to keep working. The injustice is compounded when these workers are blamed for a whole host of problems in the United States. The bitter irony is that they are doing work American employers need. They are providing goods and services upon which the rest of us rely. They are contributing members of their communities. Yet instead of recognizing and appreciating their work, many people would deny them a path to legalization and citizenship.

Hospitality to strangers, therefore, requires the establishment of justice. Particularly, given the vulnerability of undocumented workers, the public advocacy of churches on behalf of justice for them is crucial. God calls us to be particularly attentive to the ways the voiceless and defenseless are treated. Surely justice would seem to mean that those who are engaged in work our communities value should be given the opportunity, under reasonable conditions, for full membership in these communities.

**Third, seek transforming relationships.** One way to view the stranger in the biblical tradition is as a "herald." The stranger, the sojourner, brings news. If we don't grant hospitality, we don't get the news. We miss something that we need to know. In the book of Hebrews, the writer tells us that in giving hospitality to the stranger we may be welcoming an angel without knowing it. In the stranger, God calls us to new horizons of opportunity and responsibility, beyond what we are able to generate out of our established environments. In this understanding, hospitality to the stranger is necessary in order that the church may be faithful to God.

What is morally significant about the stranger? Often we emphasize that human beings are basically alike. In some respects this is certainly true. But it is also true that human beings are different. Immigrants are often regarded as "strangers" in this sense. They are different from "us." Difference becomes a justification for keeping them out of our communities or treating them harshly if they are already here.

In Christian teaching, to welcome the stranger, the immigrant, is to receive gratefully the gifts of the "other." We need the stranger to open us to possibilities of transformation God has in store beyond what we might have previously recognized. In the history of the United States there is no question that immigration changes both residents and immigrants. We are mutually transformed. While facing squarely the challenges of immigration, and they are real, the Christian ethic of hospitality must lead our churches to emphasize not the threats but rather the gifts and the possibilities for the creative multicultural communities that immigrants bring to us."

This resource and more information can be found at The Progressive Christian Witness. Berkeley, CA: Pacific School of Religion, October 2006.

<http://www.progressivechristianwitness.org/> This essay was written for *The Progressive Christian Witness*.

Dana W. Wilbanks is a Presbyterian minister and professor emeritus of Christian ethics at Iliff School of Theology, in Denver, CO, where he served on the faculty from 1968 to 2005. His primary academic interest is relating Christian thought to questions of public policy. Most recently his work has focused on immigration and refugee policy.

As I wrote this paper, the US Congress was debating the Immigration Reform Bill.

The White House web-site, [www.whitehouse.gov](http://www.whitehouse.gov) provides the following information on *The Comprehensive Immigration Reform Bill*.

**June 25, 2007**

**Fact Sheet: Only Enforcing Our Ineffective Current Law Leaves the Nation Vulnerable**

*Bipartisan Immigration Reform Bill Necessary To Strengthen Enforcement Laws*

**The Bipartisan Immigration Reform Bill Puts Enforcement First The Bill Includes Meaningful Border Security And Worksite Enforcement Triggers That Must Be Met Before Other Components Of Reform Are Put In Place.** To show the government is serious about meeting these benchmarks, the bill provides \$4.4 billion in immediate additional funding for securing our borders and enforcing our laws at the worksite.

**The Bipartisan Immigration Reform Bill Will Strengthen Our Ineffective And Insufficient Laws**

<u>Current Law</u>	<u>If Bipartisan Immigration Reform Bill Is Passed</u>
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<p>The civil fine for employers who hire illegal workers is between \$275 and \$2,200 per alien for first-time offenders; between \$3,300 and \$11,000 per alien for four-time offenders.</p>	<p>The civil fine for employers who hire illegal workers will be raised to \$5,000 per alien for first-time offenders; to \$75,000 per alien for four-time offenders.</p>
<p>The maximum criminal fine for employers repeatedly engaged in hiring illegal workers is \$3,000 per alien.</p>	<p>The maximum criminal fine for employers repeatedly engaged in hiring illegal workers is \$75,000 per alien.</p>
<p>Immigrants caught crossing the border illegally may reenter the country legally as soon as 10 years after the offense.</p> <p>The crime of illegal entry is a misdemeanor for the first offense, subject to a maximum sentence of only six months, even for aliens with serious criminal records.</p> <p>There is no mandatory minimum for illegally reentering the United States after having already been removed.</p>	<p>Immigrants caught crossing the border illegally after the new law passes will be permanently barred from receiving work or tourist visas from the U.S.</p> <p>The crime of illegal entry will be punishable by sentences of up to 20 years, depending on the person's criminal history.</p> <p>There is a mandatory minimum of 60 days for illegal reentry, with higher mandatory minimums of a year or more for criminal aliens who illegally reenter the United States.</p>
<p>Dangerous criminal aliens who cannot be removed from the U.S. because no other country is willing to accept them must be released into society after just six months.</p>	<p>The government will be given authority to detain dangerous criminal aliens as long as it takes to deport them.</p>
<p>There is no legal basis for the Departments of Justice and Homeland Security to deny admission to aliens solely on the basis of their participation in a criminal gang.</p>	<p>The Departments of Justice and Homeland Security will be given new authority to deny admission to or remove aliens solely based on their participation in a criminal gang.</p>
<p>Employers have only a limited ability to determine whether the documentation provided by workers is authentic.</p>	<p>A reliable Employment Eligibility Verification System (EEVS) will provide employers with access to identification</p>

	<p>photographs available in government databases in order to verify the authenticity of documents presented by workers.</p>
<p>Workers are allowed to present more than two dozen documents to prove their identity and authorization to work.</p>	<p>Workers will present a limited range of secure government-issued or government-authorized IDs including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• U.S. Passport issued by the State Department (for U.S. citizens only).</li> <li>• Document issued by the State Department or DHS containing photo, along with other biometrics and additional personal identifying info needed to ensure identity (for non-citizens).</li> <li>• State-issued, REAL ID Act-compliant license presented along with a Social Security card.</li> <li>• For a limited period before implementation of the REAL ID Act, a State-issued license with a photograph that can be verified by DHS, presented along with a birth certificate and Social Security card.</li> </ul>
<p>The Social Security Administration currently has access to tax return information indicating which businesses are employing the largest numbers of illegal aliens, but is legally prohibited from sharing that information with DHS, severely hampering DHS's ability to investigate and prosecute the worst offenders.</p>	<p>Upon request, DHS will receive information from SSA about workers whose Social Security Numbers do not match their names and about Social Security Numbers that are used by more than one worker.</p>
<p>The current criminal provisions do not fully cover passport trafficking and immigration</p>	<p>The bill contains clear and broad criminal penalties for passport and visa trafficking,</p>

practitioner fraud. Offenders are not automatically inadmissible and removable.

practitioner fraud, and other forms of fraud. In addition, many of these offenders are made inadmissible and removable.

DHS must prove that employers "knowingly" hired an unauthorized alien before the employer is liable for civil penalties.

Employers who hire unauthorized aliens with "reckless disregard that the alien is an unauthorized alien" are liable for civil sanctions. This tougher legal standard makes it easier to hold liable businesses that hire and continue to employ illegal aliens.

### **The Bipartisan Immigration Reform Bill Will Build On The Administration's Current Enforcement Efforts**

**In FY 2006, The Border Patrol Caught And Sent Back Nearly 1.2 Million Illegal Immigrants.** So far in FY 2007, more than 600,000 illegal immigrants have been removed.

**Since The President Took Office In 2001, The Administration Has More Than Doubled Funding For Border Security – From \$4.6 Billion In 2001 To \$10.4 Billion In 2007.** As a result of this investment and other deterrence factors, the number of people apprehended illegally crossing our Southern border is down by more than 25 percent in 2007 from this point in 2006.

**Immigration And Customs Enforcement (ICE) Has Replaced The Old Approach Of Administrative Hearings And Fines For Employers Who Knowingly Hire Illegal Aliens With A Much Tougher Combination Of Criminal Prosecutions And Asset Forfeitures.**

- Arrests for criminal violations brought in worksite enforcement actions have increased from 49 in FY 2000 to a record 716 in FY 2006 – a nearly 15-fold increase.
- During the first half of FY 2007, ICE obtained criminal fines, restitutions, and civil judgments in worksite enforcement investigations against egregious violators in excess of \$29 million.
- The Administration requested funding for nearly 1,300 additional ICE personnel in FY 2007 and another 515 in FY 2008 to support enforcement, including investigations.

**The Administration Has Expanded The Border Patrol From Approximately 9,000 Agents In 2001 To More Than 13,000 Agents Today.** By the end of 2008, there will be a total of more than 18,000 agents, doubling the size of the Border Patrol under the President's leadership.

**The Administration Has Effectively Ended The Practice Of "Catch And Release" At Our Borders.**

- **Since 2001, The Administration Has Provided Funding For 7,798 New Beds To Accommodate Apprehended Illegal Immigrants – A 40 Percent Increase.**
- **The Administration Has Expanded The Use Of Expedited Removals.** The number of expedited removals has nearly doubled in the last two years, from 41,968 in 2004 to approximately 90,000 in 2006.

### **Enforcement Alone Will Not Work To Secure Our Borders And Meet The Needs Of Our Economy**

**The Bill Will Better Secure Our Nation By Providing A Mechanism For Illegal Immigrants With Clean Records And Steady Jobs To Come Out Of The Shadows And Be Accounted For In A Regulated System, On A Probationary Basis.** This will let law enforcement officials know who is in the country and allow immigration enforcement officers to focus their resources on apprehending violent criminals and terrorists.

- **This Proposal Is Not Amnesty Because Illegal Workers Must Acknowledge That They Broke The Law, Pay A \$1,000 Fine, And Undergo Criminal Background Checks To Obtain A Z Visa.** To apply for a green card at a date years into the future, Z visa workers must wait in line behind those who applied lawfully, pay an additional \$4,000 fine, complete accelerated English and civics requirements, and compete in the merit system based on the skills and attributes they will bring to the United States.

**The Bill Also Provides A Temporary Worker Program To Help Reduce The Number Of People Trying To Sneak Across Our Borders.** This program will provide a lawful and orderly channel for foreign workers to fill the jobs that Americans are not doing. }

### **In Summary the Comprehensive Immigration Reform Must Accomplish Five Clear Objectives**

#### **1. Securing The Border**

**Under The Bipartisan Immigration Reform Bill, Temporary Worker And Z Visas Will Not Be Issued Until Meaningful Border Security And Worksite Enforcement Benchmarks Are Met.** These triggers include:

- Increasing border fencing.
- Increasing vehicle barriers at the Southern border.
- Increasing the size of the Border Patrol.
- Installing ground-based radar and camera towers along the Southern border.
- Ensuring resources are available to maintain the effective end of "Catch and Release" at our border.
- Ensuring a reliable Employment Eligibility Verification System (EEVS) is established and in use.

**To Show The Government Is Serious About Meeting These Benchmarks, The Bill Provides \$4.4 Billion In Immediate Additional Funding For Securing Our Borders And Enforcing Our Laws At The Worksite.**

## **2. Holding Employers Accountable For The Workers They Hire**

**The Bipartisan Immigration Reform Bill Sets Up A Sophisticated Electronic EEVS To Give Employers The Tools They Need To Verify The Status Of Workers.** EEVS will require workers to present a limited range of stronger and more readily verifiable identification documents, which will be checked electronically against Federal and State databases.

- **EEVS Will Allow Employers To Verify The Authenticity Of Documents By Providing Access For The First Time To Identification Photographs In Government Databases.**
- **The Bill Imposes Stiff New Criminal And Civil Penalties On Employers Who Continue To Hire And Employ Illegal Workers.** Under current law, the civil fine for employers who hire illegal workers is between \$275 and \$2,200 per alien for first-time offenders and between \$3,300 and \$11,000 per alien for four-time offenders. Under the bill, the civil fine for employers who hire illegal workers will be raised to \$5,000 per alien for first-time offenders, and to \$75,000 per alien for four-time offenders.

## **3. Creating A Temporary Worker Program**

**Under The Senate Bill, A Temporary Worker Program Will Allow U.S. Law Enforcement To Focus More Resources On Apprehending Violent Criminals And Terrorists.** The temporary worker program will help meet the needs of our economy and reduce the number of people trying to sneak across our borders by providing a lawful and orderly channel for foreign workers to fill the jobs that Americans are not doing.

- **This Temporary Worker Program Has Tougher Labor Standards And More Robust Protections For U.S. Workers Than Any Existing U.S. Nonimmigrant Worker Program.**
  - Before hiring a temporary worker under the bill, an employer must first try to recruit U.S. workers for 90 days – three times longer than any other temporary worker program.
  - Temporary workers under the bill must be paid the prevailing competitive wage, which is based on the wages paid to U.S. workers, and ensures that the wages of U.S. workers cannot be undercut.

#### **4. Resolving The Status Of The Millions Of Illegal Immigrants Already In The Country**

**The Bill Will Strengthen Our National Security By Bringing The Millions Of Illegal Workers Already Here Out Of The Shadows – Without Amnesty.** This will allow law enforcement officials to know who is in the country and allow immigration enforcement officers to focus their resources on finding and apprehending violent criminals and terrorists.

- **Illegal Workers Already Here Must Come Forward And Pay A Fine.** In order to obtain a Z visa granting temporary legal status, workers in the country before January 1, 2007, must come forward, pay a \$1,000 fine, pass criminal background checks, remain employed, and maintain a clean record.
- **Z Visa Workers Must Pay An Additional Fine, Learn English, And Meet Other Requirements To Apply For A Green Card, And Cannot Receive One Until Years In The Future.** Z visa workers must apply at the back of the line and wait until the current backlog is cleared, pay an additional \$4,000 fine, complete accelerated English and civics requirements, maintain employment, leave the U.S. to file their application, and compete in the merit system based on the skills and attributes they will bring to the United States.
- **Satisfying The Requirements In The Bill Will Take Most Green Card Applicants More Than A Decade.**

## 5. Finding New Ways To Help Newcomers Assimilate Into Our Society

**The Bill Will Strengthen The Assimilation Of New Immigrants.** The bill declares that English is the national language of the United States and calls on the United States Government to preserve and enhance it. It also enacts accelerated English requirements for many immigrants. In addition, the DHS Office of Citizenship will be expanded to include coordinating assimilation efforts in its mission, and the Secretary of Education will make an English instruction program available for free over the Internet.

I think it is interesting to note that one hundred years ago, in 1907, a seated President, Theodore Roosevelt, had this to say about immigration and being an American:

***"In the first place, we should insist that if the immigrant who comes here in good faith becomes an American and assimilates himself to us, he shall be treated on an exact equality with everyone else, for it is an outrage to discriminate against any such man because of creed, or birthplace, or origin. But this is predicated upon the person's becoming in every facet an American, and nothing but an American... There can be no divided allegiance here. Any man who says he is an American, but something else also, isn't an American at all. We have room for but one flag, the American flag... We have room for but one language here, and that is the English language... and we have room for but one sole loyalty and that is a loyalty to the American people."***

Following the inability of the Senate to pass the Immigration Bill, President Bush gave this press release on June 28, 2007:

THE PRESIDENT: I thank the members of the Senate and members of my administration who worked so hard on the border security and immigration reform bill. I'm sorry the Senate was unable to reach agreement on the bill this morning.

Legal immigration is one of the top concerns of the American people and Congress's failure to act on it is a disappointment. The American people understand the status quo is unacceptable when it comes to our immigration laws. A lot of us worked hard to see if we couldn't find a common ground -- it didn't work.

Congress really needs to prove to the American people that it can come together on hard issues. The Congress needs to work on comprehensive energy policy and good health care; make sure health care is affordable without inviting the federal government to run the health care system. We've got to work together to make sure we can balance this federal budget, and not overspend or raise taxes on the American people. We've got a lot of work to do.

When they come back from the summer -- from the July recess, before the summer break begins, we'll be focusing on the appropriations process. And I look forward to working with Congress to balance our budgets and to be wise about how we spend the people's money.

Thank you for your time.

While many disagree with the immigration position from the White House, no one disagrees that immigration is the new KKK agenda.

Brad Knickerbocker of the Christian Science Monitor writes that the KKK appears to be on the rise again after years of obscurity. (Feb 9, 2007)

The debate over what to do about the nation's nearly 35 million immigrants, of whom about 11 million are in the US illegally, has become the KKK's main recruiting tool. This increase in activity, including rallies, recruitment drives, and distribution of racist literature is viewed by the KKK itself, as it was at its beginning, as having a religious, if not Christian, dimension.

Today, Christian Evangelicals are much more likely than mainstream Protestants or Roman Catholics to believe that "newcomers threaten traditional American customs and values," according to the Pew Research Center.

On May 7, 2007 many Christian leaders launched a campaign calling for Comprehensive Immigration Reform as released by Sojourners, at [www.sojoNet](http://www.sojoNet).

Evangelical Christians from across the ideological spectrum today launched a national grassroots and ad campaign calling for comprehensive immigration reform that is consistent with biblical values. Ads announcing the campaign ran in *Roll Call* and *CongressDaily* today to coincide with the launch. **Christians for Comprehensive Immigration Reform (CCIR)** will place ads nationally and locally in newspapers and on the radio, and mobilize at least 200,000 letters, tens of thousands of calls, and hundreds of lobby visits to Members of Congress by the August recess.

**Christians for Comprehensive Immigration Reform** will mobilize churches and faith groups to focus pressure on political leaders in Florida, Arizona, Kansas, Ohio and Pennsylvania with local newspaper and radio ads, letters (more than 30,000 letters have already been written), phone calls, lobby meetings, rallies, house parties, opeds, and letters to the editor. CCIR will work in several targeted states in collaboration with New Sanctuary Movement, which launches May 9.

"We are coming together today because the bible tells us again and again about the need to care for the stranger in our midst," said **Jim Wallis**, Founder and President of Sojourners, and author of *God's Politics: Why the Right Gets It Wrong and the Left*

*Doesn't Get It.* "Compassionate immigration reform is a critical step toward eradicating poverty in America."

"Despite differing theological and doctrinal perspectives, groups sharing a common Judeo-Christian heritage are uniting to challenge our lawmakers to create an immigration policy characteristic of a faithful people: compassionate, just, respectful of human dignity and valuing family bonds," said **Rev. Dan Soliday**, CEO, Nazarene Compassionate Ministries, Inc.

The organizations and individuals that make up **Christians for Comprehensive Immigration Reform** are uniting around a shared set of common moral and theological principles, including:

- All people, regardless of national origin, are made in the "image of God" and deserve to be treated with dignity and respect (Genesis 1:26-27, 9:6).
- There is an undeniable biblical responsibility to love and show compassion for the stranger among us (Deuteronomy 10:18-19, Leviticus 19:33-34, Matthew 25:31-46).
- Immigrants are our neighbors, both literally and figuratively, and we are to love our neighbors as ourselves and show mercy to neighbors in need (Leviticus 19:18, Mark 12:31, Luke 10:25-37).
- Respect for the rule of law, but also an obligation to oppose unjust laws and systems that harm and oppress people made in God's image, especially the vulnerable (Isaiah 10:1-4, Jeremiah 7:1-7, Acts 5:29, Romans 13:1-7).

**Christians for Comprehensive Immigration Reform** seeks legislation that is consistent with biblical principles; legislation that protects U.S. borders while establishing a viable, humane, and realistic immigration system. "We propose that Congress pass comprehensive immigration reform that reflects the American commitment to the three formative pillars of our nation: the rule of law, our faith value system and the pursuit of the American Dream," said **Rev. Samuel Rodriguez**, President of National Hispanic Christian Leadership Conference, America's largest Hispanic Evangelical organization, serving 10,700 Hispanic evangelical churches with 15 million members.

**Christians for Comprehensive Immigration Reform** supports comprehensive immigration reform legislation that includes:

- Border enforcement and protection initiatives that are consistent with humanitarian values while allowing the authorities to enforce the law and implement American immigration policy;

- Reforms in our family-based immigration system that reduce the waiting time for separated families to be safely reunited and maintain the constitutionally guaranteed rights of birthright citizenship and the ability of immigrants to earn naturalization;
- An opportunity for all immigrant workers and their families already in the U.S. to come out of the shadows and pursue the option of an earned path towards permanent legal status and citizenship upon satisfaction of specific criteria;
- A viable guest worker program that creates legal avenues for workers and their families to enter our country and work in a safe, legal, and orderly manner with their rights and due process fully protected and provides an option for workers to gain permanent status independent of an employer sponsor; and
- A framework to examine and ascertain solutions to the root causes of migration, such as economic disparities between sending and receiving nations.

**Christians for Comprehensive Immigration Reform's** biblical and legislative principles **are included in the coalition's** Joint Statement of Principles, which have been signed by a of coalition Christian organizations, churches, and high profile leaders, including, Dr. Joel C. Hunter, Sammy Mah, World Relief; Rev. Samuel Rodriguez, National Hispanic Christian Leadership Conference, Ron Sider, Evangelicals for Social Action; Jim Wallis, Sojourners; Noel Castellanos, Christian Community Development Association; Tony Campolo, The Evangelical Association for the Promotion of Education; World Evangelical Alliance; We Care America; American Baptist Churches USA, Presbyterian Church (USA); United Methodist Church; Mennonite Church USA; and Church World Service.]

Often when Christian leaders speak out on a controversial issue commentators are not far behind. Lou Dobbs, perhaps more than any other voice on TV or in print, represents the other side of the immigration issue and had this to say about the CCIR:

**{NEW YORK (CNN) --** The separation of church and state in this country is narrowing. And it is the church, not the state that is encroaching. Our Constitution protects religion from the intrusion or coercion of the state. But we have precious little protection against the political adventurism of all manner of churches and religious organizations.

The leadership of the Catholic Church and many Protestant churches, as well as Jewish and even Muslim religious organizations, are driving that political adventurism as those leaders conflate religion and politics. And while there is a narrowing of the separation between church and state, there is a widening schism between the leadership of churches and religious organizations and their followers and members.

Conservative evangelical leader James Dobson recently said actor and former Sen. Fred Thompson wasn't Christian enough to be president. He instead chose to commend Newt Gingrich, who has been married three times and recently admitted to

an extramarital affair. Five evangelical Christian leaders signed the "Land Letter" to President Bush in 2002 affirming a Christian theological basis to invade Iraq.

This week the head of the Los Angeles Archdiocese, Cardinal Roger Mahoney, basically threatened his faithful with denial of heaven if they don't support amnesty for illegal aliens. The good Cardinal said: "Anything that tears down one group of people or one person, anything that is a negative in our community, disqualifies us from being part of the eternal city."

The nation's religious leaders seem hell-bent on ignoring the separation of church and state when it comes to the politically charged issue of illegal immigration. A new coalition called Christians for Comprehensive Immigration Reform Wednesday will begin lobbying lawmakers with a new advertising and direct mail campaign on behalf of amnesty for illegal aliens.

The Rev. Jim Wallis of Sojourners Magazine put it this way: "If given the choice on this issue between Jesus and Lou Dobbs, I choose my Lord and savior, Jesus Christ."

But before the faithful acquiesce in the false choice offered by the good Reverend, perhaps he and his followers should consult Romans 13, where it is written: "Everyone must submit himself to the governing authorities, for there is no authority except that which God has established. The authorities that exist have been established by God. Consequently, he who rebels against the authority is rebelling against what God has instituted, and those who do so will bring judgment on themselves."

There is a more obvious and immediate judgment offered by the followers and members of both the Protestant and Catholic Churches. A Zogby poll last year asked churchgoers if they supported the House bill that would make illegal aliens return home and reduce future illegal immigration by securing the border and performing checks on illegal employers. Seventy-five percent of Protestants responded that was a good or very good idea, 77 percent of born-again Christians also agreed, and 66 percent of Catholics also backed tougher enforcement measures.

This schism between our church leaders and church members is just as broad and deep as that between our elected officials and their constituents across the country. Neither the state nor the church is exhibiting wisdom or fidelity to our national values in permitting the widening of that divide.}

I am sure that Mr. Dobbs' also is aware of Dr. Richard Land, president of the Southern Baptist Convention's Ethics & religious Liberty Commission, who remarked in March, 2007;

*"One of the great tragedies of our immigration crisis is that these people have come here illegally. But the difference is that they have come here illegally to work."*

The SBC - our nation's largest protestant denomination with over 16 million members - adopted the following resolution in June of 2006, as their 'moral' position on immigration:

### **ON THE CRISIS OF ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION**

WHEREAS, The crisis of illegal immigration in the United States impacts tens of millions of people in many different ways; and

WHEREAS, Christians have responsibilities in two realms: as citizens of the nation (Matthew 22:21) and as citizens of the heavenly Kingdom (Philippians 3:20; Titus 2:14; 1 Peter 2:9); and

WHEREAS, As citizens of the nation, Christians are under biblical mandate to respect the divine institution of government and its just laws, but at the same time, Christians have a right to expect the government to fulfill its ordained mandate to enforce those laws (Romans 13:1-7); and

WHEREAS, As citizens of the heavenly Kingdom and members of local congregations of that Kingdom, we also have a biblical mandate to act compassionately toward those who are in need (Matthew 25:34-40), love our neighbors as ourselves (Matthew 22:39), and to do unto others as we would have them do unto us (Matthew 7:12); and

WHEREAS, The federal government's failure to fulfill its responsibility in the area of illegal immigration, during both Democratic and Republican administrations, has caused severe consternation among a sizable constituency of Americans and has led to the crisis we now face; and

WHEREAS, The federal government has not only failed to control the borders but failed in its responsibility to enforce the immigration laws, not only with regard to the individuals who are here illegally, but also with regard to the employers who knowingly hire them; and

WHEREAS, There are reportedly 12 million immigrants and counting who are living and working in America without legal status, many of whom have children who are American citizens by birth; and

WHEREAS, Many of these hardworking and otherwise law-abiding immigrants have been exploited by employers and by others in society,

contrary to James 5:4; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the messengers to the Southern Baptist Convention meeting in Greensboro, North Carolina, June 13-14, 2006, urge the federal government to provide for the security of our nation by controlling and securing our borders; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge the United States Congress to address seriously and swiftly the question of how to deal realistically with the immigration crisis in a way that will restore trust among the citizenry; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge the federal government to enforce all immigration laws, including the laws directed at employers who knowingly hire illegal immigrants or who are unjustly paying these immigrants substandard wages or subjecting them to conditions that are contrary to the labor laws of our country; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge citizen Christians to follow the biblical principle of caring for the foreigners among us (Deuteronomy 24:17-22) and the command of Christ to be a neighbor to those in need of assistance (Luke 10:30-37), regardless of their racial or ethnic background, country of origin, or legal status; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we encourage Christian churches to act redemptively and reach out to meet the physical, emotional, and spiritual needs of all immigrants, to start English classes on a massive scale, and to encourage them toward the path of legal status and/or citizenship; and be it finally

RESOLVED, That we encourage all Southern Baptists to make the most of the tremendous opportunity for evangelism and join our Master on His mission to seek and save those who are lost (Luke 19:10) among the immigrant population to the end that these individuals might become both legal residents of the United States and loyal citizens of the Kingdom of God.

The Rev. Samuel Rodriguez, president of the National Hispanic Christian Leadership Conference calls for a bill that would respect the rule of law yet provide a “moral” and “biblical” response to the immigration crises.

Other Christians are particularly opposed to the Senate Bill including the Christian legal group Liberty Counsel, which criticizes the Bill as offering amnesty to lawbreakers.

*“The proposed immigration bill is fatally flawed; it is being pushed as the best solution by most of the Democrats in Congress, a few of the Republicans and President Bush, who is diligently trying to persuade America to hop aboard the amnesty train. Amnesty has been tried and has not worked,”* states Liberty Counsel.

The disagreements in the Christian ranks prove that it is near impossible for “people of goodwill,” as Dr. Martin Luther King called the moral community of his day, to come together in powerful unity and without patronization.

There has always been a thin line between rationalization and theology.

The issue of the ‘moral way’ has separated good men and women of faith for centuries and continues today as the parallel issues of segregation and immigration push to the surface the same emotions of fear and compassion.

It is my opinion that the definition of ‘moral leadership’ can not be defined by those who provide it.

None of us are either that pure or righteous. Morality, and the character and confidence of moral superiority by those who insist that they are the guardian of cultural values will be judged from a higher power and a hundred years of history.

As stated by Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, author of many books, the best one for this discussion ***The Nature and Destiny of Man*** should be read by every graduate student in law and business, as well as theology, years ago:

*“Man is insecure and involved in natural contingency; he seeks to overcome his insecurity by a will-to-power which overreaches the limits of human creaturehood. All of his intellectual and cultural pursuits, therefore, become infected with the sin of pride. Man’s pride and will-to-power disturb the harmony of creation, and the moral and social dimension of sin is injustice.”*

We can bear the finitude, and the vulnerability and anxiety that results from our limited nature only, I believe, when we live in the serenity given by trust and hope that while our goodness is not ultimate, the transcendent truth and righteousness of the God, whom we seek to follow, is holy and our ultimate concern is that of being co-creators and co-curators in building up his kingdom.

Hopefully, in this bearing we can locate the wisdom, grace and courage to do the right thing.

The first issue that confronts those of us offering 'moral leadership' is as old as the story of Cain and Abel.

It is the issue of identity, of how we understand ourselves and the 'other.'

Religious communities that have not only participated in division, but have at times dominated the division, now have a historical moment in which to move beyond barriers.

The predicted population explosion over the next 50 years will demand 'moral leaders' and people of goodwill, not government, to address and solve this issue in an interdependent world community.

The second issue, less we commit the same sin as the 'moral leadership' in days of segregation, is pride.

I offer this understand and caution concerning the 'pride' of moral leadership.

Any given group; political, social, economic, or ecclesiastical, that is clearly

- dominated by its own self-interest, - as are the individuals within it –
- parades in reality as the virtuous and selfless bearer of the truth,
- defends its own interest by claims that their interests represent universal values, and
- makes its own existence the center of its world
- is in reality the source of history's injustice and violence.

The third issue is how we understand love of God and neighbor.

If history, as I trust, has meaning, then we, as moral leaders, must locate, if we are to live creative and principled lives, some system outside of ourselves that gives significance to our life and action.

The brotherhood/sisterhood that may be achieved in our communities and history is limited by the very thing that also pushes the boundaries and borders to a more inclusive level – our freedom.

In this freedom we can love even the enemy, but we also must be concerned for the safety of society, a society in which we must strive for, but can never achieve, perfect balance between justice and mercy.

Freedom can be understood as freedom of choice, which rests on a static conception, on the existence of a clearly established nature, or good and evil, in which freedom is to choose (the good) *or* freedom viewed as the coming of something new into the world with a creative adherence to the inexhaustible good.

This may be one of the greatest paradoxes of the moral life.

It is the tension between the 'Already' and the 'Not Yet,' between the life which has already been given and the new life which we await with hope.

Freedom is the ethical aspect of hope. (See Jacques Ellul's book *The Ethics of Freedom*)

An ethic of freedom, where we make the 'right' choice in that freedom, can only take place when we have hope, rather than fear, of a 'new day.' Otherwise, we are in a life of bondage, which can be peaceful and comfortable, but never free.

For me, and my family, of all the alternative views of history, the Biblical understanding of personal and communal history, the brokenness of man/woman and gracefulness of God, provides the best foundation on which to stand and participate in the paradoxical events of historical life.

The Old Testament and New Testament story of being in the desert and wilderness, living with a hope for a 'promised land' is also our story.

Without this understanding it would be too easily possible for us to fall off the edge of naivety or rigidity, or to stay in the 'security' of bondage, like those who refused to follow Moses and Jesus.

The limited harmonies and virtues, and the great accomplishments and awards, we achieved in this world do not excuse us from doing the 'right' thing as we perceive and understand it after reflection on Biblical and National history.

If we understand ourselves as God's people, and trust that "God's Divine Throne endures for ever and ever and that God's Royal Scepter is a Scepter of equity," (Psalm 45:6) we at times are like the stranger stripped and half dead beside the road, and at other times the Samaritan who has compassion and binds up the wounds.

In all of this, we live and move and have our being as a reflection of the other world, where God goes into the streets and by-ways searching for the lost, the lonely, and the hungry and invites them to His table.

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