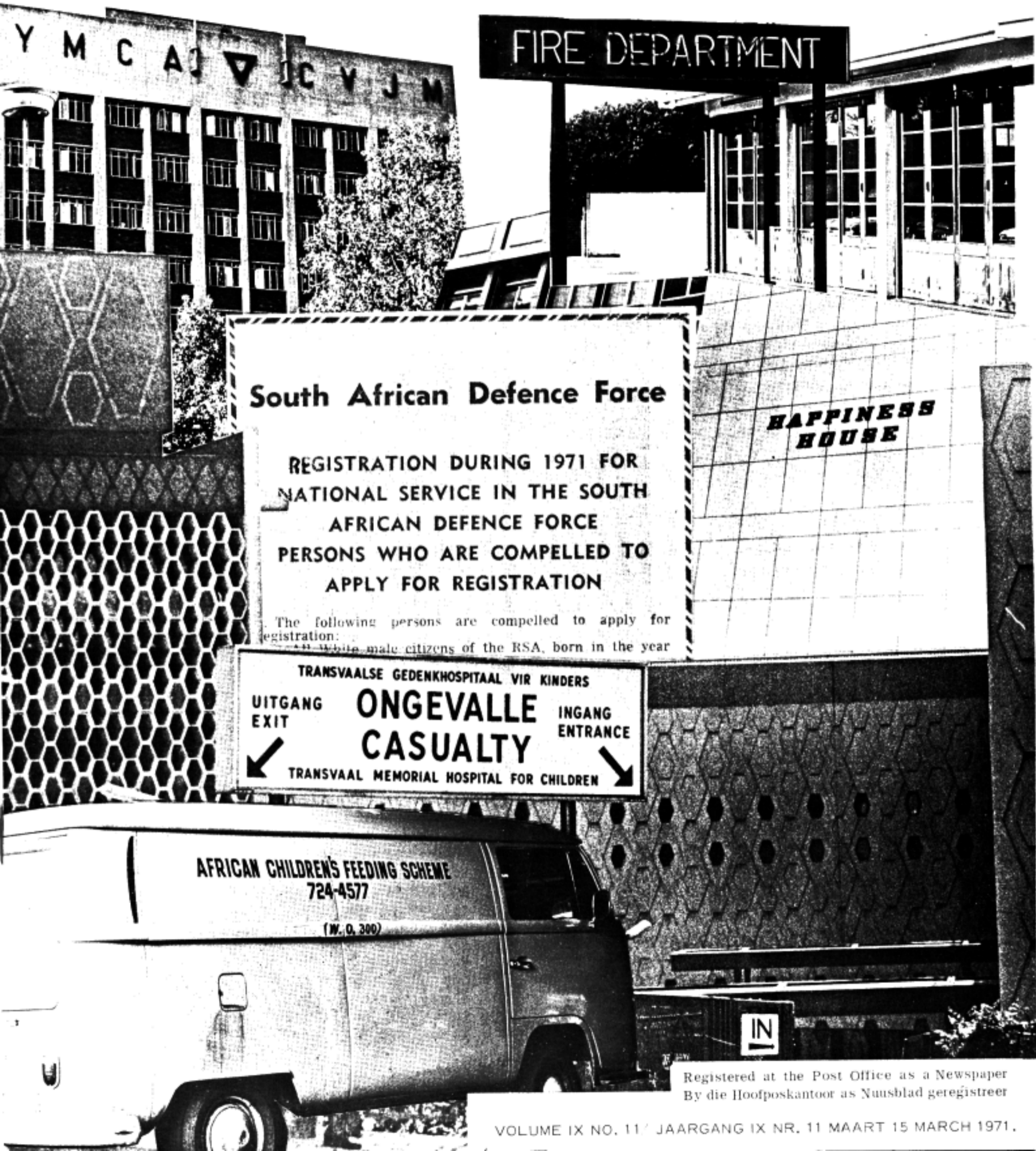


PRO VERITATE

INSIDE: ALTERNATIVES TO MILITARY SERVICE



South African Defence Force

REGISTRATION DURING 1971 FOR
NATIONAL SERVICE IN THE SOUTH
AFRICAN DEFENCE FORCE
PERSONS WHO ARE COMPELLED TO
APPLY FOR REGISTRATION

The following persons are compelled to apply for registration:

White male citizens of the RSA, born in the year

TRANSSVAALSE GEDENKHOSPITAAL VIR KINDERS
UITGANG EXIT
INGANG ENTRANCE
ONGEVALLE CASUALTY
TRANSVAAL MEMORIAL HOSPITAL FOR CHILDREN

AFRICAN CHILDREN'S FEEDING SCHEME
724-4577

(W. O. 300)

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REDAKSIONEEL/EDITORIAL

| | |
|---|----|
| Liewer Weghardloop | |
| Konfrontasie tussen Kerk en Staat | |
| Beyers Naudé | 1 |
| The WCC is non-violent | |
| WCC Central Committee | 4 |
| Dink daaraan, dit is 'n rykstempel | |
| C.J. Labuschagne | 6 |
| Expo '70 - Japan holds inter-faith | |
| Peace Conference | 8 |
| A Quaker mother looks at military service | |
| Anna Pearce | 12 |
| Alternatives to Military Service | |
| D. Cleminshaw | 13 |
| Action, justice & peace - Brazilian style | |
| Helder Camara | 16 |
| USA Peace committee examines | |
| Conscientious objection | 17 |
| A Peace Bibliography | 17 |
| Education and Action for Peace | |
| International Justice & Peace Commission | 21 |

PRO VERITATE

LIEWER

WEGHARDLOOP

Dit het in ons tyd mode of subtile versoeking geword om weg te hardloop van die waarheid en die werklikheid. Miskien bestaan daar selfs goeie rede om dit in die taal van die Ou Testament te stel en te praat van 'n vlug voor die oordeel van God.

Op alle vlakke van ons hedendaagse samelewing vind ons voorbeelde van hierdie kenmerkende ontvlugtingssindroom en daar is geen sektor van die moderne maatskappy waarin dit nie voorkom nie.

Die bekendste en berugste gevalle tref 'n mens natuurlik aan op die gebied van die permissiewe „pop-kultuur” met sy „blomkinders”, „hippies”, „yippies”, „kabouters”, dwelmmiddelverslawing, vrye liefde e.d.m.: lewensuitinge van gekwelde men-segeeste wat hul beklem voel deur die harde werklikheid om hulle heen -- of dalk deur die warm asem op hul nekhare van die „brullende leeu” wat rondloop om te soek „wie hy kan verslind” -- en wat dan krampagtig ontvlugting soek langs sulke dolle weë.

Daar is egter ook ander, baie meer vername weghardlopers wat nie altyd as sodanig herken word nie, maar wie se wêreldvreemde en dikwels moeilik voorspelbare optrede alleen begryp en verklaar kan word in terme van 'n heimlike strewe tot ontvlugting van die oordeelswerklikheid. 'n Kort kompendium* van dergelike persone en instansies word hieronder aangeheg en van ons lesers mag dit 'n vermaaklike spel vind om eie voorbeelde daaraan toe te voeg. Die moontlike variasies op die tema is legio.

Wat egter geen grappige spel is nie, dog 'n saak van die grootste erns, is die wydverspreidheid van hierdie verskynsel, selfs in die hoogste en mees invloedryke kringe.

Die swig voor die versoeking tot ontvlugting wat so kenmerkend geword het selfs van die geestelike en tydelike heersers van hierdie wêreld, laat die vraag ontstaan of dit eintlik nie maar hier weer, soos in die geval van die eerste mensepaar, gaan om 'n vyeblaar waarmee daar futiel getrag word om skaamte en sonde voor God en sy oordeel te verberg nie. Diegene wat hedentendae so behendig daarin slaag om die wêreld rondom hulle te oortuig van die edelheid van hul motiewe en die eerbaarheid van hul optrede, terwyl dié optrede wesenlik slegs daarop bereken is om 'n kale ontvlugtingsaksie te kamoefleer, kan gerus maar begin nadink oor waarskynlik die mees sentrale tema van die Ou-Testa-

mentiese profesie, nl. dat daar aan die alwetende oordeel van die Here nie te ontkom is nie en dat dit inderdaad voorhande is; en oor die oordeelswoord van die apostel Petrus teenoor die bedrieër, Ananias: „Jy het nie vir mense gelieg nie, maar vir God!”.

*Kort Kompendium (in slegs een enkele konteks)
Van die heimlike en onherkende Weghardlopers van ons tyd:

- * Die Wêreldraad van Kerke, wie se besluit om uitgesoekte „vryheidsbewegings”, veral in Afrika, finansiëel te ondersteun minstens gedeeltelik neerkom op ’n ontvlugting van sy verwaarloosde verantwoordelikheid ten opsigte van onreg en onmenslikheid wat nog daagliks agter die Ystergordyn teenoor Jode en mede-Christene in naam van ’n duiwelse ideologie gepleeg word.
- * Die Suid-Afrikaanse regering, wat probeer weghardloop van sy eie slegte gewete oor onregte wat op sy gesag daagliks gepleeg word teenoor die oorgrote meerderheid Suid-Afrikaanse landsburgers in naam van ’n onchristelike en heidense ideologie, en wat sy toevlug neem tot ’n vervolging en intimidasie van juis diegene wat daarvoor bekend staan dat hulle hul die lot van die nie-

blanke bevolking ernstig aantrek en wat in die verlede reeds dikwels openlik die boosheid van ons landsbeleid veroordeel het.

- * Buitelandsgebore geestelikes, wat so dikwels die mond vol het oor die ongeregthede van die apartheidsamelewing, maar wat ’n plegtige stilswe bewaar oor toestande van onmenslikheid en onreg in hul eie lande van afkoms.
- * Die N.G. Kerk in Suid-Afrika, wat in ’n ydele poging om te ontsnap aan sy roeping om profeties teenoor die staat (wat hoofsaaklik uit sy eie lidmate bestaan) te getuig sy toevlug soek in ’n dubbelsinnige swye in alle tale.
- * Die „Engelse” kerke in Suid-Afrika, wat in ’n ydele poging om te ontsnap aan die skandelerlike werklikheid van rassisme in die daaglikse lewe van hul lekedom (en selfs van plek tot plek in hul kerklike lewe self) hul toevlug soek in hartstogtelike veroordelinge van rassisme op leiersvlak.
- * Al die Christelike kerke in hierdie land, wat so dikwels luidkeels hul toewyding aan die ekumeniese ideaal verkondig, maar wat toevlug soek teen die praktiese toepassing daarvan deur vroom, eindeloos en vrugteloos slegs daarvoor te praat op ’n magdom vergaderings, konferensies, berade, samekomste en teepartytjies.

KONFRONTASIE TUSSEN KERK STAAT

Beyers Naude

Die jaar 1971 het reeds vroeg ’n groot aantal Kerke en Christene in Suid-Afrika voor ernstige situasies en beslissinge geplaas as gevolg van twee aksies wat die landsowerheid van stapel gestuur het.

Die eerste aksie (wat reeds in mindere vorm sedert veral 1968 na vore gekom het) het bestaan uit ’n aantal stappe wat oor ’n kort tydperk van weke teen ’n groot aantal geestelikes geneem is - in al die gevalle sonder opgaaf van redes of sonder om enige voorafgaande wetlike aksie teen hulle te neem. Dit het bestaan uit die weiering of opeising van paspoorte, die terugtrekking van verblyfpermitte en die dien van deportasiebevele waardeur daar altesaam teen 40 persone in die afgelope tyd opgetree is.

Die tweede aksie was die aanhouding van hoogeerw. G.A. French-Beytagh van die Anglikaanse Kerk in Johannesburg, gevolg deur ’n landswe klopjag van die Veiligheidspolisie op 25 huise en kantore van 8 organisasies en 16 persone op Donderdag 25 Februarie. Onder andere is die kantore van die Suid-Afrikaanse Raad van Kerke in Johannesburg, Kaapstad en Port Elizabeth en die kantoor van die

Christelike Instituut in Kaapstad (nie die in Johannesburg) besoek. In al die gevalle is gekonsentreer op dokumente (soos finansiële state, tjekboeke ens.) wat moontlik inligting kan verskaf oor die ontvangs en aanwending van oorsese fondse vir projekte wat op een of ander wyse hulp aan lede en groepe van ons nie-blanke gemeenskap verskaf. Die hoof van die Veiligheidspolisie het in ’n verklaring verduidelik dat laasgenoemde optrede in verband staan met die aanklagte teen hoogeerw. G.A. French-Beytagh en van verskeie kante (veral in ons Afrikaanse koerante) is gesuggereer dat die „baasbrein” agter ’n beweerde massale komplot-aksie teen Suid-Afrika gesoek word en dat nog arrestasies verwag kan word.

LANDSWYE REAKSIE

Tot sover die gebeure. Die reaksie op hierdie stappe was onmiddellik, landswyd en baie uitgesproke. Wat die paspoort- en permitaksie betref is deur ’n hele aantal Kerkleiers daarop gewys dat, totdat die staat met gegronde redes en bewyse voor die dag kom om sy optrede teen predikante en kerklike werkers te staaf, sodanige aksie alleen as ’n vorm van intimidasie of kerklike vervolging gesien kan word.

In 'n onderhoud wat dr. Alex Boraine, die verkose president van die Metodistekerk, met min. Theo Gerdener, Minister van Binnelandse Sake, op 2 Maart gevoer het, is aan dr. Boraine die versekering gegee dat die drie Amerikaanse jeugwerkers wat aangese is om die land te verlaat, nie die wette van die land oortree of hulle skuldig maak het aan staatsondermynende bedrywighede nie.

In 'n verklaring deur die Eerste Minister, uitge-reik op 6 Maart, ontken hy dat die staat teen kerke optree of dat daar 'n botsing tussen staat en kerk bestaan. Onmiddelik daarop volg dan egter dié woorde: „Suid-Afrika, soos enige land ter wêreld, het egter wel die reg en plig om op te tree teen vreemdelinge wat die land binnekom ook onder die dekmantel van godsdiens, en hulle skuldig maak aan gedrag wat, na die oordeel van die staat, gevaarlik vir, of ondermynend van die staat is.” (Ons kursiveer)

Wat die klopjagte betref het 'n aantal organisasies (insluitende die Christelike Instituut, die S.A. Instituut vir Rasseverhoudinge en die University Christian Movement) verklaar dat hulle niks het om te verberg nie en dat hulle ten alle tye bereid is om enige gegewens wat die polisie verlang, te verstrek. Intussen is die dokumente van die kantore van die S.A. Raad van Kerke, wat finansiële hulp aan die afhanklikes van politieke gevangenes verleen, terugbesorg.

ERNSTIGE BEDENKINGE

Al hierdie gebeure het ernstige vrae en bedenkinge by baie kerkleiers en -lidmate laat ontstaan veral van dié Kerke wat die Engelssprekende en nie-blanke bevolkingsgroepe bedien. Wat die Deken van die Anglikaanse Kerk in Johannesburg betref, kan daar op hierdie stadium niks meer gesê word nie en moet ons die uitslag van die hofverrigtinge af wag wat op 28 Mei begin. Wat die paspoort- en permit-aksie betref, het sowel die verklaring van die Eerste Minister as dié van die Minister van Binnelandse Sake ernstige bedenkinge laat ontstaan. Aan die een kant word die versekering deur Mnr. Gerdener gegee in die geval van sommige buitelandse kerklike werkers dat hulle uitwysing niks te doen het met bedrywighede wat staatsgevaarlik of staatsondermynend is nie. Aan die ander kant impliseer die Eerste Minister in die duidelikste taal dat die staat se optrede teen buitelandse kerklike werkers gerig is op diegene wat „hulle skuldig maak aan gedrag wat, na die oordeel van die staat, gevaarlik vir, of ondermynend van die staat is”. Hier lê die crux van die saak: wat beskou die staat as staatsgevaarlik of staatsondermynend? As 'n kerkman, in gehoorsaamheid aan God en sý gewete, die Bybelse opdrag van naasteliefde, sosiale geregtigheid en barmhartigheid (dink aandie Barmhartige Samaritaanen aan Mattheüs 25:31-46!) in beoefening bring oor die Kleurgrens heen - is dit staatsgevaarlik of -ondermynend? Is die wesenlike probleem nie dié dat die owerheid blykbaar 'n opvatting van die godsdiens huldig wat ten opsigte van rasseverhoudinge in direkte stryd is met die opvatting van die Christelike godsdiens soos gehuldig deur dié kerkleiers wat apartheid (soos deur die staat beoefen) as onchristelik beskou nie?

Maar wat ook al ons bedenkinge mag wees, is dit duidelik dat hierdie wydverspreide en ingrypende optrede van die owerheid dié kerke en Christene wat direk daardeur geraak word, dwing om 'n aantal harde feite baie eerlik in die oë te kyk en 'n aantal stappe baie ernstig te oorweeg. Mag ek in beskeidenheid die volgende noem:

(1) *Toekomstige Werkkragte*: Wat ook al die vrome versekeringe mag wees wat gegee word t.o.v. oorsese geestelikes wat hulle net „by hulle werk bepaal”, is dit baie duidelik dat die Regering 'n wrewel het aan enige oorsese predikant of kerklike werker wat deur sy optrede die land se „traditional way of life” op grond van sy Christelike sieninge verwerp. Daarom sal alle kerke met oorsese werkers in die toekoms minder afhanklik moet word van mannekragte uit die buiteland en in toenemende mate hulle kragte plaaslik moet vind. Dit sal ook impliseer dat die kerke 'n baie groter aantal lekekragte as deeltydse geestelike arbeiders sal moet betrek en teologies moet toerus - wat op sy beurt weer 'n ingrypende verandering in teologiese opleiding veronderstel.

(2) *Oorsese geldelike steun*: Dieselfde geld vir geldelike bydraes van oorsee. Alle kerklike en Christelike instansies wie se werk tot 'n ruim mate afhanklik is van sodanige steun, sal hulle toekomstige hulp of oorwegend in Suid-Afrika moet soek of hulle verpligtinge moet inperk. Want daar is alle aanduidinge dat al hoe meer oorsese kerke finansiële steun gaan gee aan aksies wat rassisme in Suider-Afrika meer radikaal wil bestry - waardeur dit al hoe moeiliker sal word vir Suid-Afrikaanse Kerklike en Christelike organisasies om fondse van sodanige instansies aan te neem.

(3) *Verantwoordelikheid teenoor blanke magshebbers*: Ten spyte van die feit dat baie van ons in die afgelope jare ons bes probeer het om aan leidende blankes in die regering, in akademiese, kerklike en besigheidskringe ons besorgdheid oor te dra oor verslegtende verhoudinge tussen wit en swart (blykbaar met min sukses), moet die leiers van dié kerke en organisasies wat daagliks met die swart bevolking in aanraking kom, tans meer as ooit tevore uit hulle pad gaan om die groeiende frustrasie en verbittering van ons Kleurling- en Bantoebevolking onder die aandag van dié persone (veral onder die Afrikaners) te bring wat sleutelposisies beklee.

(4) *Samesprekinge van Kerke, Christene en ander belangbehendes*: 'n Ander stap wat na ons mening dringend noodsaaklik is, is die sameroeping van 'n konferensie op nasionale basis, gevolg deur 'n aantal streekkonferensies, waarin kerke, godsdienstige en ander liggame ernstig moet besin oor die stappe wat geneem moet word om veral ons blankes in te lig oor die ramspoedige pad wat ons besig is om te loop. Dit sal moet insluit die opstel en uitvoering van 'n landswye, verbeeldingryke program van voorligting, opvoeding en aktivering van Christene (aan gebied, verduidelik en uitgevoer in elke plaaslike gemeente) ter bevordering van ware Christelike gesindhede, verhoudinge en dade tussen die verskillende bevolkingsgroepe. Bo al moet dit beoog die versoening van mense en groepe op grond van Chris-

tus se liefdesopdrag - en hiervoor sal die kerke wat voorgee dat dit hulle erns is, nie alleen 'n jaarlikse bedrag van minstens 5% van hulle inkomste moet afstaan nie, maar ook van hulle allerbeste geestelike kragte (predikante sowel as lidmate) vir 'n tydlank moet opsy sit.

In so 'n program behoort daar uitvoerig gebruik gemaak te word van die studiestukke en verslae van SPROCAS. Vanselfsprekend sal ook na vore kom die bedreiging van die Kommunisme vir Afrika en die antwoord van die Christen daarop. Daarom wil ek daarvoor pleit dat in al ons kerke die saak by wyse van prediking en bespreking onder die aandag van ons lidmate gebring word en veral daarop gewys word hoedat rassisme meewerk om die Kommunisme te bevorder - met spesiale verwysing na ons rassebeleid in Suid-Afrika.

(5) *Die Christen se Antwoord op Geweld:* Te lank het ons as Kerke en Christene wat apartheid teëstaan, die kwessie van geweld probeer omseil. Die besluit van die Wêreldraad van Kerke in sake steun aan die „bevrydingsbewegings” dwing elke Christen om 'n antwoord as Christen te gee op die vraag van geweld. Ons is bewus van die uiteenlopende standpunte wat die kerk deur die eene in sake geweld gehuldig en ook beoefen het. Dié gebrek aan eenvormigheid het groot verwarring in die geledere van Christene bewerk. Totaal ongenoegsame aandag is ook gegee aan die stappe wat Christene kan en moet neem om geweld te vermy. Massale vreedsame verset teen onreg en onderdrukking is een van die alternatiewe tot geweld wat nog baie meer aandag, studie en gebed vereis as ooit tevore - veral wanneer meer en meer mense tot die gevolgtrekking kom dat hulle sekere wette as só immoreel beskou dat hulle hul nie langer daaraan kan onderwerp nie.

(6) *Groter toewyding en selfopoffering:* Die tyd wat ons tegemoet gaan, vereis dat alle kerke en Christelike organisasies wat die huidige rassepolitiek as onchristelik ag, hulle geledere sluit. Die magte wat teen ons opgestel is, is sterk en groot. Alleen deur 'n groter eendragtigheid, meer diepgaande geestelike dissipline en selfopoffering van geld, gawes en diens kan ons hoop om die Christelike boodskap van bevryding uit te dra.

(7) *Groter liefde tot teëstanders:* Hierdie groter toewyding aan Christus en sy boodskap moet gepaard gaan met 'n aktiewe beoefening van liefde en vergifnis teenoor almal wat, om watter rede ook al, besig is om grootskaalse onreg, ontbering en lyding te veroorsaak vir miljoene mense in ons land. Meer as ooit vantevore moet haat beantwoord word met liefde, wraaksug met vergifnis, aksies van gewelddadigheid met die aksie van vrede en versoening - terwyl ons terselfdertyd deur woord en daad ons skaar aan die kant van die verdruktes en veronregtes. Meer as ooit vantevore moet ons bid vir ons owerheid, bid vir ons teëstanders en vyande, bid vir slagoffers van rassewetgewing en rassevooroordele wat in stygende mate verbittering en vyandskap kweek. Dit alles moet deel vorm van 'n program van Vrede en Versoening wat ons beskeie bydrae in die geloof moet wees tot die bevryding van ons land en al sy mense van die onkunde, vooroordeel en vrees wat ons tans as verdoofdes en verblindes in gevangenskap hou.

C.I. calls Justice and Peace Conference

STATEMENT ON STEPS TO BE TAKEN AFTER RECENT CHURCH - STATE DEVELOPMENTS

TIMES of crisis have in the past proved to be times of drawing together of the tragically divided forces of separate churches. Such a time has arrived in South Africa. Many of us have for the past 10 years been pleading for a uniting of Christian forces - but it needed deportations of clergy and church workers, passport refusals, raids on respected church bodies and individual church leaders to drive home the truth that now, if ever, is the time to unite. A common threat to our Christian witness for justice, reconciliation and peace must be met with a common front. If any church leaders of our English-speaking, African, Coloured, or Indian communities still held the slender hope that the Government would follow a line of tolerance or verligtheid on the issue of race, this hope has now been shattered.

What we now require is:

- (1) A national conference on Justice and Peace sponsored by all religious bodies which are deeply concerned not only about the persecution of the church but above all about the millions in our country who are suffering as a result of our policies of injustice and institutionalized violence.
- (2) A massive national programme of moral education of all the people of our country undertaken especially in the church, to meet existing fear, prejudice, ignorance and selfish interest with a visionary planned action of love, full acceptance of each other's human dignity and the elimination of all forms of discrimination in church and Society. Part of this programme should include a clear indication of the danger of unwittingly fostering the aims of Communism by our present policies and practices.
- (3) A clear consciousness that such action will necessarily entail material and spiritual sacrifice and possible suffering. Only through voluntary sacrifice and suffering on the part of thousands of Christians is there hope of a new future devoid of the violence of hatred and fear.

C.F.B. Naudé

DIRECTOR.

Johannesburg, 28th February, 1971.

□ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □

THE WCC IS NON-VIOLENT

Ever since the WCC decision last September to set up and finance a programme to combat racism, the debate around the decision has centred on (i) the controversial aid given to liberation movements on our borders and (ii) the ethics of violence as a means of change.

In this document, approved by the Central Committee of the WCC meeting at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in January, this year, the Central Committee approved of non-violent methods of achieving social change. This document points up the inadequacy of posing the problem in violence vs non-violence terms and seeks for "more Christian criteria for evaluating alternative coercive strategies appropriate to particular situations of social injustice". It also implicitly shows that the WCC has not resorted to violence, but that it is still committed to non-violence.

THE UPPSALA Assembly asked the Central Committee (Assembly Minute 90) "to explore means by which the World Council could promote studies on non-violent methods of achieving social change, bearing in mind that the issue of using violent or non-violent methods of social change has been raised in the reports of Sections III, IV and VI".

At its 1969 meeting, the Central Committee (Canterbury Minutes, pp. 80-81) heard of various World Council study and action programmes having some bearing on the violence/non-violence debate. It also noted proposals that the issue be broadened and that the World Council should not assume too facile a distinction between 'violence' and 'non-violence'. Canterbury decided:

"a) that the Department on Church and Society, in consultation with other interested units of the World Council of Churches, be asked to follow closely the discussion of the issue of violence and non-violence in rapid social change already taking place in various departments of the World Council of Churches, in view of the Martin Luther King resolution of Uppsala and related discussion by other organisations;

b) that financial resources be urgently sought

(i) for a consultation in 1970 and 1971 on key theological and ethical issues in the area of power, violence, non-violence and social change;

(ii) for exploring possibilities of additional programmes in this area.

c) that it is appropriate, especially in the Gandhi Centenary year, that the teaching and leadership of Mohandas K. Gandhi in encouraging non-violent political and social change be considered in these studies, in view of his influence on Martin Luther King and the way in which they sought to make real the teaching of Jesus about love and justice;

d) that a report on this programme be made to the next meeting of the Central Committee".

□ IMPLEMENTATION

An ad hoc staff group (including representatives of Church and Society, CCIA, SODEPAX, Programme to Combat Racism, the Ecumenical Institute, DWME, Youth Department and Library) has met occasionally since Canterbury, to follow developments in the violence/non-violence discussion and to keep under consideration possible initiatives which might be taken by the World Council of Churches.

A paper tracing the past development and present state of the discussion was prepared, circulated to a broad cross-section of interested people for their reactions and published in *Study Encounter*, Vol. VI, No. 2, 1970.

A selective bibliography was prepared and staff have established contact with relevant Christian and secular study centres and action groups.

Since Canterbury there have been significant developments in several related programme areas.

(a) In April 1970, the SODEPAX-sponsored Baden Conference on "Christian Concern for Peace" gave attention to some of the underlying theological and ethical issues and proposed concrete programmes to help the churches make a more effective contribution to justice and peace. One working group stressed that "Christians have a distinctive vocation to pioneer strategies for social change which will foreshadow as nearly as possible that more humane society towards which the struggle is directed"⁽¹⁾

(b) June 1970 saw a Bossey Conference on "Law and Social Change", at which jurists, ethicists and activists struggled to agree on the potentialities of law as an instrument for social change yet remained in disagreement about 'power' as a key factor in determining the formation (or mal-formation) and application (or non-application) of law.

(c) The June 1970 meeting of the SODEPAX General Committee noted Baden's emphasis on

a dynamic, contextual approach to the problems of peace and violence. It recommended the appointment of an additional staff member to SODEPAX and the establishment of an advisory group on peace matters, to gather resource material, organise consultations, commission research projects from competent specialists and communicate the results of these studies. It is hoped that the new staff person will be operational early in 1971.

(d) In September 1970 the WCC Executive Committee approved disbursements from the Special Fund to Combat Racism which included humanitarian support to liberation movements, thus catalysing unprecedented debate within and beyond the churches about the strategies to be employed in the battle for social justice.

□ TRENDS AND UNRESOLVED ISSUES

A concern to clarify the nature of Christian responsibility in a world of violence has been one of the hallmarks of the modern ecumenical movement since its early days. Until a decade ago the problem was considered almost exclusively in terms of international conflict between sovereign states. Since the New Delhi Assembly, however, the debate has taken on an added dimension - that of conflict within nations, or of new kinds of conflict which cut across national frontiers, precipitated by conditions of injustice and oppression.

This new stage of the ecumenical debate has been characterised by intensifying support from the churches for action programmes devoted to building a more just society. It has also shown a growing unwillingness to condemn categorically those groups, including Christians, which resort to violence in the face of situations of massive, entrenched social, racial and economic injustice.⁽²⁾ Many have spoken of "the violence of the *status quo*" - that is, the suffering and death which result from unjust social structures when they are not effectively challenged. Others have pointed out that "non-violence" (either because it is ineffective in a given situation, or precisely because it *is* effective) may have a more violent long-term impact than some of its advocates recognise. Hence there has been increasing reluctance to pose the issue as "violence" versus "non-violence" and a search for more pertinent Christian criteria for evaluating alternative coercive strategies appropriate to particular situations of social injustice.

Churches, individual Christians, church-related groups and the WCC itself are attempting to give concrete expression to Uppsala's vision of the unity of mankind, through their more active role in conflict situations in which human dignity, justice and peace are at stake. Out of this arises a call, from many places, for help in developing more varied and more effective tactics for such involvement. All Christians, whatever their convictions on the matter of "violence", have an obligation to seek strategies which will be effective and which will (as Baden put it) "foreshadow as nearly as possible that more humane society towards which the struggle is directed".

One complicating factor is the semantic confusion which surrounds words like 'violence', 'non-violence', 'revolution', 'power' and 'liberation'. When the debate takes place across cultural and linguistic lines, the possibilities for misunderstanding are magnified even further. The substantive differences here run deeper than mere semantics, but if the discussion in future is to generate more light and less heat there must be clarification of the use of key terms such as these.

A number of long-term theological and ethical issues demand further reflection by the churches. The pacifist/non-pacifist debate which has been before the World Council for some years now takes on fresh urgency in this new context. Among the key issues are; (a) the meaning of power in the light of human experience and Christian convictions about love and justice; (b) the dimensions of 'violence'; (c) the necessity of and limitations upon the State's use of 'violence' as a preservative against anarchy; (d) the relationship between conflict and reconciliation; (e) the search for more adequate models of the humane society as goals for social change; and (f) the extent to which the churches as institutions should identify themselves with or against any of the parties involved in social conflict.

□ FURTHER ACTION

Further initiatives by the WCC in this area must reflect an understanding of the issue which is authentically ecumenical (i.e. they should be built on the thinking which has been done hitherto yet not disregard those who are ill at ease with the conclusions which have so far been reached). There is need for the further development of the WCC programme at two levels: (a) priority should be given to the discovery, evaluation and communication of action-oriented information and reflection on alternative methodologies and strategies for participation in the struggle for social justice; but (b) the study of basic theological and ethical issues such as those listed above (paragraph 11) should be pursued in interrelation with the former.

It is therefore resolved:

(a) *That in the proposed Programme Unit 1, the Department on Church and Society is requested to give particular attention to the development of this programme, in collaboration with other relevant units of the World Council of Churches and with study centres, institutes and action groups working in this field in various parts of the world;*

(b) *That funds be sought from outside the General Budget, for (at least) a two-year programme involving half the time of one member of the Church and Society Staff.*

(1) See the Baden report entitled Peace - The Desperate Imperative (Geneva: SODEPAX, 1970), especially pp. 9-17, 27-30, 33-39, 58-59.

(2) For the development of this discussion see, for example, the reports of the World Conference on Church and Society (1966) and the Zagorsk Consultation (1968) as well as Uppsala's section reports (1968)

DINK DAARAAN, DIT IS 'N RYKS- TEMPEL

C. Labuschagne

Die Afrikaner-Christen het hom in laaste en mees dringende instansie nog altyd beroep op die Ou-Testamentiese openbaring ter regverdiging van sy landsbeleid, soos deur Afrikaners wat hulleself Christene noem, bepaal.

Hierdie artikel is uit die pen van 'n geboortige Afrikaner en 'n Ou-Testamentikus van soveel bekwaamheid dat hy tans die pos van dosent oor dié vakgebied aan die Universiteit van Groningen beklee.

Oorspronklik het dit rugbaar geword as een van ses radiopraatjies oor spanninge tussen ware en valse profete in die Ou Testament, uitgegee onder die titel Israëls Jabroer-profeten deur NBG/BKV, Amsterdam, Driebergen, 1971.

Hierdie radiolesing is so byna unheimisch van toepassing op die huidige toestand van die kerklike, sosiale en politieke lewe in Suid-Afrika dat ons die versoeking nie kan weerstaan om in toekomstige uitgawes van Pro Veritate ook nog verdere uittreksels te publiseer nie.

Blykbaar staan die heersende toestand in ons land selfs uit die mond van die ware profete van die Ou Testament verdoem. Dit mag vir werklike Christen-Afrikaners ernstige stof tot nadenke gee.

AMOS 7:10-17 - Toe het Amasia, die priester van Bet-el, Jerobeam, koning van Israel, laat weet: Amos het 'n sameswering gemaak teen u in Israel; die land sal dit onder al sy woorde nie kan uithou nie. Want so het Amos gese: Jerobeam sal deur die swaard sterwe, en Israel sal sekerlik uit sy land in ballingskap weggevoer word. Toe se Amasia vir Amos: Gaan weg, siener, vlug na die land van Juda en eet daar brood en profeteer daar! Maar in Bet-el mag jy verder nie meer profeteer nie, want dit is 'n koninklike heiligdom en 'n tempel van die ryk. Toe het Amos geantwoord en vir Amasia gese: Ek was geen profeet en en ook geen profete-seun nie; maar ek was 'n veewagter en kweker van wildevyebome. Maar die Here het my agter die kleinvee weggeneem en die Here het vir my gese: Gaan heen, profeteer vir my volk Israel. Hoor dan nou die woord van die Here! Jy se: Jy mag nie teen Israel profeteer nie, en jy mag geen woorde laat druppel teen die huis van Isak nie. Daarom, so se die Here: Jou vrou sal in die stad hoereer, en jou seuns sowel as jou dogters sal deur die swaard val, en jou grond met die meetsnoer verdeel word, en jy self sal in 'n onrein land sterwe, en Israel sekerlik in ballingskap uit sy land weggevoer word.

AMOS, die boer uit Tekoa, is die eerste profeet van wie 'n geskrif bewaar gebly het. Hy open die ry van die sogenaamde skrifprofete, die Godsgetuies wat vanaf die middel van die agste eeu vóór Christus in Israel en Juda opgetree het. Hoewel hy self gekom het uit die suidelike ryk, het sy arbeidsveld in noordelike Israel gelê. Met hom het die ware godsgetuienis kragtig deurgebreek vanuit die suide na die tienstammeryk. Hierdie merkwaardige feit op sigself is al openbarend van die stand van sake op godsdienstige gebied in die noordelike ryk van dié dae. Dit kan nie toevallig wees dat die eerste groot profeet wat sedert die tyd van Miga ben Jimla in die noorde die ware godswoord gebring het, nie self uit die land afkomstig was nie. Alle profetiese opposisie teen die gevestigde orde was daar volledig aan bande gelê en onmoontlik gemaak. „Julle het die Nasireërs wyn laat drink en aan die profete bevel gegee en gese: Julle mag nie profeteer nie!” sê Amos in sy gerigs-aankondiging teen Israel (Amos 2:12). In dié tyd wou die mense alleenjabroer-profete aanhoor, en ons kan aanneem dat hulle vóór die optrede van Amos goed daarin geslaag het om die verset van individuele nie-konformerende profete in die kiem te smoor. Die ware profetiese getuienis kon alleen op dreef kom deur 'n kragtige stimulans van buite. So lê die groot betekenis van die optrede van Amos dan daarin dat hy die baanbreker was vir die verkondiging van die ware godswoord in die noordelike ryk. Een van die gevolge van sy moedige optrede was dat daar spoedig 'n profeet uit die land self opgestaan het, Hosea, die seun van Beëri. Met Amos het die egte profesie in die noorde weer begin oplewe, want, so sê hy in een van sy godssprake, „Die leeu het gebrul, wie sal nie vrees nie? Die Here HERE het gesprek, wie sal nie profeteer nie?” (Amos 3:8). Meer dan wie ook al was hy van homself bewus as van Godswē geroepe om hom te verset teen die geeste en die magte van dié tyd.

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Sy optrede het verset uitgelok, met name by die geestelike leidsliede wat, ter wille van die rus en orde in die land, van mening was dat die tyd gekom het om hierdie non-konformitiese profeet die swye op te lê. Amasia, die priester van Bet-el, het tot aksie oorgegaan. Die wyse waarop hy te werk gegaan het, is tiperend van die geestelike leier wat oor mag beskik en wat weet dat hy bowendien die mag van die staat agter hom het. Alvorens tot Amos self te spreek, het hy 'n aanklag teen hom ingedien by die hoogste gesag, die koning: „Amos het 'n sameswering gemaak teen u in Israel”. Dat hierdie beskuldiging van alle waarheid ontbloot was het Amasia maar ook alte goed gewet, want wat Amos gedoen het was om vir Jerobeam en Israel in die naam van God die ondergang te voorspel, wat heeltemal iets anders is as sameswering om die bestaande gesag in die maatskappy met geweld omver te werp. Maar wat maak dié saak? As daar één metode is wat altyd slaag, dan is dit hierdie een. 'n Bode het hom gehaas na die koninklike paleis in Samaria, ruim vyftig kilometer van Bet-el. Amos had geen enkele kans nie, want Jerobeam sou ongetwyfeld gepaste maatreëls teen

hom neem: 'hom òf doodmaak òf die land uitset. So het Amásia nie alleen die hoogste staatsgesag teen één weerlose profeet gemobiliseer nie, maar het ook in sy boodskap aan die vors geïmpliseer dat land en volk dit nie langer moes verduur nie: „die land sal dit onder al sy woorde nie kan uithou nie”. Die volk het reeds genoeg gehad van hierdie Judeër, so het Amásia gemeen: die maat was vol. Nog één druppel en die emmer sou oorloop. Deur dit aan die volk te suggereer het die priester uit Bet-el bewys dat hy 'n bekwame demagoog was: niemand het dit gewaag om van dié oomblik af meer na Amos te luister nie. Op hierdie wyse het Amásia daarin geslaag dat sowel die koning as die volk hulle teen Amos sou stel. Daarmee is sy bedoelings op baie effektiewe wyse gekortwiek. Hy kon maar net so wel die land verlaat.

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Dié advies is dan ook aan hom deur Amásia gegee: „Vlug na die land van Juda en eet daar brood en profeteer daar.” Sommige geleerdes interpreteer hierdie woorde in 'n gunstige sin — Amásia sou Amos heel broederlik aangeraai het om betyds te vlug, voordat die koning maatreëls teen hom sou neem. As daar egter gelet word op die heftige reaksie van Amos op dié „broederlike advies”, is dit duidelik dat Amos self in die priester van Bet-el alles behalwe 'n welwillende kollege gesien het. Bowendien, hoe sou Amásia hierdie „broederlike optrede” teenoor 'n staatsgevaarlike samesweerder ooit teenoor die koning kon regverdig? Hy sou aangekla kon word van dwarsboming van die geregen van kollaborasie. Daarom kan die woorde van Amásia alleen maar beteken: jy het hier niks te vertel nie, maak dat jy wegkom; gaan speel maar jou agitasiespel in jou eie land; dink daaraan, dit is 'n koninklike heiligdom en 'n rykstempel! Gerugsteun deur die aanklag wat hy by die koning aanhangig gemaak het, het Amásia eenvoudig gebruik gemaak van sy outoriteit as koninklike gesagsdraer by 'n rykstempel om vors en land te verlos van 'n laspos. Deur Amos te verjaag het Amásia gemeen dat hy in belang van land en volk gehandel het. Sy loon sou groot wees by die koning. Vorste het die gewoonte om dergelike getroue en lojale diensknegte op die skouers te klop. Amásia se optrede teen Amos is des te geraffineerder as ons daarvoor nadink dat hy die koning nie eens die geleentheid gegee het om die saak van Amos te ondersoek, om langs geregtelike weg uit te maak of hy inderdaad skuldig was aan 'n poging tot omverwerping van die bestaande gesag nie. In feite het Amásia die beskuldiging van sameswering alleen as 'n middel tot verdagmaking gebruik. Daarom het hy, deur self in te gryp en Amos verdere verblyf in die land te belet, daarvoor gesorg dat dit nie tot 'n regspraak sou kom nie. Vir mense soos Amásia skyn verdagmaking altyd 'n effektiewer middel vir die bereiking van hul doel te wees as 'n regsproses. Bowendien sou die koning of die regter, as hulle sou ingaan op die saak, kon agterkom dat die beskuldiging teen Amos van alle waarheid ontbloot was, en dan sou jy as priester slegs in jou hemp daar staan. Nee, Amos moes maar sou gou moontlik die land uit.

So het Amásia dan opgetree, na hy gemeen het in belang van die koning en van sy land en volk. By eerste oogopslag skyn sy motiewe edel te wees: handhawing van die soewereiniteit van die staat Israel teen inmenging van buite, die waak teen skending van die beginsel van baas in eie huis te wees. Op hulleself sou hierdie motiewe as vaderlandsliewend kon deurgaen, maar in werklikheid is die saak anders gesteld. In feite het dit vir Amásia gegaan om die handhawing van die bestaande orde, van die gevestigde sosiale en godsdienstige strukture, om die handhawing van rus en orde. Sy patriotisme was maar 'n facade waaragter ander oorwegings skuilgegaan het. Ons moet nie vergeet dat Amásia geleef het in 'n tyd van buitengewone voorspoed en welvaart, sowel op politiek-ekonomiese as op godsdienstige gebied nie, en dat Amos desondanks vir Israel geen toekoms gesien het nie omdat die sosiaal-ekonomiese strukture, weens die ontbreking van geregtigheid, nie gedeug het nie, en omdat die godsdienst geen egte diens van Jahwe was nie. Sy prediking het dan ook die Israelitiese samelewing tot in sy fundamente geskud. Dit was teen hierdie prediking dat Amásia en sy medegangers hulle verset het. In Israel het die volk oor alles in kanne en kruike beskik: die staat het gefloreer, die ekonomie het gebloei, die offergawes het die rykstempels binnegestroom, lofliedere en offerrook het voortdurend na die hemel opgestyg, allerweë het daar rus en vrede in die land geheers. Hierdie toestand moes voortduur. Daarvoor het Amásia hom beywer. Hy wou Amos nie die profesie as sodanig belet nie, soveel respek het hy vir sy roepingsbewussyn gehad, slegs in Bet-el mog hy nie profeteer nie, „want dit is 'n koninklike heiligdom en 'n tempel van die ryk”. Hier het die staat die seggenskap gevoer. In die grond van die saak kom dit daarop neer dat Amásia hom verskuil het teen die deur Amos gepredikte godswoord agter die vestingwal van die staatsgesag. Daarmee het hy probeer om hom te onttrek aan Gods mag en bereik. Deur hom aldus te wapen het by gemeen dat hy homself en sy volk sou vrywaar teen Gods eise aan die maatskappy. Deur hom teenoor Amos te beroep op die onskendbaarheid van die rykstempel het hy gemeen die bestaande orde onskendbaar te stel, nie toetsbaar aan die woord van God nie. Alles moes by die oue bly; die bestaande orde het self die norm geword.

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Ons sou Amos geheel en al misverstaan deur hom as 'n revolusionêr in politieke sin te sien wat die maatskappy met geweld omver wou werp. As die enigste weg tot behoud het hy gepredik 'n terugkeer tot God, wat op die punt gestaan het om hierdie maatskappy te vernietig. Maar die mense wou hom nie meer aanhoor nie. Onder aanvoering van Amásia, die woordvoerder van Israel se jibroer-profete, het hulle sy woorde in die wind geslaan. Dog 'n blote dertig jaar later het Israel ten gronde gegaan, ondanks, of juis as gevolg van sy gewaande onskendbaarheid. Hierdie ondergang het Israel aan manne soos Amásia te danke gehad, leiers wat in werklikheid verleiers was.

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EXPO '70 - JAPAN HOLDS INTER-FAITH PEACE CONFERENCE

In October last year all the major world religions met in Kyoto, Japan for a World-Conference on Religion and Peace. We gratefully publish the conference statement and message as well as extracts on pages 10 & 11 from some of the workshops at the conference.

Statement

1. Preamble

WE, MEMBERS of several of the religions of the world, have met at Kyoto, October 13-15, 1970, under the sponsorship of the Oriens Institute for Religious Research, the International Institute for the Study of Religions, the Study Committee on "The Role of Religion in the 1970's", and the NCC Christian Council Center for the Study of Japanese Religions, to seek agreement in our understanding of the world, and, in particular, of our role toward the promotion of peace.

We are aware of the inevitable difficulties which beset all dialogue and cooperation between religions, nations and peoples: a sense of superiority, a lack of humility, a defensive attitude of self-righteousness. Yet we remain convinced that, in full loyalty to our respective beliefs and religious commitments, we can and should work together toward a better, more peaceful world.

To us peace is not an abstraction; it is a reality craved by all mankind. True peace is rooted in a social order which respects equality, liberty and justice among men; it thrives in an atmosphere which assigns priority to living man over traditions, ideologies, wealth and comfort.

We share the conviction that religions can and must play a creative role in imparting meaning and purpose to man in our changing world.

We believe that religions are a significant force for cultural integration and moral progress among their peoples insofar as they actively participate in a changing world, while maintaining their heritage of moral and spiritual values.

II. Basis for Religious Dialogue

Religious dialogue should not be limited to mere academic discussion. It may begin among small groups of people and later spread into wider circles. Living together in dialogue should help communities to shed their fear and distrust of each other and to build up mutual trust and confidence.

Religious dialogue will aim not at doctrinal agreement or organizational unity, but at a common commitment to our fellow men; it will be aided, therefore, not so much by confrontation of the religions with one another as by their common confrontation with the pressing problems of the world.

III. Suggestions

We suggest that religions should play a prophetic and constructive role in the interpretation of the use of power, of technological advance and of many social movements which shape the future of the world.

We suggest that religions, in an effort to create the conditions for world peace and eliminate the causes of war, should attend to the problems faced by developing countries and by minorities in search for a new identity, for human dignity and for a legitimate share in the material spiritual goods of the world.

We suggest that, in the interests of justice and peace, religions should come out more positively on behalf of the poor, the powerless and the oppressed. Religious dialogue should promote deliberation and action on these and similar concerns.

We suggest that all religions should pay serious attention to present social change and examine their respective contributions to that change, particularly in the matter of peace.

We suggest that there is need for cooperation among religions in their approach to the many problems which beset the world today and particularly for a study of the meaning of man and of the factors which contribute to his happiness and progress.

We suggest that all religions should encourage their members to study religions other than their own, to engage in dialogue and cooperation, and to exchange specialists in their institutions of higher learning.

We urge the religious leaders to take appropriate steps to form a liaison body to give concrete expression to the above suggestions.

Message

1. THE WORLD Conference on Religion and Peace represents an historic attempt to bring together men and women of all major religions to discuss the urgent issue of peace.

2. We meet at a crucial time. At this very moment we are faced by cruel and inhuman wars and by racial social and economic violence. Man's continued existence on this planet is threatened with nuclear extinction. Never has there been such despair among men.

3. Our deep conviction that the religions of the world have a real and important service to render the cause of peace has brought us to Kyoto from the four corners of the earth. Bahai, Buddhist, Confucian, Hindu, Jain, Jew, Muslim, Shintoist, Sikh, Zoroastrian, and others -- we have come together in peace out of a common concern for peace.

4. As we sat down together facing the overriding issues of peace we discovered that the things which unite us are more important than the things which divide us.

5. We found that we share

- * a conviction of the fundamental unity of the family, and the equality, and dignity of all human beings;
- * a sense of the sacredness of the individual person and his conscience;
- * a sense of the value of human community;
- * a realization that might is not right; that human power is not self-sufficient and absolute;
- * a belief that love, compassion, selflessness, and the force of inner truthfulness and of the spirit have ultimately greater power than hate, enmity, and self-interest;
- * a sense of obligation to stand on the side of the poor and the oppressed as against the rich and the oppressors;
- * a profound hope that good will finally prevail.

6. Because of these convictions that we hold in common, we believe that a special charge has been given to all men and women of religion to be concerned with all their hearts and minds with peace and peace-making, to be the servants of peace.

7. As men and women of religion we confess in humility and penitence that we have very often betrayed our religious ideals and our commitment to peace. It is not religion that has failed the cause of peace, but religious people. This betrayal of religion can and must be corrected.

8. In confronting the urgent challenges to peace in the second half of the twentieth century, we were compelled to consider the problems of disarmament, development, and human rights. Clearly peace is imperilled by the ever-quickenning race for armaments, the widening gap between the rich and the poor within and among the nations, and by the tragic violation of human rights all over the world.

9. In our consideration of the problems of disarmament we became convinced that peace cannot be found through the stock-piling of weapons. We therefore call for immediate steps toward general disarmament, to include all weapons of destruction, conventional, nuclear, chemical, and bacteriological.

10. We found that the problems of development were aggravated by the fact that the resources spent on research into and the manufacture, and stockpiling of such weapons consumes a grossly inordinate amount of the resources of mankind. We are convinced that these resources are urgently needed instead to combat the injustices that make for war and other forms of social violence. Any society in

which one out of every four children dies is in a state of war. While development of itself may not bring peace, there can be no lasting peace without it. Therefore we pledge our support to the effort of the United Nations to make the 70's a decade of development for all mankind.

11. The social convulsions clearly evident in the world today demonstrate the connection between peace and the recognition, promotion, and protection of human rights. Racial discrimination, the repression of ethnic and religious minorities, the torturing of political and other prisoners, legalized and *de facto* denial of political freedom and equality of opportunity, the denial of equal rights to women, any form of colonialist oppression - all such violations of human rights are responsible for the escalation of violence that is debasing human civilization.

12. While we of this Conference speak for ourselves as persons brought together from many religions by our deep concern for peace, we try also to speak for the vast majority of the human family who are powerless and whose voice is seldom heard -- the poor, the exploited, the refugees, and all who are homeless and whose lives, fields and freedoms have been devastated by wars.

13. We speak to our religions, the ecumenical councils and all interfaith efforts for peace, to the nations, beginning with our own, to the United Nations, and to men and women outside established religions who are concerned about human welfare.

14. To one and all, beginning with ourselves, we say that the point of departure for any serious effort in the human enterprise -- educational, cultural, scientific, social, and religious -- is the solemn acceptance of the fact that men and all their works are now united in one destiny: We live or die together; we can continue to drift toward a common doom or we can engage together in the struggle for peace. We cannot honestly denounce war and the things that make for war unless our personal lives are informed by peace and we are prepared to make the necessary sacrifices for it. We must do all in our power to educate public opinion and awaken public conscience to take a firm stand against war and the illusory hope of peace through military victory. We are convinced that religions, in spite of historic differences, must now seek to unite all men in those endeavors which make for true peace. We believe that we have a duty transcending sectarian limits to cooperate with those outside the historic religions who share our desire for peace.

We pledge ourselves to warn the nations whose citizens we are that the effort to achieve and maintain military power is the road to disaster. It creates a climate of fear and mistrust; it demands resources needed for the meeting of the needs of health, housing and welfare; it fosters the escalation of the arms race that now threatens man's life on earth; it sharpens differences among nations into military and economic blocs; it regards peace as an armed truce or a balance of terror; it dismisses as utopian a truly universal concern for the welfare of all mankind. To all this we say "No"!

We desire to convey our concern for peace to the United Nations. The achievement and maintenance of peace required not only a recognition of the existence of the United Nations but, even more, support for and implementation of its decisions. We urge universal membership in the United Nations, a more just sharing of power and responsibility in its procedures. We urge the member nations to accept its leadership in resolving issues that have led or may lead to conflicts.

It is our hope that this conference will help us see and accept our responsibility as men and women of religious faith for the achievement of true and lasting peace.

Resolution on Southern Africa

THE WORLD Conference on Religion and Peace bringing together in Kyoto men and women of religious faith from the ends of the earth has naturally concerned itself with the urgency of the explosive situation in Southern Africa. It is our judgment that the brutality of apartheid in Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and Namibia, and the repressive colonialist exploitation by Portugal in Angola and Mozambique represents a situation of racial war against the African peoples with all the consequent destruction of human life typical of other wars raging in today's world.

Therefore, as men and women of religious faith,

- 1) We repent our own share -- directly or indirectly -- in the perpetuation of structures that entrench racial discrimination in Southern Africa;
- 2) We condemn the involvement of our religions and of our nations in this system of violence to man's humanity based on racism;
- 3) We call upon all governments to implement the measures they have already adopted in the United Nations, and to support further mandatory actions aimed at creating conditions conducive to justice, liberation and peace in Southern Africa;
- 4) We plead especially for the fullest implementation of sanctions against Rhodesia and for the extension of mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa;
- 5) We plead with the allies of Portugal -- especially her NATO allies -- to terminate immediately all forms of military assistance that enables Portugal to wage war in her African colonies;
- 6) We demand an immediate end to all types of military assistance to South Africa, including the sale of arms, and condemn all such assistance and collaboration with evil as abhorrent to all the values cherished by humanity;
- 7) We urge the full support by our religions for the victims of racism and colonialism and for those involved in the struggle to bring justice, liberation and peace in Southern Africa.

Discrimination

ONE OF THE most flagrant forms of the violation of human rights are racism, discrimination based on caste, race, colour and religion and apartheid. The denial of these rights prevents justice being realized and have forced men to resort to violence and war.

Racism and apartheid are a menace to peace. There are many forms of racism but the most serious form is white racism as practised in Southern Africa, commonly called apartheid in South Africa, which is practised against the Black majority. Black and certain ethnic minorities in many countries such as the United States and Australia also suffer from the practice of white racism.

Racism is reinforced by social, political and economic structures which help to perpetuate these relationships, even within religions.

Discrimination by some religious bodies takes various forms. In South Africa a powerful Christian Church, the Dutch Reformed Church, supports apartheid and racism. Other religious and church organizations have condoned it by allowing schools, churches and hospitals under their management and jurisdiction to be segregated. In India, despite the efforts of the government and responsible leaders, discrimination on the grounds of religion and caste still exists in the form of untouchability. Nepal and Pakistan are also affected by this problem. The religions have, because of apathy, failed to arouse or educate public opinion. Laws made to enforce racial discrimination in South Africa and Rhodesia and the colonial system in the Portuguese African Colonies have produced forms of oppression and repression which are a threat to world peace and threaten a confrontation between black and white which could end in violent blood bath.

(from World Conference on Religion and Peace: Workshop on Human Rights),

AT THE SAME TIME we warn those who refuse to permit the reform of the unjust structures which support their privileges that their resistance to change will make violence inevitable and that the burden of responsibility will rest with them.

(from World Peace Conference: Workshop on Development).

MILITARY expenditures today are inconsistent with a desire for and needs of development. The world has increased military expenditure by about 30% during the last three years. It is estimated that \$180 billion was spent in 1967, an increase of over 50% in half a decade. It amounts to about 7% of the world's gross product. It equals the total annual income produced by the one billion people living in Latin America, South Asia and the Middle East. The greatest tragedy is that this expenditure on the means of destruction is 40% more than what all governments in the world at all levels spend on education and is more than three times that spent on public health.

(from World Conference on Religion and Peace: Workshop on Disarmament).

Rights of Objectors

WE CONSIDER that the exercise of conscientious judgment is inherent in the dignity of human beings and that, accordingly, each person should be assured the right, on grounds of conscience or profound conviction, to refuse military service, or any other direct or indirect participation in wars or armed conflicts. The right of conscientious objection also extends to those who are unwilling to serve in a particular war because they consider it unjust or because they refuse to participate in a war or conflict in which weapons of mass destruction are likely to be used. This Conference also considers that members of armed forces have the right, and even the duty, to refuse to obey military orders which may involve the commission of criminal offenses, or of war crimes or of crimes against humanity.

(from World Conference on Religion and Peace: Workshop on Human Rights).

Peace as wholeness (Shalom)

NEXT I would like to commend the radical meaning of peace which is the biblical concept of justice. It is summed up in wholeness of life as conveyed by the term "Shalom". It expresses the wholeness of full human life in a community of mutual sharing and affirmation. It includes prosperity, happiness, respect among friends and all that belongs to personal fulfilment. For a community, it means the efflorescence of its common life in all respects. It suggests an almost paradisaical reign of security and abundance; it is something that lasts, something common to all men. Moreover, because the concrete demands of the common good of man are constantly changing, peace becomes a never-ending corporate quest on the part of all men of goodwill for a more human order. It is in this sense that development, the struggle of the needier nations for a better life, is the new name for peace and is an enterprise of justice, the establishment, namely, of the disadvantaged in the full rights and possibilities of their humanity.

Doubtless, peace begins in our own hearts but it is not an evasion of forgetting of one's fellowmen. On the contrary, private life, public life, political life and international relations are all meant to be changed by the dynamics of peace into a life in harmony for the whole of mankind.

SPECIFIC ISSUES

The role of religion in its moral witness within the political order does not demand that we usurp the role of the diplomat or politician, the general or the merchant, or sit in judgement on heads of states. Our task as spokesmen for religion is to create a moral climate that gives hope of a better chance to the efforts and blueprints for peace that otherwise tend to remain merely mechanical or ope-

rate in a vacuum. It is a complementary role but one that is badly needed in the interests of these personal and community values that society at all levels exists to serve and prosper. Because of the growing permissiveness in society with its heavy emphasis on purely subjective morality, this task of all religions has assumed poignant urgency. By this token, it is for us to give to the organization of world peace a dynamic, organic moral principle of life and growth.

At this stage, I would like to indicate a few specific issues which we might care to support.

Through a Conference such as this it might be worthwhile to urge all responsible governments and competent authorities, at all levels, to ensure liberty of thought, conscience and religion and also the right to public manifestation of religion without discrimination and with a mutual respect for the convictions and beliefs of every individual - with due regard for the common good. All Religionists should demonstrate, in a positive way, their concern that all men everywhere be free to exercise without discrimination of any kind all the rights which are indispensable for a complete fulfilment of the human person.

A first move in the direction of future non-violent defensive strategies is the establishment of *the right of conscientious objection*. This is a religious issue. Inherent in the dignity of human beings is the exercise of conscientious judgement. Accordingly, each person should be assured the right on grounds of conscience or profound conviction to refuse military service or any other direct or indirect preparation in wars or armed conflicts.

By the same token, this should be extended to include a particular war or a conflict in which weapons of mass destruction are likely to be used or military orders issued involving the commission of criminal offences or war crimes or crimes against humanity. It will be for the Conference, if it thinks fit, to indicate the practical steps required to ensure this recognition under national and international law.

In line with this is the wider issue of *human rights*. They have been set down in writing; it is now necessary to do everything possible to make them operative.

Would it be in order for our Conference to endorse the proposal currently before the United Nations for the establishment of an office of a High Commissioner for Human Rights within the structure of the U.N.? Perhaps we could also go on record as urging all governments to ratify all the international conventions relating to human rights as a matter of top priority.

Such steps may not appear to concern religion directly but we cannot ignore the common man's conscience and his hopes and aspirations also in this area of life.

(From the address by Archbishop A. Fernandes of Delhi, India, who was a leader of the International Inter-Religious Symposium on Peace in New Delhi (1968) and is President of the World Conference on Religion and Peace).

A QUAKER MOTHER LOOKS

AT MILITARY SERVICE

Anna Pearce

AS A MOTHER of teenage boys, I have realised for the first time, the complete lack of discussion that goes on amongst average school boys about their impending military service. It seems that they just regard it as some duty which they grumble about, rather like cleaning their teeth. I wonder how many boys have questioned their church's teaching, have questioned the Ten Commandments, have questioned "thou shalt not kill". It seems we are encouraging our boys to grow up like unquestioning robots - robots who can dutifully learn the Ten Commandments and dutifully learn to kill their neighbours or they can do both, without question.

On the surface they seem very different from boys overseas, for instance in the United States. A recent "News & World" report stated the following: "The military establishment, chiefly the army, is now beset by cases of mutiny, disobedience, racial strife, desertion and an ever increasing number with absences without leave". These are all symptoms of the general restlessness amongst young people overseas. The restlessness of people who are lost and groping for answers to questions which they hardly even know how to phrase. Some have realised that there must be a radical, basic change in our whole way of life if mankind is going to be able to survive on this planet. Ideas like this are closely related to objections to military service particularly in the United States. Whether we like it or not, eventually we can expect our boys to follow this world trend just as they follow the world's fashions. And from past experiences we can expect the authorities to use ever increasingly strict measures to control these young men. Many of them may be sent to prison for refusing to serve in the army unless we can persuade the authorities that it is in the interest of us all to allow a more compassionate spirit to grow amongst us. This may mean allowing ideas that are less acceptable to grow as well.

Insight may come to us almost unnoticed or it may come in some dramatic way. This happened to one particular man in the last war. At the time I was not able to understand what was happening. But his experience left a great impression on me. This man was a member of a bomber crew which had just returned from a highly successful raid over Germany. But he was in no mood to enjoy the special bacon and egg breakfast that was layed on for the returning 'heroes'. Instead he just wanted to talk to somebody. And as I happened to be there, I listened to what he had to say. He told me that he had been on

many raids and that he had been perfectly alright until then. But that night something had happened. As he released the bombs, the picture that he had once seen in a magazine suddenly came to life. He saw old people, one of them was in a bathchair and there were children playing around. They were all in a narrow street. And he suddenly realised with horror that they were in the very street where these bombs were heading for. And then he broke down. He said something about one of those people - it was his grandmother. And the children he talked about them as if they were his own children and he saw the one who had an arm blown off and another little boy who had his leg blown off. He was so distressed that I could hardly understand what he was saying but it certainly seemed as if they were his own children.

And as he talked, he was shaking. This interests me now because I have now read about how the early Quakers, when they had their eyes opened to some truth, shook and quaked. It was from this that they got the name Quakers. But in 1944 I did not know about this. I merely felt sorry for the man because he seemed to be on the road to a breakdown and that was the reaction of all of us as we carried on with our various duties and later looked at the aerial-photographs taken after his raid. We saw rows and rows of gutted houses like empty shells indicating how 'successful' the raid had been at wiping out a city. We didn't see each of them as a home where tragedy had struck overnight - for we were *normal* people. But he who had to be taken off flying duties, he was the *abnormal* one in our eyes because he had understood *too much*. He had had a vision, which had shown him the enormity of what we were doing and what is meant by the term the brotherhood of man.

There had been others like him of course who have had similar insights, and one of them was Wing Commander Leonard Cheshire who watched the first atom bomb dropped over Hiroshima. He was later so changed that he devoted the rest of his life to serving mankind.

Now it was from such people as these who have been granted greater insight and greater understanding than most of us that the Society of Friends' Peace Testimony, which is based on the New Testament, has evolved. But there is nothing negative about our Peace Testimony as some might imagine. On the contrary, it urges nations to trust everything to the positive forces of goodwill while individuals should not face any giant evil with a passive attitude but rather level against it the most effective forces that there are. This means of course that peace-making becomes big business. And the most effective forces there are to work for peace are the people with compassion and understanding, the people with a wider vision than the majority. These people are the leaven in the community, the co-workers with God, the people in whom Christ lives today. Can any community really afford to put such people behind bars simply because they refuse to kill?

* * * * *

ALTERNATIVES TO MILITARY SERVICE

D. Cleminshaw

In October last year the Civil Rights League organized a conference in Cape Town on Conscientious Objection. Last month we published one of the talks given at the conference by Francis Wilson. This month we print Anna Pearce's talk on page 12 and the Conference resolution on conscientious objection on page 15.

Below is a valuable comparison made by Mrs. D. Cleminshaw of how conscientious objection to military training is treated in other countries. This article should be read in conjunction with the articles on pages 17 and 21 of Justice and Peace Commission in order to assess the body of world opinion in this regard.

JUDGING by the information received from the Consulates of other countries, the position of conscientious objectors in South Africa is distinctly unfavourable. At present the terms of our Defence Act of 1957 are such that a person who objects on religious grounds to having anything at all to do with the military machine is detained for successive periods of 90 days. Some boys have been in prison for nearly two years. There is only a limited exemption possible for conscientious objectors, that is, they "may" (not 'must') be permitted to serve in a non-combatant capacity within the framework of the military machine. One finds it difficult to understand the morality or logic of a law which accepts that a person may have a conscientious objection, but insists that he must serve in a capacity which aids and furthers the cause to which he objects, or else suffer a punishment normally allotted to the worst criminal offenders against society.

Many other countries, including of course the advanced democratic societies, have met this problem by permitting the conscientious objector to do alternative service in a sphere completely divorced from the military machine. Not so Brazil and Peru; in the latter country a Military Junta has ruled for many years and in the circumstances "there is no question of conscientious objection to military service". But surely South Africa should wish to be compared with countries such as the Federal Republic of West Germany, Holland, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and the United States of America, all of which make it possible for a man to serve both his country and his conscience.

Briefly, the position in other countries is as follows:-

U.S.A.: They recognise two types of conscientious objector, a) those who would accept non-combatant service and b) those who are opposed to combatant and to non-combatant service. The latter group are obliged to perform two years of civilian work contributing to the maintenance of the national health, safety, or interest, in place of induction into the armed forces. The Americans are to be congratulated for a tremendous concern over this whole problem of military service, and those interested are referred to the report of a National Advisory Commission on Selective Service, set up by President Johnson in 1966.

CANADA: The Canadian Embassy states that conscientious objection to military service is not a problem, since there is no compulsory national service in Canada.

BRITAIN: Britain's treatment of conscientious objectors, as is well known, has been tolerant. Men have been able to register as conscientious objectors subject to decisions of local tribunals of impartial persons appointed by the Minister of Labour and National Service, with the right of appeal to an appellate tribunal. However, liability for National Service ended in the United Kingdom in 1960.

AUSTRALIA: There is provision for conscientious objection. Persons can be exempted from combatant service or can do alternative service outside the military framework. They have to satisfy a special court as to the sincerity of their conscientious beliefs.

RHODESIA: Conscientious objectors may be granted exemption from military service. A separate exemption board considers the comparatively few appeals made on these grounds. While it is rarely necessary to take this action, where an appellant refuses to accept the decision of the exemption board, recourse is made not to detention but to the civil courts.

SWEDEN: A law dated June, 1966 concerning "unarmed service" gives permission to a person liable for military service to serve unarmed if the use of weapons against another person is not compatible with his serious personal conviction and would cause him deep conscientious doubts. Such unarmed service shall be of importance to society and can be performed *Inter Alia*

- a) in a civil defence fire department;
- b) in the repair service of the railways, the state power board, or the board of telecommunications;
- c) in the public health service;
- d) in the national or municipal administration.

The possibility of including training for development assistance abroad as an additional form of unarmed service is under consideration.

□

BELGIUM, HOLLAND, NORWAY, ITALY AND WEST GERMANY: All have similar provisions.

NORWAY is at present debating new legislation aimed at further liberalising already enlightened attitudes. There is compulsory civilian service for those who are exempted from military service, and this lasts for the same period of time plus a longer period determinable by the King, but not exceeding 180 days. There are detailed regulations covering this civilian service, relating to pay, sick pay, allowances for food, clothing and family. Such persons can transfer back to military service, if they wish, and civilian service counts towards the period required for military service in such circumstances.

□

BELGIUM: A very similar state of affairs exists, but the length of civilian service is twice the period of the military service.

□

ITALY: A law of November, 1966 states that the Minister of Defence can, in time of peace, grant temporary dispensation from military service to young men in possession of special qualifications who wish to work continuously for at least two years in a developing country outside Europe. The Minister of Defence, in co-operation with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, decides upon the merits of each application. Young men whose applications have been successful must reach the countries of their choice and start working there within six months. In order to obtain full dispensation from their military duties, those young men must satisfy the Minister of Defence that

they have worked as prescribed, within 30 days from the completion of their duties in the various developing countries.

□

HOLLAND: They do have provision for conscientious objection, and it is interesting to observe the improvement in the attitude taken towards this problem - whereas the law in 1923 referred to "refusal to undertake military service", by 1962 the law states that "serious conscientious objection shall be interpreted" on the basis of insuperable conscientious objection of those whose religious or moral convictions forbid them to take part in any acts of war. Such persons can be given the partial exemption of non-combatant service, or complete exemption from any military service. Non-combatant service can be with the Mobile Units which help the civilian population in times of national calamity, when the length of service is the same as for the military.

When the service is completely divorced from the military, it is done in government institutions to suit the general interest. The time of service is then longer, but not longer than for the most specialised troops, such as the marines who have the longest service time in Holland.

Figures taken from a journal *Kernvraag*, April 1969, No. 5 show 173 conscientious objectors in Holland in 1969 working in such jobs as:-

| | |
|---|--------|
| Forestry camp (Vledder) | 17 men |
| State Water Affairs | 6 |
| State psychiatric institutions | 33 |
| State asylum | 2 |
| Camps under the Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Work | 20 |
| State building service | 9 |

and so on.

An interdepartmental commission decides after interviewing the conscientious objector what job he should be sent to. In times of economic depression, so as not to compete with the ordinary labour market, most have to be sent to the forestry camps. There have been a few cases when, in agreement with the Ministry of External Affairs, volunteers were selected to serve for 27 months (including a training period in Holland) in a developing country, which service granted them exemption or deferment of military service.

□

REPUBLIC OF WEST GERMANY: The Constitution provides as follows:-

"No person shall be compelled against his conscience to do military service in the army."

The Constitution further lays down that any person liable for military service, who has conscientious objection to military service in the army, may be compelled to do substitute service ("ersatzdienst") of such a nature that it has no relation whatever to military forces or to the defence of the country's boundaries.

In consequence of this, the Defence Act providing for military service states that persons who object on grounds of conscience to using any weapon in military service shall serve in some substitute service of a civilian nature outside the military forces. He could, if he wishes, be called to non-military service (without the use of weapons) within the Defence Force.

The Judiciary has decided that persons who are deeply and sincerely pacifist in their convictions also have a right to refuse military service.

Conscientious objectors must notify the authority of their objections. They have the right to do this at any time, including a time after they have undertaken military service. Decisions about such notifications are made by special courts of hearing entitled to test the objector's sincerity and the ground on which he pleads. In such cases there are certain conditions laid down to ensure that objections are genuine and that proper discipline can be maintained until a hearing is arranged.

The Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs is given the task of finding suitable substitute service for conscientious objectors. In March 1970 there were 4,724 substitute jobs provided and in addition provision was to be made for a further 3,000 similar posts.

Figures supplied by the West German Consul show that

In 1962 there were 4,489 objectors (of whom 162 were serving soldiers.

In 1967 there were 5,963 objectors (of whom 871 were serving soldiers.

In 1969 there were 14,420 objectors (of whom 2,600 were serving soldiers.

The percentage of the total liable for military service was 1% in 1967 growing to 1.41% in 1969.

The West German government has announced plans for a better deal for conscientious objectors who are doing "ersatzdienst" in the form of duty in hospitals and welfare institutions, etc. for 18-month periods. In future, they will receive pay benefits comparable in part to what draftees can expect after six months of military duty. In addition, they will be allowed twelve free trips home per year, just as are their Bundeswehr comrades. Conscientious objectors planning a career in one of the welfare or medical services are to be permitted to complete their education and training before having to begin their "ersatzdienst", according to new plans.

□

CONCLUSION

It seems that in most countries the trend is towards freedom of conscience in this respect. It is profoundly to be hoped that the South African Government will see its way clear to follow this trend.

October, 1970.

□ □ □ □ □ □ □ □

Maart 15 March 1971

Civil Rights League

resolves that ...

"THIS CONFERENCE accepts that every person has a duty to the community in which he lives and that he should serve that community to the best of his ability.

Conference does not, however, believe that the rendering of military service is the only manner of so serving the community and draws attention to the fact that:-

1. The Defence Act of 1957 compels young men to render military service within the Defence Force, ...
2. Young men who belong to religious bodies which forbid the carrying and use of weapons may be allocated service in para-military arms of the Force,
3. This may be in conflict with their religious beliefs, but may also be in conflict with strongly held moral and ethical convictions of persons who do not belong to any religious body.
4. This is a serious invasion of the basic human right of freedom of conscience.

Conference feels that no government should impose duties of such a nature upon its citizens whereby the calls of duty to the community are in conflict with the call of conscience.

Conference therefore calls upon the Government to amend the Defence Act of 1957 so that such persons as do object on strongly held moral ethical or religious grounds are permitted to render alternative service in fields completely unrelated to the Defence Force.

Conference draws attention to the practice in other countries such as Western Germany, Norway and Britain where such provision is made.

Conference calls upon the Government to encourage

- a) intensive research to formulate peaceful and constructive forms of national service to be undertaken by the youth of all racial groups; and
- b) public and private experimentation with pilot programmes.

Conference calls upon religious and educational leaders to take the initiative in discussing, planning and experimenting with pilot programmes."

(Resolution adopted with one dissentient by the Civil Rights League consultation on Conscientious Objection - October 1970).

Action, Justice

and Peace -

Brazilian style

On 2nd October 1968, the hundredth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi's birth, Dom Helder Camara, the champion of the poor and oppressed of the Third World launched a programme called Action, Justice and peace in his diocese in north-east Brazil.

We are grateful to the publishers of Orbis Books for permission to reprint this extract of the non-violent motivation and direction of the programme. It originally appeared in 1969 in the book Dom Helder Camara: la violence d'un pacifique.

ACTION, Justice, and Peace, has as its goal the humanization of all those who are subhumanized by misery or dehumanized by egoism. And it will achieve this by means of:

- (a) The gradual but effective and rapid change of socio-economic structures and political cultural structures throughout Latin America.
- (b) Latin American integration, without imperialistic meddling either external or internal. This integration should begin by the integration of all the people in each country.

Action, Justice, and Peace is interconfessional and is open to all who care join in.

Action, Justice, and Peace comprises and practises non-violence as a positive action, daring and courageous assertion of nonconformity in regard to the present structures of Latin America.

The universal Declaration of Human Rights, still so far from being applied in Latin America, sums up the fundamental principles of Action, Justice, and Peace.

As sources of inspiration for this movement we wish to mention notably: the pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World and the encyclical on the Development of Peoples, as well as the conclusions reached at the second meeting of the Latin American bishops' conference, particularly concerning peace, justice, youth, education, the poverty of the Church, and the apostolate to the elite and the masses, and at the assembly of Uppsala promoted by the Ecumenical Council of Churches, and at the reunion "Church and Society" at Geneva.

In every country, according to circumstances, the movement Action, Justice, and Peace will endeavor to:

- (a) Arouse and encourage evaluative groups, preferably interdisciplinary, with the aim of studying specifically the various methods for rapid development which can be adapted to our several countries.
- (b) Study the concept and the methods of non-violent action.
- (c) Study the existence or non-existence of conformity or non-conformity and the practical distortions of the laws relating to reform of structures, always taking into account the particular needs.
- (d) Eliminate obvious injustices, such as conditions of slavery, collective dismissals of workers in rural or urban zones, sub-subsistence wages, lack of respect for the rights of man, especially in regard to the less favored classes.
- (e) Denounce the armaments race, which divides the nations, wastes national resources, and prevents any authentic integration.
- (f) Denounce violent action against all justified demonstrations which do not disturb the public order but which are often arbitrarily declared illegal.
- (g) Denounce national and international monopolies and every advance of imperialism.
- (h) Be attentive to every kind of development that takes place to the detriment of man.

Once the thought of the evaluative groups has matured and the option for non-violent action has been defined through personal commitments, many ways will occur for putting into effect the objectives of Action, Justice, and Peace. For example:

- (a) Meetings for awakening consciences that are well organized and well constructed and led.
- (b) Intelligent use of the means of social communication, through music, drama, and caricature
- (c) Support for justified strikes.
- (d) Big demonstrations or marches, as the culmination of some well-organized activity.
- (e) Peaceful demands, even at the risk of imprisonment, in defense of those who may be unjustly arrested for defending the values we proclaim: this is one of the fundamental forms of non-violent action.

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USA PEACE COMMITTEE EXAMINES CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION

The Peace Committee, a division of the USA Justice and Peace Commission, here examines the position of the conscientious objector as well as the selective conscientious objector. It reflects with the late John Kennedy that "War will exist until the distant day when the conscientious objector enjoys the same reputation and prestige as the warrior does today".

SINCE Apostolic times, the Church has cherished and valued the spirit of non-violence based on the teaching of Jesus. This is one of the reasons why the Christians of the early Church, for the most part, did not participate in military service. There was even strong tendency toward pacifism. The Church Fathers, St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, emphasized the primacy of love, going so far as to state that Christians as individuals had no right to self-defense. Christians, however, were allowed to take part in communal defense if the war was considered just.

The theory of the just war, beginning with St. Augustine and later developed by Catholic theologians such as St. Thomas Aquinas and Francis Suarez, required that certain conditions be met: The war must be declared by a just authority, for a just cause, using just means and having reasonable expectation of success. In applying an evolving just war theory to the contemporary world, the person who is sincerely trying to form his conscience must judge whether or not the end achieved by a particular war or all-out war is proportionate, in any degree, to the devastation wrought by that war. On the basis of this judgment, he would justify either participation in or abstention from war.

In abstaining, some might conclude that just war in the modern world is not possible, citing Pope John's statement in *Pacem In Terris*: "therefore, in this age of ours which prides itself on its atomic power, it is irrational to believe that war is still an apt means of vindicating violated rights." (n. 127). "No more war, war never again", were the words of Pope Paul VI to the General Assembly of the United Nations.

In the continuing condemnation of total warfare by recent popes, the Second Vatican Council declared that:

Every act of war directed to the indiscriminate destruction of whole cities or vast areas with their inhabitants is a crime against God and man which merits firm and unequivocal condemnation. (*Gaudium et Spes*, no 80).

A Catholic viewing his tradition, the message of the Gospel, and recent conciliar and papal statements could validly question and abstain from participation in war or the preparations for war.

The second Vatican Council, therefore, endorsed laws that would make human provision for the care of those who for reasons of conscience refuse to bear arms, provided, however, that they accept some other form of service to the human community. (*GS*, no 79)

From the previously stated documents and traditions, it is clear that a Catholic (either in-service or out-of-service) can be a conscientious objector "because of religious training and belief". We are, therefore, concerned when we hear that some boards and military tribunals do not recognize a Catholic claim for military exemption by reason of conscience. On the other hand, we are encouraged by recent court decisions and the actions of draft boards which uphold the primacy of conscience in this regard.

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write for catalogue from Concord Film Council, Nacton, Ipswich, Suffolk, England.

Further Reading

Nationalism and Ideology, Barbara Ward, (Hamish Hamilton).

A historical review of the efforts of man to achieve unity through states, empires, ideologies, and to examine alternative methods of achieving world order more appropriate to our global society.

Peace on Earth, Pope John XXIII, (Encyclical Letter).

A reaffirmation of the Christian's search for justice and peace.

War, Conscience and Dissent, Gordon Zahn, (Chapman).

A powerful case for Christian protest and dissent from immoral political commitment in the age of Hitler, nuclear weapons, and Vietnam. Gordon Zahn combines the skill of a sociologist with a deep Christian moral concern.

A Christian Symposium on Race, Ed. Mathews and Hill, (Gollancz).

An important new collection of

essays by distinguished Christian writers on the problem of racial conflict.

An Alternative to War, Gordon Zahn.

People who see that aggression must be resisted, but who also see the dangers of violence and escalation, like to explore the possibility of non-violent resistance. Gordon Zahn makes out a case for non-violence as a successful and just method of conflict resolution.

Christianity versus Violence, Stan Windass, (Sheed and Ward).

A study of the early pacifism of the Christian Church, and the way in which this pacifism was latter submerged in the 'just-war' tradition, leaving us in a dilemma from which there is no easy way out. It suggests that the way forward is neither in a return to Christian pacifism nor in the just war tradition, but in a positive approach to international conflict which will contain elements of both.

Non-Violence; a Christian Interpretation, William Robert Miller, (Allen and Unwin).

An interesting study of non-violent protest and resistance movements, set in a Christian theological context. Contains case-histories from recent history in Hungary, Finland, Denmark and Norway (during the Nazi occupation), South Africa, Ghana, and the United States.

On Aggression, Konrad Lorenz, (Methuen).

Study of the behaviour of animals is throwing more and more light on human behaviour - especially in the field of aggression. Animals assert dominance by conflict, and they also occupy and defend territory. Lorenz's book is the best introduction to a fascinating area of study.

Building Peace, Dominique Pire O.P.

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To share the same cup

HAVING returned from overseas a few days ago, I was somewhat sceptical when I was invited to review Anthony Taylor's documentary film on the life of a Christian community in Zululand. I saw in front of me already the rich houses of 'White' people and the shacks of 'Black' people and then also facets showing the benevolent paternalistic attitude of the generous rich man to the grateful poor man.

Very vividly in my memory were the protest marches for wage increases, for freedom and against suppression and especially against suppressive governmental systems. And although this type of protest is valid and necessary, I ask myself often: But you, what would you, protester, do, if you lived in other circumstances amidst people of different customs and culture. Viewing Taylor's film, I was therefore pleasantly surprised to be confronted with a beautiful human documentary which is as simple and straightforward as the Gospel.

The film tells us that it is possible for people of different races to work and live together, provided they have a common goal. Invitation here is being extended to all of us to climb the mountain, to surpass our own powers, to accept strangers as our brothers. In order to achieve this 'impossible' ideal, it is clear that we need to share religious feelings with strangers and to share the life of Christ by eating the bread and drinking the cup.

Taylor conveys this to us, by letting us take part in the joy contained in the working together (hospital, teaching, agricultural development etc.) and the celebrating together of the eucharist.

A major aspect of the film is also the emphasis on the individual. Taylor helps us not to think in terms of groups in the first place, but to bear in mind that the individual as such is the primary element of any group. So individuals differ. Is it not about time that we stopped thinking in terms of groups and masses and that we started fighting for the individual. Only then shall we be able to form real groups, not on the basis of appearance or culture but on the basis of mutual respect and mutual love. That is Tony Taylor's message.

See the film and draw the conclusion for yourself: SHARE THE CUP.

Ton Owerwijn

Should you wish to hire "To share the same cup" contact:

The Diocesan Secretary,
P.O. Box 147,
Eshowe,
Zululand.

EDUCATION AND ACTION FOR PEACE

International Justice and Peace Commission

The Committee for Peace of the International Commission Justice and Peace meeting last year discusses education and action for peace - covering the 'just war', conscientious objection and the responsibility of the church in education for Peace.

WAR is in itself an evil; but any judgment on war that is to be responsible and effective must cut itself away from the abstract and *take into account the historical facts* of the past and the present.

The energies of Christians can now be more usefully employed in *the creation* of a just social and international order, rather than in *the discussion* of what may or may not constitute a just war.

In the past, it is undeniable that Christians very quickly resigned themselves to the existence of war and sought to justify it or to regulate its conduct, rather than to prevent it altogether. This past weighs heavy on the conscience and institutions of the Church. Christian education for peace must not ignore the past; it must accordingly *call into question long-standing trends of thought* which are preventing the idea of Peace from becoming a reality in the pastoral life of the Church.

At the present time, an outbreak of nuclear war between the Great Powers, with its world-wide conflagration, is neither the only nor the most likely danger. Other wars can be or are being carried on. They are local wars in which traditional weapons are used on a large scale. Those who are working for Peace, therefore, cannot simply protest against nuclear war in general - though this is an absolute essential. They must go further and denounce the violence which is at the origin of local or revolutionary wars. *This violence is of a cultural, economic and social nature.* The domination of so-called developing nations by so-called developed nations frequently leads to economic exploitation and cultural destruction. This is a well-known fact. But, now new violent and unjust processes are appearing: the so-called developed countries have entered a period of crisis and are no longer able to control the contradictions in their own societies; and the developing nations are rejecting any aid that prejudices their freedom of action.

This violence is moreover easily stirred up by wholesale arms deliveries (especially to developing nations, on the pretext of strengthening their ability to defend themselves), which are all too often made purely for motives of gain.

□ CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION, NATIONAL (NON-MILITARY) SERVICE AND SELECTIVE MILITARY SERVICE

The Committee is not in a position to make an overall study of the problems related to military service. It has therefore limited itself to *stressing two general propositions*, which must be seriously considered if the expectations of millions of people are to be fulfilled.

The means of war have changed. The destructive capacity of the nuclear weapons possessed by certain states is such that any person who would make use of these weapons would produce an evil far greater than the good he had intended to protect. This in itself justifies the refusal, in conscience, to do military service. That brief consideration however does not exhaust the subject of conscientious objection. But it does justify the creation of a special status for conscientious objectors founded on Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Resolution 337 (1967) adopted by the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe. Under this status, conscientious objectors would be allowed to do work of a non-military nature, which would thus be in keeping with their dignity and, at the same time, serve the cause of justice and peace.

The causes of war have changed. The source of war is essentially no longer the threat which one nation holds over the territorial integrity of another. War is to a large extent caused by economic, social and cultural conflicts. The mere refusal to do military service, therefore, does not comprise all the responsibilities of those who would work for peace. They must also combat the real causes of war; they must, in other words, take on *political responsibilities*.

The Committee believes that a *draft international convention to protect conscientious objectors* should be worked out with the help of the Pontifical Commission Justice and Peace and then be submitted to National Commissions for consultation and finally to the appropriate international law-making bodies. The draft convention should take into primary consideration conscientious objectors who refuse all armed service, whatever its nature or purpose.

The Committee moreover recognised the need for a study on the right of conscientious objection among the forces responsible for maintaining order (such as the police or citizens militia). This aspect of the problem seems to be becoming increasingly relevant with the gradual degeneration of war into other kinds of conflicts, of which the most vicious are of a domestic nature. In this context, the Committee recommends that studies be undertaken with a view to the drafting of a police code of ethics.

□ RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE CHURCH IN THE EDUCATION FOR PEACE

Education for Peace cannot simply be an education of individual consciences. The individual is tributary of a collective system of causes and effects that he must learn to know and control.

Education for Peace cannot be based on the assumption that it is possible to escape entirely from the violence that specialists in the social and human sciences point out everywhere. The Christian communities *must not therefore be shelters where people close their eyes to the existence of violence*, contradiction and differences of views; on the contrary the communities must learn to face and to dominate the violence that is within themselves and outside.

Peace does not consist in *preserving* the established order, but in *building* a system of justice for all. It is therefore not enough to declare oneself a pacifist: one must also direct the dynamisms of personal consciences and of social organisations towards justice, especially by teaching, as part of the curriculum, the purposes and ideals of the United Nations and its Specialised Agencies.

The teaching of human rights and their corresponding duties is at the base of Education for Peace.

If these propositions are to be accepted by Christians, the Church must, in its pastoral work, take the *practical steps* that are necessary. It must, *inter alia*:

- * develop among Christians an *increasing knowledge* of current events.
- * replace the defensive attitude that still prevails in all too many Christian communities by a *sense of their responsibility* as Christians to all men.
- * understand that the judgments of Christians on matters of justice and peace vary with their degree of civic education, their nationality and their social situation. The Church must accept that Christians discuss their different viewpoints; what is important is not that all Christians should always *agree* about everything, but that they should all desire to act *as effective servants* of justice and peace.
- * establish *basic educational facilities* enabling everyone to take up his responsibilities and develop his creativity.

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A CALL TO THE S. A. COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

R. Elliott

I HAVE AN INCREASINGLY strong feeling that the issue of military training may yet be the point of transformation, not only for S. African Christians, but the whole country and maybe ultimately, Africa.

The necessary ingredients are here - personal commitment to an ideal, and communal (through the churches) action. Firstly, the individual and his family have to confront a whole series of issues before committing themselves to the very difficult role of pacifist in a materialistic society, but when someone does this, quite suddenly spiritual values begin to count.

Secondly, as individuals take a firm stand, the churches are going to be confronted with the problem, and if they accept the role of the Christian pacifist, they are not able to leave it at this point. They will have to work out a positive approach to peace (not merely a negative one to war). It involves a complete re-appraisal of church attitudes to the military system. At present the church is pro-military and anti-pacifist (extraordinary as this will seem in years to come!).

There are several things which should be done now. Firstly, get the Christian Council of Churches to pass a resolution accepting in principle that pacifists have a major contribution towards the peaceful solution of conflicts and they should be encouraged to stand firm on their conscientious objections to military training. Secondly, having accepted the principle of the thing, they should propose alternative service for young pacifists, during their year of national service. I favour work in hospitals, children's homes, prisons, mental hospitals etc. all of which are chronically short-staffed, but which, even more important, will bring these young people into personal contact with people under stress. Thirdly, the South African Council of Churches should draw up lists of suitable counsellors in each major centre for young men with pacifist inclinations. This is a very important aspect of helping unstable youngsters, or men who have strong family opposition to their viewpoint to choose the right course of action with full knowledge of what is before them - at present jail - and/or the alternatives. (Not all people are psychologically or spiritually mature enough for pacifism).

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