

Talking Point—Seeing Christ in Mexican aliens

Christian perspective on illegal immigration

By Father Allan Figueroa Deck, SJ

The following article is based on a summary of a presentation he gave to the San Diego Senate of Priests on Feb. 15.

Twenty-six years ago Pope Pius XII wrote what has been called the Magna Charta of church documents on the spiritual care of immigrants. It is entitled *Exul Familia*. Nine years ago Pope Paul VI re-affirmed and added to Pope Pius teachings in his own instruction entitled *Nemo Est*.

Let there be no mistake about it. As Christians and in the particular context in which we live, the acid test of the authenticity of our faith is this: Are we capable of seeing Christ in our brothers the undocumented?

IF NOT, IF we allow ourselves to be swayed by the misinformation and groundless assertions made about these people, if we begin to fear their presence as some kind of threat, we are beginning to act like Pharaoh and the Egyptians of old.

Remember these words of Pharaoh in the Book of Exodus:

"Look how numerous and powerful the Israelite people are growing, more so than we ourselves: Come, let us deal shrewdly with them to stop their increase." (Exodus 1:9)

Church's teaching

Pope Pius XII recapitulates the history of the church's teaching in *Exul Familia*. He does so with great care and in considerable detail.

Pope Pius VI's Instruction on the Pastoral Care of Migrants stands out for the clarity, forcefulness and modernity with which it presents the underlying principles of Catholic thought on the issue. The basic approach and principles are these:

THE PHENOMENON of immigration in the world today is due to the enormous changes taking place in the socio-political order, especially to the relentless process of industrialization and urbanization.

Another by-product of these processes is the growing awareness about the fundamental unity of the human race and the gradual disappearance and dissolution of territorial borders as the human race sees how inter-related and inter-dependent nations and the entire world economy are.

Under these circumstances the Pope affirms the inherent right of persons to immigrate out of need or to escape persecution, a right, he states, which is based on the very nature of the human person and a right which precedes the rights of nations to control access to and from their nation.

THE POPE SEES in the phenomenon of immigration within nations themselves and across national boundaries the work of the Holy Spirit struggling to achieve a real unity among humans.

The church, Pope Paul states, has this special concern: the human person in his or her entirety, whole and inseparable, body and soul. Consequently, the church must insist among civil authorities that the rights of aliens be respected.

The reality

The United States shares a border with Mexico that cannot effectively be policed even if we desired to do so. We as a nation have never desired to do so and do not really desire to do so today. The reasons for this are geographic, political, social and economic.

The United States, especially the Southwest, and Mexico are tied together by most profound bounds of cultural interdependence going back 400 years. The economic interdependence keeps growing every year.

THE UNITED STATES has failed miserably to obtain sound and reliable data about illegal immigrants. At every turn there are contradictory data, half-truths, impressionistic analyses and general confusion starting with the procedures and statements of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

United States immigration policy toward Mexicans and others from the Western Hemisphere has never been based on sound scientific data.

It has been based always on political pressures from special interest groups or from occasional periods of national hysteria and scapegoating when the politicians found it convenient to place the blame for the destruction of the public schools and even for the spread of syphilis on the shoulders of the Mexican aliens.

FORTUNATELY, in recent times we have begun to obtain more reliable facts about our brothers who risk so much to come to the United States. There are



Father Deck, born and raised in Los Angeles, entered the California Province of the Society of Jesus in 1963. He graduated from Loyola Marymount University and St. Louis University and continued studies at Stanford University, the University of Valencia, Spain, and St. Louis, where he earned a Ph.D. in Spanish and Latin American Studies in 1973. In 1976 he completed his studies of theology earning a Masters of Divinity from the Jesuit School of Theology at Berkeley, Calif.

Father Deck is on the board of trustees of the University of San Francisco and serves on the Orange County Task Force on Illegal Aliens.

two excellent sources. Both have come out within the past two years.

The first is the position paper of Dr. Wayne A. Cornelius of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, based on the author's three-year study of immigrants in their communities of origin in Mexico.

Here are some of his more important conclusions:

1. It is impossible to estimate the size of the total "illegal" population with any degree of precision.
2. While hundreds of thousands of Mexicans do enter illegally each year, the vast majority return to Mexico within the year.
3. The main cause for their coming is the tremendous disparity between wages in Mexico and the United States.
4. There is no direct evidence of displacement of native Americans by undocumented Mexican workers.
5. Mexican nationals remit about 30 percent of their earnings to Mexico; the rest stays in this country where it is an important factor in upholding the economy.
6. There is uniform agreement among researchers that Mexican illegals make amazingly little use of social welfare services while present in the U.S.; and that costs of services they do use is far outweighed by their contributions to Social Security and tax revenues.

The second source for a reliable understanding of the reality of the undocumented is the study published by the County of San Diego Human Resources Agency and sometimes called the Villalpando study. It gives more substance to Cornelius' contention that the undocumented contribute much more to the system than they take from it.

Dr. Van den Noort, dean of the School of Medicine at the University of California, Irvine, says: The undocumented drastically underuse public medical facilities. The costs of the indigent among these undocumented persons seeking medical attention are infinitesimal compared to the contributions the undocumented make as a class to the Orange County economy.

FROM ALL that has been said, then, regarding the

more reliable information we have about undocumented aliens, it would appear that most of the commonly heard "facts" about the undocumented are simply wrong. How is it that such inaccuracies have been able to take root in the mind of so many well-intentioned Americans?

In my mind the answer to that question has to do with the inability or unwillingness of Americans and their leaders to face the reality of an economic system which desperately requires the collaboration of an underclass of poorly paid, exceptionally hard-working people to keep the economic, industrial and agricultural apparatus functioning.

More than 100 years ago we began to face that fact when the Black slaves were given their freedom. Blacks and other minorities are still struggling to get out from under a system which seems to require a permanently underprivileged and disadvantaged class. It is hard for Americans to accept this fact since it contradicts our beautiful belief about America as a land of opportunity and limitless vistas.

LET THERE BE no mistake about it: undocumented workers are a boon to America. Undocumented workers are among the most efficient and productive members of American society. They are the mainstay of agrobusiness in the United States of America.

Undocumented workers are the mainstay of the services which hotels and restaurants provide our society in the Southwest and elsewhere.

Undocumented workers are the mainstay of the garment industry in the West and it is their work and only their work which makes that industry competitive with that of Taiwan or Korea and many other places.

THE UNDOCUMENTED are a blessing to this land, for they are among the declining numbers of people who know what it is to work hard and honestly with their hands. Moreover, it ought to be clear the United States government has not the slightest intention of altering the present state of affairs regardless of what President Carter may say or what legislation he may introduce.

If there is a problem of illegal immigration, by the way, that is, a problem directly impacting on unemployment for resident Americans, it may more reasonably be explained by the illegal immigration of Canadians and Europeans which is vast and practically never mentioned. One wonders why.

Conclusions

As church people, then, our concern for the undocumented should not be based primarily on charity, since our society is not really "doing the Mexicans a favor" by more or less tolerating their existence in our midst. Our concern for the undocumented is based upon serious claims of justice toward them as human persons. The injustices that the undocumented must undergo are numerous.

There are some who say that perhaps the church in the United States has become too comfortable and too involved with the wealthy and powerful and can no longer be an effective voice for God's little ones in this nation as she was in the past. I surely hope that is not the case.

WHAT POSITION should the church take, then, on the issue? In my own view it is a mistake to promote legislation that purportedly will "solve the problem of the illegals" for the simple reasons that the real problem is not the illegals. They are a blessing.

The real problem are the policies of international elites and multinational corporations that determine the outcome of many economic realities and patterns of immigration in Mexico and the United States. The real problem is fundamentally the unequal distribution of wealth and of food.

These are the vast and challenging questions that we shall never resolve as long as we allow ourselves to be dragged into a debate about the undocumented, a debate so often based on ignorance of the mechanisms of national and international economics and on the latent and sometimes quite explicit racism of some Americans.

The church, in the spirit of Pope Pius XII and Pope Paul VI must raise its voice above the clamor and point once again to the face of Christ, to the self-manifestation of God, to be discovered in the features of our so-called "illegal aliens".

"Undocumented workers...are the mainstay of hotels and restaurants, agrobusiness, garment business...are a boon to America...a blessing to this land."



150, ROUTE DE FERNEY P.O. BOX No. 66 1211 GENEVA 20 • TELEPHONE : (022) 98 94 00 • TELEX : 23 423 OIK CH • CABLE : OIKOUMENE GENEVA

WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

Mr. Herman Baca
Chairperson
Committee on Chicano Rights, Inc.
1837 Highland Avenue
National City, CA 92050
U.S.A.

PROGRAMME UNIT ON JUSTICE AND SERVICE
COMMISSION ON THE PROGRAMME TO COMBAT RACISM

Geneva, 18th December 1979
BCS/Gr

Dear Friends,

It is now ten years since the Programme to Combat Racism (PCR) was started. From the very beginning, this Programme of the World Council of Churches has been highly praised by some and sharply condemned by others. As you know, the grants allocated by the Special Fund, in particular, have drawn criticism from certain member churches.

The Central Committee of the World Council of Churches has at different occasions reviewed the PCR. At its last meeting in Jamaica, in January 1979, the Committee again reaffirmed the Programme including the Special Fund. At the same time, it decided to set in motion a process of consultation on how the churches may be involved in combating racism in the eighties, in the light of changing circumstances and escalation of racism.

You will find enclosed copies of two letters on this matter sent to the member churches by the General Secretary, Dr. Philip Potter, in March and November 1979. We would be grateful if your organisation could find ways of helping the member churches in your country or region to see more clearly what qualitatively new aspects of racism are emerging in your situation. We would also urge you to suggest ways in which churches and the WCC could more actively participate in combating racism in the coming years. Please do not hesitate to send us reports on situations or analyses about specific issues the churches and WCC should take into account as they plan for the future.

We solicit your active involvement in the process of consultation. Please send us your reactions as soon as possible but not later than January 31, 1980.

With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

Baldwin Sjollema

Encl.



WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

GENERAL SECRETARIAT

To Member Churches of the
World Council of Churches

March 1979
PAP/gr

cc: Members of Central Committee
Regional and National Councils

Dear Friends,

As you know, the recent meeting of the Central Committee of the World Council at Jamaica gave considerable attention to issues concerning the Programme to Combat Racism. For your information I am enclosing a copy of the first issue of PCR INFORMATION containing the decisions on the PCR including new programme emphases, approved by the Central Committee.

In particular, the Central Committee requested that "in the light of changing circumstances and escalation of racism ... a process of consultation be set in motion as soon as possible on how the churches may be involved in combating racism in the 1980s ... In doing so, account should be taken of the experiences gained, the questions raised and the criticism made during the ten years of existence of this programme". The Committee recommended that "the process of consultation should include meetings having a balanced representation and involving:

- (a) representatives of the member churches
- (b) representatives of race relations desks of member churches, national and regional councils
- (c) representatives of the racially oppressed.

This process should include a major consultation whose recommendations and deliberations should be made available to the Central Committee in 1980".

I am writing to you today to request your participation in this very important endeavour. As you will realise, it is now ten years since the Programme to Combat Racism was initiated. The programme has been reviewed regularly while its basic orientation was maintained and re-confirmed, not least by the Nairobi Assembly. It is appropriate, however, to consider how to continue the struggle against racism in its many forms in the 1980s in view of the profound changes that have taken place.

First, we need to find out from one another in our different regions and in our different situations what qualitatively new aspects of racism - overt and covert - are emerging both within the churches and in society which need to be taken into consideration.

Secondly, we need to know what ways you would suggest to deal with these forms of racism, what insights and experiences churches have, and how they could best be considered on a local, national, regional or world-wide basis.

Thirdly, there are certain basic issues which have emerged again and again, especially in the debate on Southern Africa, and which require further discussion. We have identified the following four areas of special importance:

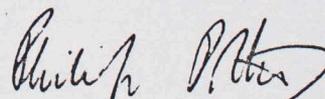
1. Racism as related to the issue of the struggle for power
2. Racism as related to conflicting economic and political options
3. Racism as related to issues of violence
4. Racism as related to the Unity of the Church.

It is clear that these areas of concern need to be spelled out and analysed more fully in order to become the subject of a serious process of consultation. Do you feel that these are the most pertinent issues? Are there other important questions which you feel should be added to this list? Your responses will help us in preparing some kind of 'annotated agenda' for the process of consultation.

This is only a beginning of the consultation process. We want to involve you now so that we may benefit from insights which you and others can bring in order to work out more detailed proposals. I may, however, mention that it is hoped that the PCR Commission which meets on May 14-19 will give major attention to the issues raised. The WCC Executive Committee meeting on September 11-14 will review the process of consultation. We hope that there will be a series of local, national and regional meetings both before and after September leading to a world meeting which will make proposals to the Central Committee in August 1980. In this whole process we urge that you be in close consultation with representatives of organisations of the racially oppressed in your own situation.

Looking forward to receiving your reactions as soon as possible, and with every good wish,

Yours sincerely,



Philip Potter
General Secretary

Encl.



WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

GENERAL SECRETARIAT

To Member Churches of the
World Council of Churches

Geneva 23rd November 1979
PAP/Gr

cc. Members of Central Committee
Regional and National Councils

Re: Process of Consultation on how the churches may be
involved in combating racism in the 1980s

Dear Friends,

In March I wrote you about the decision by the Central Committee to set in motion, as soon as possible, a process of consultation on how the churches may be involved in combating racism in the 1980s. I solicited your cooperation and active involvement in this process of reflection in different parts of the world which should lead up to specific recommendations to the Central Committee in August 1980.

I am grateful to all those who have already responded and have sent their comments and would like to bring you up-to-date about several encouraging developments taking place in the member churches as well as in regional and national councils.

In September, the Executive Committee received a progress report on the process of consultation, which I am enclosing for your information in an up-dated form (Appendix I). The Executive Committee also decided that specific questions be prepared for consideration by the churches and the different national and regional consultations (Appendix II). It is hoped that your written reactions to these questions will be shared with us together with the other reports and recommendations as part of the input by your region to the World Consultation to be held in the Netherlands on 16-21 June 1980.

Please send your written views well in advance of the June meeting so that we can assemble these in time in an appropriate way.

In my letter of 12 October 1979, I indicated that the Executive Committee also discussed the financial implications of the process of consultation and authorized a special appeal for SFr 500.000,--. A detailed description is enclosed (Appendix III).

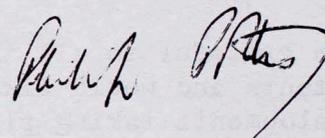
Preparations for many national and regional consultations are already underway and ecumenical support for these meetings is a matter of the greatest importance. I would therefore urge you to do your utmost to mobilize and contribute to the financial support needed.

While the current process of consultations will, it is hoped, produce guidance for the World Council's programmes, what is far more important is that it should enable all the member churches to become more effectively involved, separately and together, in the struggle to break down the shackles of racial oppression and be instruments of God's love and justice for all human beings.

It is of great importance that you share this letter and the appendices with those in your church who carry particular responsibility in the field of racial justice and with groups of the racially oppressed in your country, so that they fully participate in the process of consultation.

With every blessing for this Christmastide,

Yours sincerely,



Philip Potter
General Secretary

Encl.

- Appendix I - Progress Report
- " II - Questions for World Consultation
- " III - Special Project
- " IV - Mandate PCR

APPENDIX I

PROCESS OF CONSULTATION ON HOW THE CHURCHES MAY BE INVOLVED
IN COMBATING RACISM IN THE 1980s

Progress Report (revised)

1. The Central Committee at its meeting in Kingston, Jamaica, January 1979 resolved:

- ii) "in the light of changing circumstances and escalation of racism, to accept the proposal of the General Secretary that a process of consultation, to be set in motion as soon as possible, on how the churches may be involved in combating racism in the 1980s be given priority. In doing this, account should be taken of the experience gained, the questions raised and the criticisms made during the ten years of existence of this programme.

The process of consultation should include meetings having a balanced representation and involving:

- a) representatives of the member churches,
- b) representatives of race relations' desks of member churches, national and regional councils,
- c) representatives of the racially oppressed.

This process should include a major consultation whose recommendations and deliberations should be made available to the Central Committee in 1980.

Since many of the questions and criticisms raised are to be found in Central Committee document No. 17: Background Paper on Southern Africa, particularly Part III entitled "Issues and Dilemmas in the Present Debate" and Unit II Committee document 12e containing an evaluation of the background paper "South Africa's Hope - What Price Now?" these papers among others should form a basis for consultation and discussion as suggested above, without restricting them to the Southern Africa situation.

- iii) The financial implications of this process of consultation should be considered by the Finance Committee at the Central Committee.
- iv) The General Secretary should be requested to report to the Executive Committee in September 1979 on the progress made."

2. In March the General Secretary wrote a letter to all member churches, national and regional councils and members of Central Committee, informing them of the decision taken and urging them to take the necessary initiatives in their respective regions.

3. There has been a positive response from the following areas/countries:

Africa: In South Africa the Methodist Church, the Presbyterian Church and the United Congregational Church have indicated that they will participate in the process. The South African Council of Churches is considering holding a consultation in February 1980.

The Volta Churches Council for Development in Ghana has expressed interest in the process.

The All African Conference of Churches (AACC) has committed itself to participate in the process of consultation and is preparing a regional consultation of some 25 persons to be held in Nairobi, March 11-15, 1980.

Asia: National consultations are being prepared by the NCCs in Japan, the Philippines, Sri Lanka (3 consultations in November, December and January), Australia (March 1980) and New Zealand (November 23-25, 1979 in Hamilton). The results of these national meetings will provide resource to the CCA regional meeting.

The Christian Conference of Asia (CCA) has set up a preparatory group to organize a consultation in Asia to be held March 24-29, 1980 in New Delhi. The meeting would combine a follow-up of a workshop on 'Race and Minority Issues' held in November 1978 jointly sponsored by the CCA/URM and PCR, and would also be the Asian input into the WCC world consultation later-on. A CCA preparatory group has met in September.

Latin America: The Consejo Latinoamericano de Iglesias (CLAI en formacion) and the Comision Evangelica Latino Americana de Education Cristiana (CELADEC) have agreed to convene a consultation of church leaders in Panama from March 16-18, 1980.

North America: In the USA, a preliminary meeting took place on June 5, 1979 including US members of the WCC Executive Committee and the General Secretary. Dr. Oscar McCloud, a member of the WCC Executive Committee has accepted to be the coordinator of the process in the USA. He will be working with the US members of the Commission on the Programme to Combat Racism, the Working Group on Racial Justice of the Division of Church and Society and the Commission on Justice, Liberation and Human Fulfillment, both of the NCCC, USA. The point of reference will be the WCC New York Office.

In Canada, the Canadian Council of Churches has decided to initiate a consultation with the active support of member churches.

Europe: The British Council of Churches' Community and Race Relations Unit (CRRU) organized already two meetings, one of church leaders (July 26-27) and a public meeting (September 21-23).

A meeting of East European church leaders is to be held in Budapest from January 28-31, 1980, at which the process of consultation will be discussed.

In the German Democratic Republic, the Conference of Church Leaders of the Federation of Protestant Churches has prepared a paper on the issue of violence in the struggle against racism in South Africa.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, a first consultation has been held from September 24-27, related to the process of consultation and focussing specifically on basic theological issues concerning the dialogue between the Evangelical Church in Germany and the World Council of Churches. Decisions about further involvement in the process are soon to be taken. In May a small consultation of church and lay academy leaders was held in Arnoldshain which resulted in an open memorandum entitled "Appeal for an Ecumenical Future", signed by over 100 theologians and church representatives challenging the EKD to participate constructively in the process of consultation. A further initiative by lay academies to hold a consultation in early 1980 is under discussion.

The Council of Churches in the Netherlands organized a consultation on November 2-3 with representatives of member churches, racial minorities, race relations desks and action groups.

The Nordic Ecumenical Institute (in the Scandinavian countries), in close cooperation with the churches in Eastern Europe, the Conference of Latin Churches and the Ecumenical Center in Brussels has agreed to be the convenor of a European consultation in Stockholm, March 2-9, 1980. A joint meeting of the Presidium and Advisory Committee of the Conference of European Churches (CEC) indicated its support for the initiative and there was a special session about the process of consultation at the recent Assembly of CEC.

4. World Consultation

The PCR Commission at its May meeting has recommended and the WCC Executive Committee has agreed that a World Consultation be convened by the WCC as follows:

Purpose:

The Consultation is to consider how to continue the struggle against racism in its many forms in the 1980s in view of the profound changes that have taken place in the past ten years, and in particular

- a) to find out from one another in our different regions and situations what qualitatively new aspects of racism - overt and covert - are emerging both within the churches and in society which need to be taken into consideration;
- b) how to deal with these forms of racism on a local, national, regional, and world wide level, taking into consideration the experiences already gained, the questions raised and the criticism made over the past period.

The world consultation would consider the findings and results of the national and regional meetings and it would make specific recommendations both about the churches and the WCCs future role to the Central Committee meeting in August 1980.

Dates: June 16 - 21, 1980 in the Netherlands

Title of the consultation: "CHURCHES RESPONDING TO RACISM IN THE 1980s"

Number of participants:

120 persons, including PCR Commission members, staff and interpreters. Invitations to be decided by the WCC Executive Committee at its February 1980 meeting, in consultation with the member churches and regional councils of churches on the following geographical basis:

Africa	22
Asia (including Australia & New Zealand)...	18
Europe - Central - West	10
- East	5
- North	4
- South	3
Latin America & Caribbean	12
Middle East	3
North America	20
Pacific	3
Interpreters & Staff	<u>20</u>
Total:	120
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Press arrangements:

20 additional places should be given for media attendance. The WCC News Office will invite selected representatives of the media asking them to pool resources.

Agenda and material for the consultation:

These will be largely provided by the preceding national and regional meetings and will include critical material prepared within the regions by people knowledgeable in the field of racism. In addition, WCC Staff is preparing discussion papers on several basic subjects to stimulate the debate and the preparatory process. These include:

- WCC Statements on Racism
- Racism and the Unity of the Church
- Violence, Non-violence and the Struggle for social justice (resuming the debate)
- The future of the Special Fund

In order to help organize the World Consultation, a special consultant will be available for a period of eight months.

5. Financial requirements

The Central Committee decision requires extra funds. A Special Project for 1979/1980 in the amount of SFr 500.000,-- has been worked out to support certain national and regional meetings and for holding the World Consultation. A project description is appended for information and action. It is hoped that member churches and their agencies will urgently discuss financial support for the project and communicate the results to the General Secretariat. This is all the more important since the first consultations will already be held before the end of the year and the organizers depend on ecumenical support.

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APPENDIX II

"CHURCHES RESPONDING TO RACISM IN THE 1980s"

Questions in preparation for the world consultation

(It is hoped that the following will be discussed at the different national and regional consultations and that written replies will be sent to the WCC General Secretariat together with any other reports and recommendations prior to the June 1980 world consultation.)

1. Since the WCC's formation and especially during the past decade its member churches have been concerned with the need to combat racism. White racism was seen as currently the most dangerous form of this phenomenon. Emphasis has been given to identifying and challenging institutional racism as reflected in social, economic and political power structures. The churches resolved to listen carefully to the victims of racism and to stand with them in their struggles for justice.

Considering your situation today, and in the light of present action, research and theological reflection, should the above emphases be continued into the 1980s?

2. In this period we have had to recognise the varied situations in the World Council's constituency. Some churches have been victims of racism. Others have benefitted from or even fostered racism. A few have discovered themselves to include both oppressors and oppressed. Through the WCC's programmes, many churches have tried to help each other understand and begin to rectify their various forms of involvement in racist attitudes and structures. In this respect, links established with movements of the racially oppressed often have proved particularly significant, enabling the churches to perceive more clearly some of the implications of the Gospel.

Has there been such a learning process in your church?
How may WCC programmes aimed at furthering the process be made more effective?

3. Ecumenical efforts to challenge racism during the past decade have stimulated, in a number of churches, a particularly lively theological and ethical debate. Attention has focussed on such questions as the Christian doctrine of man, Church/State relations, violence and non-violence, economic power and national self-interests as influences upon church attitudes, and the relation between Christian faith and ideological commitment.

In your church, are there new insights and actions emerging from this theological - ethical debate that should be taken into account as we enter the 1980s?

.../...

4. Christians are not alone in confronting racism. In some places the churches represent a very small minority. Even where Christians are relatively numerous, many of racism's victims may profess other faiths. Further, there are situations where ethnic tensions are complicated by religious components.

From your experience, how do the religious resources of different communities of faith bear upon efforts to overcome all forms of racism and ethnic tension?

5. The world scene has changed considerably in the past ten years. Groups struggling for racial justice have tried different strategies - ranging from consciousness-raising to economic pressure to military action - with different results in different places. Churches have experimented with various ways of learning from and relating to such initiatives.

In view of present developments and likely future trends, nationally as well as internationally, are there new analyses, strategies and methods of involvement that should be used in combating racism?

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APPENDIX III

BUDGET FOR PROCESS OF CONSULTATION ON COMBATING RACISM IN THE 80s

This project results from the decision by the WCC's Central Committee in Jamaica. In January 1979 it resolved that:

"...in the light of changing circumstances and escalation of racism ... a process of consultation be set in motion as soon as possible on how the churches may be involved in combating racism in the 1980s ... In doing so, account should be taken of the experiences gained, the questions raised and the criticism made during the ten years of existence of this programme". The Committee recommended that "the process of consultation should include meetings having a balanced representation and involving:

- (a) representatives of the member churches
- (b) representatives of race relations desks of member churches, national and regional councils
- (c) representatives of the racially oppressed.

This process should include a major consultation whose recommendations and deliberations should be made available to the Central Committee in 1980".

A series of national and regional meetings are planned by the relevant ecumenical bodies in Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, North America and possibly the Caribbean and the Pacific.

The regional meetings will lead up to a world consultation of some 120 persons to be hosted by the Council of Churches in the Netherlands, June 16-21, 1980. The costs are as follows:

National and Regional meetings	SFr	183.000,--
(in Latin America, Asia, Africa, Europe North America, Australia, New Zealand)		
World Consultation	SFr	284.000,--
(including travel subsidies, interpretation costs, etc.)		
Documentation, Secretarial Staff & Publications	SFr	33.000,--
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Total:	SFr	500.000,--
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Geneva, September 1979

PLAN FOR AN ECUMENICAL PROGRAMME TO COMBAT RACISM¹

(as adopted by 1969 Canterbury Central Committee)

I. INTERNATIONAL CONSULTATION ON RACISM, NOTTING HILL, LONDON, 19-24 MAY 1969

1. Official statements of the WCC Fourth Assembly at Uppsala in 1968 emphasized the urgent need for the churches to undertake a vigorous campaign against racism, calling Christians 'to seek to overcome racism wherever it appears'. The Central Committee meeting after the Assembly authorized the staff 'to give serious consideration to the ways in which a programme for the elimination of racism might be implemented'.
2. As the first step in fulfilling this mandate, an international Consultation on Racism was held in the United Kingdom (London), 19-24 May 1969, to advise the WCC on an ecumenical programme of education and action for the eradication of racism. The Hon. Dr George MacGovern, Methodist layman and US Senator, chaired the proceedings. Dr Eugene Carson Blake served as secretary of the Consultation.
3. The purpose of the Consultation was to make a new exploration of the nature, causes and consequences of racism in the light of contemporary conflict situations, the means being used to combat it, and the possibilities of new Christian witness in this area. As the WCC Executive Committee in its January 1969 meeting instructed that the Consultation focus attention on 'the problems of white racism', not excluding 'the consideration of various expressions of counter-racism or other forms of racism', the programme reflected this emphasis.
4. The Consultation consisted of 40 Christian leaders, both lay and clergy, involved in and concerned for the issues of race conflict, with 25 additional consultants. The planning and preparation of the Consultation were the responsibility of the Staff Coordinating Committee on Racism, chaired by Dr E. C. Blake. The organization was carried out by Mrs Karefa-Smart, Dr Baldwin Sjollega, and the Rev. David Gill.

II. RECOMMENDATION REGARDING AN ECUMENICAL PROGRAMME TO COMBAT RACISM

1. Since its inception, the WCC has consistently denounced the sin of racism. The issue is not new to us. But today it arises with a new and terrifying urgency. The WCC has offered a strong lead in the past, but its studies and statements generally have evoked neither adequate awareness nor effective action. Further, recent study

¹ Racism has been defined by the Uppsala Assembly of the World Council of Churches in 1968: 'By *racism* we mean ethnocentric pride in one's own racial group and preference for the distinctive characteristics of that group; belief that these characteristics are fundamentally biological in nature and are thus transmitted to succeeding generations; strong negative feelings towards other groups who do not share these characteristics coupled with the thrust to discriminate against and exclude the outgroup from full participation in the life of the community' (*The Uppsala 68 Report*, p. 241), and by a Committee of experts of UNESCO: '*Racism*, namely anti-social beliefs and acts which are based on the fallacy that discriminatory inter-group relations are justifiable on biological grounds (...) Racism falsely claims that there is a scientific basis for arranging groups hierarchically in terms of psychological and cultural characteristics that are immutable and innate. In this way it seeks to make existing differences appear inviolable as a means of permanently maintaining current relations between groups' (*Statement on Race and Racial Prejudice*, UNESCO, Paris, 26 September 1967).

and dialogue have served to open up dimensions and implications of the problem never before realized. Thus the struggle against racism as it rapidly intensifies is now confronting the churches with a challenge to deeper understanding, fresh commitment and costly redemptive action.

2. The Consultation recommended to the WCC and its member churches lines of action for an ecumenical programme to combat racism. However, more important than any recommendation, it pleaded for a profound and renewed commitment from the churches — and specifically from the World Council of Churches — to offer a convincing moral lead in the face of this great and growing crisis of our times.

To make the commitment quite concrete in the life of the World Council of Churches, the following prospectus is proposed for adoption :

A. The scope and focus of a new Ecumenical Programme to Combat Racism

1. Racism is not an unalterable feature of human life. Like slavery and other social manifestations of man's sin, it can and must be eliminated. In the light of the Gospel and in accordance with its principles and methods, Christians must be involved in this struggle and, wherever possible, in association with all people of goodwill.
2. Racism today is not confined to certain countries or continents. It is a world problem. White racism is not its only form. It is recognized that at this moment in some parts of the world, like Asia and Africa, other forms of racism and ethno-centrism provide the most crucial problems. There is a strong element of racism in current forms of anti-semitism as well as in the discrimination against the lower castes in India.
3. It is the coincidence, however, of an accumulation of wealth and power in the hands of the white peoples, following upon their historical and economic progress during the past 400 years, which is the reason for a focus on the various forms of *white* racism in the different parts of the world. People of different colour suffer from this racism in all continents. Among situations are those of the Aborigines in Australia, the Maoris in New Zealand, the black majorities of Southern Africa, the Indians, Afro-Americans, and Hispano-Americans in the USA, the Indians and Eskimos in Canada, the Indians in various Latin American countries, the coloured immigrants and students in the UK and continental Europe (this is by no means an exhaustive list).
4. There was a period when 'colonialism' was the main feature of white racism. Some areas still suffer in this way. While many formerly colonial people have become independent, they still suffer from the aftermath of 'colonialism', part of which is the struggle for power between communities and tribes.
5. It is further recognized that the fight against racism in all its forms must be set within the context of the struggle for world community, including world development.

B. Rationale for an Ecumenical Programme to Combat Racism

1. Growing tensions and conflicts between the races demand urgent action; time is running out. The pervasiveness, persistence and viciousness of racism has challenged many Christians. But a sense of the impotence of the churches to achieve reconciliation has immobilized many others. Many have even despaired.
2. We have sadly to recognize that in spite of the battle that has been fought against racism by churches, mission agencies and councils of churches, often with heroic personal sacrifice, racism is now a worse menace than ever. We have also sadly to confess that churches have participated in racial discrimination. Many religious

institutions of the white northern world have benefited from racially exploitative economic systems. Many church members are unaware of the facts of racism and of the involvement of their religious and secular institutions in its perpetuation. Lacking information about institutionalized racism and about the possibility of developing sophisticated strategies to secure racial justice, Christians often engage in irrelevant and timid efforts to improve race relations — too little and too late.

3. In our ecumenical fellowship there are churches from all parts of the world, some of which have benefited and some of which have suffered from these racially exploitative economic systems. What is needed is an ecumenical act of solidarity which would help to stem the deterioration in race relations. To do this our action must cost something and must be affirmative, visible and capable of emulation.
4. The issue of reparations has been raised by some groups in the USA and the WCC Consultation at Notting Hill. It cannot therefore be avoided. Many of the churches which are confronted by this demand belong to our ecumenical fellowship, and are called upon to make a meaningful response to this issue. The concept of reparations, however, is inadequate, for it seeks simply to apportion guilt for the past and highlights a method of action which leaves out of account the need for acts of compassion, brotherhood and community which go beyond any financial payment. The Gospel speaks to us of the cost of reconciliation both to those who have suffered and those who have inflicted suffering.
5. We call upon the churches to move beyond charity, grants and traditional programming to relevant and sacrificial action leading to new relationships of dignity and justice among all men and to become agents for the radical reconstruction of society. There can be no justice in our world without a transfer of economic resources to undergird the redistribution of political power and to make cultural self-determination meaningful. In this transfer of resources a corporate act by the ecumenical fellowship of churches can provide a significant moral lead.

C. Call to member churches for self-examination and release of resources

1. We call upon churches to confess their involvement in the perpetuation of racism. Churches should make an analysis of their financial situation in order to determine the degree to which their financial practices, domestic and international, contribute to the support of racially oppressive governments, discriminatory industries and inhuman working conditions. The impact will be greater if this is an ecumenical act.
2. The forces seeking to liberate non-white peoples from the oppressive yoke of white racism have appropriately demanded the participation of religious institutions in restoring wealth and power to people. We urge churches to make land available free or at low cost to racially oppressed groups for community and economic development. Churches which have benefited from racially exploitative economic systems should immediately allocate a significant portion of their total resources, without employing paternalistic mechanisms of control, to organizations of the racially oppressed or organizations supporting victims of racial injustice.

D. Outline of a five-year programme of the World Council of Churches

Clearly a determined attack on racism must come as a commitment of the WCC and its divisions and departments and will involve :

1. Teams of inquiry focusing on selected areas in Latin America, North America, Asia, Australasia and the Pacific, Europe, Southern Africa, etc., to express ecumenical concern and to assist in formulating guide-lines for ecumenical understanding and action ;

2. Consultation on selected issues which obstruct common action in achieving racial justice, e.g. the problem of sharing economic and political power, including the demand for 'reparations' which has been made in a number of quarters, and other proposals for overcoming the economic burden of historic and contemporary racism ; the meaning of racial identity ; anti-semitism ; inter-marriage ;
3. Providing more opportunity for confrontation between those holding different positions on the meaning of racial justice and those advocating different methods for attaining it ;
4. Examination of all the means available for promoting political actions towards the bringing about of racial justice, including economic sanctions, both on the part of the member churches and of governments ;
5. Assisting the member churches in developing strategies for combating racial injustice ;
6. Examination of the ways in which the churches can stand for the rights of the victims of racism and meet their needs ;
7. Examination of the programmes, budgets and structures of the World Council of Churches with a view to increasing support of efforts for racial justice ;
8. Collection and circulation of the best analyses on racism — including theological analyses — and other data helpful to the churches for the information and education of their members ;
9. Encouraging member churches and national and regional Councils of Churches to make the problem of racism within their own area a priority concern in their programmes.

E. WCC structure

Appropriate measures should be taken to correct the current racial and cultural imbalance in the structures, staff and decision-making bodies of the World Council of Churches. The Committee on Structure should endeavour to provide for the rectification of this imbalance when formulating its suggestions for change.

F. Staff and programme

1. This programme requires coordinated action by all Departments and Divisions. Therefore it is lodged at least until the restructuring of the WCC envisaged for January 1972 as a direct responsibility of the General Secretariat.
2. Assisting the General Secretary for this purpose not less than three STAFF members are needed : an executive secretary, an officer for international and ecumenical relations, and a secretary for research and documentation. They will prepare and execute — and stimulate and coordinate — the programme outlined above, and will gather information and provide necessary technical expertise for the operations as a whole.
3. To advise and guide this structural unit it is proposed that there be established an International Advisory Committee of twenty specialists (including a number of Central Committee members).
4. A Staff Coordinating Group drawn from the different Divisions and Departments will coordinate their involvement in the overall programme.

G. Finances

1. *Administration*

Annual resources of \$150,000 will be needed for a period of five years for the expenses of the suggested staff and their programme, based on the following rough draft budget :

Salaries	SFr.	200,000
Travel	"	50,000
PTT	"	5,000
Office supplies and furniture	"	10,000
Cyclostyle	"	7,500
Translations	"	10,000
Allocation upkeep	"	7,500
Allocation general services	"	10,000
Miscellaneous and unforeseen	"	42,400
Total	SFr.	342,400
equals at \$ — SFr. 4.28	US\$	80,000
Provision for expenses of Advisory Committee, teams of inquiry, consultations and publications	US\$	70,000
Total annual budget	US\$	150,000

The above budget should be financed out of the three basic budgets of the World Council of Churches — General Budget, Service Programme Budget of DICARWS and Programme Budget of DWME.

2. *Programme Projects*

Authority will be needed to seek further resources under 'Programme Project' procedures for projects which will develop out of the work of the unit. These may include educational or aid projects for victims of racial oppression and support for projects which help to break down patterns of racism. The projects may develop directly from the work of the unit or be projects initiated by others which the World Council wishes to support.

3. *Special Fund*

It is further proposed :

a) that a special fund be created by :

i) the transfer to the special fund of \$200,000 to be drawn pro rata from the following reserves of the World Council of Churches

General Reserve	\$449,438.78
Service Programme Reserve DICARWS	931,294.43
Working Capital Fund DWME	89,371.78
	<u>\$1,470,104.99</u>

ii) an appeal to the member churches to contribute to the special fund at least \$300,000.

- b) that this special fund be distributed to organizations of oppressed racial groups or organizations supporting victims of racial injustice whose purposes are not inconsonant with the general purposes of the World Council and, in respect of funds provided from the reserves of those Divisions, with the general purposes of the DICARWS and the DWME, to be used in their struggle for economic, social and political justice.
- c) that the Executive Committee be authorized to decide, on recommendation from the International Advisory Committee, the organizations to which the Special Fund shall be distributed.

* * *

Our struggle is not against flesh and blood. It is against the principalities, against the powers of evil, against the deeply entrenched demonic forces of racial prejudice and hatred that we must battle. Ours is a task of exorcism. The demons operate through our social, economic and political structures. But the root of the problem is as deep as human sin, and only God's love and man's dedicated response can eradicate it.

The World Council's programme is but part of that response. It is God's love and not the hatred of man that must ultimately triumph. By God's love, by the power of His Spirit, some day, soon, we shall overcome.

WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
Unit on Justice and Service
Programme to Combat Racism

1979 CENTRAL COMMITTEE RESOLUTIONS AND DECISIONS
CONCERNING THE PROGRAMME TO COMBAT RACISM

The Central Committee of the World Council of Churches at its meeting January 1-11, 1979 in Kingston, Jamaica reviewed, amongst others, in detail the work of the Programme to Combat Racism in different parts of the world since its last meeting in August 1977. It also indicated lines of action for the period ahead.

Attached is the text (from different Central Committee documents) of those resolutions directly relating to the Programme to Combat Racism.

Furthermore, the Central Committee commended "to the member churches the 'Background Paper on Southern Africa' (Document no. 17 of the Central Committee) which clearly restates some major theological convictions, concern for mission and ethical issues underlying the special attention given to Southern Africa, provides information on the WCC's and member churches' involvement in Southern Africa and raises some of the issues and dilemmas". This document can be obtained separately in English, French and German from the Programme to Combat Racism, P.O. Box 66, CH-1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland.

January 1979

WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
Central Committee
Kingston, Jamaica
January 1-11, 1979

Document No. 44A(Revised)
As approved January 10, 1979

PROGRAMME TO COMBAT RACISM

1. Comments on PCR Report

The Unit Report on PCR (Central Committee document no. 2) was received. In the ensuing discussion there was unanimous agreement that well-financed propaganda agencies in the media, hostile to PCR and the WCC in general, were distorting the member churches' understanding of PCR's work. Mention was made in particular of the recent scandal in South Africa which exposed the clandestine efforts of the South African Government to influence news agencies in the Western world.

We were concerned that member churches should be helped to question the sources of information about PCR's activities and to examine press reports with critical judgement; for example, information issued by racist government agencies or censored by them, as well as by private organisations and published in religious and secular press. Attention should be given to terminology such as "execution", "assassination", "guerilla", "terrorist", etc. Also, in our own dissemination of information, the very diverse activities of PCR which are not limited to Southern Africa or the Special Fund, should be given greater prominence.

We were also of the view that although the adverse image and understanding of PCR needs to be changed, the purpose and thrust of PCR itself are still valid. We are hopeful that with member churches alerted to the areas of distortion and misinterpretation, even greater support for PCR and the Special Fund would be forthcoming. However we noted that whenever the opportunity to rebut false allegations about PCR was seized in public debate, a better informed constituency was usually the result.

We were conscious of the special difficulties encountered by some churches and Christians in countries with strong kinship, investment and other economic ties with racist societies in Southern Africa, in supporting or even voicing support of programmes of solidarity with racially oppressed people in those societies. We note also those questions and criticisms voiced in good faith by some member churches. At the same time we remain sensitive to the witness of churches and Christians within Southern Africa and express our solidarity with all those who are banned and detained, and assure them of our prayers.

The General Secretary's recommendation for a process of consultation on combating racism in the 80's was strongly welcomed, since there are continuing perplexities in some churches over PCR and the Special Fund.

Recommendations

It is accordingly recommended that:

- 1) The Central Committee endorses the view of the Review Committee that the

the administration of the Special Fund "has so far been in accordance with the established and accepted criteria set by the Central Committee", and that the PCR should be encouraged to continue its work in situations of racial discrimination in the world today and that the Special Fund be continued with clearer interpretation to increase comprehension in the churches.

- ii) The Central Committee further resolves, in the light of changing circumstances and escalation of racism, to accept the proposal of the General Secretary that a process of consultation, to be set in motion as soon as possible, on how the churches may be involved in combating racism in the 1980's be given priority. In doing this, account should be taken of the experience gained, the questions raised and the criticisms made during the ten years of existence of this programme.

The process of consultation should include meetings having a balanced representation and involving:

- a) representatives of the member churches
- b) representatives of race relations' desks of member churches, national and regional councils,
- c) representatives of the racially oppressed.

This process should include a major consultation whose recommendations and deliberations should be made available to the Central Committee in 1980.

Since many of the questions and criticisms raised are to be found in Central Committee document No. 17: Background Paper on Southern Africa, particularly Part III entitled "Issues and Dilemmas in the Present Debate" and Unit II Committee document 12E containing an evaluation of the background paper "South Africa's Hope -- What Price Now?" these papers among others should form a basis for consultation and discussion as suggested above, without restricting them to the Southern Africa situation.

- iii) The financial implications of this process of consultation should be considered by the Finance Committee at the Central Committee.
- iv) The General Secretary should be requested to report to the Executive Committee in September 1979 on the progress made.

2. Investments, trade and bank loans to South Africa

The Central Committee reaffirms its request to PCR to give special attention to the issues of investments and trade (Central Committee Utrecht 1972), bank loans (Central Committee West Berlin 1974) to South Africa at this time when foreign economic interests stand out as a major factor favouring the maintenance and strengthening of Apartheid, and also when several member churches and church groups are becoming increasingly involved in campaigns against investments in South Africa and boycott the consumer goods from that country. Central Committee therefore urges renewed PCR concentration on these issues.

3. Organised White Mass Migration from Southern Africa

Oppressed racial groups and churches continue to express concern about the organised white mass migration from Southern Africa to a number of countries in North and Latin America, Western Europe, Australia and New Zealand.

In 1977 the Central Committee recommended to the member churches the following actions:

- "to express grave concern at the explosive implications of the reported scheme of the Bolivian Government to receive white settlers en masse from Southern Africa to Latin America, recognising that this would constitute a threat to the indigenous people of the Latin American continent;
- to call attention to the fact that any mass migration of white settlers from Southern Africa would simply encourage the transfer of racism to another society."

It is therefore recommended that:

PCR in cooperation with other sub-units including the Migration Secretariat should intensify its investigation into, and action on, the issue of organised white mass migration from Southern Africa especially into those countries with racially oppressed peoples.

4. Racism in Children's and School Text Books

The Unit Committee strongly commends the PCR's efforts to combat racism in children's and school text books as well as in christian educational material. The report and study guide of a first regional workshop should be sent to all member churches and national and regional councils for their consideration and action.

5. Racism in Asia

The Central Committee in 1976 requested PCR to give major attention to racism in Asia as of 1979. In 1977, the Central Committee recommended that "regional ecumenical bodies be involved in the development of PCR's agenda". In pursuance of this recommendation a workshop was held in Auckland, New Zealand, 1978 on "Race and Minority issues in Asia", sponsored by WCC/PCR and CCA/Urban Rural Mission (Unit Doc. 12c).

The workshop gathered 45 people from 12 countries and dealt with a wide variety of issues, including minority rights, race, identity, national unity, justice and participation. The Workshop made recommendations (Unit Doc. 12c, p.6) and urged the churches to stand in solidarity with racially oppressed minorities in Asia.

The Central Committee requests PCR to continue to work with CCA/URM and member churches in the area on race and minority issues, including:

- a) collection and publication of testimonies on land and life experience in the struggle for justice;
- b) production and distribution of audio-visual aid material for educational purposes;
- c) sponsoring of further workshops and training possibilities to improve the organisational capability of racially oppressed minorities.

6. Landrights and racially oppressed indigenous people

- i) The Central Committee receives the document on "Landrights and racially oppressed indigenous peoples" (Unit Committee document no. 12b) with particular emphasis on the situations in Australia and Brazil, as the first result of PCR's research for action programme in this area. It requests that information on the issue be made available to the member churches and that further cooperation be worked out with the churches in Australia and Brazil.
- ii) The Central Committee requests the PCR to indicate a plan of action together with all the churches in Australia and Brazil, and particularly with organisations of the racially oppressed and support groups in these countries. This plan of action should promote further research and plans of action in these countries.
- iii) The Central Committee requests that serious attention be given to adequate staffing for this next stage of the programme.

EXTRACT FROM DOCUMENT NO. 41 'THIRD REPORT OF THE UNIT II COMMITTEE -
COMMENTS ON THE REPORT OF THE REVIEW COMMITTEE' as endorsed by the
Central Committee Meeting, Jamaica, January 1979

IV. Comments regarding Specific Sub-Units

5. PCR:

- 5.1 The Unit Committee welcomes the encouragement for the PCR to continue and further develop policies and programmes in different parts of the world. New initiatives, requested by the Review Committee in 1976 already include "land rights and racially oppressed minority people" and "race and minority issues in Asia".
- 5.2 It notes the Review Committee's reference to what it calls "the controversial nature of the programme thrusts of PCR, particularly as these involve the Special Fund". It would, however, draw the attention of the Review Committee to the fact that this programme is not considered controversial by all the churches.
- 5.3 Regarding the Special Fund the Committee notes that "its administration so far has been in accordance with the established and accepted criteria set by the Central Committee". The Unit Committee reminds the Central Committee that since May 1978 the PCR Commission has been requesting supporters of the Fund to make an additional 10% grant in order to cover the cost of administration of the Special Fund; it is requested that the Central Committee endorse this line of action. The Unit Committee further notes that the response to this request has been positive and that present income designated for this purpose covers the administrative costs.

The Finance Department should be requested to indicate separately the figures concerned.

- 5.4 The Committee requests that a system of communication including available background information be worked out which will inform Central Committee members, member churches and NCCs in advance of the announcement of grants by the Special Fund.

(The above mentioned actions by the Unit II Committee were endorsed by the Central Committee.)

THE CHURCHES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

"Southern Africa deserves continued priority in the churches' combined efforts because of the churches' own involvement in the area and because of the legal enforcement of racism there ... What is at stake is the faithfulness to the fullness of the message entrusted to the churches". (WCC Fifth Assembly, Nairobi, 1975)

The Central Committee of the World Council of Churches calls the attention of the churches to the facts about recent developments which have worsened the already tragic situation in Southern Africa.

In South Africa

1. The change of leadership in South Africa has coincided with a further hardening of its internal policies and its positions vis-à-vis the international community.
2. The systematic repression of the black people has continued unabated. In addition to the banning of several black organizations and black leaders and others fighting apartheid, legal organizations are under increasing surveillance and open attack from the government.
3. Arrests, detentions, torture and deaths in detention have continued; the use of detention without trial, most often accompanied by torture, has become an institutionalized way of intimidating black leadership.
4. The proposed transfer of 20.000 blacks from Crossroads near Capetown and the raids on the camps in Crossroads have highlighted again the continuation of a policy brutally carried out by the South African Government for the separation and break-up of black families.
5. The scandal about the misappropriation of public funds has brought to light the ways in which the South African Government has sought to influence the media especially in the West.
6. A draft bill on education has been proposed which would seek to silence students, teachers and parents, while ignoring such basic issues as rigid segregation in education and the vast disparity in expenditures for black and white education systems.
7. The sinister policy of carving out "bantustans" continues to be implemented as a major way for the apartheid system to deny blacks full citizenship in the Republic of South Africa.

.../...

8. The Western nations have substantially increased their economic involvement in Southern Africa as a whole and in South Africa in particular. There are more foreign controlled firms in South Africa now than there were two years ago. Some Western firms have reduced their South African involvement but sales to South Africa by British, West German, Japanese and French firms have all increased substantially.
9. International interests in South Africa have become more crucial and determined as a result of developments in countries like Iran and the very high level of gold prices.
10. Recent developments have increased the threat that the situation poses to world peace.

In Zimbabwe

1. The "internal settlement" of March 1978 has kept the illegal racist minority regime in effective control giving it a veto on real change.
2. The draft constitution and the proposal for a "national unity" government have further modified the "internal settlement" strengthening the provisions for the perpetuation of white minority power and privileges.
3. Violence has escalated on all sides of the conflict resulting in the deaths of many innocent civilians.
4. Massive attacks have been made by the Rhodesian forces on Zambia and Mozambique.
5. The negotiations on the basis of the Anglo-American proposals have reached a stalemate as a result of secret manoeuvring of the major powers involved and the substantial and unacceptable modification of the plan itself.
6. The report of the Bingham Committee appointed by the British Government has exposed the manner in which the sanctions imposed by the United Nations on Rhodesia have been flagrantly violated.

In Namibia

1. Elections have been held by the South African Government in open defiance of the United Nations.
2. Intimidation and deception were practised in the registration of voters; important leaders of the South West Africa People's Organisation were arrested on the eve of the elections; people were coerced and intimidated in voting and a virtual lack of secrecy prevailed in many polling stations.

3. The so-called "Constituent Assembly" has laid down impossible conditions for United Nations-supervised elections as reported (end of support to SWAPO, South African troops to remain in full force, stationing of UN troops in Namibia as well as in Angola).
4. Violence has escalated on all sides resulting in the deaths of many innocent civilians.
5. A massive raid was made by South African troops into Angola which resulted in the killing of a large number of people.
6. The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance which has won the "election" stands for a policy according to which each racial group, including the whites, will have its "traditional area", a policy amounting to "bantustanisation". The DTA has received considerable support from some Western sources.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Central Committee

Draws the special attention of the churches to the suffering of the increasing number of refugees, the majority of them being children and young people, moving across national borders in Southern Africa and of those displaced within these borders.

Commends to the member churches the "Background Paper on Southern Africa" (Document No. 17 of the Central Committee) which clearly restates some major theological convictions, concern for mission and ethical issues underlying the special attention given to Southern Africa, provides information on the WCC's and member churches' involvement in Southern Africa and raises some of the issues and dilemmas.

Calls upon member churches to support current international efforts for mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa, implementation of the United Nations plan in Namibia and a negotiated settlement in Zimbabwe.

Calls upon member churches to examine critically and expose their nations' economic and military involvement in Southern Africa, calling for disinvestment and cessation of bank loans, especially in the context of increasing economic activities of Western nations in Southern Africa and new evidence of breaking of sanctions against Rhodesia.

Renews its expression of solidarity and fellowship with those Christians and churches in Southern Africa who under very difficult circumstances, oppose apartheid and racism and their accompanying forms of injustice and provide aid to the victims.

.../...

Appeals with new urgency to those Christians and churches within these situations who either remain silent in the face of injustice or seek, in a misguided way, to provide theological justification for racism, to open their eyes and hearts to those who hunger and thirst for justice.

Commends the appeal by CICARWS for US \$ 5 million for Southern Africa to respond to the present Southern African situation through a "comprehensive, coordinated and flexible programme which will serve the needs of all people affected, displaced persons, refugees, victims of the war and oppression".

Reiterates its support for the struggles for self-determination and liberation in Southern Africa and endorses the humanitarian aid given through the Special Fund of the Programme to Combat Racism to the liberation movements.

Requests the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs and the Programme to Combat Racism to provide to the member churches background information on new developments in Southern Africa with critical assessment of situations, on a regular basis.

And encourages member churches to make constantly intercessions for all the peoples of Southern Africa, recognizing that injustice prevailing in this area poses one of the gravest threats to world peace.