

ET IN TERRA PAX

## CHRISTIAN PEACE CONFERENCE

96-97 IV / 88 - I / 89

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The quarterly CHRISTIAN PEACE CONFERENCE is published by the International Secretariat of the Christian Peace Conference.

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## Eschatology and Christian activity

METROPOLITAN FILARET, SOVIET UNION

Christian involvement in the life of the society is not a blind initiative. This involvement is based on what one can or cannot expect from human history. Our discussion of this question should rely on the definition of eschatological categories.

Having rejected the dualism of Manicheans, asserting that the visible world was created by a lower Demiurge, different from God, the Church has established the belief in the original goodness of creation. The One and Good God is the Creator of all "visible and invisible". However, Christianity has always recognized the existential dualism between "this world", which is drowned in evil and is in the state of defiance against God, and "the world to come" when God will be "everything to everyone" (I Cor. 15:28). Christians long for the "future city" and consider themselves as pilgrims and citizens of the Heavenly Jerusalem (cf. I Pet. 2:11). Nevertheless, this New Testament eschatology and practical conclusions from it were understood and implemented by Christians in different historical periods in different ways.

The early Christian communities shared the conviction that the Kingdom of God would come through an almighty action of God in the near future. In the light of this eschatology, Christians should not care for an improvement of human society at all, inasmuch as the globe was predestined for a catastrophic disappearance very soon. Many considered it inevitable for the majority of humankind to be condemned, whereas salvation would be granted only to the remaining few. From this perspective even to have a family was a burden and marriage, though permissible, was not advisable. The eschatological prayer "Come, Lord Jesus!" (Rev. 22:20) was understood as the cry of the "remaining few", so helpless in the hostile world, seeking salvation from this world but being not responsible for it.

This eschatology provides no basis for any Christian activity concerning the world whatsoever. This kind of activity is exclusively ascribed to God who acts without any "co-operation" on the part of man (see I Cor. 3:9). It likewise ignores those New Testament images which directly suggest such "co-operation". The eschatology of withdrawal from the world is psychologically understandable and even spiritually justifiable for the time when the Christian community had to seek isolation from the world because of the pressure and persecution it suffered from in the first centuries. However when Christianity became a dominant religion and began to exercise a considerable power in the world thus visioned eschatology appeared in apparent disagreement with the New Testament vision of the world and that of the role of Christians in it. "The New Jerusalem" is not only a free gift of God coming down from Above, but also a fixed accomplishment of all reasonable efforts and good intentions of humanity transformed by God into a new creation.

The exaggeration of human accomplishments in history, on the other hand, could lead to the opposite extreme, i.e. to the belief in the infinite progress. The recent decades have witnessed how many Western Christians in this or that measure would identify social progress with a "new creation", having taken history for a guide towards "New Jerusalem" and seeing the main task of Christians in social service. The error of this viewpoint is that it does not take into consideration sin and death not to be rid of by human efforts, thus

ignoring the most real and most tragic factor of human existence. At the same time it rejects the very essence of the Christian faith which is the liberation from sin and death through the Resurrection of Christ and through the prophetic promise of cosmic transfiguration, which is to be realized by God, not by man.

The biblical understanding of eschatology implies both the allpowerful activity of God and the free human contribution to the creative building up of history. Prophecy — both in the Old and New Testaments — is not a mere foretelling of the future and announcement of the inevitable. It is either a promise or a threat. Prophecy is always conditional. The future prosperity is a promise to the righteous people while the final catastrophe is a threat to the sinners. The first and the second however are conditioned by human free will and human activity. God would not have destroyed Sodom and Gomorah for ten righteous people (Gen. 18:32); God spared Nineveh the destruction prophesied by Jonah, because the citizens of Nineveh repented (Jonah, 3:10).

God is bound by no natural or historical necessity: man is free to decide for himself whether the future Kingdom of God will be the Last Judgement or the marriage feast. No eschatology is in conformity with the Christian good news if it is not conditional, i.e. if it does not affirm the power of God over history and the tasks of man, following from his real freedom restored in Christ for constructing the Kingdom of God at one and the same time.

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*All these aspects of disarmament, in nuclear, chemical and conventional weapons, must continue to occupy the agendas for peace of Christians in cooperation with all others of similar hope and commitment.*

*The motive for disarmament must not be limited to the security and preservation of the status quo. Peace can only blossom when it is rooted in justice. In particular, this justice must find expression as the rich resources of this planet earth are diverted for the enrichment of the developing world. We of the churches must move from the motivation of charity to the more difficult one of justice. The former demeans the recipient, the latter strengthens both recipient and givers.*

*Such is the compelling demand of the Gospel of Christ. Our prayer is that through genuine repentance and renewed commitment in our hearts, we will not waver in the struggle to preserve human life, and to develop it to a high quality worthy of humankind. In a world that is "overarmed and underfed" we in the CPC movement commit ourselves anew to the goal of complete and universal disarmament.*

From the statement on disarmament

Following the reports from three important CPC activities which took place at the end of October of last year (i.e. the Continuation Committee meeting at Görlitz/GDR, the CPC's 30th Anniversary celebration in Prague/CSSR and the follow-up seminar in Modra/CSSR) which can be found in the CPC Information bulletin Nos. 399-400, we publish in the present double issue of the CPC Magazine the basic documentation of both the CC meeting and its follow-up seminar in Modra. (The main part of the speech given by the CPC President Bishop Dr. Tóth at the 30th Anniversary celebration in Prague has already been published as an appendix to the CPC Information bulletin Nr. 400, the Declaration on the Occasion of the 30th Anniversary was published in the CPC Information bulletin Nr. 399.)

Quotations and the most important parts of speeches, reports, contributions to discussion and other presentation from the CC meeting were selected in order not only to embrace as completely as possible all topics of the meeting, but also to give to the readers the representative insights to the „dealing dynamics” during the sessions.

The Modra II documentation tries to give a well-balanced overview of the emphases of both historical presentations and the prospective visions pronounced during the seminar. The chief speakers at the CC meeting in Görlitz were: the President Bishop Dr. Tóth, the General Secretary Rev. Dr. Mirejovský, the CC Chairman Metropolitan Filaret, Prof. Klein, S. Divina Himaya and S. Leonor Aida Concha. (Rev. Edicio de la Torre was unable to come because of personal reasons.) The presentation by the CC President Metropolitan Filaret brought about a wide and lasting echo. The same could be said of other speeches. Of course, we are living in a world which changes very rapidly and so in view of this fact some statements made at the CC meeting have already been overtaken by recent events.

Informal women's discussion between sessions



# Words of welcome at the opening of the session

BISHOP JOACHIM R O G G E, GDR

Dear Mr. President of the Christian Peace Conference

Dear Mr. Chairman of the Committee of the Continuation of Work

Dear Sisters and Brothers,

It gives me great honor and joy to be able to welcome you in the name of the church leadership and the consistory of the Evangelical Church of the Görlitz church district to your meeting of the Committee for the Continuation of Work of the Christian Peace Conference. The motto of the meeting is impressive: "Turn to the Future". We as Christians cannot even conceive of the theme without considering its connection to both person and subject of the "Future of that who has already come", Jesus Christ yesterday, today and also in eternity: this Biblical dictum can only be present at the beginning and end of the work meeting and along with it an intensive reflexion on what this promise and pledge means here and today. "Jesus Christ among us", may this assurance of faith

guide the reports and all those speaking and hearing during this meeting, so that our world may become brighter and friendlier.

May the look forward lead us from the peace passed on to us by Jesus Christ (Eph. 2:4) to peace among us, even if depth of motivation places great demands on our brotherly/sisterly way of thinking during our hearing and speaking. By the unity given to us through the body of Jesus Christ the work meeting can dare to begin its work, trusting in the expectation of generally accepted results: May God's spirit guide you.

I have been given the honor to welcome the Continuation Committee on behalf of the Chairman of the Working Community of Christian Churches in GDR, Mr. Church President Natho. Many Christians in our country wish, on the occasion of the 30th Anniversary of CPC, a completion to the work of the conference, so that the uncomplicated bridge between the churches and the people is successful and the spirit of dialogue with one another in the love of Christ receives new energy.

## Our commitment to Peace with Justice

BISHOP KÁROLY T O T H, HUNGARY

It would be an impossible task to attempt to list all the significant international events of the past three years (since the 6th ACPA). However, what is indisputable is that these three years have seen radical changes in East-West relations and improvement in the relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States, most clearly apparent

in the four summit meetings between the heads of state of these big powers (Geneva, Reykjavik, Washington and Moscow). These summit meetings were a clear indication of the change in East-West relations and at the same time effective instruments to achieve such change. This process, which may be described as a turn away from confronta-

tion towards coexistence, produced the views that:

a) in the nuclear age, war is unacceptable and impermissible;

b) conflicts and problems, particularly in international relations, must be resolved by political means only;

c) emphasis should be placed on commonalities and not on differences;

d) the solution of international problems requires the demilitarization and de-ideologizing of international relations.

Just as the detente of the 1970s ushered in a practical policy of peaceful coexistence in Europe, the present dialogue must, on the basis of the achievements of that period, lead to efforts to end the arms race and to resolve the conflicts in the Third World.

What is behind this transformation? The main cause has been the fundamental change in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. But also significant is the change in thinking running parallel in East and West, the major features of which are recognition of the other side's capacity to make peace, a different image of the other side, and economic demands which make the arms race an intolerable burden to East and West, and indeed to the whole world.

At this point it would seem appropriate to make a short digression and to take a look at the background to Soviet foreign policy. There are four major aspects of this change, which is mainly, although not exclusively, to be observed in the Soviet Union:

1. Restructuring (Perestroika) is a comprehensive process of revolutionary renewal of the socialist societies on the basis of the historical option for socialism.

2. Openness (Glasnost) means much more than simply freedom of speech. It means participation in the decision-making process, willingness to shoulder responsibility, and the ability of the leading organs to accept advice from below. This also includes provision in law for verifying the implementation of decisions.

3. New thinking means perceiving the reality of the nuclear age, as well as self-critical reflection on the past.

4. Democratization equals the recognition of human and general civil rights.

All this is founded on three further elements:

a) the effective contributions and influence of all peace movements and of the non-aligned states;

b) recognition of the need for global thinking and global action, that is, the realization that all the nations of the world belong to the same one human civilization, and that the global problems

of humanity can only be solved by concerted global thinking and action;

c) the radical changes in the Soviet Union and in other socialist states, which have not come about because of pressure from outside, but have resulted from socialist reality (cf. the interview with M. Gorbachev in the International Herald Tribune of May 23, 1988 entitled "Ridding the Soviet Union of the Deformation of the Past").

Besides the factors described above, there are two further decisions which will have a strong bearing on world peace:

1. The fundamental change in the concept of security as understood by the socialist states. Unlike in the past, when it was defined as winning a potential war, national security today means using all possible means to prevent war.

2. A new definition of peaceful coexistence has appeared, in the face of the realities of the nuclear age. The policy of peaceful coexistence, rather than being a particular form of class struggle, must be subordinated to the global interests of humanity.

Thirty years ago, the founders of the Christian Peace Conference decided, in the spirit of ecumenism, to form a movement which would concentrate its every effort on tackling the most serious question facing a humanity living under the nuclear threat: the question of peace. They rightly realised that the challenges of the nuclear age presented Christians of the world with new tasks and moral decisions requiring a new reflection on the Gospel. From the very beginning, they believed that these challenges could only be met in a spirit of ecumenism, for as Professor Iwand remarked at the time, "Peace work must be ecumenical, otherwise it is not peace work at all". The CPC has therefore always considered itself a part of the ecumenical movement, and has endeavoured to engage in closer cooperation with the World Council of Churches (WCC), without surrendering its independence. The CPC joined in celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the WCC, emphasizing once again our high appreciation of the WCC's committed stand against nuclear war and militarism and its engagement for justice and a credible witness to the Prince of Peace, Jesus Christ. Without ignoring the grave problems of the WCC, we remain rather more optimistic than Bishop Hempel, a WCC President, who spoke of the "moral impasse of the WCC" in his closing sermon in Hannover, at the Central Committee meeting of the WCC. In connection with this, and to start the discussion, allow me to say a few words on the Conciliar Process. I would like to emphasize that the Conciliar Process for Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation is, to us, of

particular significance. Also to be stressed is the fact that it is not a WCC programme, for WCC programmes are invariably one-off projects. It is an open process aiming first and foremost to activate all Christians to work for peace, justice and the integrity of Creation.

At the same time we should make it quite clear that the Vancouver appeal for a Peace Council of all churches has not been taken up in its entirety. We need to appreciate that carrying out such a plan would be a very difficult and complex task. Nevertheless, I feel compelled to add that the idea of a Council was abandoned too hastily, and that the ecumenical movement waited too long for an answer from Rome, hoping that the Roman Catholic Church would become one of the organizers of the Council. This Church did, in fact, finally agree to participate.

In my view, the principal features of the Conciliar Process are as follows:

a) The aim is to involve Christendom as a whole, not just the official churches.

b) The Convocation programme rightly integrates peace, justice and the integrity of Creation, crucial questions for humanity which up to now have only been addressed separately.

c) Through our faith in the God of the Trinity we should proceed to practical commitment — to action.

d) There is a twofold aim: Christendom's outward effectiveness, and at the same time its inner renewal.

e) Tasks in the Conciliar Process relate not only to global problems, but also to local threats to peace, justice and the integrity of Creation.

f) In the course of this Process, all churches and Christians must join forces in meeting the challenges of the technological age. This is especially vital because the world now finds itself in a totally new situation without historical parallel, and is thus unable to draw on the lessons and traditions of the past.

g) With respect to the three components, peace, justice and the integrity of Creation, it should be clearly stated that the theological basis of peace work is not yet accepted as a matter of course by all Christians. "Within the Christian churches there is still the widespread view that the Church and Christian faith have nothing to do with social and political issues. A long tradition of theological thought has ensured that this conviction is difficult to shake. But who can seriously deny that the Gospel of Jesus Christ has to do with peace?" (Evangelische Predigtmeditationen 1982—83, Vol. II, p. 324). Nevertheless, it is true to say that as

a result of Christian peace work, "for the first time in 1700 years a common Christian theology of peace has become possible and vital" (C. F. von Weizsäcker, "Die Zeit drängt", Munich 1986, pp. 57—75).

This is an appropriate point to refer to a view expressed by a founder of CPC, Professor Schmauch, who as early as 1961 wrote the following on the preparations for the 1st ACPC: "Our task is to discover anew the central and absolute appeal for peace found in the Gospel, and to do this in an age when humanity has been given the ability to make war an instrument of murder and suicide" (W. Schmauch, "Friede auf Erden" Neue Zeit, May 3, 1961).

"With regard to justice, we find ourselves confronted with the achievements of liberation theology, and naturally this leads to the question of how liberation theology is related to the theology of peace. That is an interesting ecumenical question" (Heino Falcke, "Zum Konziliaren Prozess", Zeichen der Zeit, January 1988).

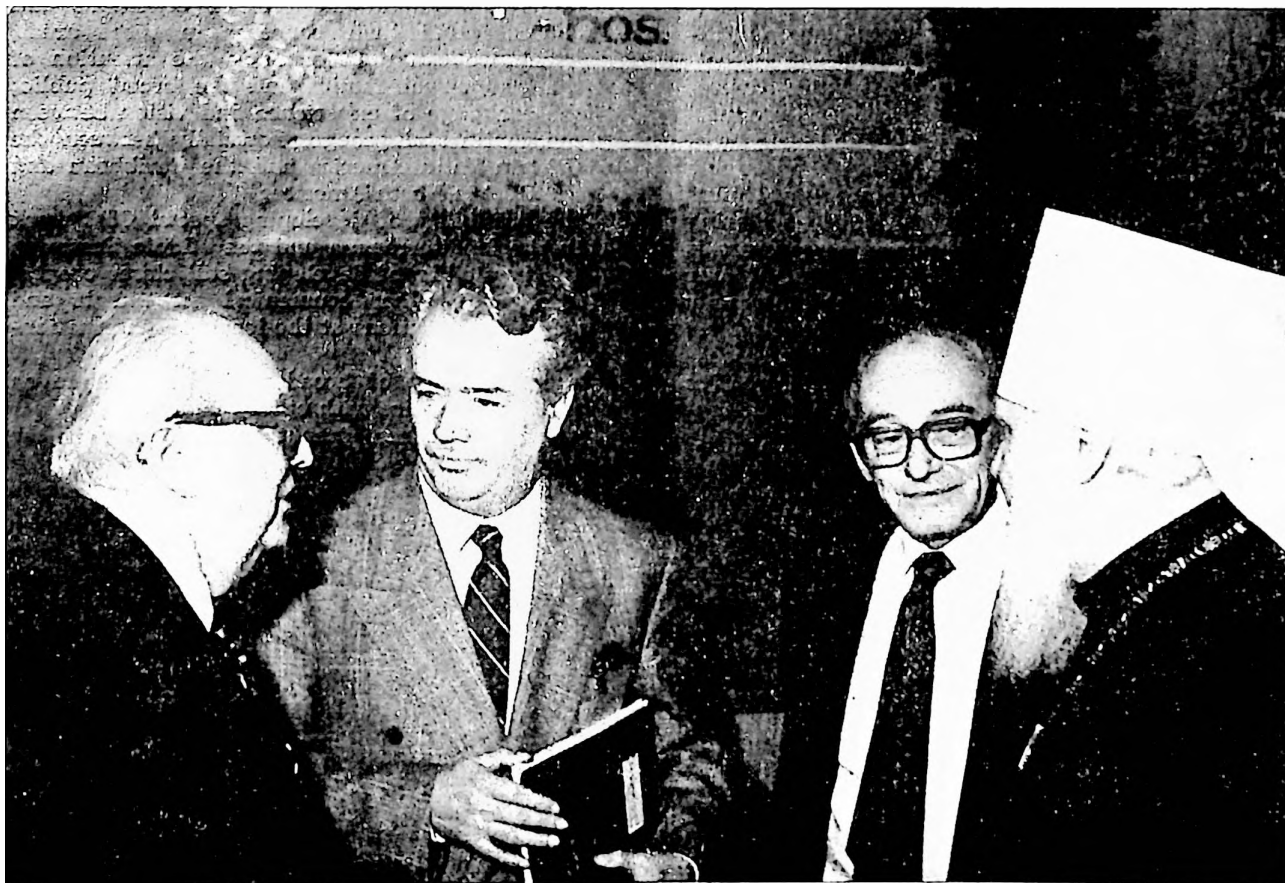
Turning to the theology of Creation, I should just like to refer to the description of the "nuclear winter", which is familiar to all of us. Concerning the danger of the thinning of the ozone layer, allow me to point to the so-called "greenhouse effect", which according to scientists adversely affects the climate all over the world. Gaps in the ozone layer are growing more rapidly than expected (FAZ of July 19, 1988). Thus the aforementioned Brundtland Report came to the alarming conclusion that "The deepening and widening environmental crisis presents a threat to national security and even to survival that may be greater than well-armed, ill-disposed neighbours and unfriendly alliances" (Brundtland Report: "Common Future", pp. 6—7, Oxford 1987). There is an infinite number of similar quotations which could be given. We look to the World Convocation with high expectations, stressing once again our readiness as CPC to contribute, from the wealth of our experience of thirty years of Christian peace work, to the Conciliar Process for Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation.

There is already a consensus in the world — especially among scientists — that humanity can only have a future if the deadly dangers which threaten the whole of Creation can be averted, and if the major, global problems facing the world can be resolved. The nuclear threat, the population explosion, worldwide hunger, the limitations of our energy sources and other problems confront us with crises on a scale hitherto unknown. Humanity will have no future if it tries to avoid the responsibility of finding answers to these major

threats. But there exists a serious temptation, which I will call "scientism". According to this, all the major problems facing humanity can be mastered with the help of the scientists. But science on its own cannot achieve this, if the inspiration and the value of faith and ethics are not taken into consideration. For technical progress can lead us down dark and unknown paths. If we think we can achieve prosperity, progress, and a better life by using only means which are independent of human beings (inhuman means), without at the same time seeking to improve human beings in a qualitative way, and to change our ways of thinking and acting, then the fate of humanity cannot be predicted. The reason for this is simple: in our nuclear age, the future can no longer be formed in the old way. The relationship between the future and the present is completely different from what it used to be, because the future is no longer the simple continuation of "today". The changes in our world are now so rapid, so enormous, and so dangerous (just think of the example of genetic technology), that humanity now

finds itself in a completely new situation, with unprecedented temptations, whereby the future could be catastrophic, because of our short-sightedness, selfishness, and egoism. All this means that we must all work together to prepare the future, because there can be only one future for the whole human race, for the whole of creation. "Only the realisation that each society has an interest in the progress and welfare of all other societies will open the way to a better future" (Aurelio Peccei: One hundred pages for the future, Future Books 1982, p. 155). Without mutual understanding and the patience to listen to one another, there will be no dialogue, and without dialogue we will not be able to act together, which is the only way to a common future.

**The members of the Leadership of CPC talking with Mr. Liviu Bota, Senior Adviser to the Under-Secretary-General of UN Committee for Disarmament**



Our theme is "Turn to the Future", or, in other words: Turn Forwards. The followers of Jesus Christ are constantly being called on to look forwards and not backwards. The Gospel always directs our gaze forwards. Looking back is a sin! (Gen. 19:17; Ex. 17:3; Lk. 9:62; Heb. 13:14; Rev. 21:5).

Our biblical theme calls on us to "Plough New Ground" (Hos. 10:12). Ploughing anew means not only that we must continually revise our habits, terminology, ways of working, and viewpoints, but that, when necessary, we must discard them. Break-

ing up the hard ground of our old habits will doubtless be a difficult task, but this call of God also contains hopes and promises. It is only in this hope and in the awareness of the promises of God that we can dare to go further along the road which lies before the CPC. But we know that the God of peace will not permit us to be disgraced, for "since we are justified through faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ. Through him we have obtained access to this grace in which we stand, and we rejoice in our hope of sharing the glory of God" (Rom. 5:1—2).

## Discovering common answers

The significance of our movement lies not merely in its international network of regional and continental activities and the estimable accomplishments of its member churches, but also in its collective theological and political reflexion. Representatives from different confessional backgrounds, with a diversity of experience and concerns, engage in discussion of global issues and arrive at common solutions. For me, this process of mutual enrichment, of gaining new insight into sharing and solidarity and discovering common answers is the most exciting feature of the life of our movement. Noteworthy is the fact that the results of our reflexion are shared with representatives of other religions and ideologies. Conclusions reached from the Christian perspective stand in creative correlation to those produced by different thought and value systems. This world is endangered by a lack of understanding, with a tendency towards the creation of increasingly isolated groups on the basis of religious, political, ethnic and racial differences. In this world, the ability of our movement to remain united and yet open for dialogue and cooperation with others is a unique and salient quality which deserves to be appreciated, maintained and further developed. This catalytic or conciliatory power is a desirable attribute of a true peace movement.

When considering the future of our work, and this should be one of the tasks of this meeting, I believe that attention must be paid to the following items:

— the strengthening of the structure of CPC continental groups. We certainly need to listen to

REV. LUBOMIR MIREJOVSKÝ, CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- the voices from these continents, in order to better understand the role of Christians and churches and their concerns in these areas, which we can then bring to the attention of the ecumenical family and the broad public;
- the exchange of experience and vision between the continental groups, especially between the CPC in Latin America and the Caribbean and the CPC in North America;
  - the possibility of developing special CPC work in the Mediterranean and the Middle East;
  - the possibility of developing still closer cooperation with other ecumenical movements and peace organizations at the local and international level;
  - the possibility of broadening the dialogue on peace and justice with other religions;
  - ways to further strengthen and develop the work of women and youth.

Just as important as organizational matters is the question of the content of our spiritual and intellectual work, which should be able to respond to the changes in the world and perceive the present needs. Here are some of the tasks before us:

- essential, and very urgent, are serious theological studies from the perspective of global awareness and new thinking;
- developing an eschatology which carries a positive evaluation of human history;
- exploring the relationship between the relaxation of East-West tension, which must continue, and the struggle for social justice and liberation, which cannot be abandoned.



# Hosea's witness to the love of God

METROPOLITAN FILARET, SOVIET UNION

To understand the text of the Book of Hosea it is important to begin with the historical context in which the service of that prophet took place. He lived in the middle of the 8th century B.C. in Israel. Seeking political isolation of the northern kingdom from Judah, King Jeroboam carried out a religious reform by introducing the worship of the golden calf. Though under the image of calf Jehovah was worshipped, the very service to the calf, as breaking the main commandments of the

Sinai legislation, meant falling from the True God. Little by little falling into paganism, Israel ceased to realize the difference between Jehovah and Baalim (Hos. 2:13, 16).

The religious decline was inevitably leading to moral degradation. The religious demoralization

The delegates from GDR and the USA in an informal discussion



entailed national decline, and the prophet foretold a horrible collapse of the Israeli kingdom. "Therefore the land mourns, and all who dwell in it languish, and also the beasts of the field, and the birds of the air; and even the fish of the sea are taken away" (Hos. 4:3) — through this image of global catastrophe, the prophet described what punishment awaited Israel.

However this dismal depiction of Israel's ill-doing and punishment does not exhaust the content of the Book of Hosea. Love and mercy of God towards his people is the main theme of the Book. Therefore, some would even liken Hosea to the Apostle of love, that is, St. John. The love of God to his people is revealed through the powerful image of man's love to his unfaithful wife (Hos. 1—3). The very punishment foretold by the prophet implies the only purpose of the salvation of the people of God through repentance. Even the punishment itself manifested the love of God to the people. With clarity unusual for the Old Testament the prophet foresees the salvational activity of Christ: "Shall I ransom them from the power of Sheol? Shall I redeem them from Death? O Death, where are your plagues? O Sheol, where is your destruction?" (Hos. 13:14).

Sharing the biblical characteristic vision of man as a whole, the prophet shows that all things in the life of the human community have a religious meaning and are subject to religious evaluation. The relations of man with God are very much corresponding to the relations among people.

Considering the text "Break up your fallow ground" in the overall context of Hosea's teaching, we must first of all say that the text contains a call to conscious responsibility and to joint activity which is to unite all people of God. Ploughing, sowing and reaping are images of moral actions

and intentions of man. God's mercy and grace are to be found only through an active search of the truth of God: "Sow to yourselves in righteousness, reap in mercy; break up your fallow ground: for it is time to seek the Lord, till he come and rain righteousness upon you" (Hos. 10:12). "Fallow ground" has a special meaning for us today. In our understanding, under "breaking up the fallow ground" the prophet meant a call to making our life, both religious and social, deeper and more spiritual. Here is also a call to repentance, so that one could give up the ways of evil and embark upon the path of goodness. In this connection it is important to note that Septuaginta instead of "break up your fallow ground" reads (cit. from the Slavonic translation): "enlighten yourself with the light of knowledge". We are not to deal here with the origin of this different reading. We shall just underline that for us — and for the Orthodox, Septuaginta carries a special meaning! — this Greek (and Slavonic) reading explains the Hebrew (and Russian) readings. The "fallow ground" about which the prophet speaks is not a phenomenon to pass soon, a phenomenon which belongs to the world without grace, where the evil infinity is prevailing and where there is "nothing new", as the wise man said (Eccl. 1:9). The "fallow ground" is a spiritual renewal, a spiritual growth, a spiritual deepening and approaching to the borders of the Kingdom of God: it is discovering the Kingdom of God which is within us. "Breaking up the fallow ground" is God-man's process of humanity's revival which also implies an eschatological renewal: "Behold, I make all things new" (Rev. 21:5). This process does not mean waiting for the salvation from above, which is to be accomplished by the Lord without any assistance from man, without his "co-working" with God.

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*The issue of national indebtedness is one of profound ethical implications. The immorality of the debt and of the demand that it be paid in full, shocks our moral and religious consciousness. Flexible ways of debt cancellation or moratorium, coupled with effective programs for social promotion, must be put forth.*

*The crying poverty of the continent is due in large part to the injustice inflicted by the rich countries with respect to the payment for the raw materials they extract from it, which produces real plundering and degradation.*

*A new troubling phenomenon, arising from the poverty of the Latin American peoples is an alarming illicit international drug traffic with its tragic human consequences.*

*We are aware of the devastating effects on the global eco-system caused by the progressive destruction of vast areas of the Brazilian rain-forest, and hope that international action can be initiated to expose and counter the complex exploitative forces responsible.*

*It is necessary to provide the new economic order and the integration of the Latin American nations in order to confront their economic problems.*

*We pray for the future of the peoples and nations of Latin America, and pledge our commitment to actions of solidarity with their liberation struggles, so that they may soon live in peace, and have life in abundance.*

From the statement on Latin America

# New Thinking and New Ethos

METROPOLITAN FILARET, SOVIET UNION

Human history is neither a straightforward path, nor the path leading us steadily up to progress. There are crises in history. We, Christians, hear in the word "crisis" (which means judgement in Greek) not only the meaning of the "judgement" of humanity, of its own history, but also the meaning of God's judgement over mankind. The present-day crisis is unprecedented. The crises of the past could be detrimental of individual countries, cultures, peoples, classes. Now the future of all human-

ity, of every living thing is at stake. There are two mortal dangers overhanging us. They are: nuclear catastrophe which is capable of burning out the whole earth within minutes, and the ecological catastrophe which before our eyes is already undermining the integrity of creation while taking

The African and North American participants exchanging their points of view



very different forms. These are the depletion of natural resources and poisoning of the environment, the "ozone holes", the melting of the Arctic ice, accidents like that of Chernobyl. The progress of science and technology has made man very powerful and provided him with enormous material possibilities, but for all that notwithstanding, humanity feels that it is doomed.

In recent years, however, the thick darkness of hopelessness and despair has been penetrated by the ray of hope which is becoming more and more bright. What we call now a "new thinking" is a fruit of the great intellectual and spiritual efforts of people of good will. New thinking is the result of humanity's being aware — through understanding the global threat of nuclear catastrophe — that the world has but one common destiny. If humanity wants to survive, it must bring to the forefront what unites people, and leave there in the background all things which divide people or bring them to confrontation, be it in politics, in economy or ideology. The contemporary world is now divided in all directions into confrontational groups: East and West, North and South. Within nations there is a social stratification. It is impossible to remove all controversies between different classes or between global military-political fractions. It is vitally important, however, to try to understand each other — to understand not only mentally but also by one's heart. It is important to develop a constructive dialogue which is to take into account the interests of all countries and peoples, a dialogue which is to extend to involve all major political and public forces. This is where the basic and comprehensive democracy of new thinking lies. The decision-making concerning the destiny of humanity ceases to be the monopoly of politicians and diplomats; people at large with ever growing force demonstrate their vital interest in their own future and influence their respective governments.

The dialectics of war and peace in a nuclear age manifests itself in the fact that the greater the threat of nuclear catastrophe is, the wider and louder is public protest. The dividing line does not run between different social systems, nor between different countries or parties, but runs all through humanity between those who do realize their responsibility for the destiny of the world and those who want to cut it anew in their own manner through deterrence.

What seem to be the major characteristic features of a new political thinking?

First of all, it is the recognition of the fact that questions of peace should receive a priority. If the destruction of all humanity, not just a war, is the

alternative to peace, peace cannot be looked upon as a good gift which we may or may not choose among other good gifts. In the nuclear age peace ceased to be just one of the versions of external policy among others, but has become the basic condition for the survival of humanity.

Secondly, nuclear war cannot be a reasonable means to be used for the solution of political problems or for the achievement of political aims. The new scope of nuclear war suggests that all policies should seek its prevention. State and military leaders from now on should deal not with a possible victory in a war but with how to prevent war at all.

Thirdly, all the conflicts between states should be settled through peace measures. Peaceful co-existence now is not just a form of relations to be sought between different social systems, but the only form without a reasonable alternative.

Fourthly, the security in the nuclear age should be understood not as a security of one nation against another, but as a common security of all nations. The security of one side can be ensured only by the security of the other side.

Fifthly, to win the arms race is as unlikely as to win in a nuclear war. The arms race is a heavy burden on both sides and is mutually exhausting.

Sixthly, we are now facing the growing interdependence of states. This process makes us see more and more clearly the global interests of mankind. The world is more and more seen as our one common home. Its destruction would bring to an end not only the conflicts of the inhabitants, but the inhabitants themselves.

Humanity is divided so profoundly that the law of interhuman relations appears to some people to be that of "war of all against all". States, nations, cultures, classes and parties — all seem to be factors of division and confrontation. Human solidarity is revealed more often than not on a group level. In counting oneself among a certain group (nation, class, etc.) human beings put themselves in opposition to all those who are outside the group i.e. those who belong to other groups. Their affiliation to a certain social group involves their own spiritual values. But in a period of spiritual crisis — such as undoubtedly our time — positive spiritual values tend to lose their vitality to become a sort of a show or a mask and to be replaced by negative experience in which is ours is confronted to what is not ours. For example, the evolution of the conscience of South African Boers shows that their positive values — religious (Reformed religion), social (liberalism) and cultural (European spiritual culture) — have been gradually, through centuries, put to the background of

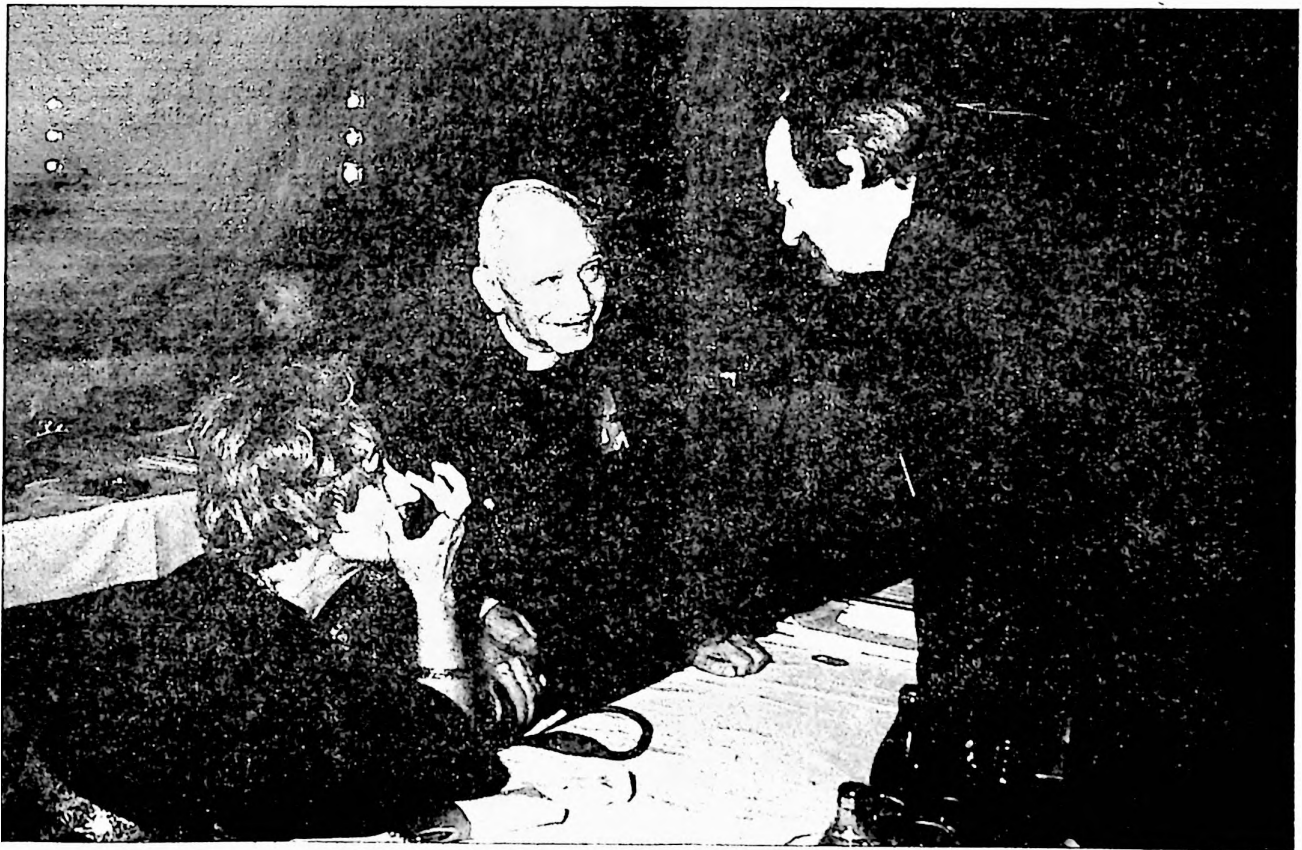
their conscience. They have turned from being contents of their life into a banner to fly above but to be rarely looked upon, while the foreground has become more and more occupied by the rejection of that which is not of their own. They have come to oppose themselves not only to other races but also to those of the same tribe who do not agree with the concept of interracial relations prevailing in South Africa . . .

In our world divided as it is by enmity the development of one's own identity is bound up with fostering "the enemy image". The enemy image is a false image however correct its particular elements may be. The essential falsehood of this "image" lies in the fact that you see in an enemy only an enemy and your attitude to them is based on the assumption that they hold arms aimed at you. You make no effort to see in an enemy a human being, that is your own fellow human being, so that you could understand him and to sympathise with his spiritual life. If both of you had done it, you would have gained a victory over yourselves, and the world would have gained a victory over your enmity.

In our era of revolutions in science and technology as they have attained unprecedented development, humanity has invented a nuclear bomb and penetrated it into space, thus creating a great gap between material and spiritual values. Humanity is gradually slipping down into a state of the absence of spirituality. Now as never before people experience the negative results of the gap between the spiritual and the material. Drug addiction and alcoholism, family destruction and degradation of human personality, sexual laxity and destruction of the environment, affluence and consumerism of some and poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy of others and the threat to the very survival on the earth — all these are fruits of the depreciation of spiritual values and results of social injustice.

Social ethic and political wisdom more often than not lag behind their time, failing to realise and assimilate all the new things. Take, for example, science. It has often abandoned moral principles,

Rev. Christoph Schmauch from USA, Rev. Ibrahim Ayad from Tunisia and Mrs. Nimra Tannous Es Said from Jordan



which is especially disastrous there where its discoveries result in the development of weapons of mass destruction. The time is ripe to consider morality not only in science but also in the whole progress of science and technology. Human brains are challenged by electronic brains. And it well may be that the day will come when the situation in the world will be controlled by computers rather than politicians and humans will become a hostage of technology. In fact it is impossible today to predict in what direction the development of military science and technology will go.

In creating its future, humanity should not rely blindly on the advancement of science and technology. It is only the harmonious combination of spiritual-ethical improvement of the human person in society and the development of material well-being that can become a reliable basis for the preservation of our planet for the generations to come.

Even now we can see with bitterness that spiritual values have been greatly devaluated and consumer psychology has gained the upper hand. Falsehood has come into everyday usage as never before and spirituality has never been trampled upon so frankly.

It is time to pose resolutely the question of morality in politics. Indeed, one has every reason to believe that the policy and diplomacy that rely on the threat of the use of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction are amoral. This essentially vicious policy is normally disguised as a desire to preserve peace in the world. But we know that it is impossible to attain peace by immoral means. And the very threat of the use of force is violence. Violence corrupts the human soul and weakens human will, thus shaking the moral foundations of society. The logic of aiming one's nuclear missiles at whole nations is an act of utter moral bankruptcy.

Because of the endless rivalry in the arms race people are forced to live in fear, with the feeling of oppression and hopelessness. The education of a spiritual and moral person becomes impossible. And it may well happen so that a human being will have to face a spiritual and moral collapse because the priority of military power will completely replace moral standards.

Among major threats to humanity and the integrity of God's creation is the ecological problem. The continuous development of the scientific and technological thought and its implementation has given humanity an opportunity for broadening its economic activity. Some achievements in this field are gratifying. But as a result of the senseless and rapacious attitude resulting from the absence of

spirituality, God's creation has suffered an irreparable damage, and now "the whole creation groans and travails in pain" (Rom. 8:22).

In order to solve the problems of humanity today it is necessary to develop spirituality and morality in all spheres of human activity. The moment has come when inertia should be overcome for humanity to solve its tragic problems. In order to overcome the spiritual and moral crisis that has affected the whole humanity it is necessary to rely upon the global ethics common to all people. It means that human spiritual and moral revival should be based on the general human moral principles built in human nature, for man is created in the image and likeness of God. That is why, in solving the main problem i.e. the assurance of a future for humanity, people and nations have to resort more often and clearly to common efforts as they are aware of their indissoluble unity.

The new international political thinking based on the moral principles has already brought forth its positive fruits. It corresponds to the Christian concept. Christianity, as a universal religion, intends to consider all humanity to be a one whole, for we, human beings, are all brothers and sisters, children of one Heavenly Father, Creator of heaven and earth. Christianity considers nature itself and the whole world to be intimately bound up with humanity. Just as a human being is a temple of the Holy Spirit the world is a dwelling place of the spirit of God.

The new thinking makes it imperative for us to put in the foreground that which unites humanity i.e. those vital interests which are common to all inhabitants of our small and fragile planet. We should see in the great diversity of the world today not so many negative as positive and creative points. We should see in pluralism the richness of the world where values of different groups should not necessarily become a source of enmity but rather a factor of mutual exchange and enrichment.

In order to make enemies partners, in order to replace confrontation with cooperation, in order to replace expansion and imposition of one's values upon others with mutual respect, in order to make a human being, every one and not just a member of a group, the recognized centre of the world it is necessary to resolutely break old stereotypes, to affirm the humanistic principles of trust and well-wishing. The new ethos is in profound harmony with the universalism of the gospel since it also sees in a human being above all a human being and then a czar, a poor man, a Jew, a Greek, a man, a woman, a soldier, a slave, etc. The Gospel does not cancel all these differences in the plane

of earthly realities. The Gospel rather makes it one's duty to expose evil in humans and the world. But the Gospel teaches to overcome evil by spiritual achievements, thus transforming human relations from inside. What will ultimately save the world is love, not violence. The new ethos are new steps towards the Christian ideal of love. We know however that love can be severe and demanding. Look at the millions of the hungry in our world abundant as it is in material goods! Do not they demand our sharing, especially that of the most affluent? Does not Christ demand this from us? Look at the underprivileged, the oppressed, the suffering. Is not service to them a service to Christ?

As I see it, the new thinking means a movement towards the parameters of Christian thinking, forced by the very logic of world developments. The present crisis — which is both spiritual and moral — has generated new spiritual demands and new approaches to the cardinal problems of human beings. Christian champions of peace therefore have to have their own say here. We have

something to say to the world. Christian spiritual values have increasingly become an integral part of the life of the whole world, just as it has come to need a new European discipline, though in a different way. This is not to deny pluralism inherent in the world. Therefore, this poses anew the task of the exposure of Christian universalism. We are but at the beginning of a new road. We are to make great creative efforts. Not a few difficulties await us. For example, the following problem. We are rooted in age-old confessional traditions which were believed to be exceptional in the past. We are not going to abandon our traditions or to impose them upon anyone by pressure. At the same time, we should separate in our traditions that witness which is addressed to everyone and which can help to build universal human solidarity. Our duty and our Christian vocation lies in the service to the one universal family of the children of God.

Mrs. Elisabeth Adler from GDR, Dr. Philip Oke from USA and Rev. Wesley Hartley from Australia



# Expecting a new life in Latin America

SISTER LEONOR AIDA CONCHA, MEXICO

I wish I could speak to you in words like the words of the Gospel, but I will only say that Capitalist Latin America is like a beautiful woman. She is a believer, she is strong like the woman in the Bible. Sometimes she is dark brown like the colour of the Indians, sometimes she is olive-skinned like the mestizas, or black like the first Africans who arrived in our continent, or white like those who came from Europe. She has a character which is joyful, festive and informal, but she can also be serious, solemn, thoughtful, creative, rebellious, ready to struggle, full of fighting spirit. She is ambitious, she wants everything, she is trying to find her own identity, she is searching for wholeness, she wants to be fulfilled. And now she is very ill but she is also pregnant because she is expecting a new life. Here she is looking out through a window of her house.

Among piles of rubbish and scraps of rotting food thrown out by the huge garbage trucks, near the place where the lorries from the market of La Merced in Mexico load and unload, groups of women come everyday to look for whatever might be useful in running their households. We can see them arriving in the dusk, keeping out the cold with shawls, threadbare sweaters, or some old rags the colour of rust that they use when handling rubbish. Silent, slow-moving women, who come everyday to the piles of refuse from which they collect fruit and vegetables to eat.<sup>1)</sup>

If we continue looking through the window, we can see many scenes in the life of the women, men, the children, the young people, and the old people. Let us pause for a minute in front of the most tender, sensitive thing that exists under the sun — the children. UNICEF informs us that 40% of Latin American children suffer from chronic malnutrition, and that this is the main cause of mortality among women of childbearing age and among newborn children. Of the 424 million inhabitants of Latin America, 200 million live in poverty, and 40% of these live below the subsistence level.<sup>2)</sup>

In Brazil not only do the children suffer from malnutrition, but they are considered to be a burden; according to a recent study by FUNABEN, between December 1987 and July this year 306 abandoned children, most of them black, were killed in the two municipal suburbs of Nova Iguaçu and Duque de Caxias alone. The perpetrators of these acts were extermination squads supported by the authorities.<sup>3)</sup> Of the 51 million Brazilian children under the age of 14, 30 million live on the streets, and are the children of single mothers. These children live from petty crime, selling things on the street, or providing small services.<sup>4)</sup>

Do we realize that illiteracy in the world is increasing rather than decreasing? According to UNESCO, in 1970 there were 760 million illiterates, and in 1988 there are 890 million. If this trend continues the statisticians say that there will be 910 million illiterates by the year 2000.<sup>5)</sup>

Furthermore, in Latin America we are officially permitted to poison the people because we are allowed to use agricultural chemicals which are prohibited in developed countries because of their high toxicity. Traces of DDT have been found in mother's milk in Mexico City, and the authorities make no attempt to control the damage to the people's health because it would mean setting limits on the activities of the Transnational Corporations which sell these products to the farmers and the peasants.<sup>6)</sup>

Yes, the Transnational economy is experimenting with contraceptive products on Latin American women, intervening in population control policy by forcing them to use products which damage their health, and in extreme cases interfering in women's lives without their knowledge.

Latin America has been raped repeatedly, and she has undergone torture and violence in all its forms. She has been very ill for some time now, and her illness is becoming chronic.

The grave economic crisis through which the world economic system is passing, falls heavily on the Latin American and Third World economies;



the passage to a more developed, more technical society, establishes wider gulfs between developed countries and those who are on the way to development; that which can be translated for example into the existence of a million children who die annually in conditions of misery as lived in Latin America; because the problems are not of the moment, they are structural, we are talking about a capitalist and patriarchal system which does not have the capacity to solve the fundamental problems of human beings. The inflationary processes established in Latin America constitute the most intolerable expropriation that a society can suffer in order to transfer the savings of the majority to the pockets of the rich. Societies destroy themselves because they do not produce, they speculate and they lose all hope. The political response becomes fascism.

The Latin American governments have not understood the significance of the foreign debt which is killing the people and they allow the historic opportunity to unite themselves and face together their common problems escape them. The

obvious reason is because they are not representative governments of the people.

Latin America has many elements for its unification: a similar history, a dominant language, common culture, similar aspirations and above all the profound desire to liberate itself as a people.

Yes, it is the peoples, not the governments who have understood their common destiny; there exists more and more indignation, more awareness, more mobilization, more aggressiveness, more struggles and in each situation, for each aspect, with more force, more resistance because in the end there remains less and less to lose.

Throughout the continent there flows the desire for greater democracy; cries of liberation and solidarity are heard; we hope that the birthing which will give life to new societies will not be long in coming, the exploitation to which it is subjected increases the birthing pains; either Latin America dies trapped in the imperialistic transnational economies with their international relation-

Informal discussion in the small circles between sessions



ships which these represent or it gives birth to the revolutionary projects of the grassroot peoples; either the hegemony of the great monopolistic and financial capital consolidates itself or Latin America becomes independent through an economic and political evolution which takes into account the grassroot people and there springs forth the renovated characteristics of its cultural roots.

The new model of capital accumulation which demands the new international capitalistic division of work presupposes in the developed countries the specialization of goods with a more complex technology and the perfecting of science and technique with the objective to maintain control of the more advanced technologies; at the same time increases the service sector and in general, increases the parasitic type of activities of this monopolistic economy.

In our countries, too, we must integrate our national financial reserves with new techniques of production, marking a return to liberal economic measures, with the internalization of financial capital, and also the concentration and centralization of national wealth and the national big businesses associated with it, which, as we have seen, are exploiting the workers to a greater degree than ever before in the history of our peoples.

### **The people and its faith, New ethos, new morality**

But Latin America, this sick woman who seems to us to be on death's door, suddenly we see her eyes shining, we hear her singing, she is joyful, she seems to have risen from the dead, we feel her coming to life as a new being stirs in her womb.

At the beginning of the crisis we saw a regression in the popular movement. The organization withdrew, diminished, and almost disappeared. But as the crisis has become more acute, we have seen her coming back to life, as we have described in the examples in the different countries we have looked at.

In each country, the people is in the process of developing above all a clear awareness of its situation, together with a conviction of its potential, which always crystallises gradually into the creation of strong organizations which rise up to demand a solution to their problems, and above all into the existence of democratic societies, as is the case in Mexico or Chile.

They make demands with an ideological clarity, they create alternatives, they contribute to a communal and revolutionary process, and as a result, we find the most varied developments taking place: women's organizations, peasants' organiza-

tions, workers' organizations, and local neighbourhood organizations as in Cuba or Nicaragua.

Because of the reorganization of social forces as a response to the major exploitation, we can now see popular movements springing up centred on women's liberation, health, the new culture, the theatre, music, projects of production, the defense of human rights, the protection of the environment, and realizing the potential of young people and old people as in Argentina, Ecuador, or Venezuela.

We can find communities which are very much alive, open, richly creative and with original proposals. Latin America is a continent rich in thinking. There are Christian communities which struggle tirelessly at the side of the popular organizations, who even when they suffer imprisonment or torture do not give themselves up to hate, but are ready to make a fresh start a thousand times over, as in Brazil, Bolivia, or Central America.

And we Christians are also contributing to this process, very often appearing consistent, offering a profound analysis and alternatives like many others. It is no longer important what creed or ideology our neighbour has, so long as we struggle together to achieve our common objectives.

In this way, new fellowships are being created between believing and non-believing revolutionaries, in a dynamic of liberation which has broken away from Rome just as much as it has from Moscow, as Michel Löwy observes.<sup>7)</sup>

It is one of the most recent developments in Latin America, that the realities of the situation we are living in has led believers and non-believers to reread both the Gospel and Marx. For example, there is the phrase "religion is the opium of the people" which was so often only used in one sense. This has now had to be read again, in the light of the new experiences of the Christians, recognizing the dialectic of the passage, "The misery of religion is on the one hand an expression of material misery, and on the other hand a PROTEST against material misery," a protest that Christians today are transforming into reality on a massive scale.

In the same way, Löwy asks: "Is it not possible to say that the revolutionary idealism of the liberation theologians is superior to the 'stupid' materialism of the bourgeois economists and even to the thinking of some Stalinist Marxists? The more so, when this theological idealism has shown itself to be perfectly compatible with a materialist-historical analysis of social facts."<sup>8)</sup>

So it is that Christianity in Latin America, which is part of the daily life of the people, is no longer

seen as something otherworldly. This faith expresses itself in solidarity with the struggles of the people, which is seen by the ruling system as something subversive. Marxists and Christians no longer look on each other as separate blocs: the Church, Communism. We have now matured to a point where we understand that those who struggle are defined by the life they lead.

Liberation theology has come to be the expression of a broad social movement which first sprang up in the 1960s, and it continues to be the inspiration of a number of social movements today, such as the expansion of the revolution in Central America or the rise of a new peasant movement in a region of Oaxaca in Mexico.

The movement I am referring to is based on faith and spiritual and moral motivations which inspire a *new way of acting* which extends across neighbourhoods, communities, associations of women, workers, and peasants, and even revolutionary fronts.

Liberation theology provides a theoretical context for these experiences and so legitimises them, contributing to strengthening and expanding them.

Further it has a considerable effect on the church hierarchies, sometimes winning over the majority of them, as in Brazil and Peru, but also creating enemies as in Columbia or Argentina.

The Spirit of God moves forward, and even if liberation theology has bitter enemies in the Vatican itself, Pope John Paul II has not as yet condemned it, although the Vatican has punished Father Leonardo Boff by forbidding him to make public pronouncements for a year.

What is it that has contributed to this new way of acting among Christians in Latin America?

Partly, it is due to the greater openness of the Second Vatican Council, which has made Christians more aware of the problems of the world. This was followed in Latin America by the episcopal conferences in Medellin and Puebla, which were steps to greater openness, and a better understanding of reality and of the need to take into account sociological interpretations, which would

Mrs. Naděje Hromádková from Czechoslovakia and Prof. Elias Philippides from Greece listening during a session



help those who could see no solution to their problems to understand them better.

Liberation theology, besides learning from neo-Marxists such as Bloch, Althusser, Marcuse, Lucien Goldman, Mandel, also turned its attention above all to Latin America itself. This meant studying significant historical events such as the Cuban revolution, and the nationalist positions taken up by Mariátegui and all the theorists of Dependency who criticized capitalism, such as H. Cardoso, André Gunder Frank, Teófilo Dos Santos and Anibal Quijano, who applied Marxism to the Latin American reality.<sup>9)</sup>

But above all, this new way of acting is due to the call of God amidst the general poverty of the people, a call which is based on the tradition of the Church, and is rooted in the message of Jesus Christ, in that love for the poor with which the God of the Bible is so closely associated. All this has given rise to new ways of reading this message, to fresh interpretations, to establishing the salvation of the poor as the central pivot of the Christian experience.

This more profound study of the Bible has led Christians to understand that the poor are the instigators of their own liberation, not passive objects. This represents a break with the former attitude of the Church towards the poor, which was one of paternalistic assistance. Now this attitude has been transformed into one of solidarity with the struggle of the poor for liberation, for it is they, the poor, who are their own saviours.

In addition, adopting this more authentic tradition of the Church that it is the poor who achieve their own liberation, implies going beyond the concept of social classes, to include all those who suffer from the structures of exploitation: the indigenous inhabitants, the peasants, the unemployed, the street sellers, the prostitutes; and further still, to include localized oppression and double exploitation. All these people who suffer from exploitation are capable of bringing about their own liberation within this system.

In this respect, we should also mention the welcome given within liberation theology to the struggle for the liberation of women. They have been called on to give theological reflections from their own standpoint as women, and they have received support from liberation theologians, who have made this contribution as a sign of solidarity with work which must mainly be undertaken and developed by Christian women, in accordance with the principle of establishing themselves as being in control of their own destiny.<sup>10)</sup>

As Christians we believe that just as the people, inspired by their faith, have managed through their

struggles to respond successfully to the call of the God of history; so, in the same way, we women will find the place that God is calling us to, in society, in the Church, and in theology, starting from our own experiences, and by coming closer to the feminism which, with all its contradictions, is alive in Latin America today. Contact with Marxist-feminism is a historical necessity in Latin America for a new stage of development in our faith to be reached.

In short, the Christians in Latin America, both men and women, are being called to struggle against structural injustice, but also to struggle against anti-democratic, oppressive, corrupt, or manipulative practises wherever they are to be found. In this respect, as we have seen, the aspiration of the peoples to live out democracy is especially impressive.

We Christians are searching for the moral dimension of the revolutionary commitment. The experience of living our liberation in practise is contributing to the birth of a new ethic, and, together with all the people, we are searching for the experience of democracy, but a democracy that is shaped and lived out with new values.

<sup>1)</sup> Victor Zendejas. Report, "Mujeres humildes rescatan frutas y verduras de entre los desperdicios" — "La Jornada", 25. September 1988.

<sup>2)</sup> Teresa Albanez, Director of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF); essay in the Jornadas Internacionales Conmemorativas del XXI Aniversario de la Asociación Venezolana de Padre y Niños Excepcionales, whose central theme was "Latinoamérica hacia el Siglo XXI, el impacto de la desnutrición en su desarrollo". Caracas, Venezuela, September 1988.

<sup>3)</sup> Ivanir Dos Santos, President of the Association of the National Foundation for the Welfare of Minors (FUNABEN), a state organization which is responsible for abandoned children. Informe de 2 volúmenes. See La Jornada, 29 September 1988.

<sup>4)</sup> José Raimundo Silva, President of the Brazilian Association for the Prevention of Abuse and Neglect to Children. Report requested by a consultative organization of the United Nations for the human rights of children, based in Geneva. August 1988.

<sup>5)</sup> Article published in the review UNESCO News. La Jornada, Mexico. 3 October, 1988.

<sup>6)</sup> Ivan Restrepo, "Naturaleza Muerta", published in Mexico, Editorial Océano. Mexico, 1988.

<sup>7)</sup> Michel Löwy, *Marxismo y Religión. El desafío de la Teología de la Liberación*, translated from the French by Mario Zamudio. Article in review *Cristianismo y Sociedad*, pp. 7—22, No. 98. October 1988.

<sup>8)</sup> Idem, p. 21.

<sup>9)</sup> Idem, p. 17.

<sup>10)</sup> The first invitation to participate in theological reflections was extended by the Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians in 1979, when a meeting was organized with the theme "Women and Theology". The organization "Women for dialogue" helped prepare the meeting. The results of the Seminar have been edited in the book, "Latin American Women, the Church, and Theology", published by MPD, Mexico, 1980.

# Changing this world

PROF. DIVINA HIMAYA, UNITED STATES

Along with our theme for this meeting, we ask what possible new thinking, new ethos, new responsibilities may be pursued by our governments and our churches. Alternative non-provocative and non-offensive defense strategies have been developing in both East and West. In the US, a mobilized citizenry engaged in grass-roots peace activism continues to effect changes in US policies. Over 6000 organized peace groups countrywide, involving millions of Americans in churches, schools, and city halls, are campaigning for nuclear test ban and freeze resolutions, writing legislative alerts, lobbying Congress particularly on US intervention in Central America, forming peace coalitions. On a national level, advocacy think tanks offer political and economic analysis, networks offer legal and financial support. These groups have called into question the secret negotiations and covert operations that have locked out the democratic process. Citizens' initiatives in forming sister cities in the Soviet Union, in South and Central America, have influenced the perceptions and relations of people in these countries and in our country. In the current presidential election campaigns, the peace movement has been challenged to present defense alternatives and economic conversion proposals for millions of workers who are in the war industry.

An example of alternative thinking comes from the Center for Defense Information, a Washington-based group that supports effective defense. Along with many other peace groups, these leaders proclaim that we have to stop building nuclear weapons, ban all nuclear testing, stop SDI, stop producing binary chemical weapons, ban all nuclear weapons sale, oppose all use of nuclear weapons in the world. Citizens have to take the profits out of building nuclear weapons and get the US off its war-industry addiction. We also must withdraw the half-million American troops in foreign countries: get our troops and weapons out of Europe, Africa, and Asia. These leaders emphasize that the forces we need to defend our

country can be reduced to 36 missile submarines, few army divisions, and the defense of allies with half the combatants that we have now. A coalition of peace groups in Southern California presents a solution that sounds very simplistic: "A bilateral, cooperative, and verifiable dismantling of nuclear weapons along with a ban on their production."

"It is time to recognize that dismantling nuclear weapons easily accomplishes all the goals of any part of the Star Wars/SDI program. That is, bilateral dismantling of 9/10 of the strategic nuclear missiles provides the same defense as a 90% effective Star Wars/SDI.

Dismantling can be done in short order, at modest cost, whereas Star Wars prolongs the risk and multiplies the cost."

*(From Star Wars to the Alternative, p. 13)*

A national initiative is being launched by InFact, the organization that successfully led the international Nestle boycott. It calls for a boycott of General Electric (GE) products in order to expose the control that corporations have over nuclear weapons policies. GE's slogan is: "We bring good things to life." GE manufactures many home appliances like refrigerators, stoves, washing machines. GE also produces the trigger for every nuclear bomb made in America. It makes key parts for almost every first-strike weapon, from the B-1 Bomber to the Trident Submarine to the MX Missile. In fact, GE has been selected as main design architect for Star Wars. More than 2.5 million Americans, one out of every 100 people, have now joined the GE boycott. If Americans band together, they can make a difference and compel corporations to change. Democracy is undermined when powerful corporations like GE have votes and lobbys that count more than that of the American people. In the long run, consumers have the power and the responsibility to put nuclear weapons production out of business.

Exploitation and oppression of women in the world has been a dominant concern among women in the United States. Many women have been re-

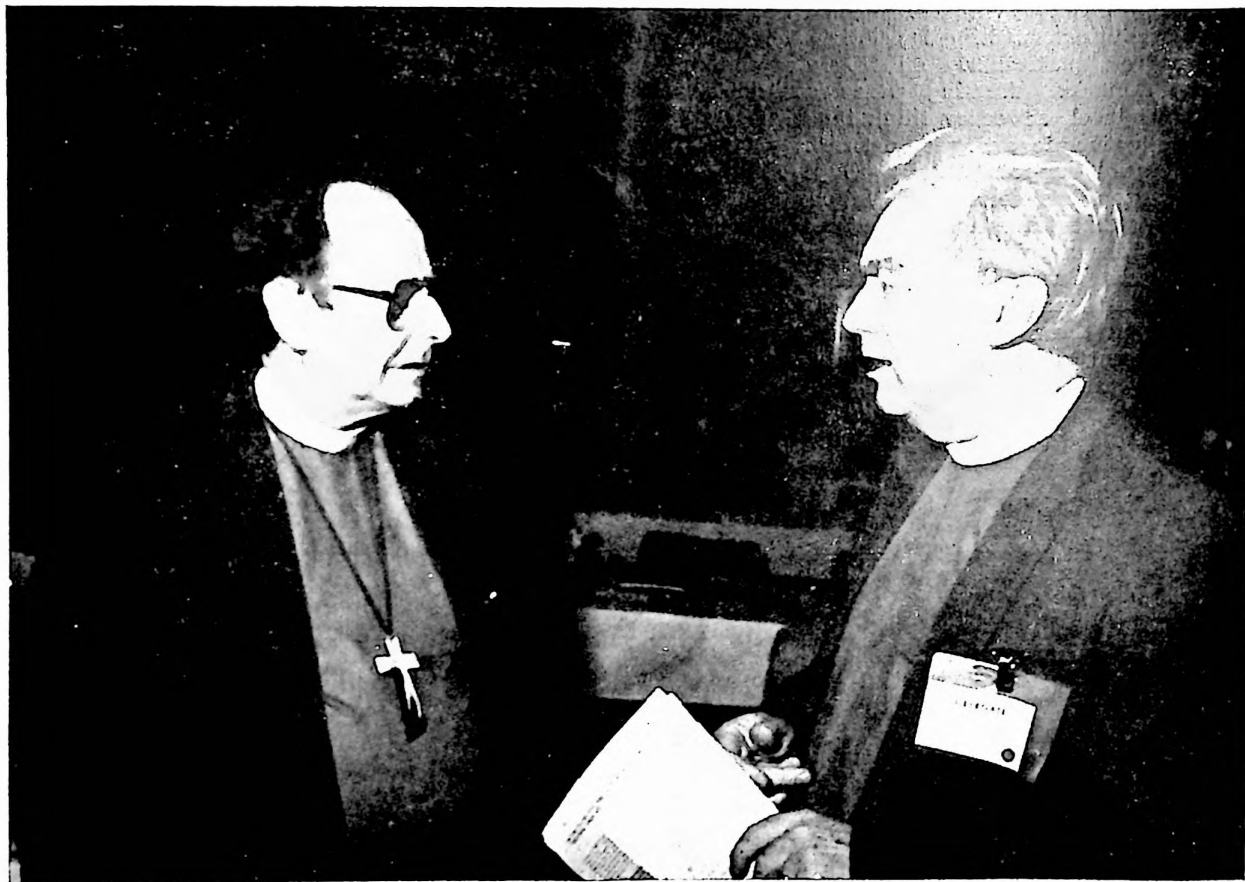
garded as objects of production and reproduction rather than subjects of history. Millions of women are treated as non-persons. A Washington based Population Crisis Committee documents the blatant discrimination and grinding poverty suffered by three-fifths of the world's women. The most destitute households in the US and other countries are headed by women. Women consistently earn lower pay than men. In the US, for every dollar that a man with 8th grade education earns, a woman with a college degree receives 59 cents. The "double work" imposition — full time in the workplace and also at home — still persists.

Societal institutions have relegated women to subordinate positions of leadership. To many women, the leadership of the church as institution is the slowest to respond to changes in working with women. If Christian churches do not recognize women as whole and equal persons before God, how can we seek to (and I quote) "empower women to call into question in their countries and in their churches, the worldwide oppressive structures of society?" (Stated goal of The Ecumenical

Decade of Churches in Solidarity with Women, 1988—1998.) Women have had intensive and extensive training and experience in peacemaking, starting with the husband-wife relationship to nurturing children, to being part of the wider community. They are confronted everyday with issues involving economics, politics, religion. The power of women in peacework has been shown through social skills such as organizing, dialoguing, and resolving conflicts. Women are known to work harder in relationships over the long haul. When I watch the tremendous zeal of women in the US as they protest over abortion or the use of animals in medical research, I often wish that such energies could also be directed to peace work.

The peace movement in the US, with its multi-issues approach, is also focusing on racism, especially institutional racism that denies decent housing, health care, and jobs to people of color.

**Bishop Michael Hare-Duke and Rev. Kenyon E. Wright from Great Britain**



Peace and justice movements in the US have yet to come together, to be truly multi-racial, calling for basic changes in our domestic and foreign policies. Some Whites say that it is difficult to get people of color to be involved in peace work. Some people of color say that peace means bread. There are those who contend that if a nuclear freeze were to happen tomorrow, it would not make any difference in their situation.

Rosemary and Vincent Harding, two Christians, Black activists, underscore the fact that there can be no significant future for an anti-nuclear weapons movement if we do not face up to the fundamental injustice in dealing with the poor and non-white world.

A world without oppression, exploitation, and arms begins with people who are truly aware of what is going on in this implosive world. Ignorance and indifference, greed and gluttony have caused people to be blinded to told and untold sufferings of our world. Yet, under God, there is hope in the human community. In the US, there

are Americans in every state who are fully committed to a world without arms. There are millions who invoke the freedoms guaranteed in the US Constitution in working toward ending the oppression and exploitation by Americans to other Americans and to peoples all over the globe. We need to confess our sins before God and to mankind. We need to recognize the forces that have brought us very close to a global catastrophe. We keep pressing toward our global unity, not because we will win and claim victory, but in order that all of God's creation, all life, will prevail.

A delegation from the CCW visited the Polish town of Zgorzelec, the neighbouring town to Görlitz. The delegation crossed the "Bridge of friendship", were received by the Town Council, and met with members of the Polish clergy, thus emphasizing the fact that for 43 years, lasting peace has prevailed in an area of Europe which for centuries had been at the origin of political crises and wars



# On the way towards a world without weapons and exploitation

PROF. DIETER KLEIN, GDR

Humanity is going through radical change, being in a unique situation

- between the threat of a nuclear holocaust and the change of a lasting world peace,
- between the reinforcement of underdevelopment in most developing countries — linked with hundreds of millions of unemployed people, with hunger, misery and an incessant population explosion — and disarmament for development and the implementation of a new, more just world economic order yielding to conceptions of independent development,
- between the growing probability of a global ecological catastrophe and the turnabout towards peace with nature,
- between the development of a new, highly science-intensive type of productive force as a catalyst for aggravating these global problems or the use of the wonderful potential of the new productive force as a vehicle for the peaceful settlement of the questions of humanity.

## Intellectual challenges

“Plough anew.” This is in this situation the great challenge for intellectual departure and radical changes, which are able to react to the new situation facing humanity in our time with such a new way of *thinking* that creates the foundations for a new sense of responsibility for the world, for an era of reason, for new, resolute, quick and cooperative *action* to save all life and nature from extinction, and for the prospects of a decent future for human beings before it is finally too late.

Since it is a question of settling global problems of humanity as a whole the intellectual efforts of all classes of both systems and of the developing countries of every shade are required, as demands are made on believers of all religions and non-believers, on the left forces of every current, the

bourgeois forces and those in between to make an independent contribution of their own. Today, any world outlook, theory or religion is faced with existential tests of strength as to whether they can master the new situation in which humanity finds itself. This time, the new way of thinking must be supported by all classes and strata concerned in all societies, the new way of thinking is no monopoly to be used by one side against the other one. Its elixir of life is the dialogue of all those who are ready and able to assume responsibility.

Dialogue among people who think differently includes informing one another of what is new in one's own theory or in one's own intellectual foundations to deal with the questions that have arisen and are to be settled by humankind.

At present, a far-reaching process is going on, further developing Marxism-Leninism. It is linked with a serious discussion on the relationship between continuity and discontinuity, on lasting identity and breaks in the development of theory. These are great theoretical efforts of far-reaching importance for the way in which communists see themselves. They are aimed at:

- a new way of looking at the content of the epoch as the chapter of history we are living in;
- an essential shift of emphasis from the assumption that real far-reaching social progress could only be expected if further socialist revolutions followed to the orientation that reforms will have priority within the framework of capitalism for a long time and on processes of renewal under socialism;
- the new quality of those reforms that are indispensable for the existence of humanity;
- the relationship of global problems (peace, development, nature conservation), revolution and social progress;
- the relationship between revolution and reform today;



- the new in the unity of revolution and individual, that is an up-to-date theory of socialism;
- a renewal of the theoretical foundations for solving the problems of developing countries where by the year 2000 as much as 80 per cent of the world's population will be living;
- a further development of the theory of imperialism, which will not detract anything at all from the savage criticism of the anti-human features of present capitalism and, at the same time, earnestly opens up every avenue for a variant that is compatible with peace and reforms to develop;
- the elaboration of a theory of the interaction between the two systems, including a substantiated position for that mutual process of learning which will be of utmost importance for the future course of history;
- the further development of the theory of peaceful coexistence according to its content which has changed objectively.

Does "Plough anew", in view of such challenges for theory, mean indiscriminately turning every-

thing that has been evident so far upside-down as if one was breaking the earth? Does change necessarily mean turning away? The Marxist theory heralded a socialist future at a time when there was scarcely yet a socialist movement. It developed the conception of peaceful coexistence as early as 70 years ago. The Marxists came up with a theory of socialism — whatever painful mistakes were made on the way — which has stood its test in this country in many respects. Marxism-Leninism has spread the idea of the transition from free competition to monopoly capitalism and the latter's development into state monopoly capitalism and introduced a new way of thinking into the foreign and military policy aspects of the state doctrine of the Warsaw Treaty countries, whereas as yet no NATO country has brought itself to turn away from the doctrine of deterrence which poses a threat to humanity. This is the reason why we stick to the dialectical materialistic and historical

Prof. Dr. Dieter Klein from the GDR speaking at the plenary session



method of theory development and to significant theoretical insights. Yet, at the same time, the situation of radical change which humankind is going through, underlines what was written by the physicist Werner Heisenberg about scientific inventions:

"... real virgin land (can) probably only be won if one is ready, at a crucial point, to leave the ground on which science rested so far and to jump, as it were, into emptiness".<sup>1)</sup> Both the 27th Congress and the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU showed very clearly that deformations can occur in socialism, too, if new facts — the air under the wings of science — or new scientific insights into old facts are given insufficient consideration, thus providing scope for voluntarism. However, contrapuntally to the plea for delegations in the development of science and, in particular, to the hope some conservative ideologists have that Marxism will give up of its own accord I would like to mention another experience gained by the nuclear physicist Heisenberg: "The attempt at giving up everything that is in existence and changing it arbitrarily leads to pure non-sense."<sup>2)</sup>

The point is that one can preserve a *continuity* recognized as necessary only if one accepts in good time *breaks* that are occurring.

In the light of the dialectics between continuity and creative breaks I would like to go into some recent trends in the development of Marxist-Leninist theory, which are also of importance for the dialogue between believers and Marxists.

### **View of the epoch and conception of progress**

In the entire system of Marxist-Leninist theory, the determination of the character of the epoch in which humanity is living is of special weight. In early documents of the communist movement, our epoch was, without qualification, characterized as that of the transition from capitalism to socialism.<sup>3)</sup>

Thus Soviet foreign policy "trailed behind fundamental changes occurring in the world and missed new opportunities to reduce tensions and enhance understanding among nations".<sup>4)</sup>

Yet, what is and remains correct is the fact that the characterization of the epoch as that of the transition from capitalism to socialism comprise the law-governed trend towards the aggravation of the basic contradiction between the progressing socialization of production and private capitalist appropriation and the real process of the strengthening of socialism after 1917, generalizes the formation of a world socialist system, and reflects the emergence of a non-capitalist way of development with a socialist orientation in a number of developing countries as well as the fundamental

trend of future historical development. Nevertheless, the far-reaching change in the fundamental situation of mankind led to a quantum leap in the further development of the Marxist-Leninist concept of the epoch.

The definition of our epoch from the point of view of the succession of social formations as the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism is today "captured", i.e. preserved as Hegel perceived it, in a new, much more comprehensive definition of the epoch, taking into account those long-term priority tasks. It is the epoch of the struggle for socialism, but in a process of hopefully more and more peaceful competition between the systems, of the struggle for peace, justice for developing countries, democracy and social progress, including the preservation of nature. The trend of the historical development of the epoch is not marked by the revolutionary forces alone, but by all forces of social progress, not least by the large democratic mass movements the majority of which have by no means socialist objectives. This means "evaluation of the fundamental meaning of the work of the entire communist movement in a new way",<sup>5)</sup> if today in this movement the struggle for lasting world peace, for disarmament, for development is given absolute priority over further revolutionary upheavals in capitalist industrialized countries. The main focus in our epoch is meanwhile on the commandment "Though shalt not kill", whose non-observance would mean humanity's doom. The Marxist attitude towards social progress overcomes the narrowness of the strong concentration on revolutionary upheavals in the shape of the break with capitalism and the transition to socialism.

### **Openness of history and the theory of evolution**

Does that mean that communists renounce their struggle for a socialist future for humanity, that they deny their conviction of a law-governed course of history in the direction of socialist horizons and around the world?

1. Obviously the ability of the capitalist relations of production to adapt themselves to the requirements of progressing socialization was and is by far greater than Marx, Engels, Lenin and communists in general had expected. Yet this does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that in future private capitalist interests can be harmonized with extremely pronounced socialization. All experience gained so far speaks against the assumption that profit will bring about "human brotherhood".<sup>6)</sup> It speaks for socialist outlines for the future of humanity. The extraordinary challenge for socialism is the development of the personality and individuality of its citizens in reality in such an

impressive and perceptible manner that, in the mirror of socialist reality in time to come, capitalism's barriers become much clearer than they are to the majority of the population today.

2. I cannot imagine that humanity is to have a future, if fundamental contradictions are not resolved.

*Yet revolution is not the indispensable prerequisite for social progress* at various levels below the progress in the shape of socialism itself. The view gaining ground in Marxism-Leninism is that peace must be safeguarded *together with capitalism* and that it is necessary to find, together with it, far-reaching solutions to other problems facing humanity, too. This means, we presuppose *that capitalism can change fundamentally*.

3. If it proves possible to find solutions to the socialist countries' present problems of development through the transition to a new quality of socialism as it exists internationally in a multitude of forms, and if future generations in what are today capitalist countries are faced with the question whether they should consider steps in the direction of socialism to solve the problems of their time, the conditions which will be completely different from those in today's socialist countries will offer both systems many elements of openness in history.

4. Another question is *how* the necessary qualitative changes can take place in the future. The proportion between quantitative developments and qualitative leaps will probably change. These transformations could possibly be achieved by way of radical reforms with a revolutionary content. Probably, a new type of dialectics of evolution and revolution will play a much greater part.

5. Under which conditions can a reforming process grow into revolutionary qualities? According to Marxist-Leninist conviction the continuous struggle of all progressive forces against the power interest and the inertia of the conservative powers is the decisive prerequisite for the necessary radical social changes which are more than just cosmetic corrections of imperialism. Yet since the decision between the two systems is, in no way, made through the export of the revolution or counterrevolution, but, exclusively, through both systems' ability to resolve their internal contradictions and the global issues of humanity and through the dispute among the internal forces, the one important thing is that this must take place in a peaceful competition between the systems.

6. Last but not least, one element of the openness of history consists in the fact that the social laws of both systems are already operating today, and this will be true even more so in the future,

in a world which will, admittedly, still be contradictory, but, at the same time, an entity in many respects. Conditioned by a new quality of the internationalization of the economy, of communication and the conditions of all politics, the interaction of the systems of economic and other laws of social development will get stronger. Even today, the conditions, mechanism and results of the operation of the economic and other objective laws of society are — both in capitalism and socialism — influenced by the other system and thus considerably modified. As far as the methodology of the development of the theory of Marxist political economy is concerned, this means that in the further development of the structure of science and of the messages of the political economy of both capitalism and socialism ever greater weight is attached to the dialectics of competition and co-operation, of contradiction and interdependence, of specific class interests and common interests in survival, of developments specific to the systems and overarching necessities for action with a view to the opportunity arising for joint efforts to safeguard peace and settle further questions facing humanity. Both in their dispute and cooperation, the two systems — i.e. the people working within their framework — are objectively compelled to learn from their own historical development and from one another and to embark together on ways which have not yet been tried today if humanity is to survive.

When a new way of thinking in socialism trusts in the potential of capitalism to keep peace — the explanation given by communists as a rule is that the pressure which the peaceloving majority in this world bring to bear on the confrontational faction of imperialism effectuates this change. And it is indeed of first-rate importance to understand that without the democratic pressure of the people, without the untiring and escalating efforts of the worldwide peace movement, without a coalition of common sense and realism there will never be lasting world peace, a transition from the variety of state monopoly capitalism with a more or less confrontational leaning as we find it today in the major industrialized capitalist countries to another variety more capable of peace. But could these positive forces initiate such a development if all objective laws and structures of modern capitalism, indeed its thoroughly aggressive nature, go directly against this? Certainly not. The matter is somewhat more complicated though also more promising than a simplification of the matter down to the contradiction between aggressive trends of imperialism and the counter-pressure of the peace forces lead one to assume.<sup>7)</sup>

First, the type of the productive force coming to the fore on an international scale is pressing for a peaceful future, making trends towards peaceful development in the development laws and the interests of capitalism itself more evident.

For the first time ever, humanity is confronted with productive forces having a global impact. They are characterized by a *dialectics of unprecedented productivity and destructiveness* and might turn out to be the material and technical foundation for the resolution of humanity's global problems but also the means for the selfdestruction of mankind in a worldwide war of a global ecological disaster.

For the first time in history world peace becomes the absolute condition for the development of the productive force. *Now mankind has brought forth productive forces which can only be controlled under peaceful conditions. This is the decisive element in the internal logic of the new type of productive force. It requires on a global scale such economic proportions which lead, via disarmament and arms conversion, to a global economy exclusively oriented towards peace.*

The situation with regard to the relationship between the pressure exercised by the new type of the productive force on the establishment of ecologically harmless economic proportions and the economic laws of capitalism is similar.

The internal logic of the type of the productive force presently coming to the fore compels *the conscious establishment of ecologically harmless proportions. It requires the regulation of progress of the productive force following the criterion of maintaining the balance between Man and Nature on a global scale.*

Second, since economic and other social laws are no rigid mechanism of fate, there is a chance and, in this connection, for capitalism if capable of peace and reforms in a number of areas that lasting peace could be established in the world during our epoch. Economic laws are essential, relatively stable, objective forces compelling to act. But they are only effective if classes and individuals act. Thus the laws of society work objectively but always with subjective elements.

The strategic reorientation within the communist movement with absolute priority being given to safeguarding peace, its concentration on the struggle for far-reaching democratic and social progress under capitalism and a new, realistic security policy in most parties belonging to the Socialist International bring new forces to the fore.

Great is the hope stemming from millions of people sensing their responsibility, from the Christian concept of peace as "a commandment of Christ

which has to be obeyed to preserve mankind"<sup>8</sup>), from Christians and Marxists, people from different classes and world outlooks and their love for their children, from the professional approach of physicians, physicists and political scientists, from the will of the starving to survive and the concern of those who have plenty about the consequences of the socially unchecked explosion of their own creativity, from the sensitivity of the artists to the danger threatening our world, from the communication between all trends and from their joint action.

Third, the global economic proportions oriented towards peace and life which are so important for the future of mankind will not be implemented by the social laws and regulating mechanisms of capitalism alone about as a result of a potentially peaceful interaction between both world systems as regards the course of history.

To sum up, one can say that our own enemy image today and above all its future features is going through considerable changes because of the new existential conditions for capitalism and its scope, resulting from common sense and realism.

In the media, in the education of children, indeed in all other spheres of ideological conflict this requires a differentiated presentation of capitalism with a critical approach to its negative phenomena and open towards all indications of positive change, free of any autistic features, without illusions and, at the same time, ready to make use of all signals of reason in practical cooperation, in keeping with the position of one's party and therefore absolutely faithful to the truth and without distortions.

### **The Marxist-Leninist theory of imperialism and the capacity of capitalism for preserving peace**

The first and second world wars were not caused by socialism. Soon after it had been founded, the Soviet Union faced an armed intervention by fourteen capitalist countries. "As far as the Western powers are concerned, Britain has waged seventeen wars since 1945, France has waged fourteen, and the United States thirteen"<sup>9</sup>), with most of these wars directed against liberation movements in developing countries.

A large number of armed conflicts are taking place in the world today, especially in Third World countries. They were caused by imperialist forces in an attempt to protect their own interests.

NATO persists in its strategy of deterrence; the United States clings to SDI; the fine chance offered by the Soviet Union when it adopted a unilateral nuclear test moratorium was shamelessly for-

feited; and a large number of aggressive actions are now in progress against developing countries. All this goes to show that the imperialist forces who are bent on confrontation continue to launch processes that serve to endanger the existence of mankind. Nobody is therefore allowed to disregard the difference between capitalism and socialism in the name of some general humanitarianism.

### More justice for developing countries

In the Third World

- 32 of the present 34 conflicts take place that fit the UN definition of war;
- 75 per cent of all arms imports in the world are received, and 25 per cent of the funds are spent that are spent on arms in the world as a whole;
- 600 to 800 million people are suffering from acute starvation;
- 400 to 500 million people are either unemployed or severely underemployed;
- 65 per cent of the population do not have enough clean drinking water;

- 1.5 thousand million people are not given any medical attention, with this number quite likely to rise in the future;
- there are 840 million homeless people and more than 800 million illiterates;
- there has been a steady decline in the food production per head of the population in Africa, Latin America and the Middle East since the beginning of the 1980's;
- the population is now doubling every 27 years; and
- 40 per cent of forests may be destroyed in the last 25 years of the twentieth century, 27.5 million acres of wood are cut down every year, and an annual 15 million acres of potentially arable land turn into deserts.

*Most of the global issues faced by mankind are worsening faster in the developing countries than they are in the advanced countries.*

The capitalist industrial countries owe part of their wealth to their former policy of colonialism

The Sorbian folk music group giving its performance during the cultural evening



and their present policy of neo-colonialism. The traditional forms of exploitation that they use are added to by a new kind of utterly destructive international plundering mechanism: the mechanism of debt incurment.

Instead of trying to resolve the developing countries' debt crisis, private monopoly banks, the United States and the IMF concentrate their efforts on ensuring that the developing countries remain capable of repaying their debts. They do not, however, do so by taking steps towards disarmament or the abolition of underdevelopment, but by imposing terms and strings on the developing countries that increase the latter's dependence, worsen the social-welfare situation of their populations and increasingly encourage those countries to open up to multi-national corporations.

If emphasis is now placed on capitalism's general capacity for not starting a war, this should not, therefore, be seen as a justification of the assumption that capitalism is in any way turning into a humanitarian kind of society. Capitalism's capacity for preserving peace does not at all change its exploitative nature. Aggressiveness is more than just the preparation, threat and use of military force.

This is why we have to distinguish between various qualities of social progress.

— Peace and the restoration of the ecological equilibrium in the world are, objectively, useful in helping the monopoly bourgeoisie and their representatives to survive — a fact that is often even recognized on the subjective plane. They are compatible with certain aspects of the operation of the objective economic laws of capitalism and can, under the pressure of circumstances, become a lasting reality in most countries in the world even in the presence of capitalist conditions, especially when they are to a considerable extent encouraged by the peace policies of the socialist countries, by inter-system cooperation, by the peace-oriented foreign policies pursued by the vast majority of the developing countries, and by the efforts made by the progressive mass movements of our day.

— Social progress would be of a different quality if it allowed abolishing the mechanism of underdevelopment. One of the important conditions for the abolition of underdevelopment would be met if neo-colonialism, which is indeed one of the underlying causes of underdevelopment, were done away with. Neo-colonial monopoly profit — which is an important part of monopoly profit generally — will therefore have to be questioned if the hunger

and misery in developing countries is really to be overcome. This kind of social progress would run counter to the elementary profit interests of the most powerful forces of international finance capital. Even if peace did come, it would not automatically bring justice for the developing countries.

The very latest challenge posed in the context of the survival of the developing countries is for the debt crisis in those countries to be eased.

The most radical release of large funds and resources for the abolition of underdevelopment would be crucial for disarmament for development.

This would not yet, however, be tantamount to establishing a New International Economic Order, in which all the mechanisms of excessive neo-colonial exploitation are abolished, although the capitalist industrial countries would still be reaping profits from their economic relations with the developing countries — relations that would then be based on the complete equality of the latter countries. This is economically possible.

The difference between the poverty in the developing countries and the high level of development in the advanced industrial countries; the discrepancy between the world's potential for overcoming underdevelopment and the many different ways in which underdevelopment is worsening today; and the increasing world-wide threat to the ecological equilibrium resulting from the latter's destruction in the developing countries — all these things are so alarming that chances are beginning to arise for bringing about disarmament for development, for allowing the developing countries to win easier conditions.

The entire history of capitalism has clearly been a history of colonialism and neo-colonialism. Unless big long and tough struggles are fought at many levels, capitalism will never stop making extra profits on the basis of the pursuit of neo-colonial policies. On the other hand, however, we must not forget that there will never be any lasting world peace unless the situation of the Third World is dramatically improved. The kind of capitalism that this will require is most likely to be achieved if peaceful coexistence becomes the dominant feature of relations between countries. This will reduce the present extremely high arms expenditure, an achievement that will, in turn, allow development and social progress to be considerably encouraged.

### **Continuity and discontinuity in the development of the theory of peaceful coexistence**

The concept of peaceful coexistence was developed when it was vital for the existence of the young Soviet Union that the question should be answered

of whether it is possible for socialism and capitalism to coexist in peace. The question had to be answered in particular because the intervention against the Soviet Union by fourteen capitalist powers had answered the question in the negative.

The concept of peaceful coexistence was therefore born as the revolutionary process was running its course. It was, first of all, meant to *protect the revolution*, and had to be defended in tough class struggle, when it was temporarily superseded by the need for armed struggle against the troops of the invaders.

As we can see today, the definition of peaceful coexistence as a form of class struggle mixes up two things: the need for waging a struggle for peaceful relations among countries, which the arms profiteers and warmongers must be forced into conceding, and the substance of peaceful coexistence itself; for none of the important processes going on in class-divided societies and between the two world systems is ever isolated from the struggles between social classes and from the conflict between the two basic kinds of social systems.

If allowed to develop to the full, peaceful coexistence will make for *close relations between countries without any resources being taken to war and any other forms of violence* — relations that today aim at bringing about *joint security*,<sup>10)</sup> link *military stability with maximum disarmament*, and are increasingly marked by *cooperation in settling the issues that in many ways affect the world as a whole*.

Peaceful coexistence is co-evolution; it is the specific evolutionary shape of peace; it is today the only principle that will allow all peoples and classes to survive; and it serves the *joint interests*

*of all classes in the two major world systems and the developing countries*. It leads to cooperative peace between countries with different social systems, and is also an indispensable ingredient of the relations between societies of exactly the same type.

It therefore provides the framework for peace and, as a result, provides the condition for peace under which the struggle between classes and the conflicts between systems will have to take place both today and in the future.

1) Wissenschaft im Zitat, Leipzig, 1989, p. 24.

2) Wissenschaft im Zitat, Leipzig, 1987, p. 22.

3) Cf. Erklärung der Beratung von Vertretern der kommunistischen und Arbeiterparteien, November 1960, Berlin, 1961, p. 10;

Internationale Beratung der kommunistischen und Arbeiterparteien in Moskau 1969, Dokumente, Berlin, 1969, p. 10.

4) New Times, Moscow, 23/88, 10th Motion of the Central Committee of the CPSU for the 19th All-Union Party Conference, pp. 16/17.

5) Yuri Andropov, Speech delivered at the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the CPSU on 15 June 1983, in: *Ausgewählte Schriften und Reden*, Berlin, GDR, 1983, p. 334 (emphasis: D. K.).

6) Cf. G. Gutiérrez, *Theologie der Befreiung* (Theology of liberation), München, 1987, p. 232.

7) Cf.: D. Klein, *Politökonomische Grundlagen für einen friedensfähigen Kapitalismus*, in: *IPW-Berichte*, Berlin 2/1988.

8) Dietrich Bonhoeffer, quoted in Heinrich Fink, preface at: *Dietrich Bonhoeffer — Gefährdetes Erbe in bedrohter Welt* (Heritage in jeopardy in a threatened world), Berlin 1987, p. 8.

9) Volker Rittberger: *Zur Friedensfähigkeit von Demokratien* (On the capacity of democracies for preserving peace). In: *Beilage zur Wochenzeitung Das Parlament* (Supplement to the weekly *The Parliament*), Bonn, October 31st, 1987, p. 844.

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*Cultural Perspectives: There are many signs of the contextualization of Faith, involving indigenous peoples. These movements are relating western expressions of faith and ideology to local traditional mythology and local experience. In this regard local cultures are essential for the maintenance of identity and must be protected from exploitation or elimination by outside social, cultural or religious forces.*

*White controlled denominations which are part of the colonial past of Australia and New Zealand are diminishing in relevance and impact giving way to rapidly growing minority ethnic congregations, pentecostal groups or secularism.*

*As this trend develops so too is the emergence of new statements and expressions of white identity arising from the unique Pacific context e.g. the Pakeha of Aotearoa (NZ). This process is essential for peaceful and just partnerships are to emerge between the People of the Land and the People from Beyond.*

*New Ground: The Pacific provides the global community with the possibility of supporting a nuclear free zone involving nations including the USA and USSR, and the most populous (China). The area is expected to be the focus of the greatest economic growth in the next twenty years. The world's largest ocean is ecologically critical for human survival.*

*The Pacific is the meeting ground for capitalist, socialist, industrial and basic agricultural economies and ideologies. The Pacific is a meeting ground for the world's Faiths where new thinking relevant to the twenty-first century can emerge. For this to happen the Continuation Committee is convinced that the Pacific must be permitted to be an Ocean of Peace free from any form of military, economic or political rivalry.*

From the statement on Pacific

# A new way of listening

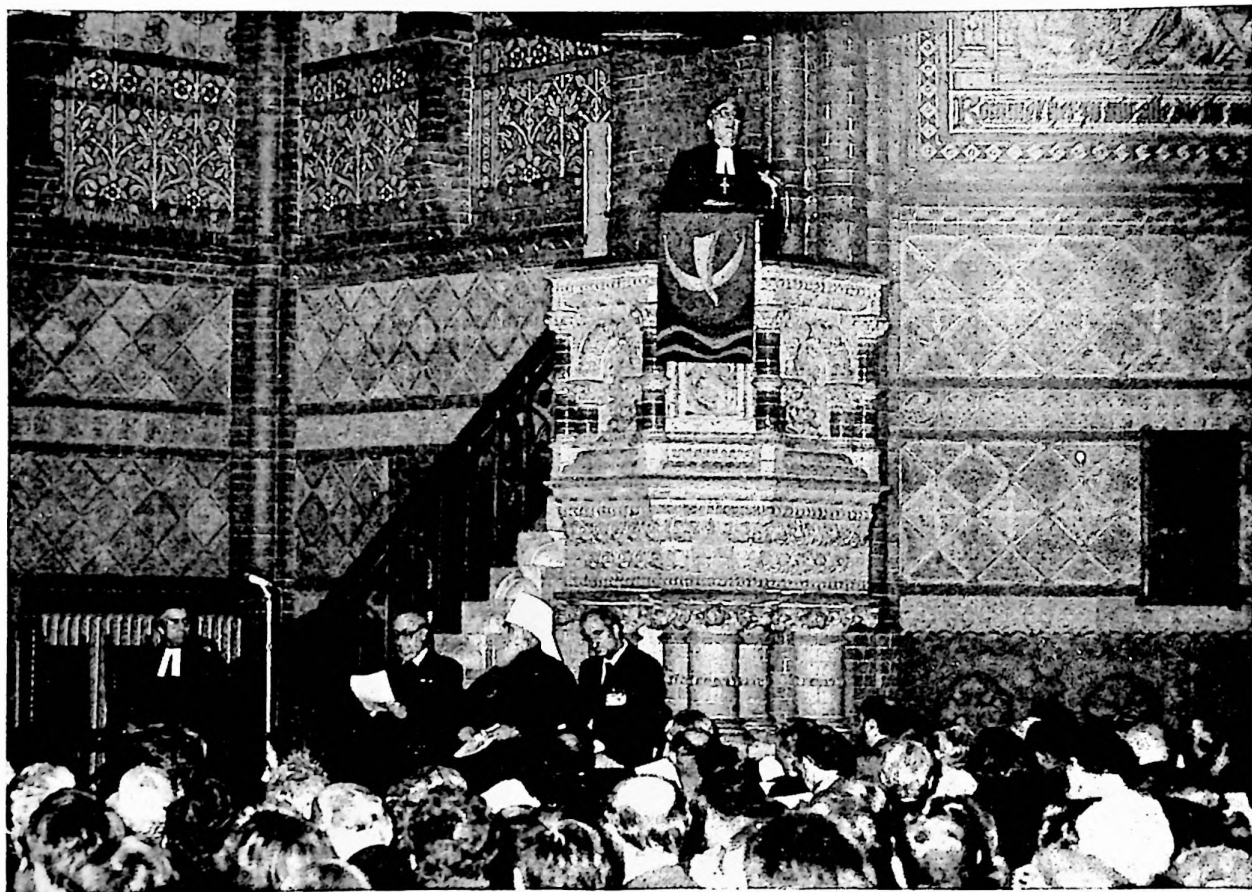
BISHOP JOACHIM R O G G E, GDR

*Micah 6:8 "He has told you, O humanity, what is good; and what does the Lord require of you but to keep God's Word, and to practise love, and to be humble in the presence of your God?"*

Plough new ground! These three words from the book of Hosea (10:12) form the biblical theme for the working meeting of the Continuation Committee of the Christian Peace Conference in Görlitz. To this clear biblical instruction we will add the text for this week for the Evangelical Church in our country. This passage from the book of the Prophet Micah also contains an instruction, an in-

struction on how to act. To make the number of references we will draw upon up to three, let us mention again the overall theme of our meeting: "Turn to the Future". This instruction, seemingly paradoxical at first sight, is further developed in three directions: "New Thinking — New Ethos — New Responsibilities".

**Bishop Prof. Dr. Rogge of the Görlitz district of the Evangelical Lutheran Church preaching during the worship performed together by the local church community and the CPC Continuation Committee**





This catalogue of directions and instructions we have just looked at will hopelessly overload our meeting, if our aim is a result to satisfy everyone with perfect reports at the end of the week. We all fall short of the Word of God. That is why our plea "forgive us our trespasses" is always a realistic one. But we also continually fall short of our rhetoric, which is why it is so rarely translated into a reality which changes the situation. Who will redeem us from our own rhetoric?

The only thing which can help us to turn, so as to face the future, is the Word of God itself. We Christians must turn to the Word of God, which is where the future is to be found, with or without us. This is not a command; rather, it contains a promise derived from the Word of God, which may become a precondition for our thoughts and actions which are directed towards the future. Before we say anything ourselves, *he has told us*, as Christians, to take the book of God's revelation seriously, not only on Sundays, but also in our everyday life, life continually endangered by the threat to world peace. "He has told you, O humanity, what is good; and what does the Lord require of you but to keep God's Word, and to practise love, and to be humble in the presence of your God?"

What is most beautiful, most valuable, and most

certain, is that we have clear signposts in the Church and in the World, and therefore a constant orientation. If we want to turn to the future, we must have an insight into the past, and into our faults, and we must be prepared to communicate with those whom we have offended. But our main concern at this time should not be allocating guilt, but that all of us should be willing to plough new ground, as Hosea, in God's name, instructs God's people, entangled as they are in their guilt.

The Israel of the old covenant fell well short of God's commandments and promises, as can be seen a few verses earlier than the verse we have just referred to: "From the days of Gibeah you have sinned, O Israel; there they rose up against me." The Israel of the new covenant, the Church of Jesus Christ in all its denominations and groupings, must not fail to appreciate, when it looks at its experiences in the past and the present, that the witness of peace and love was lacking whenever the Church did not base its life on the belief that it is a creation of the Word of God ("creatura verbi"). Many people have been irritated when the Church has gone in the wrong direction. We must renounce all forms of self-justification and triumphalism in favour of *a new way of listening* to the Word of God, as a precondition for the *New Thinking, New Ethos, and New Responsibilities*.

## Plough new ground!

PROF. GERHARD BASSARAK, GDR

Without wanting to be presumptuous, we have to consider our situation as being unprecedented in history. It was, I believe, Billy Graham who said in Moscow, "Our generation is the first one which could be the last one". Today we are capable of bringing about the destruction of the human species — and we are in the process of doing so, unless we are to obey the prophetic call "Plough New Ground!" The signals are to be seen in the sub — themes of our meeting. *New* — that is the dominating, the determining, the keyword for us here in Görlitz and afterwards. Not because of some fashionable trend, but because today it has become

the only alternative to the old thinking, the old ethos, and the old understanding of responsibility.

All of us have passed through the waters of baptism. Through baptism we have crossed the Jordan and set out on the road to the Promised Land. It is not the road "towards new shores" that Goethe recommends to Faust, when he greets the phial of poison on Easter morning:

"I greet thee, O thou peerless phial! . . .

The new day tempts me towards new shores."

(Faust, the first part of the tragedy. Night.) Faust's new day on Easter morning is the death which he himself has chosen. But we hear a different

message at Easter: Christ is risen: That is why we sing: "Therefore let us all be glad. Christ will be our consolation. Kyrie eleis." (Evangelical Church Hymnbook 75. Easter hymn from twelfth century.)

"Plough New Ground!" For us this means, first and foremost — and we will develop this further in our speeches and working groups — New Thinking. New thinking in view of the totally new quality of thinking which is demanded by the unleashing of the atomic threat. I am reminded of Einstein's remark, that the atom has changed everything, except our way of thinking. "Metanoi-ete", translated literally, means: Think anew! This is the command that we must obey today. Our Stone Age way of thinking must be converted to a way of thinking more appropriate to the atomic age. And that means it must be directed towards saving the sacred gift of life from nuclear catastrophe. We must all struggle together against the A-, B- and C-weapons which threaten the destruction of the human race. And perhaps we must even go further: how should we learn to deal with the atomic power which has been set free, in order that the events of Chernobyl should not be repeated?

"Plough New Ground!" This means, secondly, New Ethos. In the early days of the CPC, Bishop Mitzenheim was already calling for a new ethos. Today, when the victory of one nation over another through war is no longer possible, since every attempt to annihilate the enemy entails one's own destruction, this call for a new ethos means that it is necessary to discover new ways of forming relations between human beings, races and nations. Nobody today can live at the expense of others without also inflicting serious harm upon themselves. Instead of enmity, partnership is called for. Instead of being against one another we must be for one another. The West must be for the East, the East for the West, and both of them together in the North must be for the South. The

South must no longer be exploited to the benefit of the North. Otherwise we will all be destroyed together. New Ethos means having an ethic of peace instead of morality of war. The courage to work for peace is a greater challenge than bravery in war.

"Plough New Ground!" means, thirdly and finally, New Responsibilities. It seems so easy to delegate responsibility to a computer. It may be easy, but it is also reckless and irresponsible to make the fate of humanity and decision on war and peace or on modern genetic research dependent on the functioning of microchips. A new form of responsibility must be learned and practised here. A responsibility that has regard for the prosperity and well-being of *everyone*.

"Plough New Ground!" If it is indeed true that my situation is described allegorically in this book of the Bible — I was only able to refer to a few points, to share a few suggestions for further reflection — then this will have to be proven and confirmed during our discussions here, during our further work in the CPC, and throughout the lives of each one of us in the future. Doubtless it is no accident that the biblical text for our church in this year is: "Jesus Christ says: Repent and believe in the Gospel." It coincides exactly with the theme of our meeting.

And all the church congresses that have taken place this year in the GDR have had repentance or turning in a new direction as their theme.

Let us begin! Let us not look back, but let us dare to set our hand firmly to the plough of a radical change to New Thinking, New Ethos, and New Responsibilities. In conclusion, let us listen to the words of another prophet, which apply to us all:

"Have I any pleasure in the death of the wicked, says the Lord God, and not rather that he should turn from his way and live?" (Ezek. 13:23).

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*We see it as a sign of hope that there is a steady growth in the number of whites who are prepared to stand alongside their black brothers and sisters. Last year, a quarter of those who were called up refused to do their military service in the South African army (more than 7000 people). Instead, they went underground or into exile. When a conscientious objector was sentenced to six years' imprisonment earlier this year, 169 young white people took a stand in solidarity with him.*

*This is yet another proof that the seed has been sown, and that, no matter how long it takes, justice will prevail.*

From the statement on Southern Africa

# There are no infallible models

METROPOLITAN PAULOS MAR GREGORIOS, INDIA

I want to say two things — one about our theme, and the second about the world-wide discussion on New Thinking.

“Plough New Ground” — or as our older English Bibles have it, “Break up your fallow ground” (Hosea 10:12).

If it was in 721 BC that Hosea uttered this prophecy, it was soon after the first major tragedy of the kingdom of Israel, namely the fall of Samaria to the Assyrians in 722, a year earlier. The Northern kingdom was subjected to a major humiliation. The Assyrians were a highly civilized people, but also quite barbarous in their military tactics. They had deported many Israelites (2 Kgs 17:6,23) and brought five tribes from elsewhere to settle down and mix with the Israelites (2 Kgs 17:24ff).

Such shaking up of all roots seems to be God's way of sometimes speaking to His people, admonishing them to receive His word anew. The

new word is best received when the old security is gone. In the 8th century BC, the then northern tribes refused to listen to the new word — namely that in spite of all the physical catastrophe, God loved them and wanted them to return to Him in repentance and trust. They preferred to draw the conclusion that God did not care for them; so they abandoned Yahweh and turned to the gods of the pagans which the Assyrians had planted in their midst.

It is always a temptation. When God punishes us in order to bring us to what is good, namely the will of God, we can easily grow sour against God because he punished us. I believe that the present catastrophe — the growth of injustice, the development of war and militarism, the peril of a nuclear holocaust, and the possibility that our life-environment may be completely destroyed — this present catastrophe is meant to take us back to God, back to life in the image of God.

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We have been delighted to see that recently both Marxists and Christians have displayed a growing openness and a willingness to speak with each other. This development would have been unthinkable previously in the climate of anti-Communism. Throughout the 30 years of our movement we have always sought — and carried out — dialogue with Marxists, so as to obtain more expert knowledge and to be able to realize joint tasks for justice and peace.

In the process, we have never become a Christian-Marxist academy, and today, too, we should not try to develop a discussion about the various forms of “socialism” out of the experiences of our movement. The basic questions which we ask, and which we address to all societies and ideologies, are those of peace and justice. Out of these questions, a fruitful dialogue has always developed.

The strength of the CPC consists in its under-

standing of *one* human race and the fact that it is present throughout the world. It was only because of this viewpoint that it was possible, as many as twenty years ago, not only to speak about the interdependence of crisis points throughout the world, but to make a thorough analysis of them through people who were actually on the spot. In the evaluation of the questions and problems facing us, too, this global vision was the necessary precondition for setting future priorities. Particularly in our age of New Thinking and of a planet which has become smaller through the media, it is necessary to concentrate, not on decentralization, but on creating networks. Without a central global vision and personal presence, without knowing one another personally, we would lose one of our main qualities, and in the long term could run the risk of our movement becoming divided through lack of knowledge of each other.

*Extract from the report of the working group on “The future tasks of the CPC within the world-wide peace movement.”*

The Prophet Hosea called the people of Israel to do two things — to repent, and to “sow in righteousness” (Hosea 10:12, 12:6).

The repentance which God demands today is not in this case individualistic confession of sins, but a sincere recognition that as nations and peoples we have turned away from God and are worshipping the idols of gratification, greed, domination and exploitation. It is not an emotional feeling sorry, but a real turning away through acts of repentance, from the idolatry of affluence and power, and a turning to God and to His Kingdom. Such repentance is always a painful process, a churning up of our inner being as nations and peoples, a breaking up of fallow ground in the lives of communities in order to prepare it to receive a new word from God.

I have personally experienced this breaking up quite often in my own life. When I became too secure and began to forget God, then that security was abruptly disrupted. Only so could I learn to trust in God alone. In the case of nations too secur-

ity has to be shaken up and often violently disrupted, in order that people may not rest on their oars, or become insensitive to God's new word to the nations. Sometimes we think we have the infallible models for understanding reality and God introduces features and phenomena that do not fit the model.

All old models for understanding the world of history, culture and economics are becoming obsolete. We think we have a theoretical understanding of what reality is and what needs to be done. That assumption gives us a false security which God often has to break up in order to bring us to humble repentance. There are no infallible models today. That is the great challenge before New Thinking. To repent and to turn away from familiar models, to seek God's new word.

Metropolitan Paulos Mar Gregorios talking with Mrs. Manjari Menon, Correspondent from Indian Express



Just as important as repentance is "sowing in righteousness". Ploughing new ground, breaking up the fallow land, that is repentance. But ploughing has to be followed up with sowing: We must cast new seeds in the broken up furrows. Otherwise repentance leads only to sterility. This is important for Christians.

But "sowing in righteousness" in the broken up fallow ground does not quite mean a totally just new society. It means rather the doing of acts of righteousness, which are the true attestation of our repentance and turning to God. It means doing many small and big things to correct injustice, and specific acts of real emancipation of the oppressed and exploited.

Our acts of justice as Christians cannot in themselves bring about just societies. They are *preparatory* acts — acts which bear witness to the Kingdom of God and prepare the way for that Kingdom to come. The final act which brings about justice will be God's own, mediated through unbelieving rulers and peoples. This is how I understand "ploughing new ground" and "sowing in righteousness". This is also how I understand the CPC's pioneering work, which is now bearing fruit through the acts of states and nations and rulers.

The New is not having as smooth a sailing as one could have expected. Most of the criticism comes from the left. In my own country, some of the left parties have engaged in harsh, and I think, somewhat unfair criticism. Even in Cuba, hesitations have been publicly and privately expressed. Of course each socialist country has to engage in New Thinking, not in imitation of the Soviet Union, but in the light of their own cultural, economic and geo-political realities. The Communist Party in the U.S.A. has produced what seems to me some very unreflected criticisms. I shall briefly mention five of the elements of criticism raised in these leftist circles. My purpose is simply to suggest that the CPC should soon convene an international consultation which goes into some of these matters and comes up with a constructive, balanced and theologically based assessment of the New Thinking.

1. Has the Class struggle which formed the central pivot of Marxist socio-economic analysis and understanding been relegated to a less central place in the New Thinking? Academician Ambartsumov wrote an article in the *World Marxist Review* in which he argued that Global Humanism has to be the main framework for new thinking,

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— What is actually *new* in our thinking, ethos and responsibility?

All the themes of Justice, of Peace and even of the Environment have been dealt with in CPC for 30 years. Even a comprehensive theology of the integrity of creation is nothing new.

The *new* factors are

a) a new realization, which led to the conciliar process of JPIC, that all the major issues are profoundly and inextricably interrelated,

b) the realization that these demand a new understanding of our common predicament, our common future, and our urgent need for a common system of integrated global security which has a moral basis and which humanizes the international relationships,

c) the realization that this is a fundamental challenge which requires a confessing response i.e. a response based on the Gospel and Faith, coming from the whole church at all levels, and leading to new commitment and covenants for life.

Which is the specific substance and profile of 30 years of CPC work which must be made fruitful for the JPIC process?

— Out of a long experience of doing theology in the context of the struggle for peace and justice: face the present theological challenges (e.g. extreme right-wing conservative theologies) and give a substantial theological contribution to JPIC (e.g. in the field of eschatology, Bible study and others).

— Out of a rich accumulated knowledge in combining theological work with careful analysis of conflicts on economic, social, and political scale: helping to communicate the analysis of global/local mechanisms of destruction, to identify and name them, at the same time looking for counter-mechanisms and alternatives.

— Out of having a long tradition of christian-marxist encounter: pursue and develop these contacts on a new level.

— Out of its specific historical roots of anti-fascism: keeping alive the historic sense for repentance and conversion to the future.

— How do we now build on this firm historical foundation, to make a renewed contribution in the new situation we have defined, and to contribute creatively, and in our own distinctive way to the global conciliar process on JPIC?

*From the report of the working group on  
"The Conciliar Process"*

as the more inclusive framework, within which class confrontation has to find its proper place. If class confrontation is to lead to a nuclear war, the exploiting class and the exploited class would both disappear and there would be no classes to confront each other. The survival of humanity thus assumes a higher priority in our concerns than the class struggle. In many two-third world countries, since oppression and exploitation is more directly experienced and understood than the nuclear peril, there is a general unwillingness to give up the class struggle as the fundamental and primary concern. Gus Hall, of the American Communist Party has recently raised the question whether the surviving world would be "liveable" if the class struggle were given a lower priority.

2. The second hesitation about the New Thinking is whether there is a fundamental change in the role of the Soviet Union, its people, its state and its party in the world-wide revolutionary movement. Many Two-third world parties are afraid that since the Soviet Union wants to avoid confrontation with the capitalist powers in the interest of human survival, non-Soviet parties cannot expect the same kind of support and help in the future as they received in the past. This fear is partly justified. Moscow seems to want to discourage the "Moscow-orientation" of non-Soviet

communist parties. The idea is that they should be better oriented to their own masses and less dependent on Moscow. This does not mean however, that the USSR will come to all kinds of power compromises with the capitalist powers in Central America, Middle East or Southern Africa.

Related to this question is the anxiety of Eastern European socialist countries about the extent to which they can depend upon the might of the Soviet state in confronting reactionary forces within. Poland seems to be a test case. If the Roman Catholic Church in Poland, which is the real opposition power, becomes confident that the Soviet Union will definitely stop short of using armed force against them, then their bargaining power becomes more difficult to handle for the Polish state. Reactionary forces in other Eastern European countries as well as in the west are watching the Polish situation, in order to develop new strategies for overthrowing socialist states. I suggest that the Soviet Union is aware of this problem. It is unlikely to be dogmatic and inflexible.

3. A third critique has been about the one-sidedness of the critique of Stalin. The charge is that the positive achievements of the Stalinist era do not receive adequate mention. On the one hand, the hyper-criticism of Stalin is counter-productive since it questions the credibility of those who once

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### "New Thinking" as a question of new analysis

We discussed the paradox of the global situation today: on the one hand: a hopeful tendency towards a process of disarmament, supported by a new understanding of security: to take into account not only your own security but the security of your counterpart as well — mutual security.

On the other hand: this process is taking place in a world, in which militarization is still going on.

#### 1. **The relationship between Disarmament and Development**

The question is: as disarmament does not automatically set free resources for development what are the factors preventing this and what has to be done to promote the project "Disarmament for Development".

2. The fact that agreements like the INF-treaty as such mean the abolishment of existing nuclear weapons and their carrier systems. The question is: How to prevent such agreements from being followed up by a modernization. In this connection we have to realize that disarmament is not only a question of good will but also a technical complicated problem with important economic im-

plications (the problem and necessity of "conversion").

3. The impact of conventional weapons particularly for the Third World. 80 % of military expenditure is spent on conventional weapons and most of them are located in the Third World. A member of our group said: "Thousands and thousands of people in the Third World don't care so much about being eliminated by nuclear weapons — what is the sense of survival if you have no life? — but they are killed every day by conventional weapons".

Discussing these problems one crucial question arose:

is the real process of a new detente between East and West producing better conditions for saving the life of masses in the Third World?

We know this is not automatically the case and therefore we have to think over:

— the consequence of an "arrangement" between socialist and capitalist countries in East and West for the relationship between North and South, — in particular: the real changes for a "reformed capitalism" able and willing to contribute to the solution of the global problem of peace in justice under the condition of the integrity of creation.

stoutly defended Stalinism. On the other hand some say that excessive criticism of Stalin is engaged in only by those too closely associated with Stalinist excesses in the past, and that these hypercriticisms are simply seeking to save their own skins. Anyway a more balanced critical assessment of both the horrors of that era and its positive achievements if any can be formulated after the smoke has subsided.

4. The fourth criticism has to do with fundamental principles of socialism. Do the economic reforms associated with the Law on Enterprises, the Law on Cooperatives, etc.; amount to a compromise of the basic tenets of socialism? Certainly private property and the profit motive are re-introduced into the economy. The reply is that socialism has no objection to profit so long as the profit is to the worker, and that socialism objects to private ownership of the means of production only when it is used to exploit wage labour. There are those who argue that the co-operatives may become so powerful as to corner the market and

become monopolies. The reply is that the state and the Party are watching and that they would not permit such a development.

The co-operative principle, at least in China, has proved to be more effective in increasing agricultural production, than the principle of agricultural collectives. Whether it will work in the long term, and whether it will work in the sectors of industry and services remains to be seen.

In general one can say that the issue of compromising the basic principles of socialism depends on an adequate formulation of those principles which has yet to be done. Those who are for Perestroika argue that socialism is itself moving into a second phase and cannot be modelled on the basis of principles which guided the first phase.

5. The fifth anxiety is about the principle of democratization itself. Does this not mean compromising with the bourgeois principles of individual human rights — e.g. right to protest, right to dissent, right to express, etc.? Would this not be

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### **"New Thinking" as a new spirit**

Turning to disarmament, development and mutual security is not only a question of analysis. It presupposes a new spirit, a "new spirit of solidarity". Without this a process of global disarmament will hardly become a process of global development.

To promote this new spirit we as Christians should find a consensus on the following points: — the use of nuclear weapons is a "mortal sin", — to possess nuclear weapons is ethical corruption, — to support "New Thinking" ("perestrojka" and "glasnost") means to remember the "old" concept of "metanoia" (= a radical change of mind) and "oikoumene" (= the well-being of the whole inhabited world),

— to define "reason" ("Vernunft"/"nous") as related to "righteousness" against a concept of "reason" as a formal instrument of producing "ideas" (e.g. in military research).

Turning to a new spirit also means to leave old positions which cannot be held anymore or were even wrong from the beginning. New thinking is a new way of thinking in the first place: a primarily self-critical way of thinking. And the new spirit in our Christian understanding is a spirit of repentance: turning to the future is turning away from the sins of the past.

It is however a repentance which sets free, because it is founded in hope. Then God, the merciful Creator of heaven and earth sent His Son Jesus Christ to save the world: he promised us a new spirit to plough new ground!

*From the report of the Working Group  
"Turning to disarmament, development  
and common security"*

# Connection between morality and politics

ARCHBISHOP KYRILL, SOVIET UNION

I believe that the situation which we are now experiencing in the Soviet Union enriches us with a clear understanding of the connection which exists between moral and social life. And I believe that the main success of perestroika is the sign of these inner connections between morality and politics, and between personal and communal morality. I have to say that when we plan the reorganization of our social life perhaps for the first time in decades, we ask questions not only of the goals and how our society should be made, but rather we also now question with what methods do we accomplish these goals. Perhaps not by chance there is sharp criticism in the middle of this social discussion in the Soviet Union of everything we have built through socialism and what methods were used. And this self-criticism, which can be called repentance in Christian language, is an important dimension and important part of perestroika. I would like to emphasize that perhaps in contrast to Einstein's Manifesto, which finds a response to Gorbachev's political statements, the entire concept of New Thinking is enriched with

social discussions which are now taking place in the Soviet Union and which emphasize deeper connections between moral and social structures and between morality and politics. When we speak of the real contribution from Christians to New Thinking and to perestroika, and when we speak of the real contribution of Christians in the creation of the new reality in the Soviet Union, I believe that our main task is to emphasize and heighten the existence of the connection between moral vertical and horizontal dimensions. Allow me now please to make a few comments to the Conciliar Process. I believe that the main contribution to the Conciliar Process from the churches in the Soviet Union and all socialist countries should be of the same substance. We must stress the usefulness of the moral dimension in the whole Conciliar Process. We must promote the connection between moral, personal, social as well as political questions. I believe it would be a very important contribution of the Eastern European churches to that which we call the Conciliar Process.

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Our struggle for justice is one and the same in the First, Second and Third World. It is our attempt to follow God's commandment, according to Jeremiah (4:3) "Plough up your unploughed fields; do not sow your seeds among thorns".

Justice in our understanding is not a given and perfect concept of society which we only have to implement. Neither is justice being neutral when two groups compete or struggle with one another. Justice for us is rather the way in which God acts taking sides with the victims of injustice, helping them to live and to obtain their dignity, looking at the world through their eyes.

Without neglecting the particularity of each situation and the need for specific responses, the group also realized common features of injustice

in our present world: the growing gap between rich and poor, growing exploitation, impoverishment and dependence which led to the alarming debt crisis of Third World countries. With more urgency than 20 years ago, when it was first launched, the need for a new international economic order is felt and called for in all parts of the world. The old and unjust economic order is bound up with the capitalist mechanisms which dominate the financial and economic relations in the world (IMF, World Bank included).

Expectations that socialism would be an alternative system to the present unjust order are widespread in many Third World countries. Therefore the developments in socialist countries, new thinking, new participation, new responsibility is im-



Please, allow me now to point out the most important issues I have discussed. Since New Thinking places the priorities of values of the entire human community above the values of the personal particular a new possibility for dialogue between Marxists and Christians has been achieved. The claim of the values of the entire human community as a priority is a creative, bold, and very encouraging development in the Marxist theory. I would like to say that there is something more important in the development of the Marxist thought at today's stage of social development, at least in the Soviet Union. This stems from the fact that our Marxist brothers use the term of socialist pluralism and in this term Christian thought is included. These 2 parameters, which on the one hand accent the entire human moral values and on the other hand accent thoughts of socialist pluralism, give the true possibility for dialogue between Marxists and Christians. Without such a dialogue one could not conduct the creative social development in today's socialist countries. And now let me come to my last point, the role of the CPC. The CPC is unique in the sense that it was founded in an Eastern European country. The majority of CPC members, in my opinion, come from the churches in Eastern Europe. For a long time we acted as if it was not true. For a long time we

were accused of being a so-called eastern ecumene, which was founded to counterbalance the western, world ecumene. And we in the CPC have always carefully tried to cleanse ourselves of that. That is a mistake. It is the course of history that we are an eastern ecumene with participation, a very broad world-wide participation of western Christians and Third World countries. Whether we like it or not, it is a historical fact, CPC has its roots in an Eastern European context, and it appears to me to be not bad, rather good. It is that which is the particular uniqueness of CPC. One must not hide that rather spread it world-wide, we must use this special uniqueness. It seems to me that the main thing that CPC can now do is — it must be a platform for the creative dialogue between Christians and Marxists which will speak to the following questions of politics, social ethics, the future, perestroika, new thinking and all of those questions which effect us today. And it appears to me that this new vision, this new accent of the work of CPC would help very much not only the churches of Eastern Europe, but also the churches of the Third World and the western world. We must take on new responsibilities and new initiatives in the development of the dialogue with Marxists, without which, in my opinion, our future could not be built.

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portant not only internally but also externally. The group was aware of the interdependence of justice and peace, development and disarmament, liberation and coexistence, new order and new thinking.

How can Christians participate in the struggle for liberation from injustice and help bring about a new and more just order?

The group was convinced of the crucial role of base people, their organization and participation in their own liberation. Therefore Christian base communities — as they exist in many Latin Amer-

ican countries — are of vital importance. Christians who often belong to the middle class should recognize their own involvement in injustices and help to empower the poor. Christians should participate in the struggle for land reform and self-reliance. Christians from industrialized countries must become aware how much their societies are indebted to the Third World in the past and present. Therefore they should work for reparation, restoration and renewal. One form of reparation — the group was convinced — would be the cancelling of debts of Third World countries.

*From the report of the Working Group  
"One justice for the First, Second and the  
Third World — Christians in the struggle  
for liberation and a New International  
Economic Order"*

# 30 years of the CPC

PROF. GUNTER WIRTH, GDR

First of all, I would like to recall the traditions of Slovak Protestantism. Although they have often been ignored, there are many reasons for taking a closer look at them.

To take up just one of these traditions — and, moreover, one that is not lacking in political overtones — let me mention the tradition represented by Jan Kollár. Kollár studied in Jena from 1817 to 1819, and in 1817 he took part in the Wartburg Festival, where he was influenced by the ideas of Goethe and especially of Herder, and where he met the main speaker, Heinrich Arminius Riemann, later to become pastor and, in 1848, bourgeois revolutionary in Mecklenburg. (Sixteen years after his return to his own country, he was also finally able to marry his Friederike, a pastor's daughter from Jena-Lobeda.)

As I see it, thanks to the attitude of the Slovak Lutherans there were always fairly good relations

with German Protestantism, and the nationalist exponents of the situation of German minorities living in other countries could not have complained about Slovakia 60 years ago, even if they had wanted to.

During the clerical-fascist period in Slovakia under Tiso and Tuka, the Protestants had to preserve the spiritual and political legacy of Martin Luther, and they did so. After Tiso had declared war on the USSR, the Lutheran General Convention sent an appeal to the State President, asking for all possible ways of discontinuing the war to be pursued.

During the period of resistance against the fascist, the Lutherans discovered their common identity, which went beyond national differences. The memory of an anti-fascist martyr of Hungarian origin like Lászlo Remete is honoured just as much as that of the Slovak martyrs Bučko and Bakoš.

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All of us are affected by the environment which is our common life-support system.

Therefore we have to find ways which (1) enable individuals to see one small step that they can personally take and (2) show how together we can change the decisions of industry or governments.

This is a time of opportunity because so many groups have become aware of this threat. The Churches have a special task to base the change on love for others and the whole system of creation because we do this as the sons and daughters of the Creator who empowers us.

The basic problem is treating the creation as an object outside us, to be exploited and manipulated to gratify our cravings and desires. We are not only an integral part of the creation, we are to-

tally dependent on the created order to sustain our life and nourish it. Without plants and animals we could not live. Without Sun and wind, mountain and river, there would be no life. If plants and bacteria, algae and animals were not ever active in the right way, our life would not be possible.

The creation is not there for us to exploit and manipulate. But it is only when we learn not to exploit and manipulate, fight and destroy other human beings, that we will also learn to have the right attitude towards plants and animals, and see that we are an integral part of creation, and have no existence without the rest of the created order. While fighting war and injustice, we must also learn to look upon the rest of creation as brother and sister.

*From the report of the Working Group  
"The world-wide devastation of the natural world and Christian responsibility for the integrity of Creation"*

If we go beyond the characteristically subjective, the biographical moments in the process of the founding of the CPC, and direct our gaze at the objective dimension of the formation of our Christian peace movement, then we come to a most remarkable conclusion. This is that, as early as October 1957 in Modrá, the founders of the CPC made a connection between the necessity of the struggle for peace in the atomic age and the vision that the 28 year old Dietrich Bonhoeffer elaborated in Fanö in 1934 — the vision of a peace council of the Christian Church.

In addition to this, other factors came into play, whose quantity and individual qualities led to a completely new quality; here I think of the involvement of Christian theologians within the world peace movement, and I mention the names of Metropolitan Nikolai and J. L. Hromádka, Bishop Bereczky (Hungary), and Provost Forbech from the cathedral in Oslo, Emil Fuchs and Heinrich Grüber, Andrej Ziak (Bratislava), and Archbishop Kiivit (Tallinn).

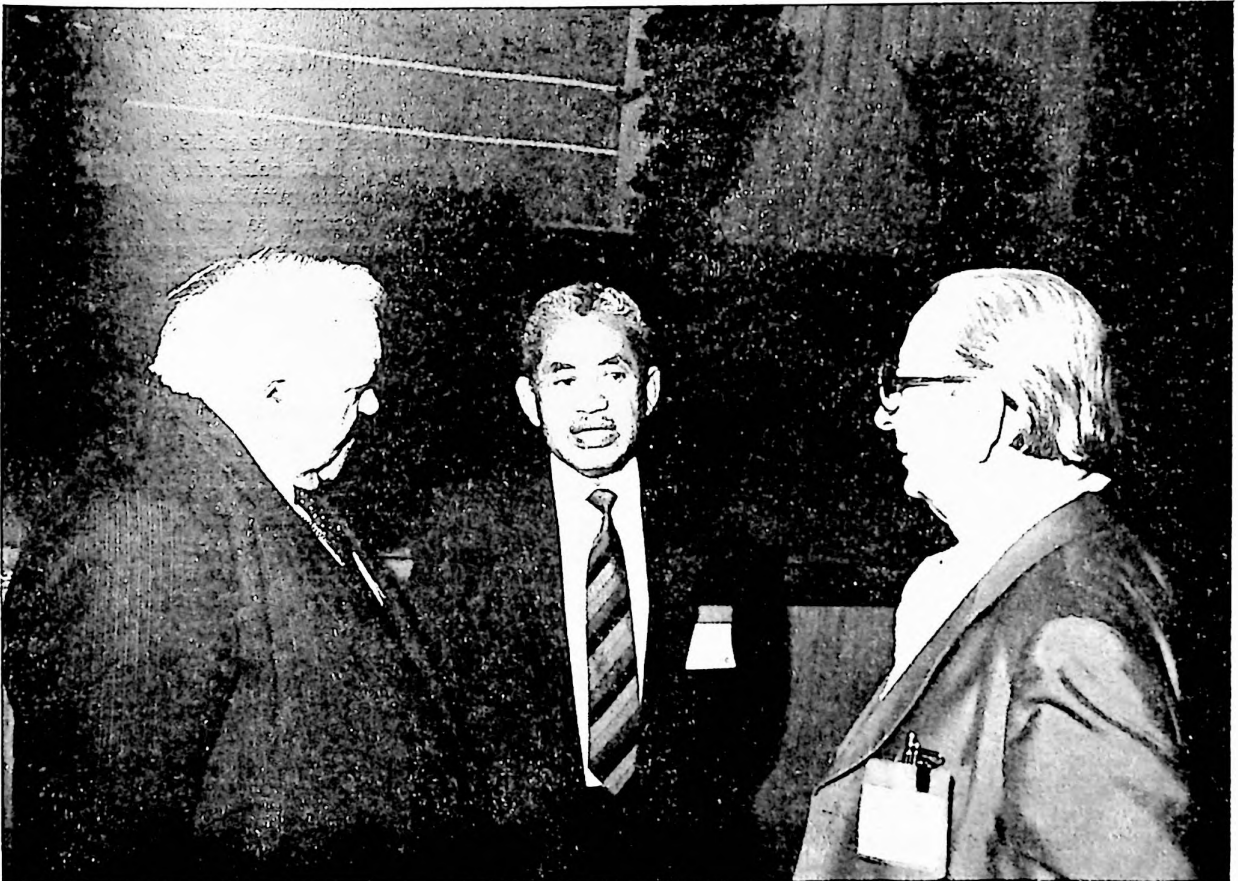
I also think of the conferences of representatives

of all religious societies in the USSR, which met for the first time in 1952 and which had an exemplary effect.

Finally, I think of the Declaration of the Göttingen 18, who were leading atomic researchers, and who reflected in this document in April 1957 on how in their understanding a new "quality" in the danger of atomic armament was emerging. It was this that Albert Schweitzer brought to a mass audience by his appeals in the same year.

All these objective aspects had their place in the process of founding the CPC: the anti-fascist starting-points, the joint responsibility in the struggle for peace within the world peace movement which called it into being, and the insight into the new character of atomic armaments which was brought into sharper focus by the atomic scientists.

**Three vice-presidents of the CPC in a discussion: Prof. Dr. Gerhard Bassarak from the GDR, Rev. Richard Andriamanjato from Madagascar and Bishop Dr. Ján Michalko from Czechoslovakia**



From the beginning, the CPC has been aware of its responsibility for the acute problems of the day, depending on the specific demands of the individual situation. And at the same time, building on the legacy of previous Christians involved in the struggle for peace and justice, it has always looked towards the future, and so has taken up positions far removed from expediency or opportunism. Heinrich Vogel's theses have their place here, as well as the phrase coined as early as 1959, which came about as a result of heated discussions: Building up lasting peace through trust and treaties — a concept which is still valid today, and indeed, perhaps today more than ever. Other important factors are the ecumenical breadth of the CPC, which right from the start included Catholic personalities, and above all its orientation towards the Third World, towards the economic,

political, intellectual, cultural and church-related conditions and priorities of the Christians in the Third World. When continental CPC organizations were formed in the seventies, this took place within the framework of the overall direction the CPC was taking, and its application to the situation in the individual continents. The concern that this might lead to a split in the movement, to an "itio in partes", was completely unfounded. It soon became clear that the foundation on which the CPC was based, on which it was founded, was so firm that the various responsibilities at different times and in different places always remained linked to the basic task and prophetic vision which applied to all of them. In this way, in spite of occasional disagreements, they continued to maintain an overall unity.

## Tasks of the CPC in Africa

REV. RICHARD ANDRIAMANJATO, MADAGASCAR

The overall prospect offered by Africa is a gloomy one:

- the decades of development have ended in failure
- none of the systems which have been tried by the independent countries (whether capitalist, non-capitalist, or socialist) have produced satisfactory results
- the situation has even deteriorated, so that today we are no longer talking in terms of an improvement in the standard of living, but simply of survival.

All this is due to an international system dominated by the politics of profit pursued by the heavily industrialized capitalist countries. Certain religious tendencies (especially the fundamentalists) only serve to demobilise the population and accentuate the phenomenon of dependence in all its forms. The CPC needs to assume a prophetic role in this particular context.

A prophetic role in today's circumstances means:

- having a correct theological vision of the changes taking place in the international situation in the field of development
- denouncing the many forms of injustice which prevail in international trade
- advocating initiatives which demonstrate that it is possible to set up economic operations

which are not based on the selfish law of profit, but arise from a new solidarity which would make a true symbiosis possible.

However, it is necessary to act in a competent and determined manner, and this requires serious research, objective information, and methods of working which inspire confidence.

The minimum programme which could be envisaged would therefore be:

- promoting a better understanding of the real situation in Africa by editing an information bulletin and publishing reviews or books
- encouraging a more profound theological analysis, so as to better motivate our Christians
- carrying out our own analysis of the international situation and making our voice heard in the international arena in every way possible
- translating our prophetic position into concrete programmes.

In addition, on a general level, we need to encourage the churches to support us, and promote the formation of national or regional organizations in Africa. We have to develop closer links with:

- the All-Africa Conference of Churches
- the United Nations Programme for the Environment
- the humanitarian organizations which are working with refugees.

# Work of the CPC in the Asia-Pacific region

REV. CHRISTIE ROSA, SRI LANKA

To us in the Asia-Pacific Region the UN is the only forum of nations where the voiceless can make their voices heard. Still greater is the noble service of the UN in gaining the collective agreement on Afghanistan and the Iran-Iraq war, which involve three Asian nations. We congratulate the UN Peace Keeping Force on being rightly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. All this and more have raised the moral stature and the profile of the United Nations in the Asian-Pacific Basin. The United Nations will always stand high on the agenda of all conferences, seminars, and assemblies of the Asia-Pacific CPC.

## Discovering a relevant theology for the Asia-Pacific region

"Ecclesia Semper reformanda" — the Church must always be reforming itself. This applies to the Christian Peace Conference and its continental constituencies.

None of our prospects for peace-making will have any meaning unless they are underpinned by theology or theologies which address the situations meaningfully.

In Asia, we have contextualized theology as Minjung Theology of Korea (the theology of the underdog), Theology of People Power in the Philippines, Theology of Pain in many Asian lands and Theology of Liberation, which has taken many forms. Basically all these theologies recognize that in our Lord Jesus Christ the Voice of the Victims is the Voice of God. "Vox Victimarum, Vox Dei". It is vital that the Asian CPC stands for a *Theology of Solidarity*.

We need a Theology that elucidates the lessons of the people's basic struggles, their struggle to claim what is theirs — land, rights, a just share of the fruits of their labour, and a future that is stable. It will insistently bring the challenge for a redefinition of *solidarity*, of *accompaniment*. It will be a theology of invitation to privilege — to march in step with the people as they seek a better life. To partake of this challenge is to have the privilege of being God's partners in creating and co-creating history. A theology of solidarity will face these challenges in the utmost demands of our *faith*, for our faith shall burn like fire in our hearts. We shall look forward to the day when the least of our brothers and sisters shall have shalom.

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As in many Asian Third World countries we have had a facade of parliamentary democracy bequeathed to us by our colonial masters, a lop-sided economy and so-called development patterns that have led to underdevelopment. We have made use of Western electoral models to enable the majority community to dominate the country and deny basic human rights to others and leave them with few alternatives to armed struggle to achieve their rights. We have neglected to ensure such rights to

the youth of our lands and have taken away even the rights they had during colonial times.

We need to restructure our economies, transform our social and economic structures and pursue our own directions to establish our self-identity. We need to resist the stranglehold of death and domination by transnational corporations including especially the transnational banks. We need to break away from models of so-called capitalist development and accept socialism in its indigenous form with or without Marxist orientation.

Ainsley Samarajiva, Sri Lanka

# Prospects for the work of the CPC in Europe

REV. PAUL WELLER, GREAT BRITAIN

## The challenge of creating the sense of Europe as "Our common home"

President Gorbachev recently spoke of this challenge of creating the sense of Europe as our "common home" and it is a challenge that calls for the imagination to look beyond the current situation and the courage to believe in future possibilities.

The Christian Peace Conference was born at a time when the division of Europe into two hostile economic and political blocs seemed as if it were the major and dominating, not to mention life-threatening, fact of European life. It was out of such a context of "Cold War" that the Christian Peace Conference emerged. Many of us who were born in the years after those times in which the anti-fascist Alliance disintegrated into the political, economic and military division of Europe have deeply-felt aspirations for the dismantling of the military barriers in order to enable the free development of common European identity and heritage. But it can be all too easy for those who have not lived through the history which gave rise to these divisions to have aspirations which are superficial and based on an ahistorical understanding. It is because of this danger that we who are younger in Europe need the experience of older people who have lived through the events which led to the present situation.

Although it is arguable that there is such a thing as a common European heritage, there are also very real differences between the socialist and capitalist paths within Europe that cannot simply be glossed over as being insignificant. Even where "market mechanisms" have been developed in socialist societies and forms of "social ownership" have appeared in capitalist ones, the basic economic and political frameworks of the two parts of Europe are distinct. This means that in striving to achieve the vision of Europe as our "common home" at all the levels of that phrase, we must

recognize the very contradictions that exist between the two parts of Europe, and therefore that the task of achieving the reality of Europe as our "common home" is a complex one, fraught with many difficulties and obstacles. The challenge is then for us to find ways of dealing with these difficulties and obstacles through political processes and mechanisms rather than through the self-destructive logic of military confrontation.

For those of us who live in the capitalist societies of Europe, and particularly for those of us who live in EEC countries, there is an important task in challenging the misappropriation of the term "Europe" by one section of capitalist western Europe. This misappropriation is given institutional expression in the use of such terms as the "European" Economic Community, the "European" Parliament and the council of "Europe". And within the Church sphere, all too often we find Christians and Church bodies in western Europe echoing and imitating rather than challenging this mode of thinking e.g. in such bodies as the Churches' Commission on Migrants in "Europe".

However, there are some signs of hope even within the onesided "European" structures, and many of these signs of hope are developing through the youth networks in Europe, which is why it is important for the CPC to have a strong presence on both the political and the ecumenical youth scene. Earlier this year I was able to lead a delegation of the Ecumenical Youth Council in Europe at a meeting held under the auspices of the European Youth Centre of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg on the theme of "Helsinki and Beyond". This was an event which included official delegations of young people from the Hungarian Peace Council and the Polish Peace Committee, and in so doing opened up the West-European structures of the Council of Europe to an all-European perspective. This institutional opening is now being further developed through the all-

European framework for youth co-operation, and is a sign that such developments are possible and point the way towards the future of Europe as your "common home".

### **The challenge of national and ethnic minorities**

The challenge presented by the place of national and ethnic minorities is one that is common to both parts of Europe. From the perspective of a young European, it seems to me to be an urgent task that ways must be sought of enabling the expression of the full range of national and ethnic identities as positive contributions to the European whole. To seek to build a "common home" of Europe on any other basis is to court disaster in both the internal life of existing states and in the continent as a whole. From Ireland in the west to Nagorno Karabakh in the east, from the Baltic republics in the north to Kosovo in the south and in many places in between, there are serious tensions of a national and ethnic character to which solutions urgently need to be found. People with unanswered ethnic and national grievances find it hard to look beyond their immediate struggles and recognize both the dangers and opportunities of the greater whole. And if we are honest, people with the wider view often fail to give sufficient attention to the challenge of the local.

The implications of this challenge for the life and work of the CPC are that we need to find some ways of addressing a number of these matters which have previously been generally considered as "out-of-bounds" internal questions. Just a cursory glance at European history prior to the outbreak of both the First and Second World Wars gives ample warning of how national and ethnic tensions we very quickly escalate beyond internal tensions and become the flashpoints for greater conflicts of an international nature.

This challenge of the national and ethnic minorities in Europe also means that in the internal life of the CPC itself we need to work to ensure that the national and ethnic diversity of Europe is truly reflected in our various bodies.

### **The challenge of religious diversity**

Religious diversity presents a social and cultural challenge to our societies and a theological to us as Christians. For many of us in the western half of Europe, the degree of religious diversity which we are experiencing is a relatively new phenomenon. Of course, all of us who are Europeans do have a history with regard to these matters, although sadly it is, by and large, a shameful one in which the Churches have also been complicit — and this is our history in relation to the Jewish people

who have lived in our continent. The long history of anti-semitism and its terrible apocalyptic outbreak in the Nazi attempt at a systematic "final solution" of the so-called "Jewish question" should have shocked us into realizing that, far from there being a so-called "Jewish question", there is a rather an extremely serious "Christian question" — a question as to the moral legitimacy of the Christian Church in Europe after the Holocaust of European Jewry. Is there a new way which we can find of living with integrity as Christians in a Europe where there are people of many faiths?

In western Europe the immigration of the post-war years has led to a picture of great religious diversity, and in my own country we are slowly beginning to experience some of the potential that lies within this new situation for the development of peace work in the future.

In the Soviet Union, the Russian Orthodox Church has, of course, also led the field in this matter by convening a number of major national and international conferences of people of all religions concerned with the preservation of the sacred gift of life, and the importance of the inter-religious contacts which were formed in this way is becoming ever-more apparent.

The implications of this challenge for the CPC are that we must begin to intensify our co-operation with people of other faiths at all levels, whilst at the same time engaging in the necessary task of helping the Churches and Christians to think through the theological and political foundations for common activity with people of other faiths in the struggle for peace and justice.

### **The challenge of Europe in the world**

The challenge of creating Europe as our "common home" is a crucial one, not only for ourselves on this continent, but in view of the massive destructive power of the armaments concentrated here, it is a challenge which is of relevance to the rest of the world too. However, we also need to be beware of the danger that in the process of building Europe as our "common home" that we do not do so on the basis of creating an affluent "fortress Europe" over and against the rest of the world.

In the western part of Europe, these tendencies can already, sadly, be seen, and especially within the countries of the EEC. As measures for the EEC's integration into a single economic market move faster towards the goal of 1992, it is not without significance that the Governments of the EEC have set up a somewhat shadowy body called the TREVI committee, which operates outside of the democratic channels of the European Parlia-

ment and in its deliberations and planning brings together the topics of drugs, terrorism, refugees and immigration. By institutionalising the consideration of these very different phenomena in a single committee a state of mind and a way of thinking is revealed which is hardly indicative of a healthy approach to questions of the EEC's relationships with the rest of the world. If Europe as a whole is to overcome its divisions then it must do so not by pulling itself together defensively against the poverty as struggles in the rest of the world, perceiving the area outside of Europe in terms of a "threat", but by seeking to create a "common home" which is part of a more inclusive "common home" — the "common home" of the "oikumene", of the whole inhabited earth. This entails the necessity of solving our European problems politically within our own continent rather than continually exporting them to other parts of the world in the form of surrogate wars or through promoting the obscenity of arms sales to poor countries which need bread and justice, not bombs and further dependency.

The implications of this challenge for the CPC are that we must continue to develop the work of the continental bodies, and as in the World Council of Churches, be prepared to see the axis of decision-making power within our movement shift from Europe to the Two Thirds world. It is also of importance within this context that we fully participate in and make our distinctive contribution to the process of Justice, Peace and Integrity of Creation which is being worked on by Churches all over the world. With regard to younger people in our movement, the proposal of the last ACPA that at least one of the youth peace seminars between now and the next ACPA should take place in one of the countries of the Two Thirds world which is crucial to the struggle for liberation, such as Nicaragua, is also very important. It is in such ways that the rising generation of CPC leaders in Europe will be enabled to develop the human contacts that will help them to view the world from the majority Two Thirds world perspective.

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In turning to the future Africa must critically re-examine its economic, political and social structures in order to build a humanistic and just society. One should not believe, as an axiom, that poverty is just a mere natural state of affairs. Inhuman and exploitative structures make people poor and even slaves.

This is where and when the process of change must adopt the advocated New Thinking, and

a new perspective, and to listen for that "still small voice" of reconciliation within our political and economic structures, and to create a New Ethos in which people can live in human dignity.

This new trend of thinking may help bring even many of the opposite direction, to work together, in spite of, and not because of, their differences in political, economic and sociological ideologies.

*Dr. Dr. L. E. T. Shyllon, Sierra Leone*