

Catholic Church and  
Social Problems

Human rights  
→ question of conscience  
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In the Fall of 1972, the Division of Justice and Peace published "Justice in the World: a primer for teachers." This primer, now in its fourth printing, explores the justice theme of the 1971 Roman Synod of Bishops. It provides background and a study outline for a variety of concrete situations of injustice in the world. *America* magazine said of the primer's contents: "If the sense and sensibility they contain were to become living forces in a sizable number of American Catholics, the renewal of both Church and civilization would be firmly advanced."

In the intervening months since the first primer's publication, the question of human rights has become an urgent issue. This second primer "Human Rights: a question of conscience" is designed to assist persons in leadership positions in the Church to understand and to respond to that issue with a greater sensitivity to the demands of the Gospel.

The format of the material suggests the conventional teacher/classroom study, but it is easily adapted for use by those working in the areas of adult and continuing education directors and other parish leaders.

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PRIMER NUMBER TWO

# HUMAN RIGHTS

a question of conscience

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a Catholic perspective  
on international human rights  
in an American context

**Division of Justice and Peace  
United States Catholic Conference  
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20005  
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## INTRODUCTION

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Human rights are about people's lives—the inter-changes between persons in a social context. To foster human rights is to protect human life and to apply Jesus' fundamental criterion for Christian behavior: "Love one another as I have loved you." To violate human rights is to do violence to human life and to sin against Jesus' command.

Since Vatican II, there has been a growing recognition in the Church that the consequences of collective as well as individual actions must now be the subject of Catholics' penitential examination. As an indication that this reflects change, Rev. Bernard Haring, an eminent Catholic theologian, recently noted that the five confessor's manuals most used by Catholic priests before Vatican II listed more than 300 sins related to the sacristy, but only 5 related to offenses against peace and social justice.

According to the American bishops recent pastoral message "Sin and Forgiveness," violations of human rights frequently involve actions which can be termed social sins: "they affect the entire fabric of society. Confronted with massive social injustices, we must of course reform ourselves, but we must also join hands and hearts with others to reform the abuses."

Just as these sins have social consequences, the remedies require social acts, that is, acts taken by a community of concerned Christians directed toward making changes in political, economic and social systems and structures.

The 1971 Roman Synod of Bishops focused on unjust structures and situations of sin, manifestations of social sin. A social situation which oppresses human dignity and stifles human freedom is a sinful structure. A social structure which promotes acts of selfishness in society is a sinful situation. A system which permits 30% of the world's population to control

75% of the world's wealth is a sinful system. Structures which violate human rights are sinful structures and, therefore, are a question of conscience for Catholics.

This primer provides a framework for Catholics to examine social sin in an American context. The first section, "A Question of Conscience," provides a basic treatment of human rights and the Church's role in their promotion and defense.

The later sections of the primer, the "Case Studies of Human Rights," explore three specific situations in which human rights are being violated or are in jeopardy. In each case, the conflicting political, economic and cultural interests are explored in the context of the moral issues that are raised. In the first two cases, the distinctive transnational character of the Catholic Church is evident in that members of the hierarchy of the Church in the United States publicly responded to human rights violations reported by the hierarchies in the respective countries of Rhodesia and Brazil. The third case, the Philippines, illustrates a situation in which events are still very much in flux, but one which warrants American Catholics' close attention.

The material compiled in the primer is designed to assist the reader in making critical judgments about the human rights issues involved. Further, it provides necessary background data and study outlines to enable the reader to assist others in making Christian assessments.

The overriding purpose of the primer is to contribute to the formation of that "community with a conscience," capable and courageous in the protection and promotion of human rights.

James R. Jennings, Editor  
Patricia L. Rengel, Associate Editor



Cardinal John Dearden of Detroit testifying on human rights during Congressional hearings in September 1973.



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## A QUESTION OF CONSCIENCE

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### OVERVIEW: American Catholic Bishops

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Rights of men, women and children are rooted in the concept of the dignity of every human person. At Vatican II, we joined with all our brother bishops to assert our belief that “the root reason for human dignity lies in man’s call to communion with God.” (*Gaudium et Spes*, n. 19) To respect and realize the rights of the human person is to contribute to the fulfillment of God’s design for the human community; it is not a peripheral but rather a pivotal responsibility for all Christians.

Catholics should be in the forefront of those speaking in defense of and acting for the fulfillment of the rights of men, women and children at the local, national and international level. Our commitment to these goals should be expressed personally and institutionally in the policies and programs the Church sponsors and supports in society.

As bishops entrusted with the social teaching of the Church and as leaders of the Catholic community in the United States, we wish to express our strong endorsement for the United Nations’ Universal Declaration of Human Rights and for the institution of the United Nations. The U.N. Declaration deserves our support because it is a testament of vital importance to the global family.

The significance of the Declaration derives from the ideas in which it is rooted and the ideals which it seeks to achieve. Speaking from within the Roman Catholic tradition, we find both the ideas and the ideals of the Declaration consonant with those of our own teaching on the socio-political order. We are mindful of Pope John’s encyclical *Pacem in Terris* which enumerated the spectrum of rights—political, cultural, economic—which are necessary if people are to live in accord with human dignity. That catalogue stands before us today as an unfinished agenda. The teaching of *Pacem in Terris* and the content of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights converge to direct our attention and spur our action toward this unfinished agenda of human rights questions.

In our country, recent events demonstrate the need to be creative and vigilant in protecting and fostering political rights. Similarly, in our own land, thoughtful observers are commenting on the need for an examination of our protection of economic rights in terms of



tax reform, protection for the elderly, the needs of all our citizens for health care and the special needs of the very poor and working poor for a basic minimum income.

Internationally, the pervasive presence of American power creates a responsibility of using that power in the service of human rights. The link between our economic assistance and regimes which utilize torture, deny legal protection to citizens and detain political prisoners without due process clearly is *a question of conscience* for our government and for each of us as citizens in a democracy.

We offer our endorsement and encouragement to the institution of the United Nations. It is not perfect, but we believe it is indispensable in an imperfectly organized world. It is a first step toward realizing that juridical-political organization of the world community for which the last three Popes have incessantly called. We earnestly hope that the United Nations and its Declaration of Human Rights receive from Catholics and all people of good will the support they both deserve.

“Resolution on the 25th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,” November 1973. (Condensed)



United Nations General Assembly in session. (U.N. Photo)

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## OBJECTIVES

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1. To define the spectrum of rights termed human rights.
2. To determine the bases of these rights both in a secular context and in a religious context.
3. To distinguish between personal and social sin.
4. To explore the role of the Church in the protection and promotion of human rights.

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## TEACHER/ LEADER ACTIVITY

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*(Sources of materials referred to below can be found in the "Resources" of this section.)*

1. Obtain copy of *Pacem in Terris* and reproduce paragraphs 1-45 for distribution to the class/group. Obtain copies of the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" for distribution to the class/group.
  - a. Study paragraphs 11-45 in *Pacem in Terris* and extract the human rights Pope John lists. Compare these to the rights enumerated in the thirty articles of the Universal Declaration.
  - b. Study and compare paragraphs 1-10 in *Pacem in Terris* and the preamble to the Universal Declaration to determine the religious and secular bases for human rights.
2. Obtain and study "The Concept of Social Sin," by Peter Henriot, S.J., to understand the nature of social sin and the distinction between social sin and personal sin. Reproduce Section G, (pp. 75-77) for distribution to the class/group.
  - a. Review the "Label Test" and prepare for distribution to the class/group.
  - b. Obtain the simulation game "Ethics" and prepare for class/group use.
  - c. Obtain and study *A Call to Action* by Paul VI for a treatment of the concept of collective response, especially paragraphs 42-52.
3. Study the "Keynoter" of Bishop Rausch for a development of the concept of the Church's role as a transnational community in the promotion of human rights. Reproduce for distribution to the class/group.
  - a. Preview the discussion outline in item 4 of "Outline for Group Study."
  - b. Obtain the simulation game "World Game."

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*NOTE: There will be several other sections of the primer that you will be directed to reproduce for distribution to the class/group. Consider obtaining copies of the primer for the entire group to use as a text.*

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Bishop James S. Rausch,  
USCC/NCCB General Secretary

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## KEYNOTER: The American Church and U.S. Foreign Policy

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The year 1973 marked the commemoration of the tenth anniversary of Pope John XXIII's encyclical *Pacem in Terris* and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Both documents, the one religious in tone, the other secular, share a conception of the human person—his or her personal dignity—and the moral foundation of the political and legal order which must be constructed, respected and fostered if the dignity of the person is to be preserved.

To focus on the issue of human rights in a religious context, it is especially important to examine how the Church as a teaching community can contribute to the theoretical basis

for promoting human rights, and how the Church as a community of action can aid the implementation of human rights.

## **I. State Sovereignty and Human Rights.**

The first theoretical issue is the relationship between the sovereign state and the preservation of human rights: What responsibility do other states, organizations and individuals have concerning the violation of basic human rights in another sovereign state?

Responses to this question reflect two contending conceptions of political and moral responsibility in international relations. In classic diplomacy, the sovereign state is the basic unit of international politics; foreign policy is the conduct of relations among states which are viewed as almost self-contained units. This conception permits sustained dialogue and interaction among states with very different domestic structures. In a world of sovereign states, such intercourse is a prerequisite for the minimal safety and civility of international affairs. However, in this conception, effective responsibility across national boundaries for human rights violations is severely restricted.

On the other hand, the bedrock of Catholic theory, as set forth in *Pacem in Terris*, is not the sovereignty of the state but the ideal of the human community bound together by reciprocal rights and duties which are articulated on the level of individuals and states.

*Pacem in Terris* seeks to situate the state within a framework of moral and legal restraint. It denies an idea of the state immune from criticism by its own citizens or by other states, groups and individuals in the international community. Violations of basic human rights within our borders are the legitimate concern of the rest of the international community and similar violations in other countries are legitimate objects of concern for us and our government, especially when we, Americans, can affect the course of events or are implicated in the violations.

The Church's role in the international order is that of an advocate, seeking to surface human rights issues which get submerged in much of the traditional routine of foreign policy. Since the Church is both a transnational community throughout the international system and a national participant in the policy process of each country, it is well situated to fulfill this advocacy role.

## **II. The Universal Common Good.**

A further contribution of Church teaching to the theory and practice of human rights is the concept of the common good. This concept has been a part of Catholic social philosophy for centuries. The specific contribution of Pope John was to expand the scope of the concept to embrace the international community, rather than to confine it to the nation state.

Pope John's analysis of international relations exposed a serious structural defect: the needs of the common good today exist on a worldwide basis while there exists no public authority constituted to meet these needs. We are living in a transitional period of history when the dimensions of the problems we face exceed the capability of any single nation to solve them even for the benefit of its own people. Examples of such problems are nuclear arsenals, energy sources and pollution.

Faced with the structural defect at the global level, Pope John proposed two courses of action. First, he urged support for the United Nations. Pope John called for recognition that, with all of its imperfections, the United Nations contains the potential for performing some necessary tasks immediately. Further, it holds the promise of fulfilling a wider role if it

It is dangerous for us to make the domestic policy of countries around the world a direct objective of American foreign policy.

Henry Kissinger  
1973

The same moral law which governs relations between individual human beings serves also to regulate the relations of political communities with one another.

Pope John XXIII

The issue is not primarily that governments should be the major actors on these questions but that someone should be active; and that the Church is a well-suited candidate both to prod governments and to propose its own policy initiatives.

Bishop James S. Rausch



It must be noted with regret that neither this call by Pope John nor the later endorsement of the United Nations by Pope Paul's visit in 1965, has produced any perceptible increase in American Catholics' support for this organization.

Our credibility within the United Nations and throughout the world is in direct proportion to what we do domestically.

Fr. Theodore Hesburgh

The USCC Campaign for Human Development has educational materials available on social justice issues in a domestic context. Also contact the USCC Division for Family Life for "Respect Life Week" materials.

is accorded respect and support by governments and peoples.

Secondly, Pope John proposed using the concept of the universal common good as a tool of policy planning. It provides a broader frame of reference than the traditional concept of national interest. The implications of taking this concept seriously are far-reaching. It means conceiving of the inhabitants of the globe as a human community, not a competing crowd. It means measuring policy on such issues as foreign aid, trade and tariffs, and world hunger not only in terms of their impact on American citizens but also in terms of their effects on citizens in other nations.

A basic vision like that proposed by both *Pacem in Terris* and the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights can generate a sense of responsibility among individuals and nations. The basic human rights delineated in the U.N. Declaration are still only a hope, perhaps even a fading one, for almost half the human race. Pope John's concept of the universal common good means that we cannot as Christians acknowledge this deprivation of rights passively or with a quiet conscience.

### **III. Human Rights: International and Domestic Links.**

There is a direct link between our performance on human rights domestically and our potential for influence internationally. If we do not deal with the human rights questions which visibly confront us in our own country, not only does our credibility suffer, but we will lack the political will and purpose to be concerned about the violations of the person in other areas of the globe.

The events of the last decade raised a number of human rights questions for us in the United States. For example: the Watergate drama highlights the general problem of protecting basic civil and political liberties in the face of modern nations who wield an array of technologically sophisticated instruments of investigation and control; the problems of poverty and race persistently pose serious questions about what we mean by social and economic rights in a free enterprise system; finally, issues like the Vietnam war, population, pollution, abortion, the aged and dying have tested our conception of what we mean by the right to life and quality of life.

This range of issues clearly exposes a basic need. We require today as never before a moral theory of rights which is both comprehensive in scope and consistent in structure. If we lack a comprehensive view of rights, we protect some dimensions of the person but not the person's total well-being. If we lack consistency in our structure of reasoning, we fail to test how we stand on one issue by how we stand on others.

A pertinent example is the relationship between right to life and quality of life positions. Catholics are traditionally and publicly known for their right to life position. However, the right of the fetus to be born includes its right to be fed, clothed, housed, educated and cared for in times of sickness or old age. Therefore, a right to life ethic requires a quality of life ethic. Today, the Church cannot afford to be anything but totally committed to both.

### **IV. The Church as a Community of Action.**

It is necessary to face honestly the limitations of both the theory and the practice of the institutional Church. The Church is neither a philosophical school nor a political party. Its influence in society ultimately rests with its members and their impact on society. The

institutional Church can and must teach; the institutional Church can and must act through policy and programs. But if the teaching and action do not find resonance in the convictions and lives of the community of the Church, the institution will stand isolated and ineffective on social issues.

The basic power of the Church as a force for social change, social justice and human rights resides in its capacity to form a community with a conscience. The Catholic conscience today is being urgently mandated by the teaching Church to understand our faith commitment squarely in relationship to our concern for the human and civil rights of our neighbor. This is not a peripheral issue of conscience; it is a priority issue. This faith commitment should permeate our pulpits, our schools, our programs and our personal lives.

To be concerned in conscience about human rights requires more than good motivation. The significance of our concern will be measured by the substance of our position. At every level of Catholic advocacy of human rights our position must be empirically correct, ethically courageous and intellectually convincing. To achieve this combination of qualities, we will have to be faithful to the legacy of adult Christian faith established by *Pacem in Terris*: a legacy which seeks to place the translucent light of faith and the transforming power of love in the service of protecting the rights of people and humanizing their lives. It is to this goal that both *Pacem in Terris* and the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights direct our efforts and our lives.

“Human Rights: Reflections on a  
Twin Anniversary,” Bishop Rausch,  
October 1973. (Condensed)

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## **LABEL-TEST**

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Label those incidents (P) which describe personal acts. Label those incidents (S) which describe social conditions.

1. John Doe robs a filling station.
2. Federal regulations and enforcement are inadequate to keep oil corporations from forcing price increases by restricting the supply of petroleum.
3. Tenant refuses to pay his rent.
4. City has housing codes which are inadequate to ensure that rental housing is habitable.
5. Income tax rates are disproportionate, so that poor and middle income persons pay higher taxes than the rich.
6. Mary Smith cheats on her income tax return.
7. Henry Jones steals ten gallons of gasoline.
8. Six per cent of the world's population consumes over 30% of the world's energy resources.
9. State law refuses to permit farm workers to unionize.
10. An employer pays a worker subsistence wages.

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## OUTLINE FOR GROUP STUDY

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1. Elicit from the class/group, a listing of rights they consider basic human rights; ask why they consider these basic and develop in the discussion the religious and secular bases for these rights.
2. Distribute the section of *Pacem in Terris* you have prepared and the pamphlet Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Use with the class/group to fill out the spectrum of human rights and the bases for them.
3. Distribute Section G of Henriot's article "The Concept of Social Sin" (pp. 75-77). Develop the concept of social sin through discussion.
  - a. After making the distinction between personal and social sin, use "Label-Test" and draw from the class/group other contrasting examples.
  - b. Play the simulation game "Ethics".
4. Distribute "Keynoter" to class/group for their study. Group discussion might be developed along the following lines:
  - a. Church as a teaching community develops theoretical basis for promoting human rights.
    - 1) Church teaches that action of any sovereign state is not immune from criticism either from its own citizens or another state. The state is subject to the moral law.
    - 2) Church teaches concepts of human community and universal common good. (Play "World Game" in conjunction with this section.)
      - a) Acknowledges the flaw in the present world order: lack of effective organization to deal with worldwide problems.
      - b) Endorses the United Nations as a model of world organization.
      - c) Suggests that the universal common good, rather than national self-interest, be used as a tool of policy planning.
    - 3) Church links right to life and quality of life, considering both fundamental in the development of a consistent human rights position.
  - b. Church as a community of action seeks to implement human rights.
    - 1) As an advocate for human rights, Church prods governments and proposes policy.
    - 2) Church as a community of action depends upon Catholics to see their faith commitment and human rights commitment as one.

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## RESOURCES

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### Book.

*Natural Right and History.* Leo Strauss. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953. Paper: \$3.25.

### Booklets.

*A Call to Action.* Paul VI. USCC Publications Office, 1312 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. 45 cents.

"The Concept of Social Sin," Peter Henriot, S.J., *Sourcebook on Poverty, Development and Justice.* USCC Campaign for Human Development, above address. \$1.50.

*Pacem in Terris.* John XXIII. USCC Publications Office, above address. 50 cents.

### Pamphlets.

"Human Rights: Reflections on a Twin Anniversary." Bishop James S. Rausch. Full text available from USCC Publications Office, above address. 25 cents.

"Resolution on the 25th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights." National Conference of Catholic Bishops. Full text available from USCC Publications Office, above address. 25 cents.

"Universal Declaration of Human Rights." United Nations Information Centre, 1028 Conn. Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Free.

### Periodicals.

"Amnesty Action." A bi-monthly newsletter of Amnesty International of the USA, a non-denominational, apolitical organization which campaigns for the release of Prisoners of Conscience throughout the world. 200 W. 72nd St., New York, NY 10023. \$15/year.

"Center Survey." Published semi-monthly by the Center for the Study of Power and Peace, 110 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. \$5/year. Provides an extensive and reliable review of significant data on international issues from an explicitly Judaeo-Christian standpoint. Vol. II, Nos. 23 and 24 deal with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Single copy: 35 cents. Also bulk rates.

"The Inter Dependent." Monthly tabloid on world affairs published by the United Nations Association of the USA, 345 E. 46th St., New York, NY 10017. \$3/year; \$2/year for students.

### Simulation Games.

"Ethics." Participants are projected into various situations that require decisions about hard ethical choices. In settings as different as a supermarket and a concentration camp, participants explore concepts of right and wrong. Up to 16 players. 1-hour session. Art Fair, 18 W. 18th St., New York, NY 10011. \$3.

"World Game." Recreates on a smaller scale our world, its people and institutions. Nations struggle for solutions to their problems. A "world council" provides an opportunity to experiment with ideas expressed in the concept of a "global village." 15-20 players. 1 or 2 hour session(s). Teleketics, 1229 S. Santo St., Los Angeles, CA 90015. \$14.95.



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**GENERAL COMMENTS**

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This section examines three specific cases in which human rights are being seriously violated. The application of the general principles reviewed in the previous section is brought to bear in these case studies.

It will be noted that in each of the cases relevant resources are recommended for the reader. Solid backgrounding and deepening of understanding are extremely important.

At issue is conscientious American Catholic citizenship. Each of these terms is loaded with its own implications. Recall in Bishop Rausch's "Keynote" his insistence that more than good motivation is required for responsible actions in the field of human rights: "At every level of Catholic advocacy of human rights, our position (as conscientious American Catholic citizens) must be empirically correct, ethically courageous and intellectually convincing."

However, in addition the Gospel demands that we not acquiesce in the face of injustice because "all the facts aren't in." They never will be. Nevertheless, the demands of the Gospel persist. As the American bishops said in their pastoral on Catholic education, "To Teach As Jesus Did": "Even though Christians may at times err in their facts, interpretations, and conclusions about social issues, they must not fail to apply the Gospel to contemporary life."

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## **OVERVIEW**

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“Now for the first time in human history,” the bishops at the Second Vatican Council said, “all people are convinced that the benefits of culture ought to be and actually can be extended to everyone....Persons and societies thirst for a full and free life worthy of man, one in which they can subject to their own welfare all that the modern world can offer them so abundantly.”

This eagerness for a fuller life is especially evident in the quest for political independence among the people who have been the subject of colonialism. Ten years ago, Pope John XXIII, in his encyclical *Pacem in Terris*, suggested that this feeling for political independence was so strong that “there will soon no longer exist a world divided into peoples who rule others and peoples who are subject to others.” However, realities are such that divisions of people into the ruling and the ruled persist.

The case of Rhodesia presents a struggle for political, cultural and economic independence in a setting pervaded by racism.

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## **OBJECTIVES**

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1. To identify the specific violations of human rights in Rhodesia.
2. To explore these violations as a source of conflict.
3. To focus on the U.N. response to Rhodesia and the U.S. cooperation/non-cooperation with the United Nations.
4. To examine the situation as a question of conscience for American citizens.



To white settlers, the land is Rhodesia. To the British Parliament—Southern Rhodesia. To African nationalists, it is Zimbabwe.

SALISBURY, Rhodesia, May 1973—A Catholic priest-editor was sentenced to five months imprisonment for publishing a statement written by Bishop Donal Lamont. He was charged with publishing a subversive statement, contravening the country's security laws.

## THE SETTING

Less than one hundred years ago, European white settlers first came into contact, and ultimately conflict, with black Africans in the territory the whites called Rhodesia. Many centuries earlier, Africans had settled in the region, some of them developing advanced forms of civilization.

In 1888, the British obtained their first concessions for mineral rights from the local tribal chiefs. Five years later, white settlers established colonial rule when a white volunteer army defeated the region's major African tribe. The British South African Company was set up to exploit the resources and to colonize the area. The territory remained under colonial rule until the early 1960's, when Rhodesia's white settlers appealed to Great Britain for full independence.

The British Parliament agreed to grant independence on condition that the white minority government would take the necessary steps to assure everyone, black and white, the right to vote. The whites refused to give such assurances, and after two years of unsuccessful negotiations, in November 1965, the Prime Minister of Rhodesia, Ian Smith, unilaterally declared Rhodesian independence from the United Kingdom.

Since Rhodesia's secession from Great Britain, the white minority government has moved closer to an apartheid system similar to that existing in the Republic of South Africa. Examples:

- The government divided the land, allocating about 45 million acres each to the whites and the Africans. The whites number about 250,000; the blacks about 5.3 million. The whites area contains most of the major cities, the better farmlands, most of the developed mineral resources and the transportation system.
- Since Africans are technically restricted to "tribal preserves," when they work in the white sector, they must do so as migrant laborers. Strict pass laws regulate Africans' movement and subject them to close police control.
- African workers cannot strike, and collective bargaining is impossible.
- The African majority is specifically prohibited by the Constitution from ever gaining a predominant voice in the government. The vast majority of the Africans are virtually disenfranchised.
- Africans' educational opportunities are severely restricted, impeding their political and economic advancement.
- Africans arrested for what are deemed political offenses are tried in secret and court transcripts are censored. Detention without trial for African leaders is common.
- The press is strictly censored. Publishing criticism of the regime can subject a newspaper editor to imprisonment.

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## TEACHER/ LEADER ACTIVITY

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(Sources of materials referred to below can be found in the "Resources" of this case study.)

1. Read "The Setting," "Voices," "Contrasts" and "An Advocate," contained in this case study. Reproduce for distribution to the class/group.
2. Obtain "Rhodesian Chrome" and "Business As Usual" for additional teacher background.
3. Read the *Epistle of St. James*, Chapters 2 and 5:1-6. Consider what "good works" might be relevant as a Christian response of an American citizen to the Rhodesian situation.
4. Obtain the film: "End of a Dialogue," "Twentieth Century Slavery," or "You Hide Me" and preview for class/group showing. Although the former two deal with apartheid in the Republic of South Africa, there are obvious parallels to Rhodesia. The last film is an historical analysis of colonialism's policy of cultural aggression in Africa.

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## VOICES—The United Nations and a Rhodesian Bishop

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### The United Nations

Great Britain reacted to Rhodesia's secession by condemning the action as an illegal assumption of independence, suspending the Smith government. It then brought the issue to the U.N. Security Council. The Security Council called upon the U.N. member nations "not to recognize this illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia." To date, no U.N. member nation has officially recognized Rhodesia as an independent sovereign nation.

Further, in 1966, following unsuccessful attempts by Great Britain and Rhodesian officials to negotiate their differences, the U.N. Security Council, for the first time in its history, voted unanimously to impose mandatory sanctions on certain imports from Rhodesia. The underlying rationale was that continued domination of the 95% black majority by the 5% white minority constituted a threat to peace since such injustice would lead to violent revolt unless rectified.

When the scope of the U.N. sanctions was broadened in 1968 to include all Rhodesian imports, again the resolution was approved by unanimous vote of the member nations of the Security Council.

Economic sanctions are a legal means of bringing pressure to bear on those countries and territories which the wider community of nations deem have violated the international legal order, jeopardizing the common good and therefore world peace. Such sanctions can adversely affect the domestic economy of the sanctioned country or territory.

In Rhodesia, because the society is so markedly two-tiered, that is, the white ruling minority affluent, the black majority with a marginal existence, the detrimental effect of the sanctions tends to have impact precisely on that sector of society which is responsible for provoking the sanctions in the first place—the white ruling class, with a standard of living similar to Europeans.

Certain nations have repeatedly violated the U.N. sanctions, as reported by the Security Council's Sanctions Committee. However, overall, the sanctions have had the

The United States voted in favor of the sanctions although it had the legal right to veto the resolution.



intended detrimental effect on Rhodesia's economy. In addition, it is reported that the sanctions have had an adverse political and psychological effect on the white minority, while at the same time providing moral support for the struggle of the black Rhodesians.

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## A Rhodesian Bishop

We may be reaching a point when the Africans who feel that they are oppressed may be left with no other choice than to resort to revolutionary violence. Hundreds of thousands, rather millions, suffer under a system which denies them a normal citizen's place in society and which thus constitutes moral violence to a whole class.

Such violence—institutionalized, legalized, canonized and camouflaged—hidden away in compounds, townships and reserves, is all the while at work as a psychological instrument of terror, steadily and quietly convincing whole classes of people that they are non-men, different, defective. Structural violence has this long-term effect and can only be regarded by civilized men as a Hitlerian horror.

However, we have to recognize that the people whose votes support oppressive systems are not themselves evil. They simply do not realize that the vast majority of their fellow citizens suffer bitterly day after day being treated as second-class beings, as non-men. These are the people who must be changed and made to see things as they really are, and undergo a personal conversion before the changing of structures can benefit anyone.

In the face of this situation, what is the Church to do? Are we to acquiesce in the unjust system we see about us? Does the Church in its teaching counsel indifference, inactivity? Can the Church honestly say to its underprivileged members: "Suffer on longer, have patience; it's too bad that one section of my children live in luxury and ease while you suffer in squalor and despair"?

Unfortunately, in southern Africa it is often the Catholic laity who try to prevent the Church from denouncing injustice. They cannot bear to think of their Church being unpopular or taking an unpopular line. Strange loyalty indeed, which hardly reflects our Divine Lord's foretelling: "You will be hated by all men for my name's sake."

If I were to say that the people of the Third World are now uniting their forces to throw off what they call the yoke of oppression with which the rich nations have held them down, I would probably be accused of being a Communist. Yet this is precisely what the nations of the Third World are doing.

If I were to explain that to the workers it makes sense to withhold their labor and to organize strikes and civil disobedience and all the other forms of non-cooperation, I would probably be accused of causing alarm and despondency. Yet, I am only telling the simple truth.

If I were to say that the international economic sanctions against countries which deny basic freedoms are preferable to military operations, or that boycotting of international sports events is a reasonable way of showing disagreement with a situation which affronts human dignity and which may provoke violent revolution, I would probably be attacked from all sides.

If I were to say that the moment has come for people of thoroughly Christian mind to

If one of the brothers or one of the sisters is in need of clothes and has not enough food to live on, and one of you says to them: "I wish you well; keep yourself warm and eat plenty," without giving them these bare necessities of life, then what good is that? Faith is like that: if good works do not go with it, it is quite dead.

James 2:15-17

We have the happiest Africans in the world.  
Ian Smith  
Prime Minister of  
Rhodesia

get together for the purpose of working for a more just and human society; if I were to tell them that they should recognize their duty to participate in the politics of their country; that they are not bound in conscience to obey unjust laws; that they should protest by all possible non-violent means against all forms of human degradation; that in schools and universities they should organize to fight for the rights of their fellow men, irrespective of color or creed or political opinion, I would probably be accused of being a rabble rouser.

Yet I fear the rabble; fear what millions of dehumanized men and women may do if the mob instinct, roused by the denial of home for them and for their children, takes possession of them. It is to prevent violence, to control the outbreak of mob violence everywhere that I speak to denounce the moral violence of those who rule by oppression. These things must be said if we ourselves are to be just.

I am convinced that we in southern Africa are in the path of just such a disaster—its name “Hurricane Hatred.” Unless we all, especially those of us who are Christians, do something real and resolute now, to demand reform of the whole social structure which oppresses the vast majority of the men and women who live in this part of the continent, I cannot see any hope for anything but violence breaking out in our midst and engulfing us all.

Bishop Donal Lamont  
Past President  
Catholic Bishops Conference of Rhodesia  
May 1973

There are certainly situations where injustice cries to heaven. When whole populations destitute of necessities live in a state of dependence, barring them from all initiative and responsibility and all opportunity to advance culturally and share in social and political life, recourse to violence, as a means to right these wrongs to human dignity, is a grave temptation.

Pope Paul VI



White settler's home outside Rhodesia's capital, Salisbury (U.N. Photo)



South African children playing in front of their home (U.N. Photo)

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## CONTRASTS

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**White Settlers:** White settlers project majority African rule by the year 2055 at the latest.

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**Prominent White Citizen in Rhodesia:** "In our view, economic sanctions are a direct cause of a great deal of unhappiness among African people and we find it incredible to justify depressing living standards by using a punitive vendetta, and certainly it will not induce the government to change its policies."

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**American Business Spokesman:** "Adequate supplies of chromium at prices competitive to those paid in other nations, is vital to the welfare of our country. We must resume importing chrome from Rhodesia."

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**American Business Spokesman:** "Other countries merely ignore the U.N. embargo."

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**American Business Spokesman:** "Chemical analysis suggests some of the chrome ore we bought from Russia originated in Rhodesia."

**Rhodesia's Catholic Bishops:** "The problem in Rhodesia is not so much that of color but of power--of political and economic power--which those who have claim as almost their exclusive right and are unwilling to share."

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**Black Political Leader of Rhodesia:** "It is not us who need sheets to sleep or cars to come into the city, or spare parts to run the industries. Over 90% of the African people live off the land in Rhodesia. Those comforts which have been siphoned off by sanctions are totally irrelevant to the African people. To suggest that sanctions hurt the Africans and, therefore, in the interest of the Africans, we ought to drop sanctions, is nonsense."

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**U.S. Secretary of State:** "Importation of Rhodesian chrome is not essential to our national security, brings no essential real economic advantage, and is detrimental to the conducting of foreign relations."

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**U.S. Senator:** "I do not believe that the Soviet Union, or any other nation for that matter, should set our standard of conduct within the international community. I find this does violence to our very heritage, values and traditions as a nation."

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**U.S. Senator:** "This allegation was refuted time and time again by our own U.S. Geological Survey, our own government experts, and the U.N. Sanctions Committee."



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## **AN ADVOCATE: Archbishop Joseph L. Bernardin**

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The present domestic situation in Rhodesia reveals how complex the process of self-determination can be when an entrenched powerful minority (whites) assumes an intransigent position to protect the status quo and resist the emergence of the social and political consciousness of the majority of the indigenous people (black Africans). The condition is worsened by the presence of one of the most despicable legacies of the colonial era: racism.

The Catholic Bishops Conference of Rhodesia has repeatedly stated their "conscientious objection to laws which segregate people merely on the basis of race....It will be extremely difficult for us to effectively counsel moderation to a people who have been so patient for so long under discriminatory laws." Efforts to create a society in which all persons are treated as equal under the law should be commended and actively supported.

In addition to the serious moral implications involving human rights, there is the question of the development of international community. The process of developing relationships among nations for the purpose of achieving world peace has reached a critical stage. Since World War II, the destructiveness of modern war-making capabilities has become so enormous that the notion that armed conflict is a valid option to resolve national differences is being questioned. Military force is not the only conventional source of power that has come under scrutiny: the sovereignty of individual nations has also been challenged. The consequences of these developments has prompted the search for new structures to promote and maintain world peace.

The current Rhodesian situation, and in particular, the U.S. response to that situation, highlights both the need for a worldwide authority and the ways in which individual nations, in an abuse of their sovereignty, can presently undermine the effectiveness of such a worldwide organization. It provides a focal point from which the interplay between resolving internal disputes and international order is evident.

In 1971, the U.S. Congress passed legislation, specifically the Byrd Amendment, which had the effect of allowing importation of Rhodesian chrome ore, in violation of the U.N. sanction. Each of the Security Council resolutions on the Rhodesian sanctions (which the United States had supported) explicitly stated that failure or refusal by a nation to implement the sanctions "shall constitute a violation of Article 25 of the U.N. Charter," which provides that: "The members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter."

In a recent opinion rendered by the International Court of Justice regarding Article 25, the Court stated: "when the Security Council adopts a decision under Article 25 in accordance with the Charter, it is for Member States to comply with the decision....To hold otherwise would be to deprive this principal organ of its essential functions and powers under the Charter." The U.S. government obligated itself to adhere to this international treaty when the U.S. Senate initially ratified the U.N. Charter, and consistent with its obligation enacted federal legislation imposing penalties upon American violators of the U.N. sanctions.

In recognition of its legal obligation to enforce the sanctions, and uphold its own laws in this regard, the United States had indicted and convicted several U.S. firms and their officers for violating the sanctions during the period from 1968 to 1971. For the Congress then to negate the U.N. sanctions, as it did in 1971, would seem to require an extremely

The situation in Rhodesia breeds discontent. It is simply courting disaster to expect a whole people who outnumber those who govern by 20 to 1 to be happy with a condition of affairs which accords to them merely a marginal existence in the social, economic, political and cultural life of their country, and which because of their race, denies them the chance of integral development.

Bishop Donal Lamont

The moral order itself demands that a form of public authority be established...with powers, structure and means...and in a position to act in an effective manner on a worldwide basis.

John XXIII

important and persuasive justification. National security has been offered by some as that justification, but the evidence presented by respected authorities suggests that this reason is less than convincing.

WASHINGTON, D.C., September 1971

—American companies with chrome interests in Rhodesia had been lobbying in Congress against the U.N. sanctions, according to Congressional sources.

Shortly before the Senate vote, a lobbyist told a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff, "We've got the votes" to defeat the sanctions.

Lobbying by private corporations during Congressional sessions in 1971 suggests that private businesses' interests in expanding their markets and increasing their profits seem to be taking precedence over more fundamental concerns such as human rights and international law.

It was on the very issue of enforcement of sanctions that the League of Nations faltered, since the determination for enforcement of approved sanctions was left to each member nation. In drafting the U.N. Charter, efforts were made to strengthen the delicate network of relationships between sovereign nations so as to develop greater justice in international affairs.

The lack of support by the United States for the U.N. sanctions therefore challenges not only some of the basic articles of the U.N. Charter but ultimately the viability of the United Nations itself. The failure of the United States to meet its international obligations is a crucial moral and legal issue.

We urge the Congress to enforce the U.N. sanction of all Rhodesian imports, including chrome ore. The U.S. violation of these sanctions since 1971 has strengthened the position of the white ruling class in Rhodesia, has caused a serious loss in both the prestige and credibility of the United Nations, and has damaged the efforts of all member nations to build a United Nations' structure that may, as Pope John XXIII earnestly prayed, "become ever more equal to the magnitude and nobility of its task."

Congressional Testimony  
given by Archbishop Bernardin  
Past USCC/NCCB General Secretary  
September 1973

*EDITOR'S NOTE: The U.S. Senate voted to repeal the Byrd Amendment on December 18, 1973. However, at the time this publication went to press, the U.S. House of Representatives had not voted on the matter; therefore, the issue of the sanctions is not yet finally resolved.*

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## OUTLINE FOR GROUP STUDY

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1. Identify human rights violations in Rhodesia.
  - a. Show film (see "Teacher/Leader Activity" in this case study).
  - b. Tabulate human rights violations using "The Setting" and "Voices."
  - c. Using Bishop Lamont's text, draw parallels between racism he describes and U.S. experience with racism (e.g., Indians, Blacks, Chicanos).
2. Focus on human rights violations as a source of conflict.
  - a. Contrast Rhodesia's break with Britain in 1965 and the American rebellion against Britain in 1776.
  - b. Compare the conditions that provoked the American revolution and the conditions

- that prompted Lamont to predict black African rebellion.
- c. Discuss what actions/changes/factors might contribute to alleviating this potential for conflict.
3. Examine the U.N. sanctions as an attempt to alleviate the violations of human rights in Rhodesia. Use "Voices," "Contrasts," and "An Advocate."
    - a. Discuss reasons for U.S. cooperation with the United Nations.
    - b. Discuss reasons for subsequent U.S. non-cooperation, comparing and contrasting the interests and priorities of various groups, e.g., U.S. business, U.S. government U.S. Church.
    - c. Contrast the validity of these reasons in terms of long-range human rights objectives: the concepts of one human community and the universal common good developed in the "Keynoter" of the previous section.
  4. Reflect upon the relationship between faith and good works. (Cf. St. James' Epistle) Discuss and develop a contemporary meaning of "good works" in the context of a Christian response of an American citizen to the Rhodesian situation.
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## RESOURCES

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### **Congressional Testimony.**

"The Repeal of the Rhodesian Chrome Amendment." Hearings before Subcommittees of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. October 5 and 17, 1973. Available from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515. Free.

"U.N. Sanctions Against Rhodesia." Archbishop Joseph L. Bernardin for the United States Catholic Conference. Full text available from USCC Publications Office, 1312 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. 15 cents.

### **Films.**

"The End of the Dialogue." Morena Films, Ltd. c/o 345 E. 46th St., New York, NY 10017. Request current price information.

"You Hide Me." Tricontinental Film Center. Eastern U.S.: 244 W. 27th St., New York, NY 10001; Western U.S.: P.O. Box 4430, Berkeley, CA 94704. Rental: \$20.

"Twentieth Century Slavery." Contemporary McGraw Hill Films, Princeton Road, Hightstown, NY 08520. Rental: \$10 plus surface postage.

### **Periodicals.**

*Africa Today*. Published quarterly by Africa Today Associates, c/o Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver, Colorado 80210.

"Center Survey." Vol. I, No. 7 featured "Rhodesia: White Supremacy." Vol. II, Nos. 19 and 20 focused on American involvement in the U.N. sanctions question. Center for the Study of Power and Peace, 110 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. Single copy: 35 cents. Also bulk rates.

*Southern Africa*. Published monthly by the Southern Africa Committee, 244 W. 27th St., New York, NY 10001. \$5/year.

### **Special Reports.**

"Business As Usual." Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1717 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Single copy: free.

"Rhodesian Chrome." United Nations Association of the USA, Student and Young Adult Division, 411 E. Capitol St., Washington, D.C. 20003. Single copy: \$1.

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## OVERVIEW

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In the last twenty years, the hope became widespread that economic growth would result in a quantity of goods sufficient to alleviate significantly poverty and other associated ills. This hope has proved to be founded on false optimism, especially in regard to the less industrialized nations.

The 1971 Roman Synod of Bishops said that these Third World countries continue to be plagued by "stifling oppressions" which give rise to "great numbers of 'marginal' persons, ill-fed, inhumanly housed, illiterate and deprived of political power."

The bishops further observed that "it is impossible to conceive true progress without recognizing *the necessity*...of a development composed both of economic growth and *participation*; and the necessity too of an increase in wealth implying as well *social progress by the entire community* as it overcomes regional imbalance and islands of prosperity." (Italics added.)

Participation is a right, the bishops said, which applies in the economic, social and political field. Developing nations are faced with the fact that determination to improve the living conditions of masses of people can conflict with the interests of the economic system itself.

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## OBJECTIVES

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1. To identify the specific violations of human rights in Brazil.
2. To explore the relationship between the "economic miracle" and human rights violations.
3. To focus on the Brazilian Church's role in exposing human rights violations.
4. To examine the involvement of the United States in Brazil as a question of conscience for American citizens.



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## THE SETTING

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Brazil is the fifth largest country in the world, following the USSR, People's Republic of China, Canada and the United States. In population, it ranks eighth, with about 100 million people.

In the last ten years, Brazil has been noted for two social phenomena: its "miraculous" economic growth and its alleged violations of human rights.

In 1964, the Brazilian military, by a *coup d'etat*, ousted the existing government, and has remained in power. Since 1968, the economy of Brazil has been growing at an average rate of about 10% a year, which is the highest of any major nation in the world.

Brazil was formerly a one-crop economy. Coffee, traditionally the major export, currently accounts for less than a third of its foreign earnings. Brazil's industries are now turning out everything from shoes to supertankers; its auto industry has become the tenth largest in the world.

Since the 1964 coup, the U.S. government has provided Brazil with approximately \$2 billion in assistance. The United States was also instrumental in Brazil's acquiring hundreds of millions of dollars in credit through international lending agencies. Brazil's economic achievement has been such that in 1972 it was able to provide a foreign aid program of its own to thirteen countries in South and Central America.

Brazil's so-called economic miracle, however, is only part of the story. Reports of torture and political repression in the country continue to appear. In 1972, Amnesty International published a report which documented alleged practices of torture by Brazilian authorities. The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights has repeatedly received complaints of human rights violations in Brazil.



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## TEACHER/ LEADER ACTIVITY

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*(Sources of materials referred to below can be found in the "Resources" of this case study.)*

1. Read "The Setting," "Voices," "Other Views" and "An Advocate," contained in this case study. Reproduce for distribution to the class/group.
2. Obtain "Brazil: Challenge and Progress," for a depiction of Brazil's "economic miracle."
3. Obtain and read the full text of "I Have Heard the Cry of My People" for an expanded treatment of the relationship between the "economic miracle" and human rights violations.

4. Read *Exodus*, Chapters 1, 3 and 5.
  - a. Reflect on the bias of the biblical writer. Note the unequivocal slant in favor of the oppressed:
    - 1) The lack of reference to the advanced state of Egyptian civilization, e.g., culturally, commercially, architecturally;
    - 2) The focus on the plight of the oppressed (1:8-22);
    - 3) The emphasis on the intransigent attitude of the ruling class toward the oppressed (3:19-20; 5:4-23).

For further development of the biblical theme of liberation, see "Liberation and Salvation," Chapter 9 in *Theology of Liberation* by Gustavo Gutierrez.
  - b. Examine "Voices" in this case study and compare and contrast the bias expressed there with that of *Exodus*.
5. Obtain "Center Survey," Vol. 1, Nos. 15 and 16 for background materials on U.S. involvement in Brazil. Consider obtaining copies for the class/group.

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## VOICES: Brazilian Catholic Bishops

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### Voice 1

The Church in Brazil must strive to achieve a clearer awareness of the pastoral requirements implicit in the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Church must therefore continually press for the attainment of these rights. The Church—by all the means of communication at its disposal—must inform public opinion regarding violations of human rights, and must be ready to accept the consequences of this action.

Among the human rights which are less respected in Brazil are those which are detailed below. The Church proposes to commit itself to increasing the respect of these rights and to enabling a greater number of Brazilians to enjoy the benefits which they guarantee.

- Right to freedom and physical integrity, contrasted with excessive repression;
- Right to take part in politics, which is especially denied to members of the

opposition;

- Right of association, particularly in the matter of trade-unions;
- Right to freedom of expression and information;
- Right to legal defense, which is denied because of the suspension of the writ of

*habeas corpus*;

- Right to life, threatened by birth-control campaigns and by excessively permissive legislation on the subject of abortion.

Latin America is experiencing a growing tendency toward authoritarian governments. As an antidote to this movement we propose that non-governmental organizations at the

The Church has the right, indeed the duty, to proclaim justice in the social, national and international level, and to denounce instances of injustice, when the fundamental rights of man and his very salvation demand it.

"Justice in the World"  
1971 Roman Synod

international level, such as churches, establish a world tribunal on human dignity. The tribunal's purpose would be to judge the regimes which violate the basic human rights, taking as a basis for their judgments the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights. However, judges from those nations where these rights are systematically violated would not form part of this tribunal.

Brazilian Conference of  
Catholic Bishops  
March 1973

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## Voice 2

We have listened to the cries of our people—crying for the ministry of liberation, pleading with us to share their “hunger and thirst for justice.”

The situation in which our society finds itself was characterized by our National Bishops Conference as “a sinful situation.” The Latin American bishops meeting at Medellin, Colombia, in 1968, called the situation “institutionalized violence.”

The situation in Brazil is unique. In the economic field, the greatest offensive ever conducted in our history in favor of the inflow of foreign capital is now under way. The government is pushing through measures to assure profits sought by the foreign capital being invested here. The results of this new economic policy were speedy and impressive. Since 1968, Brazil has attained an economic growth rate of about 10%.

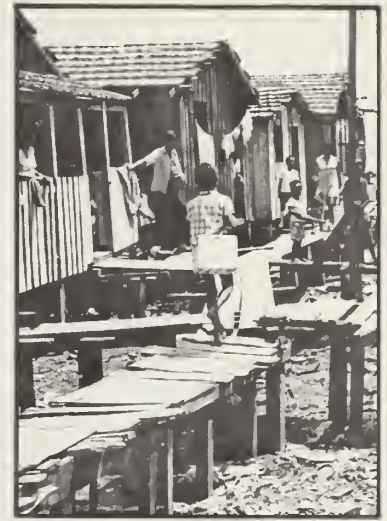
In the wake of the “miracle,” however, is the relative impoverishment of the people. During the 1960's, the 20% of the Brazilian population with the highest income raised its share in the national income, while the remaining 80% saw their share reduced. The richest 1% of the Brazilian population raised its share of the national income from 11% to 17%, while half of the population with a lower income saw its share reduced from 18% to 14%.

To achieve this so-called Brazilian miracle, the government, through its regulations on minimum wages, has transferred part of the income of the wage earners to the rich classes who already enjoy the fruits of economic growth.

Defenders of the system sponsoring the inflow of foreign capital say that “The cake needs to rise before it can be divided.” But, modern technology requires consumption patterns which can be met only by the rich. The consumption patterns for the masses of Brazilians cannot adjust to the advanced technology of the countries where these corporations originate. Production structures inevitably impose a definite pattern of income and consumption.

Industrialization becomes in this way an instrument for the production of goods which can satisfy the more refined whims of a consumer class of society, turning its back on the needs of the general population. In addition, to acquire the industrial equipment necessary for the production of these goods, the country is increasing its foreign debt in a frightening way.

In order to guarantee the smooth functioning and security of the capitalistic system, the necessity of repression becomes ever greater. During the so-called miracle, the national



Urban scene in Brazil

The Lord said, “I have witnessed the affliction of my people in Egypt and have heard their cry of complaint against their slave drivers, so I know well what they are suffering.”

Exodus 3:7

The top 1% of Brazilians received more income than did half of the entire Brazilian population.



government invested itself with the prerogatives of absolute power, negating values and rights which had been won at great cost and incorporated into Brazilian institutional life, especially in the field of democratic freedoms.

Repression has expressed itself in many ways: curtailment of the constitutional prerogatives of the legislative branch of government; the repression of the right to form labor unions or to strike; the elimination of student leadership; the establishment of censorship; persecution of workers, peasants and intellectuals; harassment of priests and members of active groups of the Christian churches—all this using various forms of imprisonment, torture, mutilation and assassination.

When such conditions of oppression and injustice meet with resistance, the violation of human rights escalates in acts of still greater violence. Official terrorism established control through espionage and the secret police.

Christian hope, which points to a new mankind, does not allow us to remain inert, passively awaiting the hour of the restoration of all things. Rather, it demands an unremitting and active presence, capable of eliciting, in the course of history, the signs of the resurrection, the outlines of the new mankind of the future.

Brothers, the assurance given by Jesus in his eschatological discourse is an incomparable strength for us in this hour of darkness laden with promise: "Revive and life up your head because the time of your liberation is at hand." (*Luke 21:28*)

Bishops and Major Religious Superiors  
Northeast Region of Brazil  
"I Have Heard the Cry of My People"  
May 1973

The cause of harassment in the diocese is a conspiracy of the big landowners, allied with the military; official repression is particularly strong against the Church or anyone who dares to raise his voice for justice.

Bishop Casaldaligo  
Sao Felix, Brazil

## ***Inter-Gov't Commission: Brazil Uses Torture***

WASHINGTON, D.C., Feb. 21—Evidence leads to a “persuasive presumption” of political imprisonment and torture in Brazil, according

### **EMBASSY REFUSES TO DISCUSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS**

WASHINGTON, D.C., Sept. 11—Two officials of the nation’s principal Roman Catholic and Protestant organizations held a press conference here yesterday to protest the continued jailing and torture of a Brazilian peasant leader.

Their protest followed an unsuccessful attempt to present 7,000 petitions on behalf of the leader to the Brazilian Ambassador.

### **REGIME SILENCES RADIO STATION**

SAO PAULO, Nov. 21—The Brazilian authorities closed down the official radio station of the Archdiocese of Sao Paulo today, citing “national interests.”

The station has been used by Cardinal Arns for a weekly broadcast.

## **AUTHORITIES BAN BISHOPS' VIEWS**

RIO DE JANEIRO, Oct. 2—The regime banned the document in which the bishops of Northeast Brazil charged the government with torture, mutilation and assassination.

## **MILITARY ARRESTS OWNER OF PRESS**

GOIAS, Aug. 24—A local print shop owner was arrested here for printing a Church document critical of the government.

Archbishop Fernando Gomes protested the man’s arrest taking full responsibility for the document.

## ***Government Displeased With Bishops' Proposal***

BRASILIA, April 5—The proposal of the Brazilian bishops to set up an international tribunal to protect human rights was not well received by Brazil’s ruling powers. A congressional debate on the document was cut short by the government party.

Brazil’s ruling junta has turned down requests by international organizations to accept an impartial investigation of repeated charges of torture by the military police of political prisoners—including priests and religious.



Luxury beach in  
Rio de Janeiro

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## OTHER VIEWS OF BRAZIL

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### **Brazilian Embassy**

The Brazilian government's National Development Plan sets socio-economic targets at securing a process of cumulative growth (GNP). The plan will improve Brazil's position among the first ten countries of the world, and will allow an increase in the national per capita income of about one third, up to \$500 per person per year.

A number of large investment programs, with expenditures involving sums of more than 1 billion U.S. dollars over a five-year period, will deal with infrastructural areas such as steel-mill expansion, petrochemical industries, merchant marine construction, power and mining, transport and telecommunications, education and housing.

Typical of these newer industries is vehicle manufacturing which has made spectacular progress during the last twelve years. American, European and Japanese manufactures have found rewarding opportunities in Brazil. Brazil is not without pride in having reached tenth place among the world's motor vehicle producers.

To make full use of human resources, not only as a factor of production but also as consumers, the government plans to reduce the present number of adult illiterates from eight million to two million by the mid-70's.

“Brazil: Challenge and Progress”

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### **Brazil Airlines**

Brazil has the fastest growing economy in the world. This economy has been carefully balanced to control inflationary forces by a group of innovative, highly pragmatic technocrats who have invented new ways of looking at problems and finding brilliant solutions.

As a result of this innate expertise and the stability of economic growth, Brazil has attracted billions of dollars of foreign investment capital. The tourism industry alone is currently constructing hundreds of new hotels and Brazil is keeping pace by building new airports to transport tourists to travel centers. Formerly an agricultural economy, Brazilian industrialized goods have become the dominant factor in exports since 1965.

Brazilian Airlines Advertisement

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### **Foreign Investor**

We believe in Brazil. And for years we have been busy producing useful products for a growing population. Products such as:

- Industrial explosives to help build roads, tunnels and dams;
- Modern blasting agents to help mine the iron ore, manganese and other minerals so important to the country's export earnings;
- Freon refrigerants for the increasing number of home appliances and for the growing aerosol industry;
- Farm chemicals—vital to the abundant production of high quality crops.

Dupont Ad in “Journal of Commerce,” 12/21/70

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## AN ADOVATE: American Catholic Bishops

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The American bishops' statement last November on the 25th anniversary of the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights was especially sensitive to U.S. international activities. It specifically highlighted the moral question of American economic assistance supporting regimes which seriously suppress the human rights of their citizens.

It is precisely to the international level, and more specifically, to the relations of the United States and Brazil that we address ourselves at this time.

We are compelled to focus attention on Brazil because of the level to which respect for human rights has deteriorated in that country, and also because continuous efforts have been made there to eliminate sources of dissent in the public sector—in youth groups, political parties, labor unions, peasant associations.

One of the last remaining organized voices in Brazil's society with power to speak in opposition to repressive government tactics is the Church, and this obviously places it in a most vulnerable position.

The policies of the government must be seen in the context of the supposed economic "miracle" taking place in Brazil. Although Brazil's economy is growing at a remarkable annual rate, Robert S. McNamara, President of the World Bank, has pointed out that Brazil's development in the 1960's was severely distorted: "The very rich did very well. But throughout the decade the poorest 40% of the population benefited only marginally."

McNamara's general observations are also relevant to Brazil: "When the distribution of land, income, and opportunity becomes distorted to the point of desperation, what political leaders must often weigh is the risk of unpopular (among the rich) but necessary social reform—against the risk of social rebellion." The Brazilian regime, rather than effecting necessary social reforms, seems to favor measures which suppress all sources of opposition and thereby hopes to eliminate "the risk of social rebellion."

In view of the oppressive conditions in Brazil, the March 1973 statement made by the Brazilian Conference of Catholic Bishops is remarkably courageous and timely. The bishops stated that the Church in Brazil must inform public opinion of instances of violations of human rights, "and must be ready to accept the consequences of this action."

We associate ourselves in solidarity with the Brazilian bishops in their call for greater respect for human rights, as illustrated by the recent statement of the bishops of the Southern region of Brazil.

We also associate ourselves with the Brazilian Conference of Catholic Bishops in their call for the establishment of an international juridical body to judge regimes which violate the basic rights of the human person.

We also join with others in the protests already filed with the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States, concerning violations of human rights in Brazil. We pledge ourselves to search for ever more effective ways of expressing our solidarity with the Church in Brazil.

Our government must examine closely its programs of financial and military assistance to be certain they are not used in the denial of human rights. Further, the U.S. government must examine its trade and tariff policies to insure that they do not foster the repression of human rights. The U.S. government, along with other governments, must

For as long as, within the individual national communities, those in power do not nobly respect the rights and legitimate freedoms of the citizens, tranquillity and order (even though they can be maintained by force) remain nothing but a deceptive and insecure sham, no longer worthy of a society of civilized beings.

Pope Paul VI

It is not lawful for you to arrest people the way you do, without identification of agents, without communication to judges, without sentencing. Many of the arrests are kidnappings. It is not lawful for you to submit people to physical, psychological or moral torture in order to obtain confessions, even more so when this leads to permanent damage to the health, psychological breakdowns, mutilations and even death.

Brazilian Bishops  
Southern Region



The Brazilian submarine fleet will be the most modern and powerful in South America by 1975, according to its commander. Brazil at present has four submarines in operation and one under training in Florida. Seven more are being built in Britain and the United States.

continue to scrutinize Brazilian affairs closely and bring pressure to bear on the Brazilian authorities for the restoration of human rights, especially through various international agencies such as the United Nations, as well as those bilateral United States-Brazilian programs.

In the private sector, we encourage policy makers in multinational corporations and financial institutions to assess the social consequences of their present or contemplated investments in Brazil. And further, since stock ownership entails a moral responsibility, stockholders are encouraged to use their influence to affect corporations' policies.

Americans, in general, should inform themselves about human rights conditions in Brazil, and assess their social responsibility in rectifying injustices.

Administrative Board of Bishops  
United States Catholic Conference  
February 1974

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## OUTLINE FOR GROUP STUDY

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1. Identify human rights violations in Brazil.
  - a. Distribute "The Setting," "Voices," "Other Views" and "An Advocate" for group study.
  - b. Tabulate human rights violations using the above readings and the film.
2. Explore the relationship between the "economic miracle" and human rights violations.
  - a. Ask individual group members to prepare a treatment of one aspect of ancient Egyptian civilization, e.g., medicine, commerce, agriculture, art, architecture, from available library sources for presentation to the group.
  - b. Contrast these aspects of Egypt with that aspect featured by the author of *Exodus* as depicted in Chapters 1, 3 and 5.
  - c. Do a similar treatment of modern Brazil using the booklet "Brazil: Challenge and Progress" and "Voices."
3. "Voices" reflects the Brazilian Church speaking to the violations of human rights in Brazil. Is this a proper role for the Church in society? Why or why not?
4. Distribute "Center Survey," Vol. 1, Nos. 15 and 16 for group study.
  - a. In what ways is the United States involved in the Brazil situation?
  - b. What avenues of action for conscientious American Catholics does this suggest?

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## RESOURCES

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### **Book.**

*Theology of Liberation.* Gustavo Gutierrez. Orbis Books, Maryknoll, NY 10545. Paper: \$4.95.

### **Booklet.**

"Brazil: Challenge and Progress." Brazilian Embassy Information Office, 3006 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008. Free.

### **Congressional Hearings.**

"Torture and Political Oppression in Latin America (Brazil)." Hearings before a Subcommittee of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. October 3, 1973. Available from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515. Free.

### **Periodicals.**

"Center Survey," Vol. 1, Nos. 15 and 16. Center for the Study of Power and Peace, 110 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. Single copy: 35 cents. Also bulk rates.

The USCC Division for Latin America provides the following first-rate publications on Latin America which include specific information about Brazilian affairs. All can be obtained from that Division at 1312 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

"LADOC." Monthly documentary service of significant statements, reports and magazine articles in English from or about Latin America. These materials rarely appear in the U.S. press. \$6/year.

"LADOC Keyhole Series." Topical compilation of documents previously published in LADOC. \$1 each.

"Latin America Calls." Monthly newspaper. \$1/year.

### **Special Report.**

"Justice and Evangelization," IDOC-FOME, July 1973, No. 4. IDOC-North America, 235 E. 49th St., New York, NY 10017. Includes "I Have Heard the Cry of My People." \$2.95.

### **Statements.**

Statement of March 1973. Brazilian Conference of Catholic Bishops. Full text available from USCC Division for Latin America, above address.

## CASE STUDY: PHILIPPINES

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### OVERVIEW

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Ten years after *Pacem in Terris*, Maurice Cardinal Roy, President of the Pontifical Commission Justice and Peace, noted that progress toward independence had not been as rapid as had been anticipated. Rather, an economic neo-colonialism had often replaced traditional political colonialism.

Traditionally, a colony was politically dominated by, economically dependent upon and militarily occupied by a foreign power. With the press toward nationalism following World War II, many colonies were granted political freedom. However, significantly, the other two factors—economic domination and military presence—often persisted, giving rise to a new form of colonialism. Even the rights associated with political freedom were often restricted to an elite.

The new colonialism is evident in the Philippines. As Cardinal Roy points out, economic neo-colonialism sows seeds of a menacing future. The situation in the Philippines is fraught with tensions and conflict, placing human rights in a most vulnerable position.

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### OBJECTIVES

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1. To identify the specific violations of human rights in the Philippines.
2. To examine the Philippines' "colonial" status *vis-a-vis* the United States, and its implications for human rights.
3. To explore possible alternatives for the Church in the Philippines and in the United States.



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## THE SETTING

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In September 1972, President Marcos declared martial law in the Philippines, stating that the nation was “imperilled by the danger of a violent overthrow, insurrection and rebellion.” He noted that the production sectors of the economy had ground to a halt, the judiciary was unable to administer justice, lawlessness in Manila had reached a point where citizens were forced by fear to remain in their homes.

Marcos referred to battles between Philippine government forces and “subversives,” including communists in the north (Luzon) and Muslims in the South (Mindinao and Sulu). Four months later, he declared a new Constitution in force which gave him near absolute power for as long as he wished to retain it. He sponsored a national referendum and a plebiscite which provided public endorsement for his actions.

Since declaring martial law, President Marcos has put less emphasis on the threat from insurgent groups and more emphasis on the reforms necessary to build what he calls “the New Society.” Many of his proposals, however, directly threaten the interests of a few hundred wealthy families who have dominated the Philippines since the Spanish colonial period.

If Marcos’ gamble with democratic processes and the Philippines’ future is to succeed, he must deliver tangible economic benefits to a population traditionally burdened with a severely uneven distribution of wealth and more recently plagued by unemployment and inflation.

Many observers believe his chances of success are no better than even. There is likely to be a continuing threat of assassination, a resumption of insurgent activity, and increasing opposition from the ruling class. If he does not bear down on the ruling oligarchy and instead compromises his objectives, the people may not be willing to concede him continued unlimited powers.



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## TEACHER/ LEADER ACTIVITY

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*(Sources of materials referred to below can be found in the “Resources” of this case study.)*

1. Read “The Setting,” “Voices,” “Immediate Responses...,” “Surveys” and “Postscript.” Reproduce for distribution to the class/group.
2. Obtain “The Philippines: American Corporations, Martial Law, and Underdevelopment” and “An Asian Theology of Liberation: The Philippines” for additional teacher background.
3. Obtain “Center Survey,” Vol. 1, Nos. 21 and 22 for a chronology from 1898 to the present and a discussion of martial law and the resistance.
4. Obtain the play-let “Every Man My Brother?” for presentation by the class/group. It includes the initial colonial movement of the United States into the Philippines. Prepare discussion questions focusing on colonialism and human rights violations appropriate to your class/group level.
5. Read *Amos* in the Old Testament, Chapters 2 through 8:
  - a. Note instances of oppression that Amos cites.

- b. Draw parallels to the modern Philippine situation.
- c. Note the role of the prophet: one who speaks truth to power.
- d. Note the reaction of the powerful (7:10-14).
- e. Reflect on the role of prophet and of advocate. Are they one and the same? Does one role include the other? For example, does advocacy include prophecy in certain situations?



Squatters' huts near U.S. air base with government-built housing in the background  
(U.N. Photo)

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## VOICES

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### Voice 1

Are Filipinos free? It is shocking for many to even suggest that we are not free. Did not our forefathers fight a revolution to free this country from Spanish bondage? And when America withheld that freedom from us when it was almost within our grasp, was not our political history thereafter simply the history of a campaign for independence. When a third colonial master, Japan, placed us under military occupation, was not the one redeeming feature of that dark interlude the desperate resistance with which our freedom fighters held tyranny at bay?

Was not the United States faithful to its promise, and on the scheduled date, did they not grant us the freedom we had fought for so bitterly, and which had been denied us for so long? And have we not, since, maintained these islands a free and sovereign republic, with a government premised on free elections, an economy of free enterprise, and the freest press in the world?

No doubt, Filipinos are free. But consider this: Freedom is not merely the freedom to choose. Freedom, to be real, must include the freedom—the reasonable opportunity—to do or to attain what one rightly chooses.

And if we ask whether the ordinary Filipino of today possesses this reality of freedom, we begin to have some doubts.

Is the small Filipino farmer, a tenant on someone else's land, really and truly free to achieve by honest toil his lifelong ambition of having a farm of his own?

It will be asked: Does the law prevent him? And we must answer that it does not. Do our leaders of church and state discourage him from that ambition? And again we must answer that they do not. On the contrary, they encourage him, in season and out of season to fulfill that ambition.

Then he is free. But can we honestly say that he is free? Can we look our tenant farmer in the face and say that our society provides him with the means, the opportunities, the capital, the know-how and the effective protection of his lawful rights by which alone he can become a free and independent farmer? I do not think we can.

We can say that our economic system is a system of free enterprise. The question to ask, I suppose, is: free to whom? If a penniless but inventive young man among us were to make a better mousetrap, can we really assure him that the world will beat a path to his door? Not perhaps the world, you will say; but certainly there will be prospective backers to call on him. Of course; but then, can we further assure him that when his callers have left he will still be in possession of his mousetrap?

We are proud of our system of free elementary education. But how many of the children in our rural and slum areas are really free? To how many of them do the hard realities of life in a shack afford the freedom to go to school for the full six years, and to learn something of value from that experience?

Year after year, our colleges and universities turn out whole armies of teachers, doctors, engineers. And year after year commencement speakers throughout the land adjure them to take possession of their heritage, to go forth and conquer. Some of them do; a few even achieve a measure of affluence.

Would it be considered cynical to inquire whether they succeed in life simply because of their education; or is it for some other reason, such as family ties, or social status, or political influence?

And what of those who have none of these advantages? Are they really free to put what they have learned to work?

In the Philippines, we have a "brain drain." People say, here are trained and competent Filipinos, who are given the option of serving their own people or feathering their own nest. They opt for *la dolce vita* in Manila, or Hong Kong, or Singapore; *la dolce vita*, above all in the United States; almost never for *la miserabile vita* in the Philippine Islands.

But do they really have an option? Are they really free to choose? If you were a doctor; if you were not Saint Francis of Assisi but simply an ordinary human being with a family to support, children to raise; and an education that has made good books and good music not luxuries but necessities of life, would you really feel you had an option as between Kiburraio, Bukidnon, where a peasant will give you six eggs for delivering his firstborn child, and an internship or a residency in a hospital in Massachusetts? It is all very well to talk of freedom; but for freedom to be real, the alternative must be realistic.

And we have free elections, of course. But just how free are they? Is your ballot really free if the choice is that if you vote one way, the street in front of your house gets cemented, and if you vote the other way, your house gets burned? Certainly, it is not often as bad as that. It might be said that the principal limitation on the freedom of the voter in our democracy is the voter himself. When a citizen has neither the education nor the leisure to consider the basic issues of an election and make a personal judgment on them; when he is so poor that the five pesos offered for his vote will mean that he can take his sick child to a doctor; when it is considered a fact of life, not to be challenged or even questioned, that the little people go to the big people to ask "What side are we on?"—it seems academic to inquire whether the legal safeguards for the freedom of the ballot are being enforced.

Philippines' Social Pyramid:

1%	ruling class
3%	capitalists
6%	bourgeoisie (includes teachers, students, intellectuals, low-salaried professionals, employees, minor government officials, small businessmen)
15%	manual workmen
75%	peasants

More than 65,000 doctors in the United States are foreign-born. In 1972 alone, more than 7,000 doctors were admitted to the United States. The greatest number are from the Philippines.

Rev. Horacio de la Costa, S.J.  
Asia Assistant to Rev. Pedro Arrupe, S.J.  
Former Provincial of the Philippine Jesuits  
(taken from "Impact," October 1971)



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## **Voice 2**

The United States occupied the Philippines by force and against the will of the Filipino people. While some people claim that the United States occupied the Philippines in order to educate the Filipinos and to develop the country for the Filipinos, few right-thinking people today will accept this as the whole truth.

For several decades, the United States took the responsibility of directing our educational, economic, social and political affairs. While it is true that as a people we profited in some respects from American occupation, the truth is that the principal consideration of the United States was its own economic, military and other interests.

The United States would not have sent over 126,000 soldiers, 7,000 miles away to the Philippines to fight in more than 2,800 battles and to spend \$600 million within a period of three years simply because they fell in love with our dark hair and Malayan eyes! If all the Americans wanted was to teach us democracy and promote our health, they could have easily made arrangements with President Aquinaldo for the dispatch of teachers, doctors and disinfectants to the Philippines!

During the American regime, agriculture and the primary industries in the Philippines were developed to provide raw materials for American factories. In return, manufactured goods were brought to the Philippines and we were developed as a market for American finished goods. A strong appetite for American finished goods was developed among the Filipino people, while they were not taught or encouraged to produce these goods.

In the political sphere, an overly centralized and/or paternalistic government was set up for the convenience of the colonial administration and colonial exploitation. Subsequently, while independence has always been the right of every nation, Philippine independence was granted in effect as a favor. And after we become politically independent, we began to feel most painfully the terrible effects of colonial administration on our social, economic, cultural and political life.

President Aquinaldo was the leader of the Philippine independence movement at the turn of the century.

Jeremias Montemayor  
Consultant, Vatican Council of the Laity  
Former Dean, Ateneo College of Law, Manila

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## **IMMEDIATE RESPONSES TO MARTIAL LAW**

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### **Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines**

To all the Catholic Bishops of the Philippines:  
At an audience with President Marcos today, the President gave us his authorization under Proclamation 1081, dated 27 September 1972, that this could be so released to the public.

We have on several previous occasions expressed our concern for social justice, our anxiety over graft and corruption in government and business, our opposition to godless ideologies. We are keenly aware of the social ills of the country which continue and even grow in a climate of abuse that has raised doubts in the minds of some about the relevance of Christianity and democracy in our nation.

We wish to emphasize that the responsibility for the present crisis rests in no small measure on those citizens who, while they profess themselves convinced Christians and lovers of democracy—particularly political, economic and religious leaders—are sorely remiss in their concern for social justice and, by the manner of their lives, are positive obstacles to morality, truth and love.

We cannot but lament the prevalence of hatred and violence in our country. It is a great deception to think that reforms are to be gained by such means and we exhort our Christian people to realize how alien hatred and violence are to the ways of Christ.

On the other hand, we must repeat that those, too, must share the blame for this violence and hatred who have by their callousness to justice and indifference to the common good given occasion for it.

We were happy to read the assurance of the President that he was concerned not to prolong martial law unduly. We, too, echo this desire. We also feel that we express the sentiments of the Filipino people in this regard.

### **American Businessmen in Manila**

Cable to President Marcos, September 27, 1972:

The American Chamber of Commerce wishes you every success in your endeavors to restore peace and order, business confidence, economic growth, and the well-being of the Filipino people and nation. We assure you of our confidence and cooperation in achieving these objectives. We are communicating these feelings to our associates and affiliates in the United States.

#### **Marcos' Reply**

I am happy to know that you support my decision. My desire to establish a new society has moved me to take our present course. This can be done only by eliminating subversion, eradicating lawless elements, restoring the people's faith in their government, and getting them to reform certain habits and attitudes which have been obstacles toward progress. In this task I need your cooperation.

### **Eighteen Catholics Bishops of the Philippines**

To President Marcos, September 28, 1972:

We feel we must in conscience let you know what we think about your imposition of martial law on the whole country and supplement and support the statement that the Administrative Board of the Catholic Bishops of the Philippines presented to Your Excellency a few days ago.

If the danger from subversive and rebellious elements is as great and as widespread as reported, we are not ready to say. We accept the fact that you have a wider grasp of the real extent of communist infiltration than we do. But we have personal knowledge of the situation in our own particular cities and provinces. And it is for this reason we are deeply disturbed.

Like you, we want a new society. This is what we have been striving for all along in all



Under Proclamation 1081, Marcos ordered the internment of a Northern Luzon Congressman and the Governor of Cagayan in a detention camp. (UPI Photo)



our work as churchmen. What we are bothered about is that the "new society" you speak of has to be brought about by force, by the restricting mode of martial law. From our experience with our people, we stand convinced that no lasting change of heart ever comes from change decreed by fiat. True conversion comes only from persuasion and good example, from internal and willing acceptance, not from fear or coercion.

We would therefore strongly make these three requests of you:

1) that you shorten the rule of martial law to as brief a time possible, to a matter of a few months at the most;

2) that those detained for whatever reason be dealt with fairly and justly in civil courts of law, the innocent released as soon as possible; and

3) that even before the final lifting of martial law, basic freedoms like those of speech through the mass media be restored to our citizenry.

These requests are made solely from concern for our people. We know they will not suffer for long the curtailment of their fundamental rights, and we fear that this repression will lead to greater ills than you set out to correct. In our honest judgment, we believe this fact alone to be a great injustice. It is this fact too that impels us to speak up for ourselves and for our people.



Philippine street scene  
(U.N. Photo)

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## SURVEYS OF THE PHILIPPINES

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### American Business Interests

Of the top 200 Philippine corporations, more than 40% are U.S.-owned. U.S. investors account for 80% of the Philippine total foreign equity investment.

**Fruit Products.** The fruit manufacturing industry is controlled by a virtual monopoly of two American corporations. The two corporations operate the largest pineapple plantations in the world.

**Heavy Equipment.** Two American corporations account for about 80% of all sales.

**Petroleum.** Four refineries produce petroleum products primarily for distribution in the Philippines. The principal owners of two of the firms are a consortia of four U.S. oil corporations. Marketing of petroleum products is also dominated by U.S. firms.

**Rubber.** Three American companies received over 90% of the annual income generated in the industry.

**Timber.** Four U.S.-owned timber companies rank in the top ten in the Philippines.

**Sugar.** The United States imports about 70% of the Philippines sugar production and, under a sugar quota system regulated by the U.S. Congress, the United States guarantees the Philippine producers a premium price. According to the U.S. Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, which administers the sugar program, it has a three-fold purpose: to protect the welfare of the U.S. sugar industry; to provide U.S. consumers with ample supplies of sugar at reasonable prices; and to promote and strengthen the export trade of the United States.

**Automobiles.** U.S.-owned firms account for 40% of the total car sales in the Philippines, followed by Japan and Germany.

## **U.S. Military Presence**

The Subic Bay Naval Base complex is the largest naval support base in the Pacific. The U.S. Navy employs more than 30,000 Filipinos. The property investment by the U.S. government at Subic Bay is about one quarter of a billion dollars.

U.S. Air Force installations in the Philippines are located at Clark Air Base and three other locations on the islands. Total permanent base population is about 42,000 people, including 18,000 Filipino employees.

The U.S. government is the second largest employer in the Philippines after the Philippine government.

U.S. Special Forces teams of Green Berets are reportedly being used in remote Philippine areas to aid the government's counterinsurgency efforts.

The appointment of William Sullivan in July 1973 as U.S. Ambassador tended to confirm a belief that the United States will take extraordinary means to preserve America's defense bases in the Philippines.

Sullivan was chairman of the Interagency Vietnam Coordinating Committee reporting on communist infiltration in the early days of American involvement in Vietnam, and was American Ambassador to Laos when the CIA molded mountain tribesmen into a clandestine army.

## **Philippine Catholic Church Leaders**

After more than a year of martial law, the Major Religious Superiors of the Philippines commissioned a study team to determine clearly and accurately the nature of the present Philippine situation. Hundreds of persons were interviewed, including more than a dozen bishops and many priests and sisters.

### **Resume of the Study**

- There is abuse of the human rights of peaceful assembly, association, information, privacy, and safeguards in matters of arrest, detention and trial.
- Present economic policy is questionable on two grounds: a) economic growth is stressed at the expense of integral human development; and b) the poor bear an unequal share of the sacrifices required for economic growth.
- There are many instances of torture of prisoners.
- The State is becoming totalitarian and is suppressing the free development of other societal institutions, such as organized labor and farmer organizations.

### **Specifics of the Study**

- Crime: For a period immediately after the declaration of martial law, crime decreased, but it is increasing again. Graft and corruption still exist though practiced more subtly than before martial law.
- Political Freedom: Harassment and intimidation were common in both the referendum and plebiscite. People were not free to vote their minds. Now that the military is in control, ordinary people have no one to defend their rights.

- Political Prisoners: No accurate figures on the number of political prisoners are available. But all twelve regions report that there are some. There are also frequent reports of physical torture of male and female prisoners.

- News Media: News continues to be managed. Facts are suppressed or distorted.

*Example:* An open letter to the President, composed by an ecumenical group of more than one hundred churchmen, protesting media restrictions was not allowed to be published in the Philippines.

*Example:* News weeklies from abroad are intercepted at the airport, screened, and if they contain anything uncomplimentary to the administration, the issue is banned.

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## POSTSCRIPT

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The political and economic situation in the Philippines is fluid and unclear; and the Church is only in the initial stages of response to that situation. In April 1973, C.L. Sulzberger of the *New York Times* inserted a disquieting religious note when he wrote that democracy "an essentially Protestant tradition...might not serve as a necessarily useful model to a Catholic country of mixed Iberian and Malay culture, relatively overpopulated, small and poor."

Rev. Joseph O'Hare, S.J., who served in the Philippines for a number of years and is now associate editor of *America*, attempted to bring the subject back into perspective:

The United States first became involved in the Philippines in 1898, when Filipino revolutionaries accepted American assistance in the belief that the Americans would help them gain their independence from Spain. After a bitter and bloody resistance to the American (takeover), the Filipino revolutionaries discovered they had only exchanged one master for another. After 75 years of American dominance in the Philippines, to accept the view that the will to self-rule is an American importation, may be the ultimate condescension, and the final betrayal.

However, O'Hare suggests that the Sulzberger thesis will find acceptance among the American business community who find anti-American sentiment (e.g., "Philippine nationalism") considerably muted under Philippine martial law.

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## OUTLINE FOR GROUP STUDY

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1. Identify human rights violations in the Philippines.
  - a. Distribute "The Setting," "Voice 1," and "Surveys of the Philippines: Philippine Catholic Church Leaders" for group study.
  - b. Tabulate human rights violations using the above readings.

President William McKinley declared that a divine voice had convinced him that it was the mission of the United States to "civilize and "Christianize" the Catholic Philippines.

2. Examine the Philippine colonial status *vis-a-vis* the United States, and its implications for human rights.
  - a. Distribute “Voice 2,” “Immediate Responses to Martial Law,” “Surveys of the Philippines” and “Postscript” for group study.
  - b. Present the play-let “Every Man My Brother?” and discuss colonialism before Philippine independence using prepared questions.
  - c. Using the play-let, above readings and teacher background, compare/contrast colonialism and neo-colonialism and discuss the implications for human rights.
3. Explore possible alternatives for the Church in the Philippines and the Church in the United States.
  - a. Discuss *Amos*, Chapter 2 through 8, and discuss the role of prophet/advocate and the reaction to him/her.
  - b. Review discussion of the “Keynoter” outlined in Item 4, p. 10: the Church as teaching community and as community of action.
  - c. With the group, design possible Church responses/actions for the Philippine Church and the American Church.
    - 1) For the Philippine Church, keeping in mind the existence and effects of martial law.
    - 2) For the American Church, keeping in mind the nature and extent of U.S. involvement in Philippine affairs.

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## RESOURCES

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### Periodicals.

“Center Survey,” Vol. 1, Nos. 21 and 22. Center for the Study of Power and Peace, 110 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. Single copy: 35 cents. Also bulk rates.

*Impact*. Monthly magazine published in the Philippines, focusing on human rights and social development. 202 Balagtas St., Pasay City, P.O. Box 2950, Manila, Philippines. \$8/year.

### Play-let.

“Every Man My Brother?” Division of Justice and Peace, 1312 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. 50 cents.

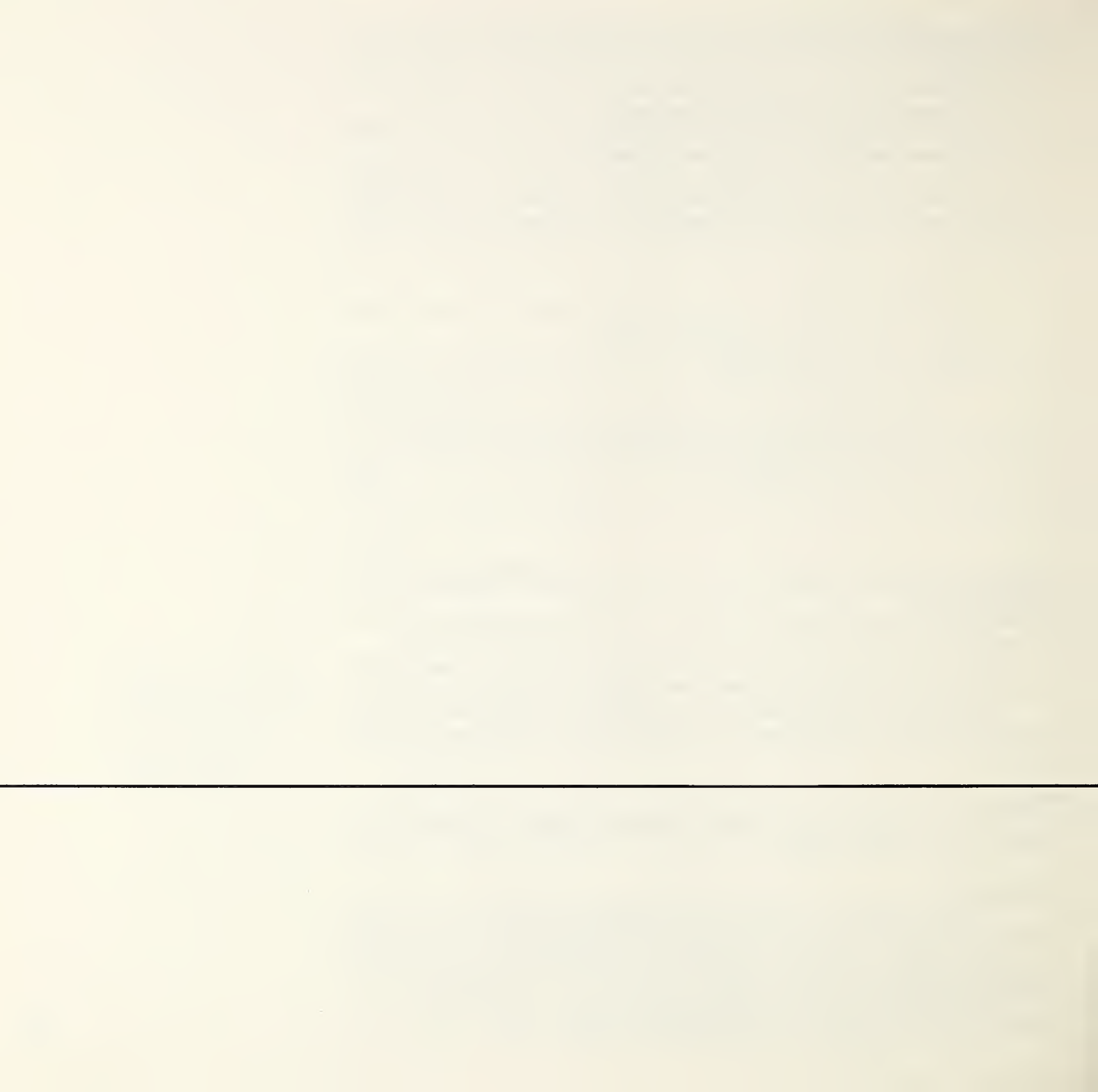
### Special Reports.

“An Asian Theology of Liberation: The Philippines.” IDOC-FOME, 1973, No. 5. IDOC-North America, 235 E. 49th St., New York, NY 10017. \$2.95.

“Korea and the Philippines: November 1972.” Staff Report. Available from the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510. Free.

“The Philippines: American Corporations, Martial Law, and Underdevelopment,” November 1973, No. 57. IDOC-North America, above address. \$2.95.







a question of conscience

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