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WE SEND TO ALL OUR READERS OUR SINCERE WISHES THAT YOU
MAY HAVE A BLESSED CHRISTMAS AND PEACE THROUGHOUT THE
COMING YEAR.

IN THIS ISSUE: In his paper, Michael Amaladoss suggests that the focus of evangelization in Asia should be the building up of the Kingdom rather than the local Church. It is in building up the Kingdom that the Church will build itself up as a Church-at-the-service-of-the-Kingdom. Evangelization centered on the Kingdom is dynamic, future-oriented, rooted in reality and history, integrative, holistic and outward-looking. In cultururation, inter-religious dialogue and liberation would require a new relevance and a more open thrust. (This article has been considerably shortened due to constraints of space. The full text is available in SEDOS Documentation)

Bishop Fragoso of Brazil in his reflections on Base Communities and Political Practice states that he has come to the conclusion that faith without

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political practice is dead. From his experience he describes political practice in the base communities as not primarily a matter of partisan politics but as a organized quest for the common good. Bishop Fragoso examines briefly the role of the Church in relation to base communities working for the common good under oppressive regimes.

The talks given by Archbishop Hurley and Fr. Smangaliso Mkhathswa brought their hearers face to face with the intransigence of the South African Government's racial policies. The Church's failure to change social attitudes is part of the South African crisis and is largely due to the fact that the Christian Churches in South Africa brought with them from the West methods of evangelization but it will be irrelevant, says the Archbishop, if it is unconcerned with social factors.

The address of Fr. Hans Peter Kolvenbach, to the International group of Jesuits involved in Social Apostolate was not, he said, "a policy statement" but it will be very useful, we believe, for all those engaged in the social dimension of mission.

And there are two short pieces - one, a letter of thanks to the SEDOS/USIG-USG Solidarity Network and the other a review of Fr. Galbiati's recent book on China.

NEWS

CONGRATULATIONS to the following SEDOS members elected as Superiors General in recent General Chapters:

MARIE HEINTA, SA, MISSIONARIES OF OUR LADY OF AFRICA
MARY SLAVEN, SFB, SISTERS OF THE HOLY FAMILY
PATRICIA FLYNN, SSND, SCHOOL SISTERS OF NOTRE DAME and
MICHEL DECRAENE, CICM, SCHEUT MISSIONARIES

SEDOS EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ELECTIONS: At the General Assembly on December 9th, 1987 Sr. LOUISE DI STEFANO, MFIC, was elected as Treasurer of SEDOS replacing Fr. LEO PAUL NOBERT, OMI, who has filled the post since 1979. Sr. MARGARET LOFTUS, SNDN, was re-elected to a second period of three years as a member of the Committee. We offer both our sincere congratulations and welcome Sister Louise as Treasurer of SEDOS.

SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID: A well attended meeting with Archbishop Denis Hurley, OMI, and Fr. Smangaliso Mkhathswa in December, 1987 provided a unique insight for SEDOS members on the present situation in South Africa.

COVER PAGE OF DECEMBER BULLETIN: On the cover page of SEDOS Bulletin for 15th November 1987: Delete:87/No.9; Insert:87/No.10

(Présentation des articles. Dans son article, P. Michel Amaladoss, S.J., suggère que l'on mette l'accent de l'évangélisation de l'Asie sur l'avènement du Royaume plutôt que sur l'établissement de l'Eglise locale. C'est en construisant le Royaume que l'Eglise se constitue comme une Eglise-au-service-du-Royaume. Une évangélisation centrée sur le Royaume est dynamique, orientée vers l'avenir, enracinée dans la réalité et dans l'histoire, avec une vue d'ensemble et ouverte vers l'extérieur.

L'inculturation, le dialogue entre les religions et la libération requièrent de nouveaux rapports et des efforts plus poussés. (Cet article a été très abrégé par manque de place. Le texte complet peut être demandé à SEDOS Documentation).

Mgr Fragoso du Brésil, dans ses réflexions sur les Communautés de Base et sur l'exercice de la politique, en est arrivé à la conclusion: la foi sans l'exercice de la politique est une foi morte. D'après son expérience, il décrit l'exercice de la politique dans les communautés de base non pas en premier lieu comme une politique partisane, mais comme une recherche organisée du bien commun. Mgr Fragoso examine brièvement le rôle de l'Eglise en fonction des communautés de base travaillant pour le bien commun dans le contexte de régimes d'oppression.

Les conférences données par Mgr Hurley et le P. Smangalis Mkatshwa ont placé leurs auditeurs devant l'intransigeance de la politique raciale du Gouvernement de l'Afrique du Sud. L'échec de l'Eglise pour changer l'attitude de la société fait partie de la crise de l'Afrique du Sud. Il est largement dû au fait que les Eglises chrétiennes en Afrique du Sud ont apportées avec elles les méthodes occidentales d'évangélisation qui ne savaient pas apprécier l'importance des facteurs sociaux et ignoraient la façon de les influencer. Les évêques cherchent maintenant des nouvelles méthodes d'évangélisation, mais selon l'évêque, elles n'auraient aucun impact, s'il elles faisaient abstraction des facteurs sociaux.

L'allocution du P. Hans-Peter Kolvenbach, S.J., au groupe international des Jésuites engagés dans l'Apostolat social, n'était pas, selon lui, une déclaration de politique à suivre. Nous pensons cependant qu'elle sera très utile à tous ceux qui sont engagés dans la dimension sociale de la mission.

Voici enfin deux brefs articles: une lettre de remerciements au Réseau de Solidarité SEDOS/UISG-USG et une recension du livre du P. Galbiati sur la Chine qui vient de paraître).

 EVANGELIZATION IN ASIA: A NEW FOCUS?

Michael Amaladoss, SJ

PRESENT FOCUS: THE LOCAL CHURCH

As the Asian countries were emerging from a colonial period the need to build up and indigenous Church was strongly felt. Thus the building up of the local Church was the perspective chosen by the Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences as the focus of evangelization at their first plenary assembly in 1974. Taking into account the situation in Asia, the Asian Bishops analyse the building up of the local Church in terms of a three-fold dialogue: with the culture, with the religions and with the poor of Asia. The dimensions of evangelization in Asia are therefore spelt out as inculturation, inter-religious dialogue and liberation, all of them contributing to the building up of the local Church.

I think that this focus needs re-examination. As a first step let us look at the way that this three-fold dialogue finds mutual integration.

Mutually Involving Dimensions: Inculturation, inter-religious dialogue and liberation can be taken up as mutually involving dimensions of one and the same activity of building up the local Church. They can also be engaged in as separate, independent activities. One can struggle to liberate the poor in a 'secular' way, marginalising religion as alienating. One can dialogue with religious leaders and engage in theological discussion or share each other's riches of the Spirit without bothering about the poor. One can see culture either as the tradition of the past or as the creative dimension of the present involving literature, the arts and the sciences and promote dialogue with it ignoring both religious faith, especially in secularized cultural situations, and the poor. In this manner, inculturation, inter-religious dialogue and liberation can be three separate, independent activities.

Holistic Liberation of the Human Person-in-Community: On the contrary, culture can be taken as the way people live and give meaning to their lives. Religion is not only an integral dimension, but even the deepest element in culture. Socio-economic situations and religio-cultural perspectives mutually influence each other. Thus one cannot really inculturate or transform culture with the values of the Gospel without dialoguing with religion that is the animating element of culture and without changing the socio-economic structures that keep people enslaved. One cannot liberate people from all that oppresses them without transforming their world view and system of values and without dialoguing with the various religions so that religions do not remain forces for divisions and alienation but become

prophetic sources of inspiration, and do so in collaboration with each other - particularly in multi-religious societies that are characteristic of Asia.

Inter-religious dialogue is indeed meaningless and alienating if it does not lead to collaboration for the common promotion of human and spiritual values leading to holistic liberation and authentic inculturation, inter-religious dialogue and liberation are different kind of activities with different mediate goals. But they will be alienating if they do not influence and involve each other and lead ultimately to a holistic liberation of the human person-in-community. It is then that they become three integral dimensions of one activity that is evangelization.

NEW FOCUS: KINGDOM

As we begin to realise their integration, however, we also discover that their common focus moves beyond the building up of the local Church. How do we describe the holistic liberation of the human person-in-community? I think it should be characterized as the Kingdom rather than the Church. That is why I would suggest that the focus of evangelization in Asia should be the Kingdom rather than the local Church. This is not just a terminological change. The focus can radically affect the way in which we engage in our evangelizing activity.

Dialogue with Culture: One can dialogue with culture for one's own benefit, for the sake of indigenising the theological, liturgical and structural self-expression of Christian faith and life - that is, building up the local Church. One can also dialogue with culture in a multi-religious, even largely non-Christian society in order to transform that culture, even partially, through the values of the Gospel without being able to "christianize" the whole of that culture. (Given the autonomy of the secular world, such christianisation may remain an ideal. Is there any "christian" culture, after all?) Both are not the same type of activity. One can have the one without the other. One can say that the best way of doing the first is to engage in the second.

Dialogue With Other Religions: Similarly one can dialogue with other religions with a view to one's own growth by the assimilation of all that is good and true. One can engage in dialogue as a first step towards proclamation. One can use dialogue as a means of dispelling misunderstanding and prejudices and move towards collaboration in defense of common human and spiritual values. One can also dialogue in order to share with others one's riches and by presenting a prophetic challenge provoke them to grow. One can dialogue, finally, in view of providing a common moral and spiritual foundation to a common commitment to build a better world. John Paul II has said recently:

By dialogue we let God be present in our midst; for as we open ourselves in dialogue to one another, we also open ourselves to God . . . As followers of different religions we should join together in promoting and defending common ideals in the spheres of religious liberty, human brotherhood, education, culture, social welfare and civic order.

Dialogue with the Poor: In the same way, one can dialogue with the poor to build up the Church of the poor. One can dialogue with the poor to liberate them from the oppressive structures in a socio-economic sense. One can work at transforming the self-image and the world views (culture) that keep them enslaved. One can dialogue with the poor in order to provide for them in dialogue with other religions, a moral and religious dimension in a holistic liberation, that reaches out beyond the poor also to their oppressors.

Speaking of the building up of the local Church as a focus of evangelization in a poor and multi-religious society like Asia might tend to limit our perspectives only to such activities among those listed above that contribute directly to the building up of the local Church. However when one speaks of this three-fold dialogue in some detail one does go beyond such limits. I would suggest therefore that if we make the Kingdom, rather than the Church, the focus of evangelization, then that would and could embrace all the activities listed above, including the building up of the Church.

Servant of the Kingdom: We need not be afraid that a change of the focus evangelization from the local Church to the Kingdom will lead us to ignore the local Church. Building up the local Church as a witness to and the servant of the Kingdom will be an important and essential, though not an exclusive, element of this new focus. The Gospel can hardly transform society unless it is effectively made present by a community - the Church - that is committed to and involved in the historical process. It is precisely this involvement, leading inevitably to the three-fold dialogue with the cultures, the religions and the poor of Asia, that will build up the Church and do so in the here and now of history - that is, build up a truly local Church.

A Challenge-be on Mission: Building up the Kingdom is not simply building up the Church. The Church is not the Kingdom. In the power of the Spirit, God is building up the Kingdom also in other ways through other peoples - ways unknown to us, but which we are called to discern in dialogue. But the Church is aware of being the visibility in history - sacrament - of Jesus, his life, death and resurrection. It is aware that this very sacramentality is calling it to become a local Church everywhere. That is why, for the Church, to be is to proclaim, to witness, not only to the Kingdom in general, but also to Kingdom as it becomes present in the life, death and resurrection of Jesus and as it continue in the community of his disciples. This community is called to

build itself up, builds itself up, is built up by the Spirit as a community on mission. That is why Baptism is a challenge to be on mission and not merely as opportunity simply to be saved. It is precisely in view of the task that is given to it that the Church seeks new members and builds itself up in history. Taken out of this context of the Kingdom and the need to be an actively witnessing community, a call to Baptism may become mere proselytism. On the other hand; to consciously refrain from calling people to discipleship is to proclaim an abstract, rootless, a-historical Kingdom and to be untrue to one's very identity as a witness - respecting always the freedom and mystery of the Spirit who calls and the freedom and mystery of the person who responds. Who will be challenged by a witness who does not seem to be passionately committed. How to witness to a passionate commitment without inviting participation? Just as it would be wrong to ignore the wider perspectives of the Kingdom which Jesus proclaimed, it would be wrong too to ignore its specific manifestation in Jesus whose "memorial" is the inspiration of one's life.

Building up of the Kingdom: Building up of the Kingdom is a wider cosmic reality. In the power of the Spirit, all are called to it in various ways known to God alone. In this constructive task, some may be challenged more particularly by Jesus and his Gospel without however hearing the call to discipleship and community (e.g. Gandhi). But some one who has heard this call and who has responded in faith cannot witness to the Kingdom without witnessing to the community, the Church. One does not however identify them or make them coextensive because one realizes that other believers are promoting the same kingdom through their faith commitments. The demand to dialogue with them and to collaborate in building up the Kingdom does not in any way reduce the responsibility to one's faith because the collaboration that is called for is not one based on the least common denominator, but on the mutual and collective enrichment born of authentic witness in dialogue, respecting the freedom of each one to respond to God's call in whichever way it comes to the person. A pluralistic context supposes not only respect for the identity and freedom of the other, but also loyalty to and affirmation of one's own identity. Otherwise the dialogue will be inauthentic.

Three Models of Evangelization:

Avery Dulles has written about various models of the Church and of revelation. A model is a framework of attitudes and approaches that structures a basic image or insight. Thus the Church may be seen as an institution, as a people, as a servant, as a sacrament, etc. These models are not mutually exclusive. They highlight different aspects of the same reality. But from the point of view of attitudes and programmes for action it may be important which model is central in structuring one's perception and analysis. Looking at various approaches to evangelization, I would like to suggest three models.

Church - Centered: The first model of evangelization is Church-centred. The aim of evangelization is to build up the Church.

Proclamation of the Good News is seen as the predominant activity of mission. Other activities like promotion of justice or inter-religious dialogue are seen only as means or first steps towards proclamation. The theological focus is on the historical Jesus, who is the incarnate Word and who founded the Church as the means of salvation and who sent it out into the world on mission. This model is the traditional one. The temporal point of reference is the past.

World - Centered: The second model of evangelization is world-centred.

The focus is on God the Father and one's preferred mystery is creation. One stresses theo-centrism as different from Christo-centrism. Pluralism is a fact of present experience, rooted not only in the differences of nature, but also in the diversity of cultures that are the fruits of the creative activity of peoples. Differences among human groups are a result of the varying gifts of the Creator. The Church may be said to have a symbolic, even a normative role in the history of salvation. Dialogue is the principal activity of Evangelization. Even proclamation becomes an aspect of dialogue. The temporal point of reference is the present, because creation is seen as an ongoing activity involving the people of every generation as co-creators with God.

Kingdom - Centered: The third model is Kingdom-centred. The diversity of peoples and religions are recognized. The unique intervention of God in Jesus Christ is also acknowledged. But the plan of God is leading everything towards a final fulfillment to which all are called. History as a dynamic and creative process becomes important. Life looks not to the past, nor to the present, but to the future. All are called to transcend their present state in growing towards a fulfillment that will be the work of the Spirit. The Spirit of course does not ignore the 'work' and role of the Father and of the Son. But God is creative, making all things new. In doing so God integrates in a holistic manner all that is good and true.

Dynamic, Future - Oriented: Evangelization centred on the Kingdom is dynamic, future-oriented, rooted in reality and history, integrative and holistic. It is the building up of a new humanity. It is leading the world and all peoples to their fulfillment. Proclamation is of this fulness which can only be realized in the mutual self-gift and the consequent mutual enrichment of dialogue. "Liberation" refers to the necessary remedial action, in the light of the sinful structures that have been built up by human being; but it somehow misses the positive aspect of fulfillment or realization. Creation and redemption find their final realization in the new heaven and the new earth.

Building up a New Humanity: That the Church's mission involves the building up of new insight. What may be new however is making it the primary focus of Evangelization. Speaking of the Church as a community of faith, the FABC says: "It constantly moves forward in mission as it accompanies all humankind in its pilgrimage to the

Kingdom of the Father." The Asian Bishops stress "the Church's responsibility in the world, in the public spheres, in the construction of a more fully human future for Asian peoples." The Seminar on The Indian Church in the Struggle for a New Society says about the Church:

Its mission requires that it embody in its own life and structure the Kingdom values of freedom, fellowship and justice. It also requires that it contribute to the promotion of those values in the ordering of human society. The struggle for a New Society is therefore a constitutive element of the Church's evangelizing mission.

In a sense this says nothing much more than the Synod of Bishops of 1971.

Church at the Service of the Kingdom: In contrast what I am suggesting is a shift of focus by which building a new world or the Kingdom is not seen merely as one constitutive element among others of the Church's mission of evangelization, but rather the main focus around which the other tasks - inculturation, dialogue, proclamation - are grouped mutually integrating and influencing each other. I suggest also that it is in building up the Kingdom that the Church will build itself up as a Church-at-the-service-of-the-Kingdom.

If we now place ourselves at the point of this new focus and look at the three-fold dialogue with culture, with religions and with the poor, we will see them in new ways. I shall limit myself to a few indications in this paper, with particular reference to the situation in India with which I am most familiar.

Involvement in Public Affairs: After a study of Asian Christian social protest in recent history; Parig Digan concludes that one element that inhibits the Church from playing its prophetic role in transforming reality, especially in situations of injustice, is a minority complex that leads it to self-defensive attitudes. This complex may even be stronger if the Christians are not only numerically small but also belong to minority ethnic groups - as happens in some areas. If this analysis is true then Philippines is the only country in Asia where the Church can play any significant role in public affairs. We have seen this happen there recently. Does this mean that the other Churches in Asia, because of their minority status are condemned to inactivity in the field of public affairs? Does this mean that the only way out of this difficulty is an increase in numbers? Such a conclusion is not obvious to me. First of all, numbers are not the only inhibiting factor. One could be a minority of one and yet play a bold prophetic role. I think there are many other inhibiting factors that need to be explored and tackled. Secondly unless we confuse religion and politics, a religious minority group need not always be a political minority.

Work Together to Defend Common Values: Where a State is closely linked to a religion, minority religious groups become effectively also political minorities. But where a State has constitutionally a secular character, as in India or Indonesia, for instance, the religious affiliation of the Citizens, apart from being a personal or collective inspiration, need not be determinative of their political options as such. A person belonging to a minority religious group may belong to a majority political party. Persons of all religious faiths can work together in the defence of common human and spiritual values.

Becoming an Adult Church

The Church in India does not feel itself to be a responsible adult, free to decide, to take initiatives and to act. But what are the causes for this? One could easily speak of the centralising tendencies in the Church. The Church itself seems to have realised this during the Extraordinary Synod. By speaking of the Church as a 'communion' and by encouraging further reflection and study of concepts like 'subsidiarity' a way is being opened to a renewed awareness of the Church as the communion of local Churches. Let us hope that this new awareness would lead to appropriate change of structures. However I think that it would be a mistake to throw all the blame on the centralising tendencies. Doing that would be a concrete indication of our adolescent state.

Use the Freedom We Have: How ready are we to act as a local Church? We speak constantly of inculturation. But what stops us from inculturating our spirituality, our way of life, our local administrative structures? Liturgy is admittedly a sensitive area. But what effort have we made to use the freedom, even if limited, that we have? The new rituals of the Sacraments, for instance, do indicate some elements in which an Episcopal Conference can propose cultural variations. We have not made use even of these small provisions. Because of the ritual and cultural differences in the country and because of the difficulty of adopting a national policy in the matter, liturgy was made an area for the Regional Bishops' Conferences to animate. One expected a period of creativity, at least in some areas of the country. But what has happened so far? This is just one example to show that we do not yet seem to be ready to take our responsibility seriously. We cannot say, for instance, that participative structures like the Synod of Priests or Parish Councils are functioning widely and meaningfully in the country. In short, we are not functioning like an adult Church, even when and where we can.

Structures of Dependence

One reason for not functioning like an adult Church, among others, are the structures of dependence, some of which we have internalised. On

the occasion of the visit of the Pope to India, some members of the other religions, who did not seem happy with the visit, took the occasion to point to the foreignness of the Church. Such foreignness is often identified in terms of being part of a well-structured international organization and hence suspected of being controlled from abroad, and of being dependant on foreign funds and personnel. Belonging to a world religion with trans-national structures is not in itself blameworthy or a disadvantage. It can even be helpful in crisis situations. The concrete forms such organizations take are conditioned by history. Let us hope that the progressive emergence of the structures of communion in the Church would lead to a responsible local Church. But such an evolution of new structures would not happen by itself without some responsible and creative initiatives from the local Churches.

Responsible Mutual Aid: Secondly, fraternal aid is useful and sometimes necessary: St. Paul took up a collection from his Asian Churches to help the Church in Jerusalem. It becomes detrimental when it hinders us from being responsible for ourselves, makes us project an institutional image much beyond our means and discourages prophecy for fear of losing such aid. Self-reliance is a sign of responsibility and maturity and is not opposed to responsible mutual aid.

Foreign Personnel: Thirdly, foreign personnel at the service of the local Churches are a living sign of catholicity and communion. At the same time we should be conscious of the sensitivity of newly independent countries in a post-colonial period.

I think that the basic question concerning inculturation is, whether our Church is a truly local Church, responsible and mature, free and creative, in communion with other local Churches and with the Church of Rome or is it a Church that is unfree, and dependant, not so much because of external controls, though these are not absent, but because of internalised bonds. Talk about inculturation will remain abstract till the Church has the courage to get involved with the lives, the struggles and the hopes of the people.

Prophecy and Institution

Another difficulty that may stand in the way of real involvement with the people, especially on the side of the poor and the oppressed for any prophetic and liberative activity that is more than charity is the image we have, and we project, of the Church. We are still very much an institutional Church, not the people of God. The institutional model of the Church is a valid one. But an institution evokes immediately a structure and a leadership. The leadership becomes the focus of the institution. For many in the Church and for most people outside it, the Church means the Bishops and the Priests who officially represent the institution. The paradox of the situation is that no laity, either individually or in

group, taking a political stand will be recognized as representing anyone but him/herself: it is the clerical leadership that is always identified as "the Church."

Have we to cumulate all leadership in the Christian community in the clergy?

Personal and Moral Authority: An actual case may easily illustrate the kind of issues I wish to raise. We are aware of the public stand taken recently by the Bishops' Conference of the Philippines on the morality of the elections. Let me say that I appreciate and admire their bold and clear stand. But their prophetic stand did bring some questions to my mind. When should Bishops speak as Bishops, that is as official religious leaders of the Christian community? The ministry of teaching entrusted to them may demand that occasionally they speak authoritatively on a matter of faith or morals that may also have practical and even political implications. Such teaching involves the community because it is authoritative. They then speak as Bishops with their full religious authority. I think that the statement of the Philippine Bishops that I refer to above does not belong to this order. But there could certainly be occasions like this when the Bishops speak with their personal and moral authority as public figures without involving their strictly religious authority. They no longer speak for the Church, nor to the Church. They need not wait for unanimity in such matters as if it were an official statement and they were afraid of showing public disunity. I think that if the Christian community, the Bishops, leaders of Government and others were aware of such distinctions Bishops may tend to be more prophetic and forthcoming. What would have been the image and the impact if the condemnation of the elections came from a group which included, besides Bishops, prominent lay leaders and public figures, not involved in party politics? What would have been the image and the impact of the condemning group if it included also prominent members of other Churches and other religions (Muslims)?

In the multi-religious societies of Asia, where the Church is in a minority, this may be the only way in which the Church can speak freely, boldly, effectively and prophetically.

Collaborative Witness: It is in this manner that I understand what John Paul said during his recent pilgrimage to India:

In the world today, there is a need for all religions to collaborate in the cause of humanity, and to do this from the viewpoint of the spiritual nature of persons. This interreligious collaboration must also be concerned with the struggle to eliminate hunger, poverty, ignorance, persecution, discrimination and every form of enslavement of the human spirit. Religion is the main-spring of society's commitment to justice, and interreligious collaboration must reaffirm this in practice.

BASE COMMUNITIES AND
POLITICAL PRACTICE

Bishop Fragoso.

To "Real-ize Our Faith": In the diocese of Catech, those in the community groups who have a clear view of everything antihuman, antipeople, antiworker, or antirural in society that crushes their sisters and brothers express their faith, make it visible, in deeds - political practice.

To me, it's clear that the only place that faith can be actualized is in the human community, the political community. Christians have to "real-ize" their faith, actualize it - and the only place they can do that is in the world of the political.

Many of us, including myself, have come to the firm conclusion that faith without political practice is dead.

Organized Quest for the Common Good: Political practice in the base communities is not primarily a matter of partisan politics. It is primarily a matter of the organized quest for the common good. This is a call, a right, a grave duty imposed by the gospel. And it is incumbent on all Christians. This is the only sense in which it is true to say that the political struggle, or political practice, is being organized by our communities. Really, all we do in our communities in the way of politics is give persons the ABCs - their grade-school education in politics. They have to extend that on their own, in other expressions, movements not directly tied to the base communities. In the base communities militant Christians see their hope nurtured. They practice reading the reality of their whole situation in the light of the word of God. They celebrate their passion and their liberation, with the whole church. And here we have the most profound, most demanding, challenge of all: the continuous dovetailing of faith and political practice.

Motivation for Political Practice: Christians have to live their faith in a political community. There is no other place to live it. Some want to take Christians out of the political community so they can be "holy." This is sheer idiocy. This is idealism. It has nothing to do with God's plan.

The deep source of motivation for political practice, as far as God's

plan is concerned, is faith. Faith motivates Christians - "moves" them - to make a commitment to political practice in loyalty to the gospel and the people. This is what they must do, as citizens of the human community in order to become co-responsible with their brothers and sisters. Even if they did not have faith, they would be under an obligation to make this commitment. How many there are in the world who say they have no faith and yet who dedicate themselves to political practice to the death!

God's Definitive Project: But faith not only moves Christians it gives them a gospel motivation. Faith points to a "horizon," shows them a horizon, which we call God's definitive project. God is beyond history. This horizon is a permanent call, then. It mobilizes Christians to commit themselves to each one's own partisan political practice. This horizon must be incarnated in base-level political projects, national and international.

At the same time, every political incarnation of God's project limits and impoverishes that project. And so the faith horizon becomes a critical light, a critical force, to help us perceive that these attempts, necessary though they may be, are all provisional. And so, in faith, we interconnect this horizon, this utopian proposal, with political practice. They are always replaceable by new attempts, new projects. And so, in faith, we interconnect this horizon, this utopian proposal, with political practice.

Conversion of Heart: Besides moving Christians, and showing them the horizon to move toward - faith accompanies the process of political practice by encouraging a conversion of heart.

Christians who are loyal to their faith will never be moved by hatred, revenge, ambition, exploitation, the desire for unjust profits, or the wish to climb over others to get to the top. What moves Christians is their commitment to their brothers and sisters. Whatever they have been given has been given them both for themselves and for others, and should be shared.

Faith purifies our heart, giving us the capacity to accept others, however different they may be from ourselves, in profound respect for their identity as persons. For Christians, then, who are moved by their faith, it will appear normal, in political practice, that others will make partisan political options different from their own.

In my view, this interconnection between faith and political practice must be subjected to continual revision. This "dovetailing" needs God's light, as well as our own humble, ongoing attempt at synthesization.

POLITICAL SPACE

I think that the political space for an apprenticeship in democratic political practice - or political community practice, or political practice of fellowship - ought to be furnished by political communities, by popular movements, by society, and not specifically and primarily by the church. But the Brazilian political regime marginalized the popular masses for sixteen years. It was frightened out of its wits by any enlightenment or organization among the composeses. There was scarcely any hope that a strangled national political community would offer the space for this exercise that the masses have a right to.

Economic Forces: We could scarcely hope for anything from Brazilian economic forces - whether completely unrestrained and laissez-faire, "modernizing," or neocapitalistic. All of them were "concentrationist" by their very nature, and deliberately so, doling out to the masses only the superfluities - the crumbs that fall from the tables of the great. They never think the pie has become big enough to share with others.

Political Parties: Our political parties, right or left, have been controlled by authoritarian power and have often been dictatorial, or "populist," in their method. Populism tries to lead the people the way populists think the people should go. Populism has never had the patience to listen to the people, to let the people develop its own leadership out of its own practice, never had the patience to stick close to popular practice and be committed to the people. And so populism imposes leaders vertically - especially "intellectuals" who draw up beautiful base-level documents, lovely projects for the people, but who never have the patience to rouse themselves, with the people, to the experience of co-responsibility.

Base-Level Political Space: No one was furnishing any base-level space. And church leaders are convinced that the people have a right to it. So the church has offered the people a base-level political space. But the church may not allow itself to forget that it has no right to maneuver the political process.

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Ref., Bishop Antonio, B. Fragoso, Face of a Church, Orbis Books, Maryknoll, N.Y. 10545, p.p. 43-48.

THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

(These two talks were given to SEDOS members on November 25th, 1987. Archbishop Hurley's talk was based on the IMBISA Justice and Peace Commissions Report from their meeting held at MANZINI, South Africa from August 10-14, 1987. Fr. MKHATSHWA, Secretary General to the Southern African Bishop's conference, was imprisoned and tortured following the declaration of a state of emergency on June 11, 1987. He was released only recently. Over 30,000 people, including thousands of children were affected for longer or shorter periods by the emergency regulations which are still in force.

Fr. MKHATSHWA's talk arises from his immediate experience of imprisonment. Archbishop HURLY is the acknowledged leader of the Catholic Church's increasingly committed opposition to apartheid. We give here the full text of the Justice and peace report on which he based his talk. It is a complete account of the situation today and how it came about. We are very grateful to both speakers).

HISTORICAL REVIEW

This historical review deals with developments from June, 1976 to the present time. It can be divided into two periods as set out below.

(1) JUNE, 1976 to SEPTEMBER, 1984

The crucial events of this period can be described as follows.

STUDENT REVOLT: The first event of importance was the student revolt that began in the township of Soweto on the 16th June, 1976. The students referred to were mainly high school students and the revolt grew out of resentment against the imposition of the Afrikaans language as the medium of instruction for certain subjects. There was a demonstration in Soweto suppressed with violence by the police. The police reaction succeeded in triggering off a student revolt that spread through many parts of the country and resulted in 700 officially recorded deaths. The security forces did not manage to contain it until well into 1977, but even after that it continued to flare up spasmodically. Obviously, it was a revolt not only against the imposition of Afrikaans but against the poor quality of African education in general and the apartheid policy responsible for it.

Other influences that contributed to unleashing the revolt were the collapse of the Portuguese power in Mozambique and Angola and the accession to independence of these two countries, liberation wars in Rhodesia and on the northern border of Namibia and above all the Black Consciousness movement which in the late 60's had been initiated by Steve Biko who met his death in detention in September, 1977.

The student revolt of 1976-1977 established the pattern of vigorous youth participation in the liberation struggle. Though active unrest was quelled in 1977, the consequences took several forms.

REVIVAL OF AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS: An immediate effect of the youth revolt and its suppression was the exodus of great numbers of young people across South Africa's borders and their absorption into the liberation movements, especially the African National Congress. Quite a few after training abroad were infiltrated into South Africa as guerilla fighters and contributed to the progressive increase in incidents of sabotage and other acts of aggression. The popularity of the A N C expanded rapidly. It regained its position of leadership in the liberation struggle.

YOUTH AND COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS: The suppression of active unrest did not spell a falling off in organisational expertise. A nation-wide youth movement, the Congress of South African Students, (COSAS) came into existence in 1979 and out of the ranks of rebellious youth emerged the young adults who began to apply that expertise to township populations. The result was the rapid growth of community organisations. With unemployment becoming more widespread than ever the more creative spirits among the unemployed dedicated their talents to these community organisations. The scene was being set for the United Democratic Front, (UDI).

At the same time, throughout this period there was a consistent growth in the Black trade union movement prompted especially by the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) which had adopted a non-racial stance and the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) which professed a Black Consciousness orientation.

THE PROVINCE OF NATAL: With its patchwork of Kwazulu areas experienced its own kind of development, that of the Inkatha Movement, called into being by Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi in the early 70's to promote an African cultural identity. In fact it quickly became a Zulu national movement. It moved progressively away from the A N C and later came into conflict with the United Democratic Front. It opposed the A N C option for violence and the call for economic pressures on South Africa. It has collaborated in the formulation of a special multi-racial second tier constitution for Natal through what is termed the Natal KwaZulu Indaba. It has endeavoured to set up its own trade union structure to counter COSATU. It is authoritarian and monopolistic and in its clashes with other organisations shows little practical respect for the non-violent attitude it professes.

In the other provinces and, to a limited extent, in Natal (as far as Inkatha permitted) the revolt of youth, the growth of the trade unions and the emergence of local community organisations set the scene for the next act. This took the form of vigorous Black reaction to an attempted

constitutional reform by the South African government.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION: Prime Minister P.W. Botha had taken power proclaiming the need for reform. His slogan was 'adapt or die'. His difficulty was to promote a reform that would satisfy Blacks and would not antagonise Whites, a kind of squaring of the circle. After discussions and reports dating back to 1977 the government presented a draft new constitution to parliament in May, 1983. It was duly adopted at the end of August and submitted to a referendum of White voters on the 2nd November, 1983. The result was a two to one vote in favour.

The new constitution provides for firmly entrenched White power and a subordinate role for representatives of the so called Coloured and Indian population groups. It distinguishes between 'general affairs', common to all population groups and 'own affairs' special to White Coloured and Indian population groups. The structures created by the constitution include the office of Executive President, a President's Council, three chambers of parliament, the House of Assembly for Whites, the House of Representatives for so-called Coloured, and the House of Delegates for Indians, each with a council of ministers. There is also a cabinet named by the President and presided over by him and joint standing committees providing for inter-house consultations. The President is given "control and administration of Black affairs" and Africans generally are supposed to find their political aspirations satisfied in homeland government and in local councils in White areas.

THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT: Opposition to the constitution and to the elections to the Houses of Representatives and Delegates called into existence the United Democratic Front (UDF) which brought together a loose federation of about 600 Black community organisations with a sprinkling of White support. The UDF did not prevent the implementation of the constitution but its vigorous campaigning reduced to a farce the elections to the two satellite houses of parliament. What was more important was that it served as catalyst for a huge ground-swell of Black extra-parliamentary opposition strongly representative of Black rejection of the apartheid policy and its institutions.

Another much smaller liberation movement came into existence at about the same time, namely the National Forum or Azanian Peoples Organisation (AZAPO) which differs from the U D F in its adherence to black consciousness principles.

(ii) SEPTEMBER 1984 to JUNE, 1987.

COUNTRYWIDE UNREST: The occupation of Sebokeng a township in the section of the Transvaal known as the Vaal Triangle, by troops and police on 23 October, 1984 was a clear sign that a political upheaval of major dimensions was occurring. Beginning in September, 1984 it rolled like a tidal wave around the country for two years. It was a time of protests, demonstrations

and boycotts; of violent police repression and popular reactive violence, resulting in many deaths and injuries; of funerals and memorial services that became occasions of political protest and further police repression; of ongoing detentions and treason trials; of the banning of organisations; of threats and sometimes the application of economic sanctions; of loss of confidence in South Africa leading to a dramatic drop in the value of the rand.

The unrest was accompanied by an increase of insurgency. Guerilla incidents included hand-granade, limpet-mine and rocket attacks; car bombings; land mine explosions; assassinations or attempted assassinations and skirmishes. The A N C had threatened attacks on 'soft targets' and the unleashing of a 'people's war'. A further dimension of the violence was the outbreak of conflict between the U D F and AZAPO in the Eastern Cape, between Inkatha and U D F affiliates in Natal and of attacks and counter attacks involving vigilantes. The gruesome spectre of 'necklacing' made its appearance.

1985 STATE OF EMERGENCY: By July, 1985 it was calculated that 450 people had died in political violence and that over 1500 had been injured. The government decided that urgent action had to be taken to bring the situation under control. On July 21st it imposed a state of emergency in 36 magisterial districts. In October the state of emergency was lifted in 5 districts but imposed in 7 others. However, unrest and violence continued with over 500 political deaths in the last 6 months of 1985 and 659 between January and August of 1986. Despite this the state of emergency was lifted in stages and terminated on 7th March, 1986. Media and especially television were relaying the tragic story of South Africa to a horrified world until the South African government decided to clamp down on press, radio and television.

VISITS TO A N C: The second half of 1985 was marked by important developments including the inauguration of a series of visits by delegations of business men, politicians, church personnel and academics to A N C headquarters in Lusaka. It had become clear that the role of the ANC in South Africa was crucial.

FORMATION OF COSATU: November, 1985, saw the formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Though certain trade union groups preferred not to join, COSATU brought together an imposing array of worker organisations including unions affiliated to the Federation of South African Trade Unions, the National Union of Mineworkers and 32 other unions. At its launch COSATU made it clear that it intended to play a political role and among other things pronounced itself in favour of disinvestment.

KWANDEBELE: During the first half of 1986 unrest became particularly intense in the Transvaal, north of Pretoria, where the South African government was trying against the wishes of the inhabitants to force

independence on to an area called KwaNdebele and to manipulate borders. The so called government of KwaNdebele, set up by South Africa, created a force of vigilantes to crush the resistance.

EMINENT PERSONS GROUPS: At this time too, a party of representatives from the British Commonwealth countries known as the Eminent Persons Group visited South Africa with a view to promoting the dismantling of apartheid and the holding of negotiations for a peaceful settlement. The project was aborted when South Africa launched attacks against what it alleged were A N C centres in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana. The event intensified the threat of sanctions.

SCHOOL SITUATION: Throughout all the period of unrest youth, in keeping with its established role in the liberation struggle was not inactive. The school situation was constantly on the boil with great numbers of pupils missing out on their education in terms of the slogan "Liberation before Education". The students were reacting to the poor quality of education, the presence of troops in the townships, the banning of student organisations, the high-handed actions of the Department of Education and Training in regard to student representative councils, the transfer of teachers and the closing of schools without consultation. And of course beneath the anti-school activity was the deep, flaming resentment of the young people against apartheid. Parents and community leaders tried to take the situation in hand. They formed the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee. Planning began for a more relevant curriculum of education entitled People's Education.

GENERAL STATE OF EMERGENCY JUNE 12th, 1987: The situation grew more tense as the 16th June, the 10th anniversary of Soweto approached. The government decided that there was only one way to quell the unrest and imposed a general state of emergency on the whole country as from midnight on the 11th June.

Hundreds of people were detained and a few deported. Detentions multiplied during the rest of the year to the extent that it was calculated that about 30,000 people including thousands of children under the age of 18 were affected for longer or shorter periods. The leadership of 'progressive' organisations was profoundly affected, for instance all the members of the National Education Crisis Committee were detained. Church personnel did not escape the attention of the security forces. At one time or another the Catholic Church was represented among the detainees by 12 priests (including Farther Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, Secretary General of the Southern African Bishops Conference) 3 deacons, 4 religious sisters, 20 seminarians and 7 lay persons active in church work. Besides bannings, restrictive orders were issued against persons and organisations.

Stricter control was imposed on the dissemination of news and views. The term 'subversive' was given very wide scope and information connected with unrest and security procedures could be released only with the

authorisation of the Bureau for information. Later the control of such information was vested in the Public Relations Division of the South African Police.

All reading material was banned in classrooms except that approved by the Department of Education and Training. Parents and other persons were prohibited from entering any school without prior permission.

The U D F was declared an affected organisation. An investigation was launched into the finances of many organisations especially those of the extra-parliamentary opposition.

Though some points were scored in the courts of law against the emergency regulations, the government reacted by new legislation and when it reimposed the state of emergency on the 12th June, 1987, it had effectively sealed off all legal loopholes.

Continuing to impose its will is obviously placing an enormous strain on the South African Government. Meanwhile the pressure from outside also continues to grow, mainly in the form of economic measures. Those have not yet reached the stage of seriously dislocating the economy but they are causing uneasiness and insecurity in the White population. The Whites are reacting in two ways. Some are leaving the country and no doubt many more would do so if it were possible. But the great majority of those who remain see their security in supporting the National Party and even the more extreme right wing Conservative and Herstigte parties. This was clearly borne out in the White election of May 6th, 1987.

11. THE PRESENT SITUATION

The reforms the National Party talks of are marginal, concerning marriage and morality and even group areas. The great pillars of apartheid remain untouched, such as the constitution ensuring White supremacy; the Land Act of 1913 amended in 1936, allocating 87% of the surface of the country to White ownership; discrimination in education; the population Registration Act. The move to establish a National Statutory Council for consultation with Black 'leadership' offers little hope for any significant change. In the meantime parliamentary rule diminishes continually with the establishment of new state structures. Provincial responsibilities are being suppressed in favour of Regional Service Councils with state-appointed membership. The military has an important say in a National Security Council and so-called Joint Management Committees operating at local level.

Control by security forces, police and military, has expanded by the creation of auxiliary police, 'kitskonstabels' with six week training and

the encouragement given to vigilantes.

The destabilisation of neighbouring countries continues, to discourage support for the A N C and SWAPO and to maintain the economic dependence of these countries.

On the other hand after centuries of colonial rule and discrimination and decades of apartheid the African people have taken their destiny into their own hands. Fired by the vision and vigour of the A N C and galvanised by the youth revolt and the U D F they strain forward to the goal of a non-racial, unitary, democratic, one-person-one-vote South Africa of the future. For the liberation movements this vision is not negotiable. For White South Africa, particularly the Afrikaaner nation, White control is non-negotiable. This is the impasse of the present.

How to resolve this impasse is the great question facing us. The liberation movements see the answer in multi-pronged pressure from all quarters: guerilla infiltration and activity, trade union activism, internal unrest promoted by youth and community organisations, diplomatic and economic pressure.

A new endeavour aimed at changing White attitudes has just come into existence under the name of IDASA - Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa. In July it sponsored a group of 60 delegates to travel to Dakar in Senegal to consult with representatives of the A N C. Whether it will be allowed to function and how it will function remain open questions.

111. THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH

The question of the role of the Church, or in a multi-denominational society like South Africa, the churches, in the political sphere is a vast one. All that can be offered here are a few relevant and salient items of information.

For many decades the leadership of the so-called English speaking churches including the Catholic Church has commented and taken stands on the South African situation, but it has exerted little influence on political developments. The weakness in church policy has been the failure to translate declaration into education - education of church membership in the principles proclaimed. Recent times have seen the emergence of an increasing number of religious bodies operating at local level in an endeavour to promote changes by Christian attitudes. In these times too the sharpest religious reflections have come not from church leaders but from groups and assemblies of other church representatives.

In this matter the South African Council of Churches is conspicuous. It has

come out in support of the Harare and Lusaka Declarations, calling for comprehensive sanctions against South Africa, support for liberation movements, including their armed struggle, and denunciation of the South African State as illegitimate. This does not mean of course that the churches that are members of the South African Council of Churches express the same views or do very much about implementing the resolutions and recommendations referred to them. This is the glaring weakness of the Council of Churches set-up.

THE CATHOLIC BISHOPS: They too started by issuing declarations. Under the influence of Vatican II and the Synod of Bishops of 1974 the South African Catholic Bishops became more realistic and saw the need for action. But it was only in 1976, after four years of discussion that the white and black seminaries were integrated. Multi-racial schools were set up. The Government did nothing to stop it although it was illegal. In 1977 the Bishops made a commitment to work against all forms of Apartheid. Then in 1981-2 they visited Namibia and drew up their Report on Namibia. Again they protested strongly against the Constitution of 1983 and they published an effective protest against police violence.

The Government has lost its moral legitimacy but the Bishops ask if it is wise to make a public statement to this effect. The real challenge is to move from Prophecy to Evangelization. This will be done through community action and a programme of education in Catholic Social Doctrine, showing how this doctrine applies to the South African situation and in particular to ethnic community relations. To this end a specific pastoral plan has now been elaborated by the Bishops' Conference.

The "Kairos theologians": Another body that has been sharp in its comments is the group of so-called Kairos theologians. The main thrust of the Kairos document is that the churches should denounce the South African state as a tyranny, side unequivocally with the oppressed and support the liberation struggle. The issue of armed struggle is dealt with somewhat ambiguously.

The issues raised by these bodies are legitimate ones and must engage the attention of the churches.

For this reason the Commission for Justice and Peace of the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference has launched a serious effort to prepare reflections for submission to the Conference on the following issues :

1. The present situation in South Africa and the response of the Church.
2. (In collaboration with the Theological Commission) the question of unjust war in Namibia and the use of military force to maintain apartheid in South Africa.

Some Questions and Proposals for Consideration Arising
from the Present Situation in South Africa

SMANGALISO MKHATSHWA.

Two Questions

I have two questions which remain with me after my year in prison:

1. How can decent human beings do these things to other people? How can they then go home to their families and live humanly?
2. Married men in prison sacrificed much more than celibates. Where were the priests, seminarians, nuns and brothers when the laity went to prison?

OTHER QUESTIONS AND PROPOSALS

We in South Africa continue to agonize over these questions. I put them now to you for your consideration and possible action.

1. The State of Emergency: It continues to worsen relations between oppressors and oppressed and increases oppression and torture. The Government will continue its programme of the militarization of society, with guards at buildings, military patrols and terror. The Botha Government is not yet ready to enter into serious negotiations about Mandela's release, lifting the State of Emergency, un-banning opposition political movements, withdrawing the police and army from townships, releasing detainees, etc. Religious should analyze the State of Emergency in terms of what it does to people.
2. The De-stabilising Policy of the Government in neighbouring states which support the ANC has led to disastrous effects, especially in Mozambique from where there has been an influx of refugees into Transvaal. Botha, Head-Of-State has visited Angola where his forces are supporting UNITA, a movement fighting against the Government of Angola. This must be a unique occurrence, it shows the extent to which the South African Government is involved in Angola. The policy extends to all neighbouring states.
3. UDF and ANC: There is need for religious in Rome to be in dialogue with

progressive organizations like UDF and ANC.

4. Option for the Poor: There is the need for religious to spell out the practical consequences of the preferential option for the poor in active, practical commitment in the struggle of the people. For instance: Priests have made parish halls available for meetings of opposition groups. The presence of the priest himself at such meetings would be a tangible identification with the struggle for liberation.
5. Freedom Charter: Acquaint yourselves with the 1955 Freedom Charter of South Africa.
6. Moral Authority: The South African Government may be "legal" but it has lost legitimacy, the moral authority to rule. Can you state this?
7. Re-educate Your People on how their own governments are part of the problem by giving active support or comfort to the Apartheid system. It is not enough for Europe and the U.S.A. to give money.
8. Death Row: There are at present 33 political prisoners on death row in South Africa awaiting execution. Can religious, mount a campaign to save them?
9. Much "Mis-information": is given by the international press about "black violence", "neck lacing" in South Africa. What is going on is not so much a struggle of blacks against blacks as of supporters of the system against people opposing it. It is an all too common occurrence when informers are seen as traitors who put the safety of people at risk. The informer network is underspread in South Africa.

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SEDOS

JUSTICE AND PEACE COMMISSION
OF THE UNIONS OF SUPERIORS GENERAL (UISG-WOMEN USG-MEN)

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SOLIDARITY IN CRISIS NETWORK
FROM SOUTH AFRICA: THANKS FOR SUPPORT (*)

Sr. Theresa Paul, of the Holy Family Community in Bloemfontain, South Africa, has sent the following message:

18th November 1987

"Dear Friends in Christ,

My nephew, John Paul, his family and I say "Thank you" to each member of SOLIDARITY IN CRISIS NETWORK for your powerful witness to justice in contributing to my nephew's release and so soon.

I wish you "A Very Happy Christmas and New Year". May your Solidarity Network grow from strength to strength for the building of the Kingdom. God bless you and thank you ! Please convey this message to all those who sent letters."

In her covering letter Sister Theresa Paul writes that even after Paul's release letters continue to come: from Malawi, Niger, Heythuysen (Netherlands) and Vitry-sur-Seine (France). She also had a letter from the Minister of Law and Order, three weeks after John Paul's release saying: "With reference to your letters addressed to the Minister of Justice, I wish to advise that Mr. John Paul was exempted from the Provisions of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act 1982 and released on 10th October 1987." She feels that he was probably forced to respond because of letters that were continuing to arrive even after John Paul's release. She has written to Cardinal Casaroli, Vatican Secretary of State, to inform him about the "unforgettable work of justice" done by the Network.

Similar letters have been received from the relatives of Tom Waspé, Peter Hortop and Maurice Smithers.

One of the letters contained the suggestion to write letters (Christmas cards) to two people, both held in Johannesburg Prison: Mr Raymond Suttner and Sr. Bernard Ncube. These letters should be addressed to:

c/o Brigadier Erasmus
John Vorster Square Police Station,
Commissioner Street, Johannesburg 2001, South Africa.

*

(*) THE SOLIDARITY IN CRISIS NETWORK is a collaborative effort of the above two organizations to serve Congregations and their members in time of crisis in mission.

SOCIAL APOSTOLATE

ADDRESS OF FATHER KOLVENBACH
TO THE DIRECTORS OF JESUIT SOCIAL CENTERS

(The following article contains the text of Fr. Kolvenbach's address to the International Meeting of Society members involved in the Jesuit Social Centers.

It was held at Villa Cavalletti in May 1987. Representatives from the Jesuit Refugee Service and from the Co-ordinators of Social Ministries in the Jesuit Curia also took part. The meeting was an important one. Participants came from different continents of the world and were aware of the inter-relatedness of the destiny of all nations today.

"Our Society has to advance further in integrating the promotion of Justice as an effective dimension in all its apostolates" said Fr. Kolvenbach, adding that he just wanted to react to what he had heard and experienced at the meeting - "no policy statement, no technical approach, just some reacting to some questions linking the Centers to the mission of the Society".)

* * *

I. THE TENSIONS WITH WHICH THE SOCIAL CENTERS HAVE TO WORK .

During the 32nd General Congregation Fr. Arrupe stated clearly, that opting for promotion of justice meant asking for trouble. I don't know if everybody in the Society is aware of the tension in which you have to work. In order to situate the mission of the Social Centers, it is worthwhile to call to mind briefly the poles of tension that could be presented as follows:

The Tension Between Evangelization and Human Promotion. Their unity is affirmed by the Church because the Kingdom marks and characterizes every true human liberation, manifesting itself through them, yet - and in this the distinction is stated - without ever becoming identical with them. On the one hand, the Kingdom which the Lord announces is really for the world, and its humanising effects of justice and peace can and must become manifest in history as a result of the action and the involvement of Christians and of other people of good will, as signs of the Kingdom announced and awaited. On the other hand, "my Kingdom is not of this world" (Jo. 18,56), and consequently these signs never are the Kingdom itself, not even its incarnation in the strict sense of the term.

Structural Change and Conversion of Heart. The tension between the need of deep structural changes and the urgency of a conversion of hearts, without which structural change lacks depth and remains ultimately ineffective. A structure may be marked by injustice and by sin, but the injustice of mankind is always involved too, and the sin for which mankind is responsible. There is a strong tendency to maintain that the unjust

structures we live in are the result of the market, not a result of sin. At least so it is often presented. Of course structures must be changed, through action in common. But without conversion this struggle against unjust structures will create new ones that may be even more unjust, as history abundantly teaches us.

Plurality and Cohesion. The tension between a plurality of options for concrete social action and the necessity for cohesion of all such actions undertaken in view of the common good. The Church, in the name of the Gospel, always gives primary attention to the human person beyond the divisions existing between rich and poor, and to the human community without excluding any group or person. In this sense no issue, not even the most urgent one, can be considered absolute though the promotion of justice does follow the path of issues and projects.

Non-Violence and Violence. The tension between an evangelical option for non-violence and, in extreme situations only, a recourse to violence that must, however, exclude all forms of hatred as incompatible with the Gospel. Here I am thinking not only of arms, but of all violence in language and in options.

Taking Sides and Non-Partisan Option. The tension between a preferential love for the poor rooted in the Gospel and the actualisation of this love which, though implying taking sides, and even very strongly, does not lead to a partisan option, and whilst aware of the social conflict, does not follow a strategy of class struggle to combat the alienating structures.

The temptation to reduce any of these evangelical tensions to one of its poles is all the greater when the gravity of given unjust situations urgently calls for immediate justice at all cost. Also it is experienced intensely when a maintaining of these evangelical tensions risks weakening the efficacy of a struggle for justice. No Social Center can claim for itself "faith and justice" or "justice and faith" without living existentially these evangelical tensions which the Gospel and the Church relate to the life, in all its dimensions, of that very person who in a situation of misery and dehumanisation cries out for justice, struggles to be fully human in the image and likeness of the Lord who is Life.

II.

SOME PROBLEMS

It is important to highlight the following traits particular to the developments of these past twelve years.

Promotion of Justice. First there is the use of the expression "promotion of justice". Gradually this came to be substituted by other expressions, more readily accepted because appearing to be more religious. "Preferential option for the poor", "preferential love for the poor", are easily related to the new commandment and the centrality of the poor in the Bible. But it should be noted that while "agapē", the love of God with which the Lord wants us to love one another, is the strongest expression, it can mean many different things! In some provinces it was interpreted so broadly that it made no difference, all are "poor" in some sense. The term "justice" is more incisive. It has more of a realistic ring, it is concrete and demanding. It is not a

question of demanding justice for oneself, but rather of being involved in a planned and competent commitment, so that in the name of the Lord's love, justice be done to others, particularly to those who are victims of injustice or to those most threatened to be so.

No doubt, justice by itself is not enough. The encyclical "Dives in misericordia", the 4th decree of General Congregation 32, and the last message of Father Arrupé "Rooted and Grounded in Love", all agree in affirming that love conditions justice and that justice is the servant of love. Father Arrupe strongly affirmed that one cannot cut oneself off from love while resisting injustice, since in the view of Christ, the universality of love is a commandment that admits of no exception. The last General Congregation (33rd) expresses a rather new vision when it says that we have not always been conscious of the truth that we ought to seek social justice in the light of the justice of the Gospel, which in a way is the sacrament of the love and mercy (misericordia) of God.

We must, therefore, retain the term "promotion of justice", not so much for understanding its content as for expressing a dynamism which originates in the new commandment and leads to concrete action, participating in the struggle for justice, contributing to the replacement of unjust structures by justice. The use of the term "justice" does not allow us to divert our attention from the very concrete and real problems; justice compels us to confront the harsh reality in which persons are deprived of what is due to them so that they may be fully human. It must be said that the expression "Preferential love for the poor", in tune with the new commandment, in no way weakens the urgent demands that the promotion of justice makes. In fact, the very opposite is true, though from the more "religious" perspective this seems less threatening, less exacting and less compelling.

Beneficiaries Of The Social Centers ?

A second problem has to do with the choice of the beneficiaries of the Social Centers, with the identification of the poor. At times one does hear opinions expressed which would refuse to consider the victims of a drought or of an earthquake, the victims of cancer or of AIDS as poor for not being victims of injustice. Some are of the opinion that our "Jesuit Refugee Service" does not express a promotion of justice, and consider this to be a mere work of charity or of social assistance. In the name of such mechanisms of exclusiveness, which aimed to make a clear distinction between the poor in whom we should be interested and the poor who do not merit our promotion of justice, human beings in extreme material and spiritual need have been deprived of assistance.

If the teaching of the magisterium and the documents of the Society have a broader concept with regard to the poor, it is not because of a desire to keep the economically poor out of view. Rather they are expressing an acceptance of the Gospel perspective according to which it would be unjust to see poverty only as economic deprivation - the beatitudes already put together those who are hungry and those who are persecuted, those who are in sorrow and those who are poor - and they recognize, in the light of a universal message that comes down to the level of all, that every human suffering and all that prevents man from becoming truly man, demand the promotion of justice.

No province should think that, because there are no peasants in its territory,

it must look to the Third World ! Unjust structures, and poor people, are everywhere. The poor must be discovered in every region. The Social Centers should, therefore, abstain from making any kind of a priori selection, and should allow themselves to be guided, in accord with the tradition of the Society, by the 'maius bonum' , and this, provided one be not deluded by a false option for the poor, never will be far from those who are economically poor; not in the abstract, not in other continents only, but in the surroundings of the Social Centers themselves.

Competency of The Social Centers. A third problem relates to the degree of competence of the Social Centers, which greatly determines the quality of their involvement and efficacy of their service. In this regard the main preoccupation is doubtless with recruitment of additional personnel. Among the young members of the Society the concern for the poor is certainly not wanting. In formation the Society does give importance to this dimension of all apostolates. There is at times, however, a lack of courage to help the new generation in the Society understand the importance, special to our Ignatian vocation, of a competent and long-term oriented work, of scientific specialization and research in the service of the poor, of acquiring university degrees for the promotion of justice.

III. THE SOCIAL POLICY OF THE SOCIAL CENTERS

Some hold the view that the Social Centers of the Society have not been able to develop to full effectiveness because they lack a definite and clear socio-political option. Rejecting resolutely the capitalist perspectives, their tendency has been towards the side of the leftist forces, without wanting to adopt or to identify with unacceptable marxist perspectives, but flirting with forms or expressions of marxisms. Being suspect to the right and not really accepted by the left, the Centers, at least some of them, found themselves stranded in-between. Some do not find the courage to reject clearly and without ambiguity unacceptable marxist orientations so as not to lose contact with the left. At the same time they hesitate to adopt as their own the criteria for discernment in social issues which are those of the Church, and to pronounce themselves explicitly in favour of what is commonly known as the social doctrine of the Church, which is a social teaching of the Church rather than a coherent doctrinal body, and contains orientations, perspectives, directives and definite positions on certain issues.

The Church and Marxist Ideology. Having in common the aim of transforming society, the Church and Marxist ideology cannot avoid an encounter. As they have methods of strategies and tactics that are radically in conflict, the Church and the Marxists cannot but fight each other through confrontation or defiance. It is very much in our interest to follow in this matter the instruction of Father Arrupé on marxist analysis, in which - after having stated that the separation of marxist analysis from its relation to marxist ideology is difficult, even impossible - he ends by saying: "I ask you all to act with limpid clarity and fidelity. I ask you to strive with all your energy, in the context of our vocation, on behalf of the poor and against injustice, but without allowing indignation to obscure your vision of faith, and maintaining

always, even in the heat of conflict, a christian attitude that is characterised by love and not hardness of heart". Since the doors to capitalism as well as to marxism are closed, why not seek orientation for research, for projects, for theory and for action in the social teaching of the Church in order to give to the activities of the Social Center an authentic social policy ? In this regard definite lines of advance are emerging today.

Developing the Teaching of the Magisterium. You know how in the elaboration of of the U.S. Bishops' Pastoral "Economic Justice for All", a number of Jesuits - some are here with us - were able to make a valuable contribution. In fact the Church does not expect from us that we just repeat what the Magisterium has been teaching, but that we also participate in developing it further and keeping it vital. We have, therefore, to be part of this effort to deepen it theologically and keep it dynamic as a source of inspiration and guidance, as some episcopal conferences have succeeded well in doing. You, being competent in social sciences and attentive to the "cries of the poor", are well placed to enrich Church teachings with the mediations it needs for being on the cutting edge of social reality. For this, I believe, you need a deep appreciation of the accumulated Gospel-oriented wisdom of the christian vision of man, human communities and of society in history.

Our "sentire cum Ecclesia" should make us particularly sensitive to the great changes that Vatican Council II and the teaching of the recent Popes have brought to the life of the Church. The pastoral teaching and planning of many episcopal conferences give a strong testimony to this. If we find a local Church lagging, we still have here something to look up to with faith and hope.

Involvement in Politics. Speaking about the social policy of a Social Center inevitably touches on the "political". In this field where all is politics, we should avoid acting as if politics were all there is ! This is necessary simply because for a Jesuit the promotion of justice is rooted in a proclamation of faith, and consequently our concern for being present to what is most miserable can never be guided by a belief that all the situation requires is a political solution. Hence it is demanded of a Jesuit not to be a man of party politics, a man whose responsibility is in the name of an institution, an ideology and a political party. This is by no means easy since a Social Center cannot function without being in touch with these realities and accepting responsibility for the search carried out through institutions, ideologies and political parties. It is not possible to define criteria clearly that are to guide action linked with activities and institutions having undeniable and recurring political dimensions. In every situation, however, a Jesuit has to give witness to the tension existing between the importance and the insufficiency of political action, since he wants to reach out to people not just as being miserable, but as persons made in the image and likeness of God, persons who are brothers and sisters of the Lord and children of the Father.

IV. INTERNATIONAL APOSTOLATE

This meeting was called in part to promote international consciousness. The experience in your work has made you see clearly how it is today impossible for

one particular country to implement its plan for a new society in isolation. This is especially true for Third World countries, small ones in particular. Many of you working in these countries have arrived at the conclusion: "Our real problem is not here but in those parts of the world where the power of control is concentrated". And all of you have come here with a concern similar to that expressed by one of you: "How can we advance the work of peace furthering international justice ". During his last visit to Canada, John-Paul II spoke about this in terms of the conflict between the north and the south, using surprisingly strong language in order to underline the urgency for action.

A more effective participation in the solution of grave global problems, especially those affecting the immense population of the world's poor, is urgent in the light of 'Our Mission Today'. I would like to express my appreciation for those Centers, especially in Africa, that try to help people threatened by starvation, to increase their potential for self-reliance in food production. We ought also, according to our charism, accept difficult long-range tasks of study and research undertaken with a right perspective. There is also the question of priorities, as e.g. to emphasise the study of the debt burden of Third World countries, or of the role of trans-national companies. For some of the Centers participation in studies of this wide nature may not be feasible. They may feel a constraint to work on the specific issues of their countries, especially in helping bishops confront societal reality more effectively.

It is important to pay attention to inculturation of faith and evangelisation of culture also from this universal angle in order to have an adequate perspective in particular situations. This also applies to those in the social apostolate, who in their work for social justice and human liberation seek to stimulate a conscious search for values that can sustain life and promote a dialogue also at a spiritual and religious level. The urgent need for structural change has not diminished, on the contrary, new insights have been acquired. We are today more aware of the illusions contained in certain approaches to transformation in society. We have become more realistic, which should not mean less committed to the faith/justice ideal. In a way the biggest task is to be accomplished today: working out proposals for orientation and action in the future.

Ref.: S.J. DOCUMENTATION, September 1987.

(The text has been slightly abbreviated).

BOOK REVIEW

Fr. Fernando Galbiati, Superior General of the P.I.M.E. Fathers, and a member of SEDOS, is the author of a book on important aspects of modern Chinese history. We are printing excerpts of a book review by John K. Fairbanks of Harvard University, U.S.A. His opinion is that this "the difinitive work on it's subject".)

P'ENG P'AI AND THE HAI-LU-FENG- SOVIET. By Fernando Galbiati
Stanford, California: Stanford University Press 1985. 484pp.
US\$45.00

This detailed study of the peasant movement in one county of Kwangtung throws a great deal of new light on it's subject. It opens with a trenchant account of peasant life and tenantry in Hai-feng county, one of the most thoroughly documented ever put together. It is a grim picture.

There then emerges the young P'eng, a scion of a landlord family in Hai-feng who has, however, participated in the May Fourth movement and studied in Japan. When he comes back as a radical interested in revolution he is still dressing like a Japanese returned student of the upper class. Gradually he learns how to deal with the peasants by being accepted as part of their world. He begins to dress like them and talk like them, making friends and leading the way in local improvements. Hai-feng county is overflowing with clan feuds, landlord guards, bandits and even a competition between the old gentry of 1911 and the new gentry of 1920. P'eng seems always to want to go too fast and runs into old gentry opposition. He succeeds, however, in organizing a peasant union which can bargain with landlords and represent peasant interests. In this achievement he is one of the pioneers of the Communist movement in China. He is a charismatic young man able to deal with the gentry and with the provincial warlord, the enlightened Ch'en Chiungming, as well as a shifting flow of local commanders and military men. Finally P'eng is appointed educational commissioner for the county, which soon has five hundred schools. This success on his home ground in Hai-feng brings P'eng into the Canton scene and the Kuomintang-Communist united front. He becomes one of their peasant experts and in 1924 sets up, and is the first director of, the peasant Movement Training Institute in Canton. Here he precedes Mao Tse-tung, who becomes head of only the Sixth Class at this institute in 1926.

Galbiati brings out the point that in the complicated politics and motivations of Hai-feng, the peasant's interest in getting their own land diverges from the Communist aim of sovietizing the land. There was still a long way to go before the Chinese Communist Party could create peasant support and overcome the normal peasant localism. P'eng P'ai and all his clan were cast into history's dustbin. Only later was his name rehabilitated.

Galbiati's work is comprehensive in sources, rich in detail, and vivid in the telling. The P'eng P'ai story illuminates the problems and demise of the united front. It will be the definitive work on its subject.

Harvard University, U.S.A.
Pub., in PACIFIC AFFAIRS. Vol 59, No.1, Spring, 1986.

John K. Fairbank

SOUTH AFRICA
CHRISTMAS 1987

PRAYER FOR PEACE

Out of the night that covers us
And the pain that's over all
We cry for peace.

Mend, Lord, the rifts that sever us
Break the dividing wall
Let anger cease.

Give us in place of wrath and tears
and simmering vengeance of past years
Your shining peace.

From out the dark, the great despair
From out the silent cell, the lonely hour
Oh hear our prayer!

Now when the time seems out of grace
Here where such suffering has its place
Show us your face.

Shadows are long upon the land
Sun's rays too few
We cry to you!

Rage is a force that renders blind
but, rough chains bind
 Reach out your hand
 Give Peace!
Peace in the hearts of all of us
 Peace in our land.

Maria Mackey, OP

Grace & Truth 1986/4

APPENDIX I

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