

DISARMAMENT / DEVELOPMENT / HUMAN RIGHTS
THE FINDINGS
of the
WORLD CONFERENCE ON RELIGION AND PEACE

Kyoto, Japan

October 16-21, 1970

Introduction

The following pages contain the abridged proceedings of the World Conference on Religion and Peace held in Kyoto, Japan, on October 16-21, 1970. This historic event was held to "discuss urgent present obstacles to peace in the light of common religious principles with the view to facilitating common action."

Two hundred and ten persons were delegates and fraternal delegates. They came from the world's ten major living religions in the following numbers: 94 Christians, 35 Buddhists, 19 Hindus, 18 Moslems, 17 Shintoists, 7 Jews, 3 Sikhs, 3 Jains, 2 Zoroastrians, 1 Confucian, and 11 from other religions. The delegates came from all continents and 39 countries, including 52 from Japan, 35 from India, 30 from the U.S., 12 from the U.S.S.R., 3 from Singapore, 7 from Pakistan, and 6 from Indonesia. In addition there were 98 observers, guests, and members of the senior secretariat. The Kyoto Conference also attracted 719 persons as visitors, press, volunteers, and employees as well as 2,000 religionists from the Kansai (Kyoto/Osaka/Kobe) area who were present at the Inaugural and Closing Plenary sessions.

A number of world religious leaders gave major speeches: Dr. Ralph D. Abernathy, Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Archbishop Helder Camara, Archbishop Angelo Fernandes, Sir Zafrulla Khan, the Ven. Thich Nhat Hanh, the Ven. Thich Thien-Minh, Prof. R. J. Zwi Werblowsky, and Dr. Hideki Yukawa. However, the Conference emphasized Workshops or Commissions and much of the participants' time was devoted to writing, debating, and adopting the Conference Message and the three reports

of the Workshops or Commissions on Disarmament, Development, and Human Rights. Also several important resolutions, growing out of these discussions, were adopted. The full texts of the Message and three Workshop or Commission reports are given here together with the resolutions. The complete proceedings of the Conference are likely to be published both in Japanese and in English, the two official Conference languages.

The Kyoto Conference also voted to create an ongoing organization, called the World Conference of Religion for Peace. This will probably convene a second World Conference, but not immediately. In the meanwhile other interim activities will be undertaken on an inter-religious basis. An international headquarters is being established provisionally at United Nations Plaza in New York.

Homer A. Jack,
Secretary-General

Tokyo
October 26, 1970.

THE CONFERENCE MESSAGE

The World Conference on Religion and Peace represents a historic attempt to bring together men and women of all major religions to discuss the urgent issue of peace. We meet at a crucial time. At this very moment we are faced by cruel and inhuman wars and by racial, social, and economic violence. Man's continued existence on this planet is threatened with nuclear extinction. Never has there been such despair among men. Our deep conviction that the religions of the world have a real and important service to render the cause of peace has brought us to Kyoto from the four corners of the earth. Bahai, Buddhist, Confucian, Christian, Hindu, Jain, Jew, Muslim, Shintoist, Sikh, Zoroastrian, and others—we have come together in peace out of a common concern for peace.

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

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

Because of these convictions that we hold in common, we believe that a special charge has been given to all men and

women of religion to be concerned with all their hearts and minds with peace and peace-making, to be the servants of peace. As men and women of religion we confess in humility and penitence that we have very often betrayed our religious ideals and our commitment to peace. It is not religion that has failed the cause of peace, but religious people. This betrayal of religion can and must be corrected.

In confronting the urgent challenges to peace in the second half of the twentieth century, we were compelled to consider the problems of disarmament, development, and human rights. Clearly peace is imperilled by the ever-quickenning race for armaments, the widening gap between the rich and the poor within and among the nations, and by the tragic violation of human rights all over the world. In our consideration of the problems of disarmament we became convinced that peace cannot be found through the stock-piling of weapons. We therefore call for immediate steps toward general disarmament, to include all weapons of destruction—conventional, nuclear, chemical, and bacteriological. We found that the problems of development were aggravated by the fact that the resources spent on research, and on the manufacture and stock-piling of such weapons consume a grossly inordinate amount of the resources of mankind. We are convinced that these resources are urgently needed instead to combat the injustices that make for war and other forms of social violence. Any society in which one out every four children dies is in a state of war. While development of itself may not bring peace, there can be no lasting peace without it. Therefore we pledge our support to the effort of the United Nations to make the 70's a decade of development for all man-

kind.

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

While we of this Conference speak for ourselves as persons brought together from many religions by our deep concern for peace, we try also to speak for the vast majority of the human family who are powerless and whose voice is seldom heard—the poor, the exploited, the refugees, and all who are homeless and whose lives, fields, and freedoms have been devastated by wars. We speak to our religions, the ecumenical councils and all interfaith efforts for peace, to the nations, beginning with our own, to the United Nations, and to men and women outside established religions who are concerned about human welfare.

To one and all, beginning with ourselves, we say that the point of departure for any serious effort in the human enterprise—educational, cultural, scientific, social, and religious—is the solemn acceptance of the fact that men and all their works are now united in one destiny. We live or die together; we can continue to drift toward a common doom or we can engage together in the struggle for peace. We cannot honestly denounce war and the things that make for war unless our personal lives are informed by peace and we are prepared to make the

necessary sacrifices for it. We must do all in our power to educate public opinion and awaken public conscience to take a firm stand against war and the illusory hope of peace through military victory. We are convinced that religions, in spite of historic differences, must now seek to unite all men in those endeavors which make for true peace. We believe that we have a duty transcending sectarian limits to cooperate with those outside the historic religions who share our desire for peace.

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

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

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

DISARMAMENT

Introduction

Armaments are a threat to world peace, a hindrance to development, and a mockery of human rights. There is a spiraling arms race, increasing stockpiles of arms, the unceasing nuclear experiments, and the continuing search for new means of mass destruction by an increasing number of nations.

The shocking facts are that the existing nuclear armories of a few countries are enough to kill or maim billions of people, destroy civilization, and condemn millions of the unborn to suffer handicaps by widely spreading radioactive contamination even in countries outside the area of direct conflict.

Military expenditures today are inconsistent with a desire for and needs of development. The world has increased military expenditure by about 30% during the last three years. It is estimated that \$182 billion was spent in 1967, an increase of over 50% in half a decade. It amounts to about 7% of the world's gross product. This equals the total annual income produced by the one billion people living in Latin America, South Asia, and the Middle East. The greatest tragedy is that this expenditure on the means of destruction is more than 40% of what all governments in the world at all levels spend on education and more than three times that spent on public health.

This colossal military expenditure is seriously affecting developing countries as well. While what they spend on defense budgets is only a small part of the world military expenditure, it has been rising faster than the world average; while the world

average during 1960-68 was 6% that of developing countries was 7%.

The Approach

We reject the argument of governments and groups that suggest that their own security depends on their military strength and that fear of military retaliation is a positive deterrent to war and that therefore it is the best guarantee of world peace. We hold that the arms race will drive the world to a clash of arms and that the stockpiling of the means of mass destruction produces fears and creates a war psychosis which may trigger off a violent struggle. We are convinced that the road to peace with justice does not go through violence and destruction.

We urge that peace is a prerequisite of development. Peace in our view is not merely the absence of war. Peace is constructive and dynamic. It is a condition in which peoples of the world are enabled to work for their development. But today the fear of war and the urge for self-preservation propel them to increase their defense expenditures at the cost of social and economic development.

We are persuaded that the existence of the means of mass destruction and the constant threat of violence and conflict are the very negation of man's faith and his responsibility to his fellow-beings. We as religionists therefore stand for the goal of total disarmament to be sought through the measures listed below.

A society based on the strength of arms is the negation of a community based on justice. We believe that religion must work for the establishment of a just social order. We believe

in the right of the individual to social, economic, and political justice. A state of conflict or the threat of war and violence militate against the citizens' claims and urges for justice. There can be no justice without disarmament just as there can be no peace without justice.

Recommendations

1. Being aware of the destructive capacity of the existing world armory, conscious of its negative effect upon man's development, and believing in the right of man to justice and peace, we urge the governments of the world to undertake measures required to bring about total disarmament and support those already being taken. We wish to declare ourselves as religionists a—in favor of all steps towards the prevention of nuclear proliferation, b—in favor of associating the People's Republic of China and France with the international agreements and ongoing talks about nuclear disarmament, c—against the development, manufacture, or use of all bacteriological, chemical and biological agents of mass destruction, d—for conducting research into methods of destroying stockpiles without harming nature, e—for putting an end to all nuclear tests, including underground tests for destructive purposes, f—against the use of the sea bed and oceans for the development of new weapons and in particular nuclear weapons, g—for continuing discussion between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. about the limitation of strategic arms, and h—for creation of nuclear-free zones.

2. We as religionists condemn all governments experimenting in new types of lethal arms and the production of the means of mass destruction.

3. We further believe that nations have the right to promote their own ideologies, but it should be done with only fair and peaceful means and without the use of arms.

4. In order to bring about total disarmament in as short a time as possible, we urge: a—the immediate cutting down of all military expenditures by all nations, and b—that all military occupations of foreign territories be brought to an end, no military bases be created, no other nuclear bases be established on foreign territories, and firm steps be taken towards the final liquidation of foreign military bases.

5. We believe that the sale of arms, mostly by wealthy nations, constitutes a danger to peace, that it is a subtle form of colonialism misdirecting to wasteful and destructive ends resources that could assist the developing countries. Therefore we call urgently for the institution of measures to register, control and bring to an end the international trade in arms both by governments and private agencies, and as a first step we ask the United Nations to institute and publish a world register of arms sales.

6. We are convinced that there is a close and direct relation between disarmament and development. Hence we press governments seriously to consider their national priorities and to see whether in all conscience they are exercising responsible stewardship of their resources. We believe that aid from developed to developing countries should preclude military aid and should ensure that economic aid given does not enable them to divert their own resources to increase their military expenditures.

7. We religionists further believe that disarmament must be accompanied by a resolve to adhere to non-violence as an

individual way of life, and as a means to resolve conflicts and that steps need to be taken to institute machinery for resolving conflicts, both national and international, through non-violent means and peaceful negotiations.

8. We believe that all nations must resolve not to engage in any form of armed conflict and renounce war as a means of resolving conflict. We commend to all mankind the Peace Constitution of Japan which in Article 9 has legislated against waging war and against the Japanese people arming themselves as a nation, on the basis of their experience of misery of war and atomic bombs 25 years ago. We as religionists express our appreciation of the Japanese nation which seeks to preserve this aspect of its Constitution, and strongly appeal to the religionists of the whole world to cooperate with the Japanese people in this objective, so that they may realize this sincere desire.

9. We recommend that international disputes between countries be resolved by peaceful means through the machinery of the United Nations. But should the peaceful measures fail and any country refuse to implement the decisions of the United Nations, the latter should be adequately equipped to use force if necessary, as a last resort, until such country accepts the decision of the United Nations.

10. We strongly oppose all military pacts because they tend to create tensions and war psychosis in the countries concerned.

11. We believe it is the function of all religionists not only to advocate disarmament and peace, but to take all measures within their capacity to learn, and to educate children, youth, and all those who come under their influence about the facts of nuclear war and the illogicality and impracticability of attempting to

solve conflicts by violence. In this effort they should use the assistance of specialists on the problems of peace and disarmament.

12. We recognize, as religionists, the fact that organized religion and its leaders have not always practiced nor understood that religion is vitally concerned with all aspects of life—including political, social, and economic—and have tended to compartmentalize life into spiritual and material, promoting an unconcern for the latter. We urge that leaders of all religions use their platforms to educate their people regarding the relation of disarmament to development and peace and on the need for religion expressing its concern for the material well-being of man.

13. We as religionists should study and teach all forms of non-violence as a means of bringing about justice. However, the responsibility for violence in extreme cases of injustice rests on oppressive authorities. (See relevant sections of Development Report.)¹

14. We urge, finally, that the Conference set up suitable machinery which can at different levels—national and international—implement the thoughts, suggestions, and resolutions of this World Conference of persons committed to spiritual values who believe that religion must play a role in bringing about peace and, through it, the development of all peoples of the world.

1. We strongly support non-violent efforts to replace the unjust structures which marginalize the disinherited. At the same time we warn those who refuse to permit the reform of the unjust structures which support their privileges that their resistance to change will make violence inevitable and that the burden of responsibility will rest with them.

DEVELOPMENT

Peace is a dynamic process creating order with justice. A society in which millions of human beings are subjected to oppressive economic, social, or political conditions which condemn them to a haunted life of misery, to a level of marginal existence unfit for human beings is not a just society and, therefore, is not at peace. It is in a state of constant war. It is in this sense that development may be said to be the "new name for peace." And it is in this sense that the problem of peace cannot be separated from the problem of development. Expo '70 was a dramatic tribute to the creative capacity of man. Yet millions of human beings dragging out a miserable existence in sub-human conditions in teeming slums, *favelas*, and *mocambos* around the world are a crushing indictment of man's inhumanity to man. It is the boast of the affluent man that he has created more wealth than Croesus ever dreamed of. And indeed he has. But at the expense of more misery than the world can bear.

Man has proved his ability to produce wealth. He has yet to demonstrate his ability to use it for the good of man. With it and for the sake of it, he fouls his rivers, poisons his lakes, contaminates the oceans, pollutes the atmosphere. Much of it he spends on the production of frightful instruments of mass destruction which, suspended like the sword of Damocles, threaten mankind with total annihilation.

Eighty per cent of the world's goods are in the hands of a small minority of the world's people and the gap between rich and poor individuals and nations grows constantly wider. This situation is a consequence of colonialism. The wealth of the industrializ-

ed world was built upon the exploitation of the colonies which were restricted in their economic activity to the role of suppliers of raw materials for the manufacturing enterprises of the colonial powers. If for the most part the colonial empires have disappeared, the economic shackles forged are not so easily broken. Most of the new nations remain producers of raw materials, subjected to the vicissitudes of a world market the terms of trade of which are not in their favor, and blocked by the restrictive tariff policies of the powerful industrialized nations from developing export industries of their own. In some cases, notably in Latin America, the foreign investor has been a malign influence. If he is no longer, as once he was, able to exploit his monopoly power with full freedom, he has allied himself, to protect his investment, with the dominant indigenous oligarchy the structures of whose power he helps to maintain intact.

Repentance

What should be the attitude of religion in the face of these realities?

Its first posture should be one of repentance for having remained singularly indifferent to the idolatry of riches and the perversion of their use. Especially called to penance is the Christian world inasmuch as, with some exceptions, the part of the world where wealth is concentrated is—or is called—Christian. Contrary to the spirit of Christ, social justice was protected by the paradoxical attitude of many Christians who looked upon the accumulation of wealth as a reward for virtue and the burden of poverty as a punishment for sin or a cross to be borne in expectation of liberation in the next world. Religions other

than Christian are, however, not to be entirely absolved of blame. For by their excessive emphasis upon the relative unimportance of the material, they weakened the forces opposed to its hegemony. The rich man was secure in his abundance because the masses were led to accept the existential situation as destiny and as phenomenal rather than noumenal.

The technological revolution makes the humanization of these concepts possible. Liberation from poverty in the hereafter is no longer acceptable. This generation demands liberation in *this* world, too, not only in the next. If the emphasis in the past has been submission to uncontrollable forces of nature, to destiny or providence, today it ought to be upon man's creative powers. Today the major religions of the world agree that man participates in the creation of his own history. He is not the helpless pawn of blind forces. This is why we repent for the present situation and at the same time hope for the future. We believe that men can be transformed. We also believe that the political, economic, social, and even religious institutions created by man are no less in need of transformation. They must be radically changed. In making the liberation of man from poverty, ignorance, war, and other forms of oppression a matter of central concern, the religions are not abandoning their principles but renewing their basic understanding and traditions. The basic values of respect and reverence for life, compassion, love, and the brotherhood of man are common to all religions.

The basic values of the ancient religious traditions are in no way opposed to development. On the contrary. However, over the long centuries, customs and traditions, many of which

are impediments to human progress, have like barnacles attached themselves to all religions without exception. Because of this many of the younger generations today would reject traditional values entirely. They regard them as obstacles to change and the effort to preserve them as in fact contributing to the preservation of the status quo. They argue, sometimes angrily, that new values must be sought without regard for the past. It is, however, impossible to destroy cultures and value systems which have lasted for hundreds of years. Even were it possible, what would emerge from the ruins would be a 20th century barbarian without cultural roots. What is imperative, therefore, is not the total rejection of traditional values, but an honest and critical examination of them, to separate the essential from the accretions of time. The former which can serve to further the development of man, should be preserved, renewed, and strengthened. The latter, which stand in the way, must be courageously removed.

Renewal

This is the process of *aggiornamento* in the well-known Italian word. The English word for it is "modernization," which is sometimes erroneously identified with "Westernization." Modernization is simply the process whereby people, within their own culture, adapt themselves to the needs of the times in which they live. It calls for an objective and experimental attitude towards problems of change in life. Religion, no less than society, is always in need of renewal and purification. Unless it renews itself and helps to modernize society, it will indeed have become, as the angry young charge, irrelevant.

We reject the Western economic bias which has overemphasized the quantitative. It has tended to measure development in terms of per capita growth, or Gross National Product (GNP). Recognizing that to quadruple the per capita income in 60 to 70 years, as, according to the Pearson Report, will be the case if the present rate of growth in developing countries is maintained as an impressive statistic, does it represent a real increase for the *real* heads who inhabit the slums or is it a neat figure obtained by dividing the total GNP by the number of inhabitants according to the projected census for the year 2030 or 2040? An answer is suggested by the example of Northeast Brazil where signs of economic growth are plainly visible in new factories, new houses, and new automobiles, but where the hundreds of thousands who crowd the teeming *mocambos* are unaffected, their number unchanged or even growing, their misery unrelieved.

We reject the notion that the industrialized nations supply the "model" of development, which imitated by the poor countries would lead them up the same golden stairs to affluence. The existential situation in which the poor countries find themselves today is totally different from that in which the rich laid the foundations of their wealth. They could not imitate that model even if they would.

Another question is whether they *should* even if they could. Should the developing countries, with their future still within their hands, want to imitate that model with its depersonalization of work, its problems of urbanization, its pollution of rivers and lakes and atmosphere, its youthful drop-outs from society, its traffic-jammed streets and crowded highways, its frenetic pace, its drug addiction, its crime rate?

No Universal Model

There is no universal model of development. Each country must establish and be free to establish its own model. No people should be allowed to impose upon others their own preferred model or to prevent others from finding and following their own way of development. We must encourage a pluralistic strategy of change and liberation. Some may choose the Marxist model, or the private enterprise and free market economy model, or a mixed one. Or they might, to the benefit of all, creatively evolve another model, the goal of which is not ever-increasing compulsory and wasteful consumption and mere economic growth, but decent subsistence, social justice, and liberation from the forces that dehumanize man—including excessive wealth concentrated in a few hands or social sectors. Similarly, the developing countries must be free to choose their own technology. Until now the only choice offered them has been that of the industrialized, highly capitalized West, which is now beginning to question its own technology because of its damaging side effects. The greatest aid the rich countries can give to the developing countries is to help them develop their capacity to evolve their own technologies, related to their own human and natural resources, as Tanzania is presently trying to do.

In refusing to identify development with mere economic growth, we do not minimize the importance of the economic factor. It is true that man does not live by bread alone, but it is also true that without bread he does not live at all. To die by boredom of psychological frustration in today's affluent countries is, of course, painful. But it is still a quasi-suicide. To die of hunger

in today's world with its technological potential is to be killed, perhaps to be murdered. Therefore, in the forefront of the development problem is the harrowing spectacle of millions of human beings ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-nursed, ill-employed, illiterate. The problem is how to provide these alienated masses with the material means first to live a decent human life and then to open to them the possibility of realizing their potential as dignified human persons. This latter is the ultimate goal: that is, development of the *whole* man and of *all* men. This involves far more than the economic factor which, nevertheless, is an essential pre-condition to the achievement of the integral development of man.

Social Justice

In searching for solutions to the problem, priority must be given to social justice over economic growth. A program which makes the rich richer and the poor poorer—leaving intact the bastions of oppressive economic and political power and their corresponding structures which have created a society polarized between the rich few and the poor and powerless many—defeats the very purpose of development. Nor can it be defended upon the ground that the benefits will eventually seep down to the impoverished masses. The masses will not and should not wait for such dubious and delayed benefits.

International social justice is no less imperative as a goal than social justice within the nation. There are international economic and political structures which are equally resistant to development and must be radically changed. The terms of trade are “rigged” against the developing countries and render

impotent their efforts to develop their own economies. In this connection we welcome the recent adoption by the United Nations General Assembly of resolutions not only calling for a commitment by all the richer nations to reach the goal of 1% of GNP to be allotted to aid by 1972, but even more important insisting upon a lowering of tariff barriers against manufactured imports from the developing world and action on international commodity agreements to be reached by 1972. The major contribution which religion can make to effect the radical changes called for in the national and international social, political, economic, and religious structures is to awaken the social consciousness and conscience of believers by a rebirth of the spiritual, human, and communal wellsprings of authentic religion.

Education for Development

Nothing is more important to development than education. The richer people must be educated to understand the unity of mankind, the requirements of justice, and their responsibility to achieve it. In the developing world education must awaken in the masses an awareness of their dignity and of their rights. They must be made to realize that the goods of the world were created for the benefit of all and that they have an inalienable right to share, which they must assert.

Education for development in the developing world involves eradication of illiteracy; changing certain attitudes not corresponding to the needs of the times regarding work and human dignity; helping to distinguish between basic values and peripheral traditions; producing a civic sense, social conscience,

and national commitment; developing motivation; and stimulating a capacity for personal and independent thinking. Religion should play a major role in developing the moral and spiritual resources of man which are of the highest importance. Religious education should be given in the schools in their own respective religions by their own respective teachers; while in the universities, comparative religion should be part of the curriculum.

As the example of Japan proves, human resources are more important to development than capital resources. Aid programs would better serve their ultimate ends if they gave top priority to the development of human resources. A people made socially aware of their dignity and of their potentialities may be expected to do what it is idle to expect the privileged elite to do—transform the political, economic, and social structures which hold them in bondage. Programs of military aid should be ended and the funds devoted to the development of human resources.

The role of women must be stressed and educational programs planned which will enable them to realize their potentialities. If women are not liberated from the discrimination which inhibits their full participation, development will fail.

Religious Institutions

The aid extended by Christian churches to the developing world is sometimes used to promote their own interests. To use aid for the purposes of proselytizing is offensive to believers in other religions. We urge that in giving such aid, Christian agencies demonstrate that their motivation is zeal for justice by associating in the planning and implementation of their programs

members of other faiths and of the developing countries. We recommend that religious people should broaden their commitment by a readiness to cooperate with all agencies and individuals who are working to humanize society whether they are of the same religion, of other religions, or of none.

Religion cannot in good faith demand of society that it reform its structures without honestly examining its own institutions and programs, including problems related to the ownership and use of property and the possibilities of self-taxation for development purposes. In this examination we might ask the following, among other, questions: What role is assigned to the young and to women in our institutions? Are these institutions designed to preserve the status quo or do they point the way towards the future? Is our institutional apparatus used to convey real knowledge to people, to relate them to their environment, and to teach them their rightful place in society? Is worship used as an escape from or as a means of relating men to reality? Do we fulfill our prophetic role by denouncing injustices not only in distant countries, but more dangerously at home? Do we give voice to the voiceless or only echo the rationalizations of those who sit in the places of power?

We strongly support non-violent efforts to replace the unjust structures which marginalize the disinherited. In this connection we urge that the Nobel Peace Prize be conferred upon Dom Helder Camara of Brazil in recognition of his heroic championing of the cause of justice for the poor, his valiant denunciation of the structured injustices of modern society, and his refusal to respond to violence with violence. At the same time we warn those who refuse to permit the reform of the un-

just structures which support their privileges that their resistance to change will make violence inevitable and that the burden of responsibility will rest with them. We must face the realities, recognizing that development involves a transfer of power from the few to all. This necessarily involves conflict. It must be the task of religion to try to insure that this conflict be creative.

We conclude with the affirmation that this Conference has itself been a striking demonstration of the fact that the fragmentation of the world by religious differences can be overcome and that the unity of mankind proclaimed by all religions as an ethical ideal can in fact be realized as an empirical fact. It casts a little light into the darkness.

HUMAN RIGHTS

There is a fundamental relationship between peace and human rights. The effective protection of the human dignity and of the rights of human beings is an essential requirement for a peaceful world. The meaning and importance of human rights will be found only on the basis of a true appreciation of the worth of the human person; this is accepted, although perhaps expressed in different terms, by all religions. It must at the same time be pointed out that religions in their historical manifestations have not always been respectful of human rights themselves and have on some occasions purported to justify violations of human rights on religious grounds. This makes it all the more urgent that religions should be sensitized to the vital necessity of promoting and protecting human rights. This is necessary not only as a basis for lasting peace but also as a foundation for social justice.

Restoring Credibility

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights represents, in general terms, the ideals to which all religions and nations subscribe; it provides a standard which all civil authorities should observe. However, this World Conference of religious leaders is only too conscious that the ideals set forth in the U.N. Universal Declaration are being constantly ignored by many governments. The failure of governments to give practical effect to the ideals which they proclaim in the sphere of human rights is one of the principal causes for the near total breakdown of the accepted standards of public and private morality in the world. It has created a "credibility gap" between the ideals professed by governments and the realization of these ideals. When certain governments failed to conform to the laws of Human Rights, religious organizations, by reason of identification with "the Establishment," have been blamed for the failure in the performance of governments and have suffered a consequential loss of influence. In order to restore credence in the moral and ethical authority of religion, the religious leaders of the world will have to take much more active and positive leadership in a continuous effort for creating effective awareness of human rights and their promotion at all levels.

Brutality and Violence

One of the most frightening elements of the present world situation is the continuous escalation in brutality. Brutality is always contagious and inevitably generates counter-brutality, and an increase in violence. In many cases, this brutality is

caused directly by governments; while in other cases it is sanctioned or tolerated by governments. The torture and ill treatment of prisoners which is carried out with the authority of some governments constitute not only a crime against humanity but also a crime against the moral laws.

The use of napalm, defoliants, and other deadly chemicals, the massacres of prisoners and civilians, and the aerial bombardment of defenseless towns and villages are not only crimes against humanity but offend the moral law. Yet, these monstrous crimes occur daily in our midst on the authority of governments which claim to be law abiding and respectful of the moral law. Thus, the bad example given by some governments is the cause of the general increase and competition in violence throughout the world. If governments themselves do not respect the sacredness of human life and the dignity of human beings, it is likely that those who consider themselves victims of injustices will follow the example given to them by governments.

In this grave situation the leaders of religions should not hesitate to denounce fearlessly and consistently brutality and violations of the laws of humanity. In addition, religions should urge the adoption, at national and international levels, of measures to put a stop to the brutalization of mankind.

Violations of Humanitarian Conventions

The existing humanitarian conventions may need revision and extension to cope with the armed conflicts that plague humanity; such as they are, they are not being respected by some states. At present, there is no international body au-

thorized to investigate such violations; therefore, governments are free to violate the humanitarian laws with complete immunity from even the criticism of the United Nations and world public opinion. This Conference, therefore, urges as a matter of urgency, the establishment, within the framework of the U.N., of a permanent and objective Commission of Inquiry empowered to investigate all violations of the humanitarian conventions in the armed conflicts which disgrace this era. This U.N. Commission of Inquiry should report publicly to the Security Council and to the General Assembly. Thus the sanction of at least the United Nations and of world public opinion might deter governments from violations of the humanitarian laws.

Protection of Human Rights

Another cause of disrespect for many governments is their failure to ratify and implement international conventions which they have advocated and voted for. This puts into question their sincerity and credibility. This applies particularly to the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination and the two U.N. Covenants on Human Rights.

General speaking, it is at the domestic level that human rights can most effectively be protected. The representatives of religions should use actively their influence in each country to secure the application of the principles of the Universal Declaration in national laws.

In addition, it has been generally accepted that international implementation machinery is necessary at both regional and universal levels. Hence the adoption of regional conventions

for the protection of human rights should be encouraged. The establishment of more effective machinery at the United Nations for the protection of human rights is also urgently desired.

Education

In order to ensure the more effective protection of human rights it is urged that religions should promote an active educational campaign to ensure a fuller knowledge of the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and subsequent instruments for the protection of human rights and the elimination of racialism. Such an educational program should be undertaken at all levels and through all the educational institutions. The aim of such education should be to inspire respect for the dignity of each human being.

Particular attention should be given to the teaching of human rights to the adult populations. For this purpose, special efforts should be made to ensure that full use is made of the mass media and also that books and pamphlets are published and distributed through religious organizations.

It is further urged that the teaching of human rights in greater depth should be undertaken in universities and similar institutions of higher learning.

As guidelines for such courses, the following topics are suggested:

- 1 The history of human rights, including the development of humanitarian international law and rules.
- 2 The protection of the person under the Law of Human Rights at national and international levels.
- 3 The protection of minorities under national and international law.
- 4 The elimination of all forms of racial and religious discrimination.

Religion and Peace

- 5 The status of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of international instruments on human rights as forming part of customary international law.
- 6 The status of the person under the international Law of Human Rights.
- 7 The protection of human rights in armed conflicts.
- 8 The development of national and international institutions for the protection of human rights.
- 9 The causes that impede the better protection of human rights.

Racism, Discrimination, and Apartheid

One of the most flagrant forms of the violation of human rights is racism—discrimination based on caste, race, colour, or religion and apartheid. The denial of these rights prevents justice being realized and has forced men to resort to violence and war.

Racism and apartheid are a menace to peace. There are many forms of racism, but the most serious form is white racism as practiced in Southern Africa, commonly called apartheid in South Africa. This is practiced against the black majority. Black and certain ethnic minorities in many countries, such as the United States and Australia, also suffer from the practice of white racism.¹ Moreover, Anti-Semitism, as distinct from Anti-Zionism, remains prevalent in many societies.²

Racism is reinforced by social, political, and economic struc-

1. The issues of Anti-Semitism, of the situations of the Palestinians in the occupied territories, and of the Koreans in Japan were raised in the discussion. The Committee decided that it lacked sufficient information to make an authoritative statement at this time and suggests that they be studied further.
2. During discussion of this section, the following addition to the text was proposed and adopted: "The Palestinians also suffer from their treatment by Israeli authorities as second-rate citizens."

An objection was subsequently raised in the Plenary that this amendment, on a difficult and complex subject, was introduced at a late stage of the Plenary and without prior discussion in the Commission. After further debate, during which a motion to reconsider was made but not acted upon, the Plenary voted to refer

tures which help to perpetuate these relationships, even within religions.

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

Naturally, the practice of slavery wherever it subsists is contrary to human dignity and justice.

Particular attention should be drawn to the desirability of

the dispute to a small committee in the hope that it might bring the differing parties together in reconciling fashion to create an alternative statement phrased in more general terms. This proved to be impossible. The Committee then referred the question back to the Plenary which voted to place the matter in the hands of its newly-elected Executive Committee. The latter decided that it could not reconcile the conflicting viewpoints. It decided to include an account of the above sequence of events in the report at this point hopefully to further thought and dialogue on the issue. The Executive Committee believes that this topic cannot be honestly resolved by mere verbal compromise. In its view the Middle East conflict deserves a high priority on the future program of the World Conference.

ensuring full cooperation of religious bodies in the promotion of the United Nations Year (1971) for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

Minorities

There exist ethnic groups which are antagonistic to one another because they are of different origins. Examples of tribal divisions and of linguistic, religious, or cultural groups which are made to feel a sense of inferiority represent yet more instances of situations which should not be allowed. Nor should those minorities be forgotten which are in danger of disappearing for reasons of genocide, cultural ethnocide, or economic or hygienic negligence, or which remain outside any form of legal protection, such as the Indian tribes of Latin America, notably in Brazil and in Colombia. Special consideration should also be given to the existence, on the fringe of society, of the nomads and gypsies who are still given discriminatory treatment in Europe.

Protection of Cultures

At the present time, we are witnessing the beginning of an exchange and mixing of the different cultures of the world. Yet, it should be recognized that a myth of superior and inferior cultures contributes to injustices and oppressions. In particular, people of the so-called developing countries have no real opportunity of contributing the riches of their cultures to the rest of the world. As religious leaders we affirm that God is creatively at work in every culture. Press, radio, television, and cinema can be of great value in bringing about a sharing of growing

knowledge of cultures, and in the fight against illiteracy; on the other hand, they can lead to impoverishment of culture by lowering the standards in the interest of commercial profit.

Local traditions and the actual living customs of the different civilizations do not always make for swift changes of mentality. Certain attitudes of cultural superiority are evident. They are a phenomenon which is particularly strong in the current context of decolonization, where often there exists a certain degree of cultural dependency, either in the exclusive use of one language or in the way in which a foreign culture takes precedence over the existing local culture, to its detriment. In no way should a system of cultural segregation be permitted.

Veritable genocides are taking place today in many parts of the world. Racial groups are gradually becoming bereft of the means of preserving and continuing the momentum of their cultural traditions. Minorities should be ensured the corporate right to retain their own cultural heritage.

Members of this Conference urge religions to use all their moral weight in bringing about an end of cultural discrimination which deprives the common patrimony of humanity of the cultural riches acquired so slowly and so laboriously.

Religious Liberty

The right to religious liberty is an essential right of the human person who should be able to respond freely to the call of God's love, and worship his Creator. The right to make a free act of faith is included within the context of the liberty of conscience of the individual.

By virtue of his place in a social context, and of his function as

a member of the community, the human person cannot have individual worship only. The need to guarantee to each person the right to manifest his religion or belief in community with others and in public should be recognized everywhere. While the exercise of religious liberty involves many other human rights, of great importance are the right of association, the right to seek, receive, and impart information, and the right to teach religion or belief.

The universal dimension of religion demands that adherents of a religion or belief be allowed to travel freely and to communicate with co-religionists across national frontiers. Moreover, religious liberty includes the right to express implications of religion or belief in social, economic, and political matters, both at the national and international level.

We stress that religious people should not discriminate against or consider as inferior those fellow men who do not share a religious vision of life.

We recommend that the work of the United Nations be attentively and seriously followed with a view to adopting, in adequate form, the draft international convention on the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance and discrimination on ground of religion or belief.

The Right to Resist Oppression

In several regions of the world, the social and economic situation is such that it gives rise to the existence of social classes which are deprived of all possessions and rights. Many people, especially those in the developing countries, feel the need to work towards a profound reorganization of social and economic struc-

tures which they consider to be unjust.

Confronted by the obstacles presented by the political order, they are frequently driven to take up positions which become increasingly more radical. They include a certain number of committed religious leaders who are convinced that by resisting oppression they are bearing witness to their faith.

Under the various circumstances which change according to time and place, their manner of resisting oppression also varies from simple opposition, to disobedience, and even to revolt. We should acknowledge their right to oppose intolerable situations, but strongly recommend the use of non-violent means in the first instance. What is important is that they should act in good faith and from a feeling of love towards their fellow men.

They should respect the rights of those who are not involved in such conflicts. In this respect, it is important that humanitarian laws be reaffirmed and developed to include adequate provisions for the protection of individuals in cases of non-international armed conflicts.

The Rights of Conscientious Objectors

We consider that the exercise of conscientious judgment is inherent in the dignity of human beings and that, accordingly, each person should be assured that right, on grounds of conscience or profound conviction, to refuse military service, or any other direct or indirect participation in wars or armed conflicts. The right of conscientious objection also extends to those who are unwilling to serve in a particular war because they consider it unjust or because they refuse to participate in a war or conflict

in which weapons of mass destruction are likely to be used. This Conference also considers that members of armed forces have the right, and even the duty, to refuse to obey military orders which may involve the commission of criminal offenses, or of war crimes or of crimes against humanity.

Equal Rights for Women

The idea of peace presupposes that all human beings, men and women, have equal rights. A woman is as fully entitled as a man to the complete development of her talents and her personality. Many women find their most satisfying fulfilment in the duties and love of home and family; but many also seek to enter public life or to find work in industry. Yet in most of the countries of the world, developed as well as developing, women are underprivileged: legislative assemblies are overwhelmingly male in composition, and even when women do go out to work, they often have only limited job opportunities and less pay than men who are doing identical work. This is clearly a grave social injustice, based mainly on male prejudice but partly also on outdated customs. Since such discrimination also prevails in religious organizations, religious bodies should examine their structures and initiate necessary changes.

RESOLUTION ON VIETNAM

- 1 This Conference is filled with grief at the suffering of the Vietnamese people.
- 2 A cease-fire in Vietnam would mean an end to misery for millions of its people.
- 3 The last two proposals tabled at Paris each called for a

cease-fire. Nevertheless, we fear that the proposals may not lead to an immediate cease-fire because each reflects the political purposes of its own side.

4 We appeal in the name of humanity for an immediate cease-fire.

5 We as religionists plead that the parties negotiating in Paris undertake the cease-fire with no other condition than that the mechanism for supervision be also agreed. The supply of arms from all outside parties should also cease immediately.

6 We call for withdrawal of United States support for the government in South Vietnam which is military in nature, and this would enable the South Vietnamese people to elect a truly representative civilian government.

7 All foreign troops must be withdrawn from Vietnam.

8 We believe that a successful cease-fire is a prerequisite first step to the settlement of the war in Laos and in Cambodia and to peace in Southeast Asia where people are also suffering misery

9 We address an appeal to all religious and peace organizations and to all men of good will to help alleviate the misery of the people of Vietnam and Southeast Asia.

10 We also address this appeal to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for transmission to that body.

RESOLUTION ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

The World Conference on Religion and Peace, bringing together in Kyoto men and women of religious faith from the ends of the earth, has naturally concerned itself with the urgency of the explosive situation in Southern Africa. It is our judge-

ment that the brutality of apartheid in Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, and Namibia, and the repressive colonialist exploitation by Portugal in Angola and Mozambique, represent a situation of racial war against the African peoples, with all the consequent destruction of human life typical of other wars raging in today's world.

Therefore, as men and women of religious faith,

1 We repent our own share—directly or indirectly—in the perpetuation of structures that entrench racial discrimination in Southern Africa;

2 We condemn the involvement of our religions and of our nations in this system of violence to man's humanity based on racism;

3 We call upon all governments to implement the measures they have already adopted in the United Nations, and to support further mandatory actions aimed at creating conditions conducive to justice, liberation, and peace in Southern Africa:

4 We plead especially for the fullest implementation of sanctions against Rhodesia and for the extension of mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa;

5 We plead with the allies of Portugal—especially her NATO allies—to terminate immediately all forms of military assistance that enables Portugal to wage war in her African colonies;

6 We demand an immediate end to all types of military assistance to South Africa, including the sale of arms, and condemn all such assistance and collaboration with evil as abhorrent to all the values cherished by humanity;

7 We urge the full support by our religions for the victims of racism and colonialism and for those involved in the struggle

to bring justice, liberation, and peace in Southern Africa; and
8 We address this resolution to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and urge him to transmit its contents to the member states of that organization.

RESOLUTION ON THE MIDDLE EAST

The Conference expresses its deep concern about the situation in the Middle East and calls for a peaceful, just, and urgent settlement of the crisis through the implementation by all concerned of the resolutions of the United Nations.