

**THE DEFENCE OF HUMAN DIGNITY: DR DAVID RUSSELL
AND THE ECUMENICAL COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS**

I have heard Dr Russell say something like the following on a number of occasions (one has to envisage the tone and facial expression to get the full impact - that of a confidential aside, tongue-in-cheek): 'Of course, we Baptists have never oppressed anybody. We have never had enough power'. This joke, in my opinion, reveals both a deep insight into human nature and a profound root of Dr Russell's commitment to human rights - the recognition of the fallibility of human structures, the danger of concentration of power, the realistic perception of sin in all human structures, including the church. It gives me a real pleasure to pay tribute to him and to his work for human rights in celebration of his jubilee in the ministry. I will make frequent reference to the work of the British Council of Churches' Human Rights Forum, which Dr Russell chaired, and which I served as a staff member, together with a number of colleagues, from 1978-86.

Dr Russell was chosen as a delegate of his church to the Uppsala 1968 Assembly of the World Council of Churches. At that meeting, he was elected to the Central Committee, serving as a careful and diligent member until the Vancouver Assembly in 1983. For those 15 years Dr Russell was actively involved in the debates of the Central Committee and Assemblies. The issues of injustice and justice, non-violence and violence, the struggle against racism and the controversial grants from the Programme to Combat Racism Special Fund, and the growing opposition within the churches to nuclear deterrence were consistently on the agenda. There was also a deepening awareness of the Christian responsibility for the protection of human rights, the subject of a Consultation at St Polten in 1974 (which was attended by Rev. Donald Black of the Baptist Union), following up the recommendation of the 1971 Addis Ababa Central Committee.(1) The Nairobi Assembly (1975) took up the findings of St Polten.

Three important streams came together in the Nairobi Assembly. The St Polten recommendations served as the agreed basis for the W.C.C. policy on human rights. There was a stormy debate on religious liberty in the Soviet Union, and there was discussion of the Helsinki Final Act, signed by the governments of Europe and North America, which included extensive human rights provisions. The debate on religious liberty in the Soviet Union resulted in a carefully worded text which made it clear that further action should be taken, including consultation with the churches most concerned and that human rights must be consistently upheld.(2)

The discussion of the Helsinki Agreement led on to the formation of the Churches' Human Rights Programme for the Implementation of the Helsinki Final Act, sponsored by the Conference of European Churches, the National Council of Churches of Christ/U.S.A. and the Canadian Council of Churches. Dr Russell was a member of the small Working Committee of North American, Eastern and Western European church leaders which was established. Central to the deliberations of that body, he was, I believe, disappointed that it was not more effective. But the results achieved were in no small measure due to his commitment to making the best possible use of the available

instruments. The body established a regular working meeting of church leaders from East and West, improved understanding of the Helsinki Final Act, undertook a limited amount of case work on human rights violations, held consultations on relevant topics and represented the churches to signatory governments, calling for full implementation of the Final Act.(3) In Central Committee meetings, Dr Russell was persistent in raising the issues of human rights and religious liberty. Minutes often given only a limited summary of discussion: it is thus easy to miss references such as the following from the Vancouver Assembly (1983) Report: 'Dr David Russell (Baptist, U.K.) and Rev. Jean Pierre Jornod (Reformed, Switzerland) asked for more emphasis on violations of religious freedom...'(4)

Only those who have worked closely with Dr Russell can know even part of the effort and concern which he has devoted to the protection of believers' rights in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. What has appeared in public is only the 'tip of the iceberg', since much of the inquiry, discussion and representation has had to be, and remain, confidential. Dr Russell, over a period of many years, has got to know in detail the situation of the churches in Eastern Europe, their leaders, the channels which provide most chance of effective results. Trevor Beeson's study, based substantially on information from the B.C.C. East-West Relations Advisory Committee, was entitled *Discretion and Valour*.(5) This title describes accurately Dr Russell's own approach. His name appears in the acknowledgements as one of the 'individuals who have helped' in the production of the book:(6) not only the information which Dr Russell has at his grasp, but more particularly its evaluation and the judgment how best to use it, have made him a respected figure in Baptist and ecumenical circles, in Eastern Europe.

At this point Dr Russell's own summary of his activity may be quoted. Testifying before the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, he had to 'bear witness' and render account of his work. The response was typically understated. Even taken at face value, without allowing for this, his credentials appear impressive and give some indication of the commitment and sheer volume of work over many years:

'My own involvements are threefold. First of all, I was for many years a member of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches at which I was able to raise the issue of human rights and, in particular, of religious liberty on quite a number of occasions. Secondly, I am a member representing the B.C.C. in the Conference of European Churches and a member of the Churches Working Group on the Implementation of the Helsinki Final Act...Thirdly, I am a member of the Council of the European Baptist Federation and one of the jobs of that European Baptist Federation has been, over the past five or six years especially, to try and prepare literature for our ministers and for our members in Eastern Europe. I have been this year visiting practically all the socialist countries. In fact, I am in Eastern Europe every year pretty well and have been travelling there for the past 15 or 20 years and have got to know the people, if not the situation, tolerably well.'(7)

Work for religious liberty, in his eyes, means concern for individuals, attention to the protection of the churches as public bodies, provision for their future, regular contacts, extension of the

legal possibilities and promotion of a better climate of understanding between states. Pressed during his testimony, on the question of 'passport speeches' at W.C.C. meetings, he agreed that they occur, but also pressed the Committee to see the other side of the coin.

'I have been to see the Chairman of the Department of Cults in Moscow and elsewhere and have argued strongly in the presence of the Baptist leadership for dissidents and others who are persecuted for their faith and their presence with me was an indication of their sympathy and support, albeit silent. This sort of thing could be repeated and expanded. I am much less critical of the leadership of my own Baptist Union in the Soviet Union than I used to be.'⁽⁸⁾

In summary, I would define Dr Russell's commitment on behalf of religious liberty as one of the best examples among contemporary Western church leaders of an effective concern for the Christians of Eastern Europe, a ministry which he exercised with great care and attention to detail. Given the pressures of other work, I consider it remarkable how much time he has devoted to this and how good his judgment in many difficult circumstances. His wisdom, humour, skills in drafting, and above all, his courage in not shirking hard face-to-face discussion have added to his effectiveness. This work is rooted in a theological understanding of the importance of human dignity, since all of us are made in the image of God.

I now wish to consider further implications of a full understanding of human rights. I take as my point of departure the work against torture which the B.C.C. Human Rights Forum began under Dr Russell. It seems to me to be the necessary conclusion of a belief that all people are precious in God's sight.

THE GLORY OF GOD IS THE HUMAN BEING - FULLY ALIVE

This expression of the Church Father, Irenaeus, if taken to its logical conclusion provides the key to a Christian theology of human rights. Each person, made in God's image, is important to God. For this to be true, the world must be changed. Archbishop Oscar Romero of El Salvador took this expression of Irenaeus and made it more precise both as a theological definition and as pastoral practice. Writing of Romero, his close colleague, Jon Sobrino has stated:

'His faith in God...made him a defender of life, and especially a defender of the lives of the poor. The anguish of the poor touches the very heart of God. That is why he [Romero] saw in life, and in life at its most basic, the manifestation of God just as the prophet Isaiah had done before him.'⁽⁹⁾

Romero's theology and life (or better his **lived theology**) showed what that means: the defence of real people in a frightening and threatening world; as a 'good shepherd' being prepared even to lay down his life for those in his flock, not in any sense a martyrdom which was sought through an artificial 'imitatio Christi', but because the life of any one human being must be protected. For Romero:

'The world of food and work, of health and housing, the world of education - this is God's world. The world God wants is one in which "the workers will build houses and inhabit them, the peasants plant vineyards and eat their fruit" (Isaiah 65.21). Poverty and desolation is a denial of God's will, a perverted creation in which God's glory is mocked and scorned. The

fulness of the life to come is no palliative or consolation: faith in God begins with the defence of life here and now. The living man is God's glory. To be absolutely accurate, the living, poor man or woman is God's glory. (Lecture in the University of Louvain, 2nd February 1980)(10)

Thus not only 'homo vivens' is seen as 'gloria Dei', but even more clearly 'pauper vivens'. The reason why this is the case has been given by Sobrino on many occasions; for me, most memorably, in a lecture at the British Council of Churches. 'The poor are those who are close to death'. Not the death of which the Old Testament writes - old and full of years (cf. the death of Abraham in Genesis 25.8), but an unnecessary death, before its time. Archbishop Romero's literalism is shocking. For him, life meant the real life of people who were in danger. It meant the bodily, physical life of the poor. For him, the God of Jesus was particularly concerned about the health and welfare of the most threatened of our threatened human race. For the defence of life, Romero was killed, as his master the good shepherd had been before him.

To pray that God's will shall be done here on earth as well as in heaven means that we cannot be content with humanly-created suffering of the current immense proportions. A proper theology of human rights cannot be content with the verbal assertion that all are made in God's image. We have to strive to put this into practice in the real world. Our work for the British Council of Churches brought us into contact with people who had themselves been in acute danger, who had lost loved ones through torture, had seen family or friends killed because they stood for human rights. A proper theology of human rights means the defence of life, particularly where it is most threatened.

TORTURE: A CRIME AGAINST GOD AND HUMANITY

Sidney Greaves, a Quaker doctor who was among those responsible for helping the B.C.C. Human Rights Forum, and later the B.C.C. Assembly, to accept responsibility for actively working against torture, quoted the 1911 edition of *Encyclopedia Britannica* to the effect that 'torture is now only of historic interest', an optimistic mistake of huge proportions. Torture, a systematic abuse of human rights characteristic of the twentieth century, has not only been a matter of the brutality of certain warders against individual prisoners: it became a system in Nazi Germany and Stalin's Soviet Union, and in our day in the 'national security' states of Latin and Central America, Amin's Uganda, and Pol Pot's Kampuchea.

In our meditations for one of the B.C.C. Human Rights Forum meetings, John Reardon of the United Reformed Church read this passage from Nobel Peace Prize winner, Elie Wiesel's book, **Night**:

'Never shall I forget that night, the first night in camp, which has turned my life into one long night, seven times cursed and seven times sealed. Never shall I forget that smoke. Never shall I forget the little faces of the children, whose bodies I saw turned into wreaths of smoke beneath a silent blue sky. Never shall I forget those flames which consumed my faith forever. Never shall I forget that nocturnal silence which deprived me, for all eternity of the desire to live. Never shall I forget those moments which murdered my God and my soul and turned my dreams to dust. Never shall I forget these

things, even if I am condemned to live as long as God Himself.
Never. (11)

In the B.C.C. Assembly, Dr Russell himself spoke movingly of his visit to Auschwitz - not as a description of past history, but to show why we have to oppose torture in our day. The words of Elie Wiesel are literally awful. The only more frightening words I know are the cry of Jesus from the cross, 'My God, my God why have you forsaken me?' (Mark 15.34-35). I take Mark's account to be historical: I understand it to mean that Jesus himself died the death of torture, with no irrefutable certainty that love would be vindicated.

During a meeting of the Human Rights Forum I became more deeply aware of the connection between torture and the death of Jesus. I recall Dr Russell reading from the New English Bible the words concerning the Suffering Servant from Isaiah 53. We have become too familiar with these words to be sufficiently shocked by them. Twice in this passage in the N.E.B. the reference to torture is explicitly made. '...But he was pierced for our transgressions, tortured for our iniquities' (Isaiah 53.5). 'Yet the LORD took thought for his tortured servant and healed him who had made himself a sacrifice for sin; (Isaiah 53.10). In the B.C.C. Human Rights Forum and Assembly, we considered the simple assertion that torture is wrong and must always be opposed. This was agreed (B.C.C. Assembly Resolution of 1981). The Forum was responsible for sponsoring a cumulative series of resolutions through the B.C.C. Assembly - opposing torture and exports of technology which contributed to the likelihood of torture (1981), opposing 'disappearances' (1982), on the situation in Central America (1983) and launching the campaigning work of Action by Christians against torture (1984).

In the context of that work, we discovered some shocking things. The first was that Britain's hands were not clean. The Amnesty International Report **Torture in the Eighties** presents the case study of Northern Ireland where various techniques, together known as 'interrogation in depth' were used. These included deprivation of sleep and sensory deprivation. The Parker Committee investigated the issue, but only the minority report found these methods unacceptable, but fortunately the government accepted their findings. In the European Commission of Human Rights these techniques were found to constitute 'torture', a judgment later modified to 'cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment' by the European Court. Sidney Greaves, writing in a B.C.C. pamphlet on **Torture** comments: 'The case serves to show how easily, under the conditions of severe social stress, a community may slip into using means which in its better judgement it would find wholly abhorrent'. The Bennett Report, which investigated allegations of abuse of human rights in Northern Ireland in the 1970s revealed 'cases in which injuries, whatever their precise cause, were not self-inflicted and were sustained in police custody'. Following that report, further safeguards for prisoners were introduced. It is vital for the health of Britain's legal system that the churches and other bodies maintain vigilance to ensure that suspects are not ill-treated in police custody. Protection must be accorded to all, including those suspected of terrorism. Amnesty, in reviewing how Britain almost slipped into acceptance of torture as policy stressed the importance of the police surgeons' evidence and the vigilance of the media. The Forum made further disturbing discoveries - namely that Britain was engaged in trading arms with governments which use torture

regularly, and discovered that Britain also provided the technology of torture. Some of the insights gained came directly from people who had themselves been tortured. Sheila Cassidy, (12) the British doctor who was imprisoned and tortured in Chile, preaching at the Human Rights Day Service in Westminster Abbey on 10th December 1980, said Christians in Britain 'have been educated to give to the poor but not to refuse a good business deal because the merchandise might be misused' - for example, through arms sales. 'By accepting injustice tranquilly, we are guilty of complicity. If our government is trading with dictators and torturers, we must confront it and make it clear that we would rather be poor than a party to repression'. (13)

It seems almost impossible to believe, but at the 1984 B.C.C. Assembly, I was able to display leg-irons made in Britain (by Hiatt & Co., a Midlands firm), of a kind which were being legally exported from Britain until legislation was tightened up specifically to exclude the export of such equipment. In this context, I met Siphon Pityana, a black South African trade-union organiser, who gave testimony on T.V., as he had done to the United Nations. He had been given electric shocks and pushed under water from a boat suspended from leg-irons.

'They then tied my head with a wet towel and inserted electric wires between my head and the towel. They also tied electric wires onto my handcuffs and leg-irons, and shocked me at intervals of two minutes to three minutes. I would scream without any hope for help.' (14)

Such equipment, already prohibited under the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, was being exported in spite of the many accounts, most notably the death of Steve Biko (in 1977), in which prisoners of repressive governments were tortured whilst constrained in leg-irons. The account of Biko's death repeatedly mentions that he was locked in leg-irons even after the serious injuries which led to his death had been inflicted on him. To quote just one instance: 'Mr Biko was then brought to the interrogation room and was put into handcuffs and leg-irons. He remained shackled even after Colonel Goosen had suspected that he had a stroke...' (15) The issue of the export of leg-irons was raised in Parliament by Peter Shore, M.P., in December 1983 after the report in the *Daily Mirror* (25th November 1983). The response of the Secretary for Trade and Industry, Norman Tebbit, M.P., is worth quoting in full:

'I note what the hon. Gentleman says, but I understand that the truth of the matter is not entirely established. Of course, we have to understand that while there are no international understandings on the export of such items, if this country did not export them someone else would. (Interruption) Oh yes indeed. If that happened, the right hon. Member for Bethnal Green and Stepney (Mr Shore) would grumble further about our trade position.' (16)

This position was later amended. On 1st February 1984, Mr Tebbit announced the amendment of the Export of Goods Act specifically to prohibit the export of leg-irons and gang chains. (17) From this two conclusions should be drawn. The first is that public exposure of such issues is important and can make a difference to policy. The second is that such vigilance is necessary, since Britain is still involved in trade, even in arms, with governments which practice torture.

The 1981 B.C.C. Declaration against Torture called on Her Majesty's Government to exercise control over the export of equipment which could be used to make internal security and military forces of governments with a record of severe human rights violations more effective in suppression of human rights.(18) The Amnesty International campaign on 'repressive technology', which received widespread support from church leaders, was an important attempt to make clear, binding restrictions on the export of equipment which was likely to increase the incidence of torture in countries with a known record of repression.(19) Here was a serious attempt to provide a minimum moral standard, in a way actually enforceable, for British policy. The attempt to base policy on clear moral principles and to be specific in a way which is realistic and enforceable is important. It is not suggested that it is enough as a 'human rights policy' for the churches. It was one small attempt from the 'supplying end'. Much more needs to be done when the economic interests behind the arms and security trade are very strong. The churches and the British public have not yet reached the point where 'we would rather be poor than a party to repression' (Sheila Cassidy). How does the churches' responsibility look at the 'receiving end' - in countries where repression is exercised, arms bought, and people tortured?

THE CHURCH AS THE PROTECTOR OF HUMAN DIGNITY

The story of the Good Samaritan concludes that the neighbour is the one who protects the person who 'fell among thieves'. In this section, I wish to give two examples of human rights practice exercised by the Roman Catholic Church in Central and Latin America, both deeply rooted in a theological understanding of human rights. The first instance is the example of Archbishop Romero. Towards the end of his life, Romero stated:

'Nothing is as important to the Church as human life,
as the human person,
above all the poor and the oppressed,
who, besides being human beings are also divine beings,
since Jesus said that whatever is done to them
he takes as done to him.
That bloodshed, those deaths,
are beyond all politics.

They touch the very heart of God.'(20)

This theological conviction led Romero specifically to condemn the practices which led to the death of his people. Thus, for example, he specifically asked President Carter not to provide any military assistance to the government of El Salvador.(21) Perhaps his clearest and most outspoken defiance of the military dictatorship was his call to soldiers to refuse to obey orders to kill. His appeal to the government was absolutely clear: 'In the name of God, in the name of this suffering people whose cries rise to heaven more loudly each day, I implore you, I beg you, I order you in the name of God: stop the repression.'(22) The next day he was killed. It was his specific application of a theology of human rights, the naming of names, the presentation of accurate information, the opposition to specific policies which made him such a threat to the military regime.

The second case is that of the Archdiocese of Sao Paulo under Cardinal Paulo Evaristo Arns. The point of departure for Arns is that

'the image of God, stamped upon the human person, is always unique'.(23) In a report on the work of his Archdiocese against torture, Arns recounts the case of two women who came to him, the younger one having found her 'disappeared' husband's wedding ring on her doorstep. For five years the mother came regularly to hear if there was news of her son. Arns kept pressing the case up to the level of the president's personal assistant for civilian affairs.

'No one' he writes 'can describe the hurt of those who saw their dear ones disappear behind prison bars, without being able even to guess what had happened to them. The darkness deepens and the last glimmer of hope that the disappeared person is still alive flickers and dies. For that mother and that wife, deep darkness covers the earth, as it did when Jesus died.'(24)

The entire book, **Torture in Brazil** is a testimony to the remarkable and courageous human rights work done in his Archdiocese.

In a small way, through the B.C.C. Human Rights Forum, cooperation with groups such as Amnesty International, the Chile Committee for Human Rights, Inter-Church Action for Central America and others, we were able to support such work from Britain. We heard in person from Perico Rodriguez of Argentina what the work of the Amnesty group in Diss meant for him while he was in prison. The Assembly heard from a woman from Latin America who herself had been disappeared. Cedric Mayson who was tortured and tried for treason in South Africa told the Assembly of his experience of torture and support for the victims of torture:

'Torture happens throughout the world, and several of us here have wide knowledge of it happening in South Africa. Beyers Naude and I arrived at King William's Town early one morning and Steve Biko met us with the news that Maptela Mohapi had been killed during the night at Kei Road Police Station. Everyone knows that some years later Steve himself was tortured to death. Men and women on the Christian Institute staff were suffocated with water bags, chained, beaten with fists and boots. I was stripped naked, handcuffed, kept standing and awake for several days and nights under interrogation on three different occasions...'(25)

A WORLD IN WHICH EVERYONE MATTERS

If one takes the Christian teaching on human rights seriously, how would the world have to look? To answer this question, some assumptions must be made. The first is rooted in my understanding of the Lord's prayer. When we pray that God's will should be done on earth as it is in heaven, I assume that the way the world is, is not in accordance with God's will. I thus do not believe that it is the will of God that so many should be starving; that there be war and the threat of war with the weapons of mass destruction; that the ecological basis for life on this planet be put at risk. But the way from a theology of the dignity of the human being to a world in which everyone matters is by no means clear.

The early discussions of the B.C.C. Human Rights Forum were occupied by serious theological debate. The result of this was a text on **Christian Concern for Human Rights**.(26) Dr Russell played an active part in the drafting and re-drafting of the text which was finally issued. I remember, in particular the formulation which he

provided for 'shalom': rich in meaning, signifying 'welfare', 'harmony', 'integration', 'wholeness', it is much more than 'peace' either in individual or social terms.'(27) One of the other theological emphases which we stressed in that pamphlet was God's 'concern for the least': 'From early in the Old Testament God is revealed as partisan - taking the side of those who are particularly vulnerable. ...The 'jubilee' was an important celebration which marked the 'restoration of all who had suffered dispossession, deprivation or oppression'(Bonino). Jesus takes up this theme by making the jubilee the symbol of his mission.(28)

I would assert that the basic commitment should be commitment to a world of 'shalom', and that the appropriate Christian emphasis should be that of concern for the least - the active protection of those who are most vulnerable and most endangered. That requires structural transformation in our world. Romero and Arns understood that the church must actively defend the victims and work for social structures which promote, rather than threaten, human dignity - not in an abstract sense, but in the specific defence of those who are threatened. The Cardinal has spoken clearly in favour of cancellation of a large part of the debts of the Third World.(29) Arns specifically roots his statement in Catholic social doctrine and an understanding of human rights/human dignity.

'What is at stake isn't the bank accounts of the international creditors but the lives of millions of people who cannot endure the permanent threat of recessive measures and unemployment that bring poverty and death.'(30)

The layer upon layer of suffering in a country under military rule, like today's Chile, which has suffered so much under Pinochet's dictatorship, is almost impossible to communicate. In 1985, I visited Chile with a colleague on behalf of the B.C.C. We visited the retired Cardinal Raul Silva Henriquez and the Vicariate of Solidarity which has done so much to protect human rights in Chile. We drove past the infamous stadium where Victor Jara died. Jara wrote beautiful songs of hope and love, but was tortured to death, the hands that so beautifully played the guitar smashed, before he was murdered like so many others. We made inquiries about William Beausire, the Anglo-Chilean who was 'disappeared'. We also visited La Victoria, a slum area of Santiago. The priest Fr Andres Jarlan had been shot and killed shortly before. We saw a video film of his funeral. In La Victoria, the military had terrorized the community, brutally assaulting many of the residents. We visited a group of women of the church. Many of the men had fled the shanty town for their own safety, after the arrests, torture and brutality. The women had taken up the struggle. When we were there they were protesting that the free school milk had been taken away from their children. Unemployment was at such a high level and food prices so high in relation to the income of most families that the women could often only afford rice for their children. Yet we were entertained with tasty delicacies because we were foreign visitors. I reported on this to the Human Rights Forum. At this point in my account, I burst into tears - as we had stood up to leave the meeting with the women of La Victoria, one of the women, looking up at both of us, tall men from Britain, said with a smile, 'You can tell they weren't fed just on rice'. That simple sentence, which underlined the difference between our lives and theirs - between plenty and hunger, between safety and

oppression - was too much for me when I came to report it. I am most grateful to Dr Russell for his reaction to this rather unconventional report - of silence, then of thanking me for what I had said. It is appalling that 2000 years after Christ was tortured to death, the same thing happens in Chile. It is appalling that fathers have to flee, and mothers have to risk their lives to get milk for their children. It is appalling that a priest like Andres Jarlan should be shot in the neck as he read the Bible.⁽³¹⁾ It means more to me than I can say that a church leader like Dr Russell should understand and help to establish instruments which can help to protect people like Andres Jarlan. I believe it is because he has lived with his eyes open, his Bible open, and his heart open - so that he can make connections between those in situations like that of Chile who 'hunger and thirst after righteousness' and the suffering servant of Isaiah 53.

'Without protection, without justice, he was taken away; and who gave a thought to his fate, how he was cut off from the world of living men, stricken to death for my people's transgression.' (Isaiah 53.8 N.E.B.)

FOOTNOTES:

1 E. Weingartner, **Human Rights on the Ecumenical Agenda: Background Information** 1983/3, pp13-15. 2 For a summary of the discussion and the text of the resolution passed, see: K. Slack, **Nairobi Narrative**, 1976, pp75-77. See D. Paton (ed.), **Op.Cit.** pp172-5 for full text. 3 An account of the work was submitted to the Vancouver Assembly by the Programme Secretary, Theo Tschuy. See 'Report to the Vancouver Assembly: by the Churches' Programme for the Implementation of the Helsinki Final Act', in: E. Weingartner, **Op.Cit.** pp68-71. 4 D. Gill (ed.), **Gathered for Life: Official Report: VI Assembly World Council of Churches: Vancouver, Canada: 24 July - 10 August 1983**, W.C.C.C. Geneva, 1983, p138. 5 T. Beeson, **Discretion & Valour: Religious Conditions in Russia and Eastern Europe**, 1982. (First edn 1974). 6 *Ibid.* p9. 7 'British Council of Churches: Dr R. Williamson, Rev. Dr D. Russell and Canon P. Oestreicher', in: **House of Commons, Second Report from the Foreign Affairs Committee: Session 1985-86: U.K. - Soviet Relations: Report with Appendices, together with the Proceedings of the Committee; and Minutes with Appendices: Volume II: Minutes of Evidence and Appendices**, H.M.S.O., London, 1986, pp122-132. Quotation, pp123-4. It should be noted that this is a verbatim account of an oral answer - and that the punctuation is not Dr Russell's own! 8 *Ibid.* pp125-6. 9 J. Sobrino, 'Archbishop Romero: Martyr for Liberation', in: **Catholic Institute for International Relations, Romero: Martyr for Liberation: The Last Two Homilies of Archbishop Romero of San Salvador, with a Theological Analysis of His Life and Work**, by Jon Sobrino S.J., C.I.I.R., London, 1982, pp37-76. Quote from p39. 10 Quoted by J. Sobrino, *Ibid.* 11 E. Wiesel, **Night: His Record of Childhood in the Death Camps of Auschwitz & Buchenwald**, 1981, p45. 12 See S. Cassidy, **Audacity to Believe**, 1977. 13 Quotations from 'Summary of Sermon by Dr Sheila Cassidy at the Human Rights Day Service 1980', B.C.C., London, (duplicated), 1980. 14 S. Pityana, Testimony to the United Nations dated 27.5.1983. Quoted from: R. Williamson, 'Britain's Stake in Torture', in: **International Labour Reports**, March-April 1984, p8.

15 D. Woods, **Biko**, 1978, p254. Other references to Biko being restrained in leg irons include pp 186, 188, 197, 202, 293, 215, 224, 246. For a photo of the injuries to his ankles, see photo between pp158-9. 16 **Hansard**, 14.12.1983, quoted in: R. Williamson, 'Britain's Stake in Torture', **Op.Cit.** 17 R. Williamson, 'Britain's Stake in Torture', **Op.Cit.** 18 British Council of Churches, **Declaration against Torture**, B.C.C., London, 1981. 19 See **The Repression Trade**, Amnesty International, London, 1981. 20 Archbishop Oscar Romero, **The Church is All of You**, 1985, p120 (16th March 1980). 21 'Archbishop Romero's Letter to President Carter', in: J. Pearce, **Under the Eagle: U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean**, Latin America Bureau, London, 1981, pp230-231. 22 **Romero: Martyr for Liberation Op.Cit.** pp31-32. 23 J. Dassin (ed.) **Torture in Brazil: A Report by the Archdiocese of Sao Paulo**, New York, 1986, p. xxviii. 24 **Ibid.** p. xvi. 25 C. Mayson, 'Address to the B.C.C. Assembly' March 1984, extract quoted in: R. Williamson, **Torture and the Christian Church** (Audenshaw Papers No. 97), 1984. 26 R. Williamson, **Christian Concern for Human Rights**, B.C.C., London, 1980. 27 **Ibid.** p5. 28 **Ibid.** pp4-5. Source indication between brackets () originally in footnotes. 29 'Archbishop Arns Writes to Castro: For the Havana Meeting on Foreign Debt, July 30 - August 3, 1985', in: I.D.O.C. International & Transnational Institute, **Dimes for Dollars: The International Debt Scandal**, I.D.O.C. International, Rome, Vol. 18, No. 2, April-May 1987. 30 **Ibid.** 31 For a moving account of the work and death of Fr Jarlan, see the piece by his colleague in La Victoria, Fr Pierre Dubois in: Carlos Tobar, Claudio Perez, Gilberto Palacios, Oscar Navarro, Patricia Alfar, **Le Chili exige la democratie aujourd'hui**, Gagne, Louiseville, Canada, 1985. The book includes a picture of the dead priest bowed over his Bible (picture 57) and moving pictures of Fr Jarlan's funeral and the resistance of La Victoria against the military dictatorship.

Dr ROGER WILLIAMSON