

An opening of the Spanish political system? Political development in Spain? Solidarity strikes in the Spanish working class? Uncensored press reports critical of the central government's treatment of a region? There is more than death in the air in Spain.

One can walk in a church in Madrid where the architecture coerces one to look at the altar, undistracted, and where the sermon calls on the faithful to attend to the core values of Christianity before one is overwhelmed by its incidentals. (And some of us were indecently dressed.) One can observe in Jerez de la Frontera that the making of sherry has been industrialized to shock the town out of history; but the artisan's pride of craftsmanship has not yet abandoned the place. A synthesis of old and new Spain may not be in the making there, but perhaps, perhaps. Church and State, Vatican and Spain, have been hard at work negotiating a new Concordat to take into account the realities of the newness of both. The European Economic Community and Spain continue to hammer out their uneasy relationship, with generous hints that it would be so much easier, so much more fruitful, if Spain were truly European. Any yet, except for the Paris-Madrid Talgo, one must still change trains at the border because the railroad tracks of Spain are different from Europe's.

Madrid chokes on traffic jams four times a day (in midday, of course, because of going to and coming from siesta). The press faithfully publishes air pollution reports. Yes, the Spanish "economic miracle" is impressive enough, and based widely enough that many can now own their own cars. One can walk into a neighborhood public library in Madrid and find a wealth of titles by Marx and Engels. But one must still pay to become a public library affiliate, one must post a bond, and one must want to learn more than it's worth. At a swimming pool in Seville a group of very effeminate men is left undisturbed (though not unobserved): What would Don Juan say about his children?

The press, in the capital and in the provinces, is full of calls for dialogue. Some columnists add that the search of some politicians for new political forms is silly; representative democracy was invented long ago. But Spanish politicians are not accustomed to the noisy mess of political disputes out in the open. The National Council of the Falange was deeply divided on the wisdom, the scope, and the timing of a political opening; yet the debate on these crucial matters was suppressed: opponents were prevailed on to keep the peace: and the document was approved with only one dissenting vote.

A shower of self-praise soaked Spain when the

use of constitutional provisions to proclaim an Acting Chief of State provoked no untoward political crisis. Stability. Order. Legitimacy. Yet Spain's political future has been planned no better than Portugal's. It is not hard to envision strong parties on the Left, strong parties in the regions. But there is no strong party at the center, no conservative party with a mass base capable of reassuring those who have ruled that they will not be inevitably defeated if there is a genuine political opening. The Falange is a shell without a seed. Spain needs, perhaps paradoxically, to strengthen the Falange or some successor conservative party (Catholic or secular) if the post-Franco political system is to retain the peaceful allegiance of the conservative political, economic, social, and religious élites without resort to military coups and military dictatorships.

The future of Spain lies in Europe. Europe requires a democratic Spain. A democratic Spain requires élite allegiance. And this, consequently, means a conservative party to keep them allegiant and participant. An important political problem of the new Spain is that too much may die with Franco. Spain's resurrection on the political Left from the political periphery seems assured. But the successful resurrection (to coin a heresy) of the Spanish political system requires that the Right be kept loyal, participant, and peaceful. And yet many, in and out of Spain, thinking about Spain, pay so much attention to the death of the regime, to the death of the *Caudillo*, that they have yet to come to grips with the problem of making sure that Spain opens without breaking apart.

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EXCURSUS IV

Heroism in Korea

Recent events in East Asia heighten the conviction that human rights must be a prime concern of the Church today. No clearer example exists than in Korea. On December 6, 1971, President Park Chung Hee declared "A State of National Emergency" in response to the admission of the Peoples Republic of China into the United Nations. "Top Priority" was placed on national security matters, and it was affirmed that "all social unrest that risks the national security will not be

tolerated" and that every citizen, if necessary, "must be prepared to concede some freedoms he enjoys for the sake of national security." On October 17, 1972, martial law was declared. A new "Revitalization Constitution" was hurriedly promulgated in November. It has the outward form of broad popular participation in an extremely large National Council for Unification, but in fact gives extraordinary powers to the President and is designed to keep him in power.

The summer of 1973 witnessed the arrest of the Reverend Park Hyung-Kyu, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Seoul, together with three ministerial colleagues and twelve student associates. They were charged with attempting to foment a rebellion at an Easter sunrise service in Seoul. In fact, they had distributed several hundred leaflets containing sentiments such as "The resurrection of democracy is the hope of the people of Korea." Later the same summer the Korean CIA abducted the former opposition presidential candidate, Kim Dae-Jung, from a hotel room in Tokyo. These events alerted the world to the repressive nature of the Park government. Largely due to world reaction to these events, the Reverend Mr. Park, Mr. Kim, and others were released in late summer and early fall, 1973. The concern expressed in Japan and in the ecumenical community mirrored the tremendous indignation felt by students and many leaders of the churches in Korea. There was a series of protests during the fall of 1973. Student demonstrations led to closing classes at the end of November, several weeks before the normal end of the school year. A million-signature campaign demanding the restoration of the previous constitutional forms of government was begun.

The initial response of the Park government to these actions seemed to be sensitive to demands for liberalization. However, in reaction to the million-signature campaign, on January 6, 1974, President Park issued two Emergency Decrees. The first curtailed any criticism of the present constitution and provided for arrest without warrant, court-martial, and imprisonment up to fifteen years for offenders. The second decree imposed similar penalties on any person who criticized the First Emergency Decree.

The crescendo of antigovernment criticism immediately subsided. On January 17 eleven pastors gathered unannounced in the office of the General Secretary of the National Council of Churches in Korea. They read a statement in which they affirmed their belief that the people of Korea have the right to discuss the form of government under which they live. The ministers were quickly arrested, court-martialed, and six were sentenced to terms of ten to fifteen years in prison. Subsequently all the first-year medical

students at Yonsei University were interrogated for their refusal to take an examination at a time of national crisis. Seven were imprisoned for terms of from five to ten years. Twenty-three other academicians, civil rights leaders, and churchmen were imprisoned, and more were detained, including Ms. Lee Woo-Jung, President of Korean Church Women United, and the Reverend Ms. Cho Hwa-Sun, General Secretary of the Incheon Mission to Labor and Industry.

There were expectations that the opening of colleges and universities in March would see a reenactment of the events of 1960 when student demonstrations brought down the government of Syngman Rhee. In the beginning of April some limited opposition-demonstrations in Seoul and Taegu occurred on a number of campuses. Immediately President Park issued his Fourth Emergency Decree aimed at destroying student opposition. He leveled an unsubstantiated charge that these students were influenced by "impure thought" coming from North Korea, and he increased the penalties for participating in, supporting, or even *reporting* on activities of the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students. Such offenses were now punishable by death. During this period all the staff and officers of the Korean Christian Student Federation were arrested, along with approximately 240 others.

Trials conducted in June and July have resulted in a death sentence for nineteen persons (five sentences have been commuted to life imprisonment). Thirty-eight have been sentenced to terms of twenty years to life, and sixty-two others to terms of from one to fifteen years. One hundred others await trial by court-martial.

Who are the victims? Except for a few old-time radical politicians who were brought in to enhance the government's case for subversion, they are devoted patriotic Korean students, professors, intelligentsia, and churchmen seeking to restore democracy for their countrymen. They include former President Yun Po-Sun, a staunch anti-Communist; Bishop Chi Hak-Soun, leader of Korean Catholic movements concerned with urban and rural poor; Dean Kim Chon-Kook of the Theological College at Yonsei University; Professor Kim Don-Gil of Yonsei University, the Korean authority on Abraham Lincoln; and Pastor Park Hyung-Kyu, minister of the First Presbyterian Church of Seoul, who is a leader of the community-organization movement in Korea. The best of Korea's human resources face extinction or prolonged imprisonment because they struggle for democracy.

In evaluating what has happened in Korea during the past several years one notes that there has been growth in industrial development, economic strength, and foreign trade. Military

strength has grown, and there is an increased sense of Korean national self-reliance. All this has been at the price of a tremendous loss in human values and human rights. One must ask how much of the price has been exacted by President Park's paranoia and passion for power. It is charged that corruption is so rampant that those in power cannot afford to be caught out of power. Then too there is the Korean military, which has been so overfed by U.S. military aid during the past twenty-five years that it has grown out of all proportion to the other elements of society. Since 1950 U.S. military aid totaled \$3.7 billion, and the amount budgeted for fiscal 1974 is \$309.2 million. By comparison, economic aid for fiscal 1974 is budgeted at \$181.7 million, the largest part of which is \$152.8 million for PL 480 food commodities.

During this period Korean churchmen have played a noteworthy role. In May, 1973, the much publicized Theological Declaration of Korean Christians was issued. This document, which has been compared to the Barmen Declaration of the German Churches under Hitler, has inspired Christians of all lands. Christians of Japan have publicized it extensively through a full-page ad in the Sunday *New York Times* and have distributed it to local churches in Japan and in this country. When the Reverend Park Hyung-Kyu was arrested in July, 1973, the Korean National Council of Churches established a Special Investigation Committee to support him and his colleagues. In November, 1973, a Conference on Human Rights was held by the Korean National Council of Churches, and it issued a strong statement stressing Christian concern for human rights, the rights of women, the rights of laborers, and the rights of journalists. Statements by religious and civil leaders were issued in November and December demanding the restoration of democratic order in Korean society, and by a group of ministers serving in the Urban Industrial Mission in Korea a few days before the January 17 Confession of Faith by the eleven pastors. At the end of July Roman Catholic Bishop Daniel Chi of Wonju forcefully condemned the government of President Park as "forged with violence, intimidation and fraud." In an equally courageous act, on August 5, 1974, the leaders of six major Protestant denominations visited Premier Kim Jong Pil and demanded the end of the Emergency Decrees and amnesty for those imprisoned under them.

The Park government says it has not sought to oppress the Church or limit freedom of worship. A number of Korean churchmen, however, have refused to accept a narrow definition of Christian witness. At great personal risk they have challenged the totalitarian nature of the

government and the resulting loss of human rights. Because a disproportionate number of churchmen are involved in the protest, the Park government has attacked the Church, contending it is influenced by Western ideas of democracy that do not fit Korea. It is also charged that churchmen are angry because they are out of power or that they seek special immunity to criticize without punishment. Such charges are hardly credible, since the Korean Church has a well-established reputation for patriotism and represents a cross section of Korean society.

Out of the last year has emerged a worldwide ecumenical solidarity in support of Korean Christians and others who are suffering because of their devotion to human rights. The sympathetic involvement of Asian churches, particularly those of Japan, has been of particular importance. While the future is uncertain, great encouragement can be drawn from the persistent efforts by Christians and others to achieve greater freedom and justice for all Koreans.

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EXCURSUS V

Dieting for Others

Bread for the World recently invited American Christians, and any others who will join them, to change their eating habits by abstaining from meat (especially beef) on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday of each week. While the proposal has received much favorable publicity, it has also raised critical questions. In order to put the proposal into perspective it is necessary to say something about Bread for the World. Then we can get to the questions.

Bread for the World is a new Christian citizens movement in the USA that has just gone national and expects to build local branches of committed members across the nation. The organization has two chief purposes. First, to inform the leadership and members of the widest possible spread of Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Eastern Orthodox churches about the facts of hunger, malnutrition, and starvation among the poor both at home and abroad. We believe that most American Christians will want to do something when they know how hungry most people in the world are now and when they realize that, unless there are drastic changes, increased population and