

arms if necessary. On the other hand, these whites have understood that a federation, like the just terminated Rhodesian one, is not workable because the black men in numerical majority do not accept representation on minority terms. Hence the project of several independent Bantustans.

The South Africans trust that the economic imperatives will engender working relations among them. That they are not wrong is shown by the recent Swaziland elections where the victorious black "right-

wing" majority declared that Swaziland refuses to serve as a platform of subversion against South Africa, and that good economic relations must remain intact between the two countries. Are the Swazis also the "white man's stooges" like Matanzima is, like every African black man is, in the eyes of my critics, who wants to avoid warfare and economic ruin, and seeks not to love the white man or alter his convictions but get along with him and profit by his aid and advice?  
THOMAS MOLNAR

## other voices

### DISARMAMENT: PROBLEMS AND OPPORTUNITIES TODAY

*When the Executive Committee of the World Council of Churches met in Odessa earlier this year, it adopted a brief statement in which it appraised the climate for negotiation between nuclear powers and suggested means of aiding disarmament efforts. The text of this statement, printed here in its entirety, appeared in a recent issue of the quarterly of the WCC, The Ecumenical Review. (17 Route de Malagnou, Geneva, Switzerland.)*

As members of the Executive Committee of the World Council of Churches, meeting in Odessa, we have noted the wide-spread use in governmental and intergovernmental circles of the Statement *The Test Ban Treaty and the Next Steps* adopted by the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches at Rochester in August 1963 and the warm welcome accorded it by many churches. We have received a report that CCIA [Commission of the Churches on International Affairs] officers have recently transmitted it to the resumed Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament and, on the basis of it, have held consultations particularly with the Heads of Delegations representing the nuclear powers.

We welcome the relaxation of tensions between the major powers following the conclusion of the limited test ban treaty at Moscow last summer. Every opportunity should be seized to advance from competition in armaments to co-operation in disarmament. If the precarious *détente* of the moment is to become more firmly established and further agreements reached, serious obstacles must be overcome.

Governments tend to maintain that a plan is acceptable only if proposed by their representatives; this must give way to a readiness to appraise plans on merit and to a procedure of meaningful negotiation whereby jointly-sponsored propositions may be put forward. The effort to gain military advantage by steps toward disarmament carries with it the threat of war and nations seek agreement on measures which preserve reasonable parity since peace still rests tenuously on a balance of power. Local conflicts multiply and this confronts powerful nations with the temptation to seek ideological or territorial gains—whether by military aid, economic exploitation, or acts of subversion. If this temptation is not resisted, the danger of enlarged conflict will continue to plague mankind. The lingering imposition of foreign controls which prevent peoples from freely choosing their own form of government and representatives perpetuates an uneasy international situation.

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Notwithstanding lack of confidence, and in spite of the suspicion which survives so long as obstacles such as these remain, general and comprehensive disarmament must be the goal of international striving. However, if we were to believe that an easy road will rapidly lead us to it, we would delude ourselves and would fail to seize the opportunities at hand—opportunities which seem to permit some quicker advance toward a world of peace with justice and freedom consistent with the dignity of man.

Proposals recently made by both sides can have vital meaning for international security. Among them

are: to negotiate a non-aggression pact; to conclude an international agreement on the repudiation by all states of the use of force in solving territorial disputes and questions involving frontiers; to conclude an international agreement on the repudiation by all states of direct or indirect forms of the threat or use of force in their selfish political or economic interests and of aggression, subversion, or the secret supply of arms; to halt the production of fissionable material for military purposes and to direct nuclear production to peaceful uses; to establish inspection posts to safeguard against surprise attack; to limit nuclear striking capacity or nuclear delivery systems; to prevent proliferation of nuclear military power; to establish nuclear free zones; to cease underground testing for military purposes. In a number of instances, the proposals are sufficiently similar that agreement is possible and should be reached.

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As the efforts to bring about progressive disarmament through multilateral arrangements go forward, nations should be mindful of the part they can play by unilateral action. Reduction of military budgets, responsible military posture which clearly avoids the impression of aggressive intent, reduction of standing armed forces, restraint in face of political tension, increased contribution of fissionable material to peaceful purposes—measures such as these, ought to serve as an example and invitation to others, and thus set the stage for more formal international action.

The intermediate and smaller powers, whether they be in some manner identified with the major blocs or avowedly non-aligned, have their part to play. It is for them to press upon the great powers the need for such concessions as will advance agreement without endangering international security. In the process, they will remember that they themselves have a responsibility for disarmament and will meticulously avoid increasing their own military strength through the acquisition of armaments discarded by others. Their contribution can in some instances be determining and at all times highly significant.

We believe the times are ripe for a further advance in man's struggle against war and injustice—an advance which may be small and slow but must be sure and steady. We call upon the churches to renew and intensify their zeal for peace and, concerting their efforts with other men of good will, press upon governments measures such as we have here suggested. Let us remember and heed the words of the Apostle Paul: If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men.

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