

## THE PROCESSES SURROUNDING THE BIRTH OF THE JUSTICE AND PEACE COMMISSION IN RHODESIA (ZIMBABWE)

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### *Abstract*

Although the term 'globalisation' is relatively new, globalising influences have long since been at work from the time of the journeys of discovery in the 15th century. In this paper, the author illustrates how theological views from the Second Vatican Council (1962-65) and from the World Council of Churches (WCC) constituted a formidable globalising influence in the quest for social justice in Rhodesia during the latter part of the struggle for freedom in the seventies. The application of the religious values emanating from these two major streams of Christianity to the local socio-political and economic context in Rhodesia helped to generate, albeit within a small segment of the laity of the Catholic Church in Rhodesia, a new commitment toward establishing not only a peaceful but just society free of racial discrimination. Thus, in retrospect, the Justice and Peace Commission (JPC), as it was known in the 1970s, should be seen as a byproduct of both global and local theological responses to the threat of racism in the global political arena and in Rhodesia, in particular.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

The birth of the Justice and Peace Commission in the Catholic Church in Zimbabwe was not only a culmination of a process of internal renewal by the local Catholic Church, assisted by global forces, but also the beginning of a new era in Zimbabwean Catholicism. This new era was characterised by a new commitment towards making justice an integral and constitutive element of Christian mission. In tracing the developments leading to its birth I will first highlight the political developments in Rhodesia from the late fifties up to 1972. Secondly, I will consider how the process of self-renewal and self-updating inspired by the Second Vatican Council coupled with the efforts by the World Council (WCC) of Churches to rid the world of racial discrimination, influenced Zimbabwean Catholicism to develop institutional measures to fight racism.

## 2 THE RHODESIAN POLITICAL LANDSCAPE: 1957-1972

The proposed constitutional changes published in May, 1957 by the Tredgold Commission generated a crisis of expectation mainly within the black population in Southern Rhodesia. Only five months after the publication of the report, on the 12th September, the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress (SRANC) was born. It was the first serious African political organisation with a truly national image. Its main aim was to gain political control on the basis of universal suffrage (Tindall 1968:325).

Although the Whitehead government would not tolerate the radical views coming from African nationalists, it gave the impression that the avenue of constitutional negotiations was always open, hence the constitutional conference that

opened in London in December, 1960. This conference aimed to consider the advance of Southern Rhodesia to full internal self-government. These efforts led to the adoption of a new constitution, which formed the basis of the elections that were held in December, 1962 (Tindall 1968:328). Although the leadership of African nationalists had accepted the constitutional framework, they were unsuccessful selling it to their party followers at a meeting in Highfield African Township. The radical wing influenced the rejection of the constitution and the consequent boycott of the forthcoming elections. In spite of the African boycott, the Whitehead government went ahead with the elections which brought the Rhodesia Front (RF) party to power.

The victory of the RF was a victory for racism since the party had promised white voters that, if elected, it would elevate the white race to the pinnacle of absolute political power as enshrined in the philosophy of the racial superiority of the White man and the inferiority of the African (Mungazi 1991:89). It had also promised to amend the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 and to seek independence from Britain by either legal or illegal means (Mungazi 1991:89).

Within two years of rule by the Rhodesia Front, an internal revolt masterminded by hardliners catapulted Ian Smith to the chairmanship of the party and consequently to the premiership in government. Those who supported the revolt referred to the failure by Winston Field to deliver on election campaign promises. They also wanted to see a leader who would deal firmly with the black nationalists who, they believed, were stirring up the violence which had first broken out in 1963. (Followers of Ndabaningi Sithole's Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) fought pitched battles against the followers of Joshua Nkomo's Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union (ZAPU).)

On 11 November, 1965, Smith announced a unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) from Britain in a desperate attempt "to score a decisive victory in the struggle against the avalanche of African nationalism" (Tindall 1968:99). It is noteworthy that the 1923 constitution that had accorded Southern Rhodesia the status of self-government had a reserve clause which gave the British government the right to disallow certain legislation, although, in practice, no such veto had ever been applied (Tindall 1968:326).

According to Ian Smith, the unilateral Declaration of Independence was intended to sustain civilisation in a primitive country (Mungazi 1991:99). He also boasted that his government had struck a blow for Christianity and western civilisation. In reality, Smith had struck a blow against democracy and majority rule that African nationalism was fighting to achieve. Through this declaration, Rhodesia was transformed into a bastion of white supremacy.

A social and political critic, Prof Dickson Mungazi, characterises Ian Smith as "a callous colonial official (who) cared little for the condition of the people he ruled". His political stance, "No black majority government in my lifetime, not in a thousand years", became an obsession, a political religion that he worshipped with the devotion of a saint (Mungazi 1991:90).

Only five months following Smith's UDI, on 20 April, 1966 the Rhodesian government announced a new educational policy entitled 'Dynamic Expansion in African Education'. This policy was designed to curtail the functional literacy of the majority black populace under the veil of balancing academic education with vocational training (Mungazi 1991:100). This policy was followed by the reduction of the government's contribution towards African Primary teachers' salary by five percent (5%). Black parents were required to make good this shortfall (Smith 1969:865).

In 1969, the RF government further sought to entrench racial discrimination by enacting the Land Tenure Act. The latter divided the country along racial lines (Auret 1992:13). This Act provided the framework and modalities for the policy and practice of separate development between races up to the time of the Internal Settlement in 1978. Following on the heels of the Land Tenure Act (1969) was the constitutional draft which was adopted by the process of a referendum in 1970. This constitution gave a semblance of legitimacy to the racist policies that Ian Smith had been pursuing since 1964. Moreover, it was meant to entrench racial discrimination in Rhodesia. In the RF parlance, the proposed new Constitution (would) ensure that government be retained in responsible hands (McLaughlin 1996:16).

The period beginning in 1965 and ending in 1971 saw the implementation of increasingly repressive and racially discriminatory legislation and, not surprisingly, the patience of the black majority was gradually running out. The cleavage between the government and the black populace was getting worse as each day passed. This was in spite of the ban on political activities, the detention and restriction of nationalist leaders, and the harsh legislative environment that demeaned Africans to being second-class citizens in the country of their birth.

As the RF government continued to perpetrate violence and injustice against the black majority, African nationalists quietly mobilised the peoples' anger towards the prosecution of a peoples' war. Peaceful resistance gave way to militant programmes. When the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), a military wing of the ZANU party, launched an attack on Altena Farm, 200km north of Salisbury (now Harare) on 21 December, 1972 all conditions for armed conflict had been met (McLaughlin 1996:21).

### 3 THE ROLE OF GLOBAL PROCESSES IN BRINGING ABOUT CHANGE IN RHODESIA

From the early years of colonisation up to the early sixties the Catholic Church enjoyed good relations with the government and the colonial state. This relationship, however, became strained from the mid-sixties onwards, when the RF government began to threaten its institutional as well as its evangelistic interests. The education policy of 1967, the Land Tenure Act (1969), and the Rhodesian constitution (1970) polarised the white race against the black race. This put the Church in a quandary, since it was forced to operate racially. Neutrality became a risk, simply because each of the conflicting parties viewed it as cooption by the enemy. Nevertheless, it was important for the Catholic Church to think of the future and not only the present. As the late sixties dawned it was becoming more urgent for the Catholic Church to invest in the future more than in the disastrous present. Hence a new image was necessary. There was no gainsaying the fact that the future of the Church and of the gospel, lay in the black majority whose rights and dignity had been trampled upon by colonial governments. However, for this future to be guaranteed, the Church had to go back to the drawing board. The publication of pastoral letters was not proving to be a very effective instrument for the Church to reach out to the majority. There had to be other more effective means. As we shall see later sermon/discussion outlines to priests and lay persons were tried. A bolder attempt had to be found in order to come up with a more representative Christian response to the Rhodesian conflict. It seems as if the founding of the Justice and Peace Commission was part of this search for an effective response to the Rhodesian conflict.

It is critical, however, to note that the final decision to form the Justice and Peace Commission was a result of a combination of processes, some of them local, as indicated above, and others international. Below we attempt a historical reconstruction of some of the key events and ideas that we consider to have provided the motivation that finally resulted in the setting up of the Justice and Peace Commission.

### **3.1 The Second Vatican Council (1962-1965)**

Vatican II was a landmark in the history of the Roman Catholic Church and particularly in the revamping of the Church's image and identity. In his opening sermon Pope John XXIII stated that the Council was not going,

to discuss one article or another of the fundamental doctrine of the Church ... which is presumed to be well known and familiar to all ... Rather, the primary purpose of the Council is to consider how to expand Church teaching in a manner demanded by the times.<sup>1</sup>

In other words, the task of the Council was to,

find the best formulations for our time, without being too hidebound or showing a too slavish respect for those of a previous age.<sup>2</sup>

It is reasonable to assume, from the Pope's sermon, that the Council's major pre-occupation was to evolve a new sense of self-awareness/self-understanding in changing circumstances. The Council thus offered the Roman Catholic Church a new awareness of her inner nature. This is what the Constitution on the Church essentially imparted to the Church and the world.

Vatican II tackled questions of racial discrimination and human dignity in some refreshing ways. With particular reference to racial discrimination the Council re-affirmed the Catholic position against all forms of discrimination. In at least four of its documents, that is, *Gaudium et Spes* (no 29, 60, 65, 66, 75), *Dignitatis Humanae* (no 6), *Ad Gentes* (no 8, 12) and *Nostrae Aetate* the Second Vatican Council obliges all Catholics to unequivocally acknowledge the fundamental equality of all human beings. The Council also stresses the fact that all human beings are created in the image of God, and all are saved by Christ, and are headed towards the same destiny. Thus, all forms of discrimination, whether based on sex, race, color, social class, language or religion is considered to be wrong (Flannery 1987). The Council reflected very much the views of its architect, Pope John, whose commitment to justice and human dignity/rights is borne out in the encyclicals *Mater et Magistra* (1961) and *Pacem in Terris* (1963)

#### 4 VATICAN II BEARING ON RHODESIA

According to McLaughlin, Vatican II had a great influence on the five bishops from Rhodesia. Coming from a closed colonial society, the delegation was exposed to international views and opinions which ran counter to the RF platform of white supremacy (McLaughlin 1996:15).

Bishop Lamont of Umtali, who attended the Council, commented afterwards, "the situation in Rhodesia stuck out like a sore thumb" (McLaughlin 1996:15). Indeed, about a month after the end of the Council, the bishops of Rhodesia were forced to leave for home as they envisaged a deep political crisis following Ian Smith's unilateral Declaration of Independence from Britain.

After closely studying the situation, the bishops responded to Smith's UDI by issuing a pastoral statement which unequivocally pointed to the illegitimacy of the declaration. In their view, the declaration did not help the situation but created some justification for radical nationalists to engage in violence.<sup>3</sup> They went on further to observe that, unless social justice was factored into the solution, racial harmony would be a mere pipedream.<sup>4</sup>

#### **4.1 The Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace (6 January, 1967)**

As part of the programme of translating the teaching of Vatican II into concrete action, the Vatican established the Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace on 6 January, 1967. The commission was founded,

in co-operation with conferences of Bishops, at the service of all the human family, and especially the poor ... to arouse the People of God to full awareness of its mission at present time, to promote progress of poor nations, to encourage international social justice, to help underdeveloped nations to work for their own human development.<sup>5</sup>

The Commission's work charter was based on Pope Paul VI's encyclical *Populorum Progressio*. Its aims were,

to free (human beings) from various types of servitude, and to enable (him/her) to be the instrument of his/her own material betterment ... of his/her moral progress ... of his/her spiritual growth.<sup>6</sup>

The Commission set up four committees whose areas of focus entailed: (a) theological reflection and social doctrine, (b) world cooperation for development, (c) issues of peace and of international community, and (d) human development.<sup>7</sup> From

the outset the Commission aimed to forge, "ecumenical collaboration with churches and communities, with men/women of goodwill in order to seek solutions to the acute problems of world justice, development and peace".<sup>8</sup>

In no time the Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace formed with the World Council of Churches (WCC) the Committee on Society, Development and Peace (SODEPAX), "to promote cooperation (on matters of justice, development and peace) among Christian churches, and with other religions and ideologies, at the service of the world".<sup>9</sup>

The establishment of the Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace, based in Rome, provided motivation for the setting up of justice and peace. One of the earliest dioceses to take a cue from Rome was Durban in South Africa, under the episcopacy of Bishop Dennis Hurley (OMI). This diocesan commission, founded in 1968, became instrumental in the research for, and preparation of, pastoral letters that Archbishop Hurley became well-known for as he openly confronted apartheid in South Africa.<sup>10</sup>

The Commission for Justice and Peace in the archdiocese of Durban became one of the most active organs of the Pretoria-based South African Commission for Justice and Peace, which was also founded in 1969. The latter produced materials on justice and peace in South Africa and also indirectly serviced the Rhodesia Catholic Bishops' Conference.<sup>11</sup>

#### **4.2 The Programme to Combat Racism (WCC 1969) and the United Nations Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (UN, 1971)**

In 1968 the World Council of Churches' fourth assembly adopted a resolution to set up a programme to combat racism. At this assembly the delegates argued that piety was not enough in fighting racism. They consequently agreed that

offering some kind of practical help to the victims of racial discrimination was a matter of urgency. Although the delegates could not agree that force was justifiable in fighting racism, they were unanimous that they could not evade the responsibility laid upon them by their faith "to relieve the oppressed and to strive for justice for all men".<sup>12</sup>

In their support for the oppressed the delegates especially committed the WCC to take action against racism in South Africa, South West Africa (Namibia), Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Angola and Mozambique.<sup>13</sup> Hence the Programme to Combat Racism, which was subsequently set up after the Assembly, aimed at helping to forward efforts to secure basic human rights, and to do so within certain agreed and well defined guidelines.<sup>14</sup> The documents spelling out the practical guidelines of the 'Programme' were forwarded to member institutions of the WCC which included the Christian Council of Rhodesian (CCR). In turn, the CCR forwarded these documents to each of the Rhodesia Catholic Bishops Conference members.<sup>15</sup> The documentation further specified "the financial grants made, the criteria on which they were made, and the general policy involved".<sup>16</sup>

Although the Roman Catholic Church was not (and still is not) a member of the WCC, the Programme to Combat Racism (PCR) challenged their stand vis-à-vis racism in Rhodesia. Another interesting point that may explain why the CCR sent the bishops the documents on the PCR was that the Catholic Bishops were members of the WCC supported organisation Christian Care. The latter, as an ecumenical voluntary Association since 1967, provided the agency which channeled financial grants and other material support to detainees, restrictees and their families.

When the Rhodesian government caught wind of the 'Programme' criticism was leveled against the churches. When

pushed to comment on the stand taken by the WCC, the secretary of the Catholic Bishops Conference, Fr Richard Randolph, denied association with the WCC on the technicality that the Roman Catholic Church was not a member of the WCC. Thus, Fr Randolph argued, the Catholic bishops would not comment on the programme. More interesting however, is the fact that the Rhodesia Catholic Bishops Conference neither condemned nor condoned the stand of the WCC. This posture signaled the irreparable damage done to the relationship between the Catholic Church and the RF government.

#### **4.3 UN support to the Programme to Combat Racism**

In concert with the WCC's stand against racism, the United Nation's General Assembly declared 1971 'International Year for action to combat racism and racial discrimination'. Furthermore, the UN Human Rights Commission organised a session on the elimination of racial discrimination in the hosting city of the WCC, Geneva, Switzerland, on 2 March, 1971.<sup>17</sup> This effort, like the WCC's Programme to Combat Racism, certainly created greater awareness of the evil of racism wherever it existed. Indeed, such efforts should have stirred greater revulsion against the Rhodesian government's policies of separate development.

## **5 THE SYNOD OF BISHOPS: ROME, OCTOBER, 1971**

One of the resolutions of Vatican II recommended the Pope to regularly consult with bishops on matters relating to the general welfare of the Church, and on special areas of concern. The bishops chosen to represent their conferences at such ordinary and extraordinary meetings constituted a synod. These synods had been held since the conclusion of the Council.

The third ordinary synod of bishops was held in October, 1971. This synod focused on two issues of concern to the Church, that is: (a) ministerial priesthood, and (b) justice in the world. Bishops from all over the world (210 in all) attended this crucial synod.<sup>18</sup> The Rhodesia Bishops' Conference was represented by Bishop Donald Raymond Lamont of Umtali (now Mutare) diocese.

At a plenary session of the RCBC held from 29th to 30th July, 1971 chiefly to consider the subject of the forthcoming synod of bishops in Rome, the bishops agreed that:

in the past, the social teachings of the Church, although splendidly enunciated in magisterial documents, had not been effectively taught either in seminaries or to the laity. The world needs this body of doctrine, which the Church has at its disposal. Non-Catholics whether Christian or pagan, expect us to give the lead with courage and conviction. Our laity must be taught that the social teachings of the Church are an integral part of the Gospel message.<sup>19</sup>

The synod of bishops contributed significantly towards placing justice at the centre of the Catholic Church's theological and pastoral agenda. On his return from the synod, Bishop Donald Lamont reported back to other bishops at the ordinary plenary session of the RCBC, on 17 January, 1972. He referred to two issues that the synod had given special attention – the existence in the world of a collective exploitation of the poor countries of the world by the rich ones, and the right of all men [sic] to integral development. He went further to observe that:

the plight of marginal men [sic], denied their rightful place in the economic, social, political and cultural life of their country had a particular impressive

relevance for us who have seen it here in Rhodesia. More even than the Council ... one felt the Church's new and planetary vision which it had of itself, as well as its new concern with being involved in a practical way of promoting the freedom of the whole man and of every man [sic], and of recognizing this as an integral part of its mission.<sup>20</sup>

The synod of bishops in Rome produced a document that emphasised the centrality of justice to Christ's mission. It stressed that, by his action and teaching Christ united in an indivisible way the relationship of man to God and the relationship of man to other men [sic]. Christ lived his life in the world as a total giving of himself to God for salvation and liberation of men [sic]. In his teaching he proclaimed the fatherhood of God towards all men and the intervention of God's justice on behalf of the needy and the oppressed (Lk 6:21-33).<sup>21</sup>

In this document, entitled 'Justice in the world' a deliberate option for the 'least brethren' is adopted based on Mt 25:40. The nexus between Christian love of neighbour and justice is clearly articulated:

Christian love of neighbour and justice cannot be separated. For love implies an absolute demand for justice, namely the recognition of the dignity and rights of one's neighbour. Justice attains its inner fullness only in love ...<sup>22</sup>

The document also offers an eloquent justification for the Church's interest and stake in matters of justice and peace. It claims for the Church a proper and specific responsibility to the world arguing that:

the Church has received from Christ the mission of preaching the Gospel message, which contains a call to man [sic] to turn away from sin to the love of the Father, universal brotherhood and a consequent demand for justice in the world.<sup>23</sup>

From this God-given mandate the Church legitimately claims the right, indeed the duty, to proclaim justice at the social, national and international level. In this document the Church also sees it as part of its evangelical responsibility to denounce instances of injustice when fundamental rights of human beings and his/her salvation demand it.<sup>24</sup>

As the document winds down to its conclusion, the synod makes an appeal to all Catholics to be involved in action for justice. The bishops present at the Synod conceded that their resolve for the Church to be involved in justice would remain ineffective if there were no people prepared to give it flesh in the life of their local churches at all levels.

We also ask the episcopal conferences to continue to pursue the perspectives which we have had in view during the days of this meeting and to put our recommendations into practice, for instance by setting up centres of social and theological research.<sup>25</sup>

This Synod was one of the most eloquent documents in Catholic history, in that it spelt out clearly the theological justification for the Church involvement with justice and peace issues. Overall, the synod contributed significantly towards making justice an integral component in the Catholic Church's theological and pastoral agenda. In this Synod global Catholicism went through a soul searching moment indeed, and examined its collective conscience. The Church's emerging global conscience helped to shape the conscience of the local Church in Rhodesia. The Catholic Church's identity

could not remain unchanged in the light of clear global urging for action in favour of the 'least of Jesus' brethren' who, in the Rhodesian scenario, were the oppressed black people.

## 6 THE FIFTH WORLD DAY OF PEACE, 1 JANUARY 1972

The Vatican, it seems with the advice from the Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace, was committed to seeing the Church embrace justice as part and parcel of the life of all. For the Day of Peace, on 1 January, 1972, it was decided to harmonise the theme of the Synod of Bishops with that for the Day of Peace. Hence the theme: *If you want peace, work for justice.*

The logic behind the harmony was three-fold. First, the Day of Peace was to benefit from the synod's deliberation; the synod was bound to contribute ideas and authoritative proposals that would stir up, among the People of God, far more interest in the subject of justice. Second, the World Day of Peace would ensure that the work of the Synod would be followed up in a practical way, in time and space, at the level of the communities whose attention it sought to capture.

Third, it was also envisaged that it would complement the synod's work by its own original approach concerning a point which has narrower limits but upon which it staked the survival of humankind; that point is the link between justice and peace.<sup>26</sup>

The fifth world Day of Peace had a direct influence on the developments in the Catholic Church of Rhodesia. The latter was already facing serious problems in its relationship with the RF government. We have already implied that the 1970 constitution provided pillars for the policy of separate

development or the 'separate but equal' philosophy. Through this philosophy all spheres of life had to be segregated racially; the land, schools, health facilities, residential areas etcetera. Because of this philosophy, institutions that were operating on multi-racial lines were now required to conform to the requirements of the new constitution of 1970. This requirement affected the work of the Church, and undermined its credibility in the African eyes.

The question of segregating schools racially almost split the bishops' conference; one group was totally against any form of segregation while another was prepared to accept the six percent threshold for the minority races in Church-owned schools. As this debate was raging on the theme for the World Day of Peace, 'If you want peace, work for justice' was communicated from Rome. The bishops, as leaders of the Church, had to deliberate on the theme and consequently, suggest concrete programmes that their followers were to engage in. At an RCBC administrative meeting held in Salisbury on 19 October, 1971, the bishops linked this item with the yet unresolved question of the Church's right to have multi-racial schools in the light of the Land Tenure Act. In conclusion, the bishops agreed to prepare a pastoral letter on the social teachings of the church after a full-scale dialogue on as wide scale as possible between bishops, clergy and laity (Auret 1992:24). It was at this meeting that the RCBC bishops first made mention of the need to form a national Justice and Peace Commission (Auret 1992:24).

Consultations that followed this meeting culminated in a meeting at Chishawasha Seminary on 20 November, 1971, attended by twenty-eight delegates from all dioceses in the country. This meeting came up with the idea of forming a Commission for Justice and Peace (McLaughlin 1996:2). The meeting, with the pleasure of Bishop Haene of Gwelo diocese,

in attendance, went ahead to set up an interim committee to draw up a draft constitution for the Commission.

At their next administrative meeting in Gwelo, held on 2 December, 1971, the RCBC accepted and approved the decision made at Chishawasha Seminary to form a Justice and Peace Commission. The bishops also accepted and approved the Interim Committee and the draft Constitution already drawn up (Auret 1992:26).

As a form of preparation by the Church for the World Day of Peace, the bishops initiated a programme of sermon/discussion guidelines on the theme 'If you want peace, work for justice'. A committee was formed to prepare and disseminate material for circulation throughout the Catholic Church in Rhodesia.<sup>27</sup> The committee managed to prepare pamphlets in the three national languages of English, Shona and Ndebele in each diocese by direction of each local ordinary. Whatever results the bishops obtained later, the significance of the exercise lie in their interest in influencing positive change in the country. Their commitment to justice and peace was vindicated by the clarity with which they approved the Constitution and Rules of the Commission on 3rd March 1972 for an initial period of three years.<sup>28</sup> The working infrastructure of the Commission consisted of five subcommittees to deal with finance, education, legal affairs, research and public relations.<sup>29</sup>

## 7 CONCLUSION

The year 1972 thus marks a turning point in the commitment of the Catholic leadership of Rhodesia towards making justice and peace issues integral to the Church's mission. A new ecclesiology that placed justice at the centre of the Church's mission was finally born. Similarly, a new theology that thrived

on service was also born. The new ecclesiology and theology owed their nature and identity to the local socio-political, economic, and missiological conditions particular to Zimbabwe and, at the same time, to the global religions and secular processes that facilitated an examination of conscience among Catholics throughout the world. Thus, a combination of local and global processes helped to unlock and mobilise the initiative and commitment among lay Catholics in Zimbabwe to tackle the evil of racism.

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## ENDNOTES

- 1 Vatican document AAS, 1962, 721-792.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 A plea for peace. Pastoral letter of the Rhodesia Catholic Bishops Conference (RCBC), 28 November 1965, 4.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Cardinal Roy in *O'Sservatore Romano*, no 69. See summary of speech in the *RCBC News Sheet*, No 5, December 1970, 17.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Cf Pastoral letters by Archbishop Denis Hurley of Durban Archdiocese, November 1969 and November 1970.
- 11 A message from the Catholic Bishops of Southern Africa on the World Day of Peace, 3 January 1971. See also the accompanying intercessions for the World day of Peace in the *RCBC News Sheet*, No 5, December 1970, Appendices I & II.
- 12 British Council of Churches Press Release, 30 September, 1970.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Letter by the President of the World council of Churches (WCC), in the *Times of London*, September 1970.
- 15 *RCBC News Sheet*, No 4, November 1970, 16.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Extract from the *Migration News*, No 3, 1971, in the *RCBC News Sheet*, No 13, 31 August 1971.
- 18 *RCBC News Sheet*, No 15, 27<sup>th</sup> October, 1971, 5.
- 19 *RCBC News Sheet*, No 13, August, 1971, 3-6.
- 20 Bishop D R Lamont, Report to the plenary session of the RCBC, 17 January, 1972, (see also *RCBC News Sheet*, No 18, 25 January, 1972, 25.)
- 21 *O'Sservatore Romano*, 16 December 1970.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 'If you want peace, work for justice', in *RCBC News Sheet*, No 12, 25 July, 1971, 30-33.
- 27 *RCBC News Sheet*, No 24, 24 July 1972, 7.
- 28 *RCBC News Sheet*, No 26, 27 September 1972, 6.
- 29 *RCBC News Sheet*, No 28, 25 November 1972, 12.