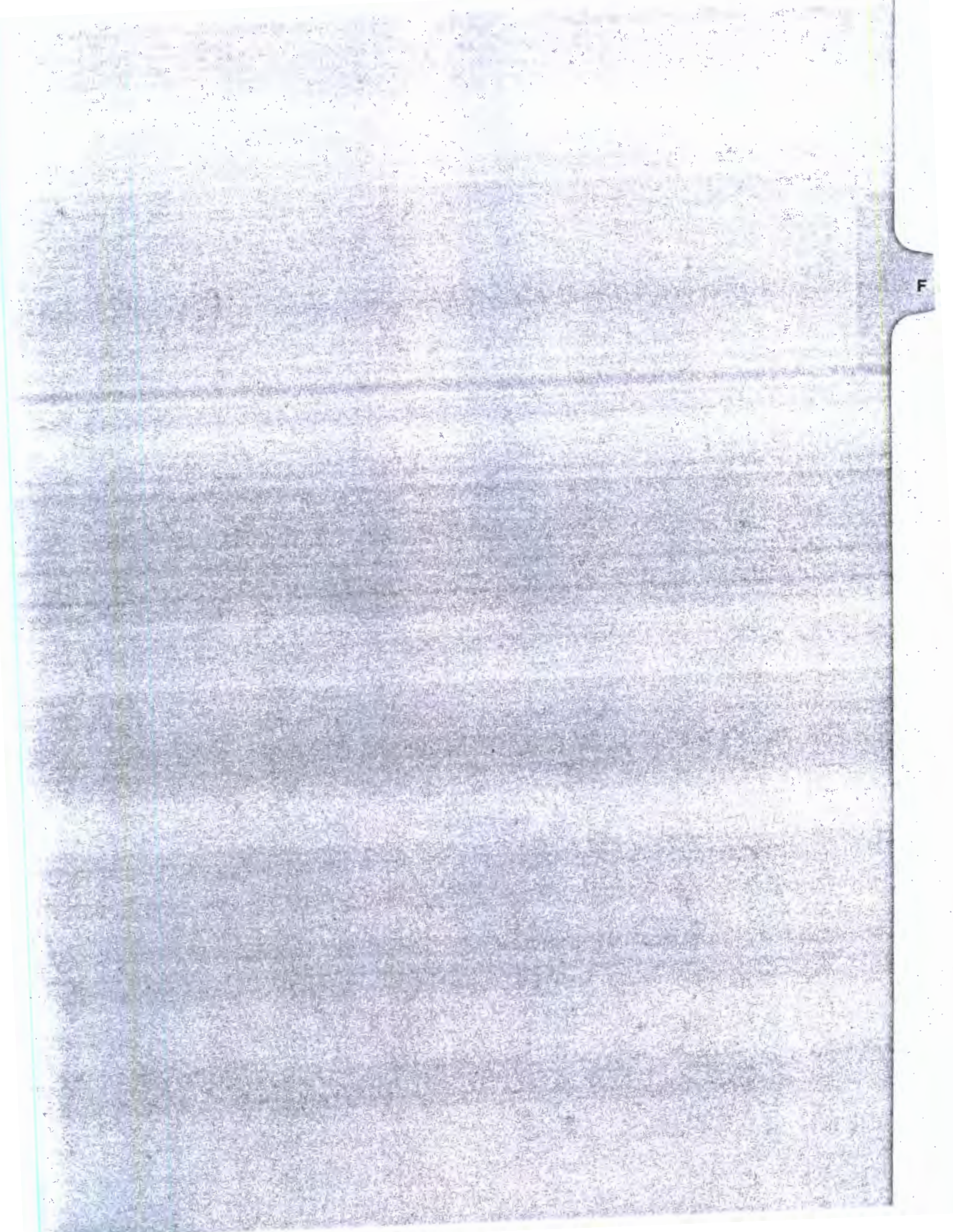


Archbishop Hickey backs freeze resolution

Archbishop James A. Hickey gave support this week to a bipartisan congressional resolution calling for a mutual and verifiable freeze on nuclear arms with the Soviet Union and major reductions in nuclear weapons from current levels, with special emphasis on limiting destabilizing weapons.

The resolution was introduced Wednesday by Democratic Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts and Republican Senator Mark Hatfield of Oregon. In the House, the resolution was introduced by Democratic congressmen Edward Marked of Massachusetts and Jonathan Bingham of New York with Representative Silvio Conte, a Massachusetts Republican.

The resolution stated: "Whereas the greatest challenge facing the earth is to prevent the occurrence of nuclear war by accident or design, whereas the nuclear arms race is dangerously increasing the risk of a holocaust that would be humanity's final war, and whereas a freeze followed by reductions in nuclear warheads, missiles and other delivery systems is needed to halt the nuclear arms race and to reduce the risk of nuclear war, resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America and Congress assembled, 1. As an immediate strategic arms control objective, the United States and the Soviet Union should: (A) pursue a complete halt to the nuclear arms race; (B) decide when and how to achieve a mutual and verifiable freeze on the testing, production and further deployment of nuclear warheads, missiles, and other delivery system, and (C) give special attention to destabilizing weapons whose deployment would make such a freeze more difficult to achieve.

"2. Proceeding from this freeze, the United States and the Soviet Union should pursue major, mutual and verifiable reductions in nuclear warheads, missiles and other delivery systems, through annual percentages or equally effective means, in a manner that enhances stability."

Archbishop Hickey was contacted March 5 by mailgram, asking his "support and public endorsement" of the resolutions. The mailgram asked that if the Archbishop was willing to give his endorsement that this should be communicated to Senator Kennedy's office by Monday. Without making any public statement, Archbishop Hickey pledged his support for the resolutions on Monday.

Nuclear Weapons/Moral Questions

A Pastoral Call To Peacemaking

The Most Rev. James A. Hickey
Archbishop of Washington
June 3, 1982

An invitation to the Catholic community of Washington to prayer, reflection, study and discussion on the moral dimensions of nuclear weapons in light of Catholic teaching.

My Brothers and Sisters in Christ,

This past weekend brought together our celebration of Pentecost and our observance of Memorial Day. As we ask the help of the life-giving Spirit of God and reflect upon the sacrifice of the men and women who gave their lives for the defense of our country, it seems appropriate to ask your personal prayer and reflection on one of the most serious moral issues in our world—the nuclear arms race and the growing risks of nuclear war.

Growing Concern

Our world is confronted by signs of growing concern and fear over the possibility of nuclear conflict. Unprecedented grass roots movements demonstrate considerable support for some type of nuclear freeze. Our President has offered a new arms control proposal for substantial reductions in nuclear warheads. Soviet leaders have also put forther proposals and indicated a willingness to talk about these issues. There is a forthcoming special session of the United Nations to discuss nuclear disarmament. More and more concern is being voiced regarding the potential medical and ecological effects of any nuclear conflict.

Within our Church community there is considerable reflection taking place. Many bishops have spoken to the question of nuclear arms. A special committee of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops is preparing a major pastoral letter on war and peace for discussion and approval at the November meeting of the American Catholic Bishops.

My Hopes

I write today as your pastor. I am asking you to join me in a serious program of prayer, reflection, study and discussion so that each of us may be able to make judgments about nuclear armaments for a conscience truly informed by Catholic principles.

I raise these issues not as a politician or scientist, not to join some ideological handwagon, but to meet my responsibilities as a teacher and pastor within the Catholic community which has a long-standing tradition of concern for the moral dimensions of warfare and conflict.

As a pastor, I would emphasize that these are urgent, but not simple matters. I expect this letter will raise more questions than answers. I hope to inform rather than instruct, to raise issues rather than reach definite conclusions. I specifically hope this letter and the discussion it invites will help prepare us to respond to the national pastoral letter on war and peace next fall. This national pastoral and the entire nuclear discussion touches our Archdiocese more directly than any other local Church. For many of our people, there are intensely personal and professional issues as well as important public concerns.

Our Responsibilities

We cannot avoid this discussion. As our Holy Father said in Hiroshima, "some . . . might prefer not to think about the horror of nuclear war and its dire consequences . . . but there is no justification for failing to raise the question of the responsibility of each nation and each individual in the face of wars and the nuclear threat."

As ***Catholics***, we bring to this discussion unique resources: a long tradition of disciplined thought about the moral dimensions of warfare and a religious vision which bring hope to sobering, even frightening, issues.

As ***Americans***, we have unique responsibilities. The United States is the first nation to develop atomic weapons and the only nation to use nuclear as a bulwark against Soviet power and aggression, while sharing with the Soviets the power to virtually destroy civilization.

As people who live in and around ***Washington***, we possess unique responsibility and vulnerability. Members of our community develop and implement the policies which govern our nuclear arsenal and arms control negotiations. In addition, our community would surely be one of the first targets in any nuclear exchange. As American Catholics in the Washington area we need to consider the arms race and nuclear weapons in light of faith, to evaluate our current situation with the help of Church teaching and to probe our consciences for the moral and human implications of decisions on nuclear weapons.

A Time for Prayer

At the first Pentecost, the disciples awaited the coming of the Spirit in fear and confusion. The descent of the Spirit permitted them to overcome their hesitation and to preach the Word of the Lord. That same Spirit is with us now. Pentecost invites us to open our hearts to Him—for guidance and for strength. We need to pray—to pray for peace and to pray that we can listen to one another and be heard by one another as we search for peace despite differences of political ideology, party or position in our community.

A Time for Reflection

Our observance of Memorial Day, last Monday, reminded us again of the costs of war and price of defending freedom and justice. The long white lines of crosses which mark the graves of our honored dead tell us of their bravery and sacrifice and call us to pray that there may never again be war, although as loyal citizens we stand ready, if necessary to defend our country and ideals in a just war.

As we remember the sacrifice of those who gave their lives, I ask you to reflect on how different the next world war would likely be. A nuclear war would probably be a matter of hours, rather than years. Its victims would not be primarily soldiers, but millions of civilians. There would be no winners of a nuclear war. It is estimated that an all-out nuclear war could mean two hundred million casualties, hundreds of Hiroshimas at once. The Pontifical Academy of Sciences and many American physicians suggest there could be no effective medical response to nuclear war.

I ask you to reflect with me on the growing risks of nuclear war—the growth in the numbers, power and sophistication of nuclear weapons; the discussion of winning or surviving nuclear war; suggestions of demonstration nuclear explosions and how to regain nuclear superiority. I ask you to reflect on what legitimate defense and national security mean in a nuclear age.

Additional nations are on the verge of developing nuclear arms. Enormous resources are fueling the "breathtaking spiral in armaments," in the words of our Holy Father,—with serious consequences for the poor. Thousands upon thousands of warheads are poised for possible use. Many believe we face an accelerating arms race and a possible drift toward destruction. If we fail to contain these armaments, there is the possibility that no civilization will survive to reflect upon our mistakes.

A Time for Study

In the face of these disturbing trends, we need to study the Church's traditional teaching on warfare and conflict, with special attention to nuclear arms. In knowing and understanding our Catholic tradition in these matters, we bring an essential conviction about the importance of the moral dimensions of public policy issues involving fundamental matters of life

Archbishop Hickey's Pastoral (Continued)

technical arguments, although political skill and technical competence are important. Too often the discussion of national nuclear policy has neglected ethical concerns and excluded the broad public discussion required on matters of such profound significance. Concern for the sanctity of human life, a consistent extension of our concern about abortion, hunger and other pro-life issues, should be at the center of a debate too often dominated by politics and technical points.

Can there be a war involving nuclear arms which fits the traditional moral criteria of a just war? According to Catholic teaching, there are several basic principles which govern both the choice to wage war and the choice of what actions one can rightly undertake in conducting war. The choice to wage war can only be just if the following requirements are met:

1. The decision for war must be made by a legitimate authority.
2. The war can be fought only to defend against unjust aggression.
3. War must be chosen only as a last resort, after all other proper means fail.
4. There must be a reasonable chance of achieving the objectives for which the war is waged.
5. The good to be achieved by the war must outweigh the evil that will result from it.
6. The war must be pursued with right intention—the intention to restore peace.

In waging war justly there are two cardinal principles:

- military force can never be directly aimed at non-combatants, and
- only proportionate force can be used in attacking legitimate military targets.

Thus, indiscriminate killing of non-combatants cannot be justified and one must avoid harming civilian and non-military sectors of society.

Since the development of nuclear armaments, the teaching of the Church has addressed the issue of nuclear weapons on numerous occasions. A few examples indicate both their tone and content.

After the Cuban Missile Crisis, Pope John XXIII declared:

"Justice, right reason and humanity, therefore, urgently demand that the arms race should cease; that the stockpiles which exist in various countries should be reduced equally and simultaneously by the parties concerned; that the nuclear weapons should be banned; and that a general agreement should eventually be reached about progressive disarmament and an effective method of control." (Pacem in Terris, *1963*)

The Second Vatican Council reaffirmed the "universally binding principles of natural law governing the use of force" and the continuing right of legitimate national defense. The Council called for the Church to "undertake an evaluation of war with an entirely new attitude." In its evaluation of scientific weapons of mass destruction, of which nuclear weapons are a principal example, it issued a clear condemnation: "Every act of war directed to the indiscriminate destruction of whole cities or vast areas with their inhabitants is a crime against God and man, which merits firm and unequivocal condemnation." The Council offered support for "conscientious objectors who refuse to carry arms provided they accept some other form of community service," affirming the possibility of a Christian pacifism. It called for an end to the arms race and "a real beginning of disarmament, not unilaterally indeed, but at an equal rate on all sides, on the basis of agreements and backed up by genuine and effective guarantees." *(The Church in the Modern World,* 1965)

The Church's leaders have clearly condemned the arms race:

"The arms race is to be condemned unreservedly. By virtue of the nature of modern weapons and the situation prevailing on our planet, even when motivated by a concern for legitimate defense, the armaments race is, in fact, a danger and injustice, a mistake, a sin and a folly." (Statement of the Holy See's Permanent Observer at the United Nations, 1976)

The U.S. Bishops have sought to apply and specify these teachings:

"With respect to nuclear weapons, at least those with massive destructive capability, the first imperative is to prevent their use. As possessors of a vast nuclear arsenal, we must also be aware that not only is it wrong to attack civilian populations, but it is also wrong to threaten to attack them as part of a strategy of deterrence. We urge the continued development and implementation of policies which seek to bring these weapons more securely under control, progressively reduce their presence in the world and ultimately remove them entirely." (To Live in Christ Jesus, 1976)

In the Bishops' testimony on the SALT II Treaty, Cardinal Krol made three fundamental points. Archbishop Bernardin summarized them in this way before the Bishops last fall:

"First, the primary moral imperative is to prevent any use of nuclear weapons under any conditions. Second, the testimony judged that the possession of nuclear weapons in our policy of deterrent framework is used to make progress on arms limitation and reductions. The third principle, a corollary of the second, is the imperative for the superpowers to pursue meaningful arms limitation aimed at substantial reductions and real disarmament. Indeed, as Cardinal Krol stated, the phasing out altogether of nuclear deterrence and the threat of mutual assured destruction must always be the goal of our efforts."

A Time for Discussion

Church teaching raises significant questions about the assumptions and policies of the nuclear age. Can nuclear arms be used legitimately in war? If they cannot, are we justified in using a stockpile of nuclear armaments as deterrent? Can we make a threat that we could not legitimately carry out? How do these principles apply to the U.S. as a nuclear superpower and our dealings with a strong adversary also armed with these weapons?

The issues of nuclear war, the arms race and disarmament deserve our careful attention. Each of us is called to be a peacemaker; this is not an optional commitment. As followers of Jesus we are called to seek peace and pursue it. Through the centuries, many have done this in the armed services of their country; this is a legitimate part of our Catholic tradition. Some have followed a path of total renunciation of arms. This form of Christian pacifism is also accepted as a legitimate part of our tradition.

I am truly thankful for the sacrifices and commitment of those who serve in the military and in our government. I am also grateful to those advocates who have pushed the issue of nuclear arms into the center of national debate. All of us, concerned citizens, officials and advocates, need to open our minds and hearts, listen to each other and learn from each other without partisanship or self-righteousness. Whatever our personal situation, we are called to advance the cause of peace, as a family member, worker, and citizen.

We also need to discuss how to move toward the slowing of the arms race and the eventual elimination of nuclear arms. I am referring to mutual rather than unilateral disarmament. Our tradition is eloquent about peace *and* realistic about conflict. But we need to discuss what actions our country can take to encourage mutual disarmament. Some U.S. initiatives, and even some risks, may be necessary to break the spiral of armaments and the stalemate of the status-quo.

For this reason, I have joined with a number of Bishops, other religious leaders, and arms control experts to support a mutual and verifiable nuclear weapons freeze tied to future reductions in nuclear arms. I do not wish to use this forum to urge others to join me in this, but I ask each of you to consider what steps are necessary to reverse the appalling growth of weapons of destruction and act on that assessment.

We should also explore how the enormous ingenuity and resources which are used to increase the sophistication and deadly effectiveness of our weapons of war can be used even more creatively in developing more effective instruments of peace — arms control agreements, alternative means of conflict resolution, cultural and personal exchanges between people or increased communication and meetings between our leaders. How can we develop and support new initiatives to contain, reduce and eventually eliminate this unprecedented threat to humankind?

Archdiocesan Action

We need to help each other ask these questions and carry out these responsibilities. For this reason, I am asking each person, each family, each parish and each organization to make a commitment to pray for peace regularly, to study and reflect on the Church's teaching on nuclear issues and to participate in some program of discussion and commitment on these issues.

At the Archdiocesan level, we have made a beginning, including a three day seminar on nuclear issues for Bishops, key staff and leaders of consultative bodies; a day-long Clergy Conference on the Arms Race and Nuclear Weapons (held yesterday); and the special supplement to the *Catholic Standard* which accompanies this letter.

I will shortly appoint a task force to help coordinate this ongoing program of prayer, reflection, study and discussion. They will be preparing balanced and useful materials for Archdiocesan parishes and organizations. We will be calling an Archdiocesan Conference on Nuclear Weapons and the Arms Race next fall to assist parish leaders in learning about these issues and developing programs of study, reflection and discussion. This task force and conference will help pastors and parish leaders convene discussions in our parishes next fall. I hope our parishes will show their concern by regular prayer for peace and programs of study and discussion in their education efforts and parish activities. I also hope parishes will share with me their concern and suggestions about how our Church and society should respond to the dangers of our nuclear age.

I am also asking Archdiocesan organizations and the consultative bodies to place this concern on their agenda and share their concerns and proposals with me. We will make special efforts next fall to assist teachers and religious educators in carrying out their responsibilities to share the Church's teaching in this area. Finally, I have asked our Archdiocesan newspaper to provide special coverage and information on issues dealing with the arms race and nuclear weapons.

I hope all of these efforts will lead to informed reflection and effective action throughout our communities on the issues of peace and nuclear arms. These activities will permit us to live up to our Holy Father's words at the United Nations: "The Catholic Church in every place on earth proclaims a message of peace, prays for peace, educates for peace."

We approach this task of peacemaking recognizing both its complexity and its urgency. Peacemaking is not some peripheral cause, it is required of each of us. It requires fervent prayer, informed reflection, diligent study, open discussion, effective action and genuine commitment.

Mary, Queen of Peace, pray for us.

In Him who is our Peace,

+James A. Hickey

Archbishop of Washington

Seminar Participants

In preparing for this program of education, discussion and dialogue, Archbishop Hickey convened a three-day seminar for the Regional Bishops, key Archdiocesan staff and the leaders of the consultative bodies. Among the speakers were:

Dr. Roger Molander
Executive Director, Ground Zero

William Colby
Former Director, CIA

Father J. Bryan Hehir
Director, Office of International Justice and Peace
U.S. Catholic Conference

Gerard Smith
Chief Negotiator, SALT I

Dr. William O'Brien
Political Scientist
Georgetown University

Father Francis X. Winters, S.J.
Professor of International Relations and Ethics
Georgetown University

Dr. Gordon Zahn
Pax Christi

Robert DeGrasse, Jr.
Council on Economic Priorities

Dr. Jeremy Stone
Director, Federation of American Scientists

Ambassador Edward L. Rowny
Special Representative for Arms Control and Disarmament Negotiations

Dr. Howard Hiatt
Dean, School of Public Health
Harvard University

Father John Haughey, S.J.
Woodstock Center

Monsignor Thomas Duffy,
Pastor
Blessed Sacrament Parish

Reverend Joseph Byron,
President
Senate of Priests

Senator Patrick Leahy

WASHINGTON POST 6/4/82

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The Archbishop on Nuclear War

An unfortunate headline on yesterday's front page may have given The Post's readers a mistaken impression of my recent pastoral letter on nuclear armaments. The purpose of my letter was not to "declare war on nuclear weapons," but to invite our people to "a serious program of prayer, reflection, study and discussion" on the moral dimensions of nuclear armaments.

I wrote as a pastor recognizing both the urgency and the complexity of these issues. My purpose was to raise issues rather than reach definite conclusions. I did this in the context of the church's longstanding teaching on the morality of warfare and more recent teaching on nuclear armaments. This teaching raises profound and inescapable questions about the assumptions and politics of the nuclear age.

In my letter, I express my thanks to those who serve in military and government and those advocates who have pushed the issue into the center of national debate. I call for discussion on how we can move toward the slowing of the arms race and the eventual elimination of nuclear arms. In discussing the need for mutual rather than unilateral disarmament, I ask each person "to consider what steps are necessary to reverse the appalling growth of weapons of destruction and act on that assessment." It was in this context that I referred to my support of a mutual and verifiable nuclear freeze tied to future reductions in nuclear weapons. I deliberately chose not to use this letter to argue the case for such a freeze.

Instead, I am asking our people with their different experiences, backgrounds and positions to join me in regular prayer for peace, sober reflections on the consequences of possible nuclear conflict, in serious study of the facts on nuclear armaments and the teaching of the church on these matters, and open discussion of these issues and our responsibilities to be peacemakers.

We in Washington have special responsibilities and opportunities to address these issues. My letter calls our people "to consider the arms race and nuclear weapons in the light of faith, to evaluate our current situation with the help of church teaching and to probe our consciences for the moral and human implications of decisions on nuclear weapons." I hope our activities will contribute to this important national discussion.

JAMES A. HICKEY
Archbishop of Washington

Washington

UNITED STATES ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY
Washington, D.C. 20451

June 17, 1982

MEMORANDUM

TO: CPA - Joseph D. Lehman

FROM: CPA - Matthew F. Murphy M.F.M.

SUBJECT: Archbishop Hickey's Pastoral Letter

I have read Archbishop Hickey's letter, "A Pastoral Call to Peacemaking" and have the following observations to make:

-- The reference to "the nuclear arms race" ignores trends over the last ten years in which the United States has shown restraint in acquiring nuclear weapons while the Soviet Union has not.

-- While it is a truism that the United States was "the first nation to develop atomic weapons and the only nation to use nuclear weapons in conflict," it is also true that:

--- both Germany and Japan (as well as the Soviet Union) were developing such weapons and would have used them; and,

--- the U.S., in the 1946 Baruch Plan, offered to surrender its nuclear weapons and nuclear technologies to international control;

--- the U.S. did not use such weapons again, even when it had clear nuclear superiority.

-- While we "share with the Soviets the power to virtually destroy civilization," this fact begs the question of how do we deal with an adversary who does not accept the concept of "overkill," as shown by his constantly adding strategic nuclear warheads of high yields to his already awesome destructive capability.

M.F.M.
CPA:MFMurphy:ja

-- The Archbishop acknowledges that "as loyal citizens we stand ready, if necessary, to defend our country and ideals in a just war," i.e. he acknowledges that just wars can occur; this is a critical concession because many Bishops say the possibility of a "just war" is not possible in the nuclear age, and so advocate unilateral disarmament.

-- The Archbishop then calls upon people "to reflect on what legitimate defense and national security mean in a nuclear age," but offers no alternatives to nuclear deterrence. He thus wills an end, but does not will a means to that end.

-- The Archbishop, by accident or design, inserts several "red herrings" into the pastoral to emphasize the possibility of nuclear war occuring:

--- "the growth in numbers, power, and sophistication of nuclear weapons," without pointing out that the U.S. trend in weapons "on hand" is fewer in number and power, while the trend in Soviet is just the opposite;

--- "discussion of winning or surviving a nuclear war," without quoting the President's statement that "in nuclear war there are no winners," or acknowledging that other scenarios besides all out nuclear war are both possible and likely;

--- "suggestions of how to gain nuclear superiority" without pointing out that this is not the Administration's position, and that U.S. weapons programs clearly demonstrate that it is not.

-- In disucssing "the cardinal principles" of a just war, the Archbishop states "only proportionate force can be used in attacking legitimate military targets." This is a "loaded" statement since it could be interpreted to mean nuclear weapons <u>of any yield</u> are immoral. Since the Church has not declared the use of every type of nuclear weapon. is immoral, we should seek clarification of this statement.

-- The Pastoral quotes Cardinal Krol as declaring "the phasing out altogether of nuclear deterrence and the threat of mutual assured destruction must always be the goal of our efforts." If Krol's definition and the general public's definition of MAD are synonymous, then we have the opportunity to point out to the Bishops that they should be supporting the Administration's arms control initiatives, not a freeze proposal, which would perpetuate a MAD strategy.

-- In asserting that "some U.S. initiatives, and even some risks, may be necessary to break the spiral of armaments and the stalemate of the status quo," the Archbishop ignores the trends of the last ten years in which unilateral U.S. restraint was not matched by Soviet actions, and remains oblivious to ongoing Soviet modernization programs, hardly a state of "stalemate and status quo."

-- In asking "how can we develop and support new initiatives," the Archbishop summarily dismisses the Administration's arms control initiatives.

-- Similarly, in saying "I have joined with a number of Bishops, other religious leaders, and arms control experts to support a mutual and verifiable freeze tied to future reductions in nuclear arms," the Archbishop is:

--- taking a position in opposition to Administration;

--- contradicting his assertion that in writing the pastoral "I hope... to raise issues rather than reach definite conclusions."

--- placing subtle but firm pressure on other religious and laymen under his authority not to oppose his support of a "freeze".

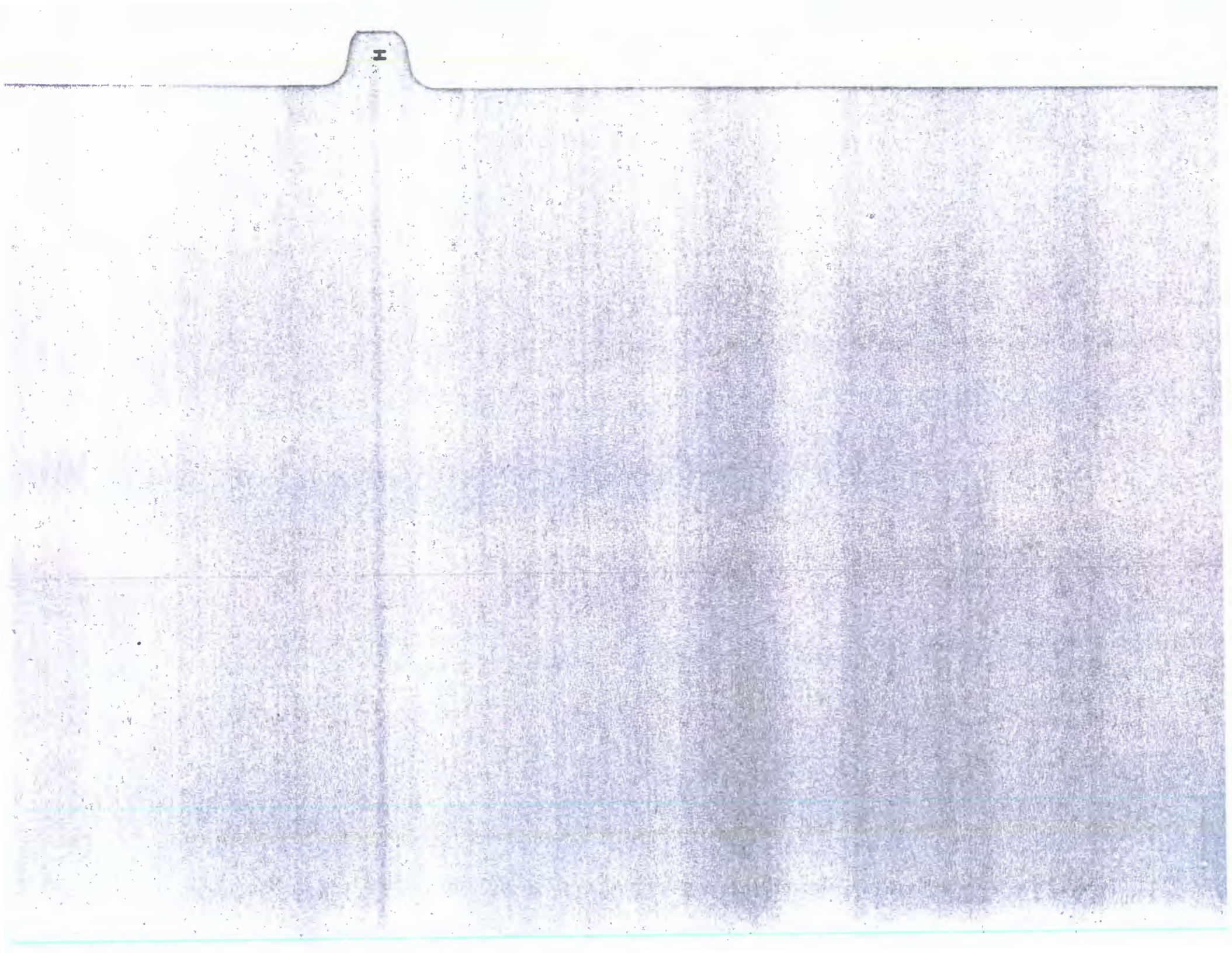
-- Finally, the Archbishop announces the establishing of taks forces "to prepare balanced and useful materials for Archdiocesan parishes and organizaions," yet the Archbishop:

--- does not refer his parishoners to any Government organization to acquire information;

--- identifies the political leaning of NGOs only when they are conservative;

--- does not refer his parishoners to any Government publication to acquire information;

--- refers parishoners to a single film on the subject, "the Last Epidemic," without identifying it as being produced by Physicians for Social responsibility.



UNITED STATES ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY
Washington, D.C. 20451

June 1, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

FROM: CPA/PAU - Matthew F. Murphy MFM.

SUBJECT: Director's Meeting With Representatives of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops (NCCB)

On May 13, 1982, the Director met with the membership and staff of the NCCB's "Committee on War and Peace" to discuss the Administration's arms control policies. A synopsis of the Director's remarks and subsequent questions and answers follows.

The Director asserted that States should take a role in establishing an international system for preserving peace, and he cited the Congress of Vienna as having been convened for this purpose.

Although the international system established by the Congress collapsed in 1914, States immediately recreated it in the League of Nations. When the League's system failed in 1939, States established another such system, the United Nations.

The objective of foreign policy is the pursuit of peace, i.e. establishing it and maintaining it. This said the Director, is "both a pragmatic and moral action."

Mr. Rostow then moved to a discussion of the role of the United Nations, especially with reference to Article 51 of the Charter which governs the international use of force. The Article prohibits the use, and threatened use, of force except in self-defense; or, at the direction of the U.N. Security Council to restore peace.

However, the Soviets never accepted the U.N. Charter's restrictions on the use of force. The Director then quoted one prominent Soviet as having said: "You are asking us to give up our nature and practice as a state."

MFM.
CPA/PAU:MFMurphy:ia

Our response was, and is, "you, the Soviet Union, can proselytize Socialism, but you may not, and will not enforce it by the sword." Yet, over the last decade, there has been a "normative silence" by other States in the face of aggression. This will become the norm of international relations unless challenged.

The United States, the Director continued, regards nuclear weapons as existing entirely within the context of Article 51 of the U.N. Charter, i.e. they are the ultimate weapons of defense. Our whole attitude towards nuclear weapons, from the beginning of the nuclear age, has been influenced by the United Nations and our first initiative to put an end to such weapons, (the Baruch Plan) sought U.N. participation for implementation and verification.

Mr. Rostow then reminded the Committee members that the United States' nuclear weapons have been "the linchpin for keeping peace, and for permitting the renaissance of the West after World War II." Now that the Soviet Union has reached equality with the U.S., and in some areas superiority, the credibility of our strategic deterrent is being questioned. "If we fail to restore the balance, if we withdraw within our own borders, then the prospects of nuclear proliferation increase." This is so, because other countries, doubting American will or power to protect them, will want to develop their own nuclear weapons.

Turning to the subject of arms control itself, the Director stated that "the essence of arms control is getting the Soviets to negotiate seriously." At all times when discussing nuclear weapons, we must be aware that there are two types: retaliatory and first-strike. The true issue for current negotiations is the number of first-strike capable weapons, especially Soviet ICBM's. Moreover, in dealing with the Soviets we must remember that Soviet military strategy is a form of Chinese military strategy, i.e. you attempt to win without fighting, by posturing, by initimidation, by deception, etc. It is for this reason that "the greatest danger is the threatened use (of nuclear weapons for blackmail), not their actual use." Mr. Rostow then recalled that "the Soviets have not achieved their present strategic capabilities in an absence of mind."

Returning to an historical theme, the Director pointed out that in the 1960s McNamara said it was inconceivable that the Soviets would go beyond parity; he was wrong. As a result of the historical trends over the last fifteen years (i.e. from Soviet inferiority, to parity, to superiority in some areas) the Soviet Union is now able to improve its military position through the threat of a successful first strike. "This," stated the Director, "gives them tremendous political power." Moreover, the Soviets will not give up the advantage they possess. They will give it up only if they think the alternative is worse.

In his peroration, Mr. Rostow declared: "I am an optimist." The Soviets ought to want an agreement with us, given all their problems. "Perhaps" concluded the Director, "Nobel's dream may now become a reality."

Although Mr. Rostow had to leave shortly after his statement to the Committee, there was some opportunity for dialogue. A synopsis of the question and answer period follows.

Fr. J. Bryan Hehir of the Committee staff asked for the Director's view of the relations between arms control policy and foreign policy. In Father Hehir's opinion, there exists "an objective ground of common interest in avoiding nuclear war"; but there also exists another school which says "linkage prevents the subordination of arms control policy to foreign policy."

In reply, the Director said the Administration has the first view, but recognizes some linkage exists "as a political fact of life, (e.g. Czechoslovakia in 1968)." Mr. Rostow then addressed another kind of linkage, saying "there is no sharp, clear line between conventional and nuclear war, and no fire-break between theater nuclear war and strategic nuclear war." The only solution to this condition is "reciprocal adherence to the rules of the U.N. Charter on the use of force."

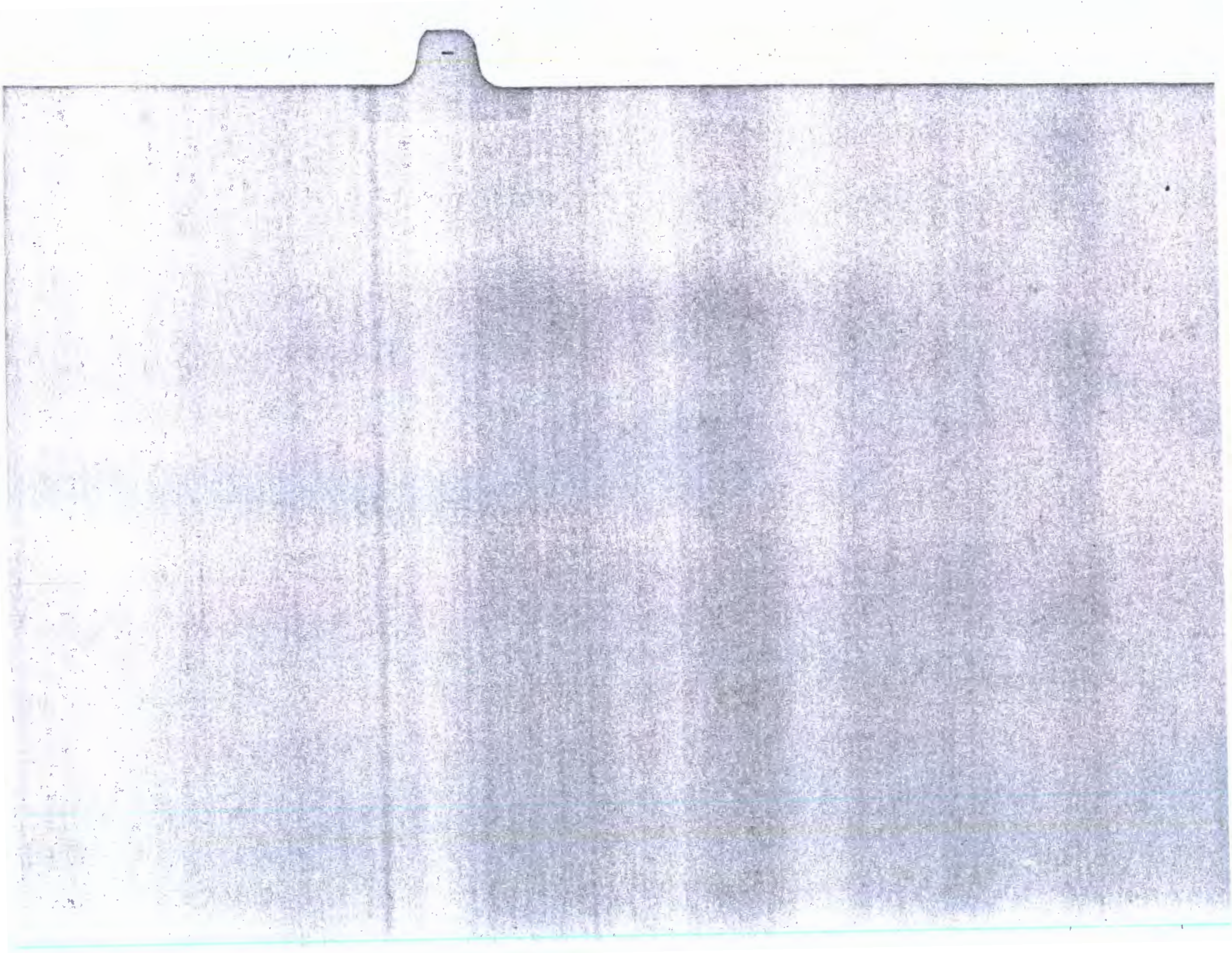
In expanding on the Administration's arms control policies, Mr. Rostow asserted that "the Administration will subordinate almost everything else to the pursuit of arms control negotiations." (Parenthetically, the Director reminded the Committee that "Poland was only a pause," and that "we did not end Intermediate Range Force negotiations.)" Mr. Rostow also pointed out that the United States made no preconditions in starting arms control negotiations, nor did we wait until we rearmed, "although it will take us years to catch up."

Archbishop Joseph Bernardin of Cincinnati then asked why the Administration continued to oppose the SALT II Treaty. In reply, the Director said the Treaty contained a basic weakness: "It would not cure the imbalance in ICBMs." Our ICBMs would always be threatened, thus our guarantees to our Allies would always be in question. Finally, the Director said that "to build a new system on that foundation would not answer the President's concerns."

Bishop John O'Connor of the Military Vicarite wanted to know what constructive efforts the Administration was taking to make SSOD II a success. Mr. Rostow answered that the Administration wished to focus world attention on the rules of the U.N. Charter regarding the use of force and in so doing pointed out that arms control agreements of themselves cannot solve the problem. The Director then asked, rhetorically, "Is the United Nations Charter collapsing as did the League of Nations?"

Finally Bishop George Fulcher of Columbus, Ohio stated that if it is the Administration's position that there will be no meaningful negotiations without parity, and this will take years, then how serious will the Soviets be in the meantime?

The Director replied that "the U.S. wants equality in deterrent power, and that's why we think we are justified in asking the Soviets to give up more." Mr. Rostow then added, "the task of arms control policy is to eliminate weapons which defy deterrence. The arms race will then slow down of itself."



uestions: The National Debate

Ambassador Edward L. Rowny

The principal threat to our freedom comes from a Soviet Union that will not allow healthy debate among its own citizens. The issue at hand is the preservation of peace — the prevention of nuclear war. Our freedom as Americans allows — indeed requires — that all citizens be concerned about and become involved in the development of government policy. However, defending that freedom puts a high premium on responsible debate. It calls for knowledge of the facts, on sober and judicious weighing of the alternatives, and exercising great care that we not yield to those who wish us ill. Let us make no mistake about it, Soviet leaders rely not on the emotion of love but on fear to further their objectives.

Our debate in the United States leading to governmental policy has not just a political or military dimension, but a moral one as well. The morality of deterrence has been questioned by sincere, concerned Catholics, clergy and laity alike. Their motives cannot be questioned for these are not easy problems to resolve. While the solutions are difficult, the answers to the nuclear dilemma must take all three aspects of the issue into account.

Deterrence requires that we possess sufficient strength, both conventional and nuclear, to persuade the Soviet Union that it cannot successfully attack any member of the Western Alliance. Our purpose is defense — we have no designs on the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe, or anywhere else. A legitimate right to self-defense is not only a tenet of political policy and Church teaching — it is the first law of human nature. The ambiguities and uncertainties of securing that defense must be dealt with responsibly by weighing carefully alternative approaches. We cannot shirk the grim realities of the modern world.

Deterrence has worked for 35 years. It has served a good end and should be challenged only by an alternative which meets the political, military *and* moral requirements for the defense of our freedom and way of life. Few today espouse that it is better to be Red than dead. Many people do not realize that there is at least a third choice and that choice is deterrence. We must be sufficiently strong so that war is deterred and we remain free, not Red. Others, for example, have not had that choice. They are now either Red or dead.

Some suggest that we unilaterally reduce our nuclear capability to a minimal level. They argue that after a Soviet first-strike the Soviet Union would face a "minimal but effective response by the United States. However, there would be only one feasible target for that response — Soviet cities and their civilian population. The moral condemnation of such targeting of cities is crystal clear in the documents of Vatican II and in post-Conciliar papal statements.

Moral revulsion over the prospects of nuclear war — if possession of nuclear weapons fails to deter an aggressor — fails to recognize that the reason for possessing such weapons is to deter a nuclear war in the first place. Indeed, without nuclear weapons in our arsenal the President cannot make reasonable, moral decisions when a potential aggressor threatens a nuclear attack — either explicitly or implicitly. Should we constrict him to a choice between surrender, on the one hand, and the deliberate destruction of Soviet population centers on the other? A policy of minimal deterrence allows the President only to choose the morally unacceptable course of actions.

The United States has exercised restraint over the last 15 years while the Soviet Union has inexorably built up its nuclear arsenal. To draw an oversimplified analogy, the Soviets have forged a mighty sword which has reduced ours, by comparison, to the size of a dagger. If we had aggressive intentions and planned to use our dagger stealthily we could wound or kill our opponent. But we have no aggressive intentions and therefore are forced to try to parry his sword with our dagger. The best solution is not to build a sword as large as his but to propose that he reduce his weapon to the size of ours. What is needed is a level of arms reductions at which both sides can secure defense, but cannot threaten offense.

In short, we must enable our President to defend our freedom on the basis of political resolve, military capability and moral responsibility. It would be immoral to reduce our President's choices to surrender or the destruction of innocent civilians. We cannot cleanse our consciences by refusing to deal with these unfortunately grim realities. We cannot wish away the problem by refusing to acknowledge that nuclear weapons exist, that even if the two superpowers were to abandon them other nations would still possess them. Deterrence is the only morally acceptable alternative, as long as peace is our objective. My conscience as a Catholic, and my reading of official Church teaching impel me to believe that a policy of deterrence is, in the ultimate analysis, the only moral course to follow.

Ambassador Rowney is the chief U.S. negotiator for the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks with the Soviet Union (START).

The Morality of Deterrence

As a concerned Catholic and private citizen, I would like to comment on Jim Castelli's "Explaining Nuclear War to St. Peter" [Outlook, June 6]. The healthy and quite legitimate debate among Americans of all faiths, clergy and laymen alike, has brought the moral issue of U.S. nuclear policy to the forefront of national attention. The essence of the debate is not over the ultimate goal of peace, but over the means by which we get there.

Those who question the morality of deterrence seem to give slight approbation to the fact that deterrence of nuclear war has worked successfully for 37 years. Deterrence as policy continues to be an impressive accomplishment. Responsible officials must also reflect on the fact that during the past 10 years or so of U.S. restraint in fielding nuclear weapons systems, the Soviets have built their forces incessantly, both nuclear and conventional, strategic and tactical. As Harold Brown noted, when the United States built, the Soviets built. When we unilaterally stopped building, they still built.

Those who question the legitimate right to defend our freedoms and way of life challenge not only current church council teachings on war and peace, but the consistent statements of post-conciliar popes from Pius XII. I would recommend a recent Christopher publication, "War, Peace and the Christian Conscience" as a careful and balanced exegesis of the teachings of the universal church on this issue.

ATTACHED

Most important, I would call on those who question the morality of deterrence to offer realistic alternatives. I cannot accept a call for surrender, as Father Francis Winters of Georgetown University suggests, as a moral alternative. Rather, such a position would call on U.S. leaders to abrogate their deepest moral imperative — to care for the physical, social and economic needs of their people, while at the same time fulfilling their congressional mandate to secure the defense of our freedoms and way of life. While I might trade U.S. weapons for Soviet weapons in some cases, having traveled extensively in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe I would never trade the respect for human dignity in the United States for that in the Soviet Union.

As long as the United States pursues negotiations leading to the bold and substantial reductions in nuclear arms that President Reagan has proposed, deterrence is not only morally tolerable, it is the only acceptable moral alternative. Unilateral disarmament called for by renunciation of deterrence as policy calls on responsible national leaders to replicate the immoral ambivalence of Pontius Pilate.

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Washington

Copies of the revised edition of "Peace, War and the Christian Conscience" may be obtained for an offering of 25 cents each. The offering for 100 copies sent to one address is $10; for 1,000 it is $50. Mail your requests to:

The Christophers, 12 East 48th St., New York, NY 10017

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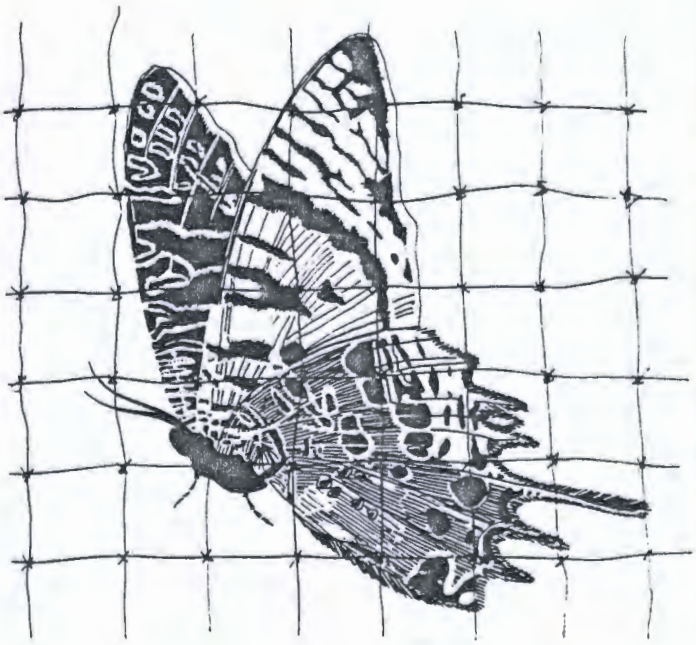


and the CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE

by Joseph J. Fahey

A Christopher Publication

Introduction

For centuries the human family has struggled with the problem of war and peace. When is war morally permissible? How can peace be preserved in an unjust world?

To explore these questions we are publishing this updated edition of "Peace, War and the Christian Conscience." The first edition went through 13 printings (835,000 copies). The world has changed since then. New technologies and new tensions have developed and the world has become an even more dangerous place in which to live.

Yet we know more about peace-making too and we know that peace built on a policy of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) is a pseudo-peace.

What then is to be done? Concern starts with knowledge—with the informed conscience. This pamphlet is designed as a beginning. What happens next is up to the individual, for it is individuals who determine the course of events.

FATHER JOHN CATOIR
Director, The Christophers

Challenge to the Christian Conscience

"I am confused by Christianity today," writes a young collegian. "I don't know whether to be a pacifist, a follower of the just war or a crusader. All three seem to be Christian positions."

This confusion is not without basis. At various times throughout their histories, the Churches have espoused all three viewpoints. Even today, each position has its advocates.

Can it be said that any of these positions provides a sure guide for the Christian conscience?

A historical review of Christian approaches to the agonizing questions of war and peace may help those seeking to form a right conscience on this all-important matter.

The Witness of the Gospels and of Early Christianity

Jesus stood in the Jewish prophetic tradition which looked to an era of universal peace and love, in which people would "beat their swords into plowshares." (Isaiah 2:4)

In the Sermon on the Mount, He offered humankind the blueprint for this new era: "Happy are the peacemakers, for they will be called the sons of God." (Matt. 5:9) Of old, people were forbidden to murder, but Jesus commanded His followers not even to be angry with others. (Matt. 5:21–23) He told His disciples to be governed no longer by the "eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth" ethic. Instead, they are to love their enemies and pray for their persecutors. (Matt. 5:38–48) He quite clearly told Peter that "all who take the sword will perish by the sword." (Matt. 26:52)

Isolated texts from the New Testament have been used to justify killing and violence. But can it be denied that the spirit of the Gospels is one of peace—a peace reached through non-violent love? With this background, it is not hard to see how early Christianity concluded that:

■ War was a denial of their belief that God was the Father of all people and nations;

■ The killing of enemies was incompatible with Christian love, which demanded total self-giving;

■ A Christian could not kill others—and people of all nations were regarded as brothers and sisters in Christ.

The persecuted Christian communities consistently responded to violence with non-violent love. Since Christians were barred from government posts, they did not formulate a position with regard to the political implications of their non-violent stance.

Three Centuries of Non-Violence

From the first to the fourth century, most Christians would neither engage in Rome's military campaigns nor justify killing as a means to achieve one's goals. This consistent practice caused the non-Christian Celsus (178 A.D.) to reproach them: "If all men were to do the same as you, there would be nothing to prevent the king from being left in utter solitude and desertion."

■ St. Justin Martyr (165) writes: "We who formerly murdered one another now not only do not make war upon our enemies, but, that we may not lie or deceive our judges, we gladly die confessing Christ."

■ St. Clement of Alexandria (220) observes: "Various peoples incite the passions of war by martial music; Christians employ only the Word of God, the instrument of peace."

■ St. Cyprian (258) lamented that, although homicide when committed by individuals was a crime, it was considered a virtue by the pagans when carried on publicly.

After 170 A.D. there are isolated reports of Christians in the Roman army, but it appears that they acted as police rather than as soldiers. St. Martin of Tours (397) remained in the Roman army for two years after his conversion. But, when he was called upon to participate in battle, he resigned from the service stating: "I am a soldier of Christ, I cannot fight."

A subtle change began when the Roman Emperor Constantine in 313 recognized Christianity as a legitimate religion in the empire. The Church became an institution closely linked with the civil authority, although it was never wholly identified with it. As such, Christianity attempted to develop an application of the law of love that permitted legitimate defense of the innocent against unjust aggression. Ever since, the greatest thinkers in Christendom have wrestled—with something less than success—to reconcile the fundamental dilemma between love and violence.

Augustine's Dilemma—And Ours

Those who oppose warfare are often asked: "What would you do if someone tried to kill your family or attack your nation unjustly?" The barbarian invasions of the fourth and fifth centuries confronted Christians with this disturbing question.

There were two general responses, neither of which was totally satisfactory:

■ Many who embraced non-violence found it possible to follow their consciences by entering monasteries;

■ Those who remained in society gradually espoused the principles of the "just war." These had previously been enunciated by Plato, Aristotle and Cicero.

St. Ambrose (397) had made some adaptations of these principles to Christian thought, but St. Augustine (430) elaborated them in fuller detail.

Augustine held that Christian perfection was not possible in this world and, consequently, that peace was not possible during one's earthly pilgrimage. He also believed that one could be a Christian and kill one's enemies because the destruction of the enemy's body might actually benefit that person's soul. In fact, he taught that only a person who loved his enemy might kill that enemy:

"No one indeed is fit to inflict punishment save the one who has first overcome hate in his heart. The love of enemies admits of no dispensation, but love does not exclude wars of mercy waged by the good."

Augustine offered the following principles for the conduct of a just war:

1. The intention must be to restore peace.
2. Only a legitimate authority may declare war.
3. The conduct of the war must be just.
4. Monks and clerics may not engage in warfare.

Era of the Cross and the Sword

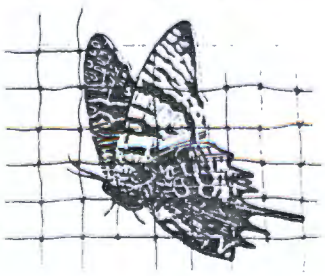
The principles of the just war might have worked, had they consistently been followed. Instead, many barbarians were baptized with only an imperfect appreciation of the Gospel and their violent practices diluted the witness of the Church. Many of them considered the cross, not as a sign of peace, but as a standard for battle. Clovis (511), for example, leader of the Franks, vowed that he would receive baptism if he were granted victory over his enemies.

Augustine's prohibition against clerics engaging in battle was not always obeyed. Around the year 1000, Bishop Bernward led the forces of Otto III, armed with a spear reputed to contain nails from the cross of Christ!

Pope Urban II ushered in the period of the Crusades in 1095 with the plea "Deus vult!" (God wills it.) The Crusades ultimately shattered Augustine's precept about the just conduct of war. These "holy" wars between Christian and Moslem were marked by extensive atrocities on both sides.

In this highly unstable period, it should not be overlooked that the Church made efforts to set stricter bounds on the ferocity of warfare. This was the era of the Peace of God (limiting those who could fight in wars) and the Truce of God (narrowing the fighting period between Easter and Christmas). Although sometimes ignored, such provisions testify to the fact that peace was still a major goal of the Church. From today's vantage point, it is hard to escape the conclusion that Christianity was more infected by the barbarity of the times than it influenced the times for the better.

- In practice, if not always in theory, God came to be viewed as a God of wrath, more like the pagan deities than the Father of all people.
- Just-war principles were shelved when inconvenient.
- Shedding the blood of one's enemies was seen as a way of defending the faith and meriting salvation.



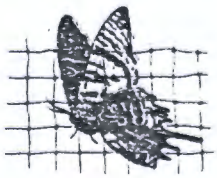
Reshaping the Just-War Theory

In the 13th century, St. Thomas Aquinas (1274) approached the serious problem of war and peace in his treatise *On War* in the *Summa Theologiae*. Thomas offered three principles for just warfare:

1. It must be waged by a public authority for the common good.
2. A just cause is required.
3. It must be fought with right intentions.

In another passage, Thomas added what has come to be accepted as his fourth principle, that of proportionality: the harm done by war must not exceed the good that comes from it.

Thomas believed that social violence was a necessary evil. Just as a physician may amputate to preserve the good of the body, so too may society engage in violence to preserve the peace. Like all analogies, this one has its limitations.



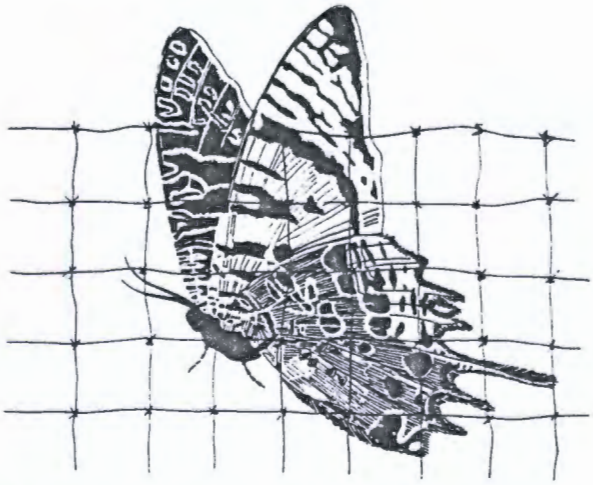
Keeping the Peace—A Renaissance View

St. Thomas More (1535), a lawyer and English statesman, exemplified the effort of a competent Christian layman to bring into some rough harmony the demands of the Gospel and the requirements of the civil state.

He called for strict observance of just-war principles and believed that the noblest wars were those undertaken by the State, not on its own behalf, but to come to the aid of the injured.

Erasmus (1536), a classical scholar and moralist from Holland, criticized his fellow Christians for honoring the just-war theory more in the breach than in the observance. Believing that Jesus Christ should be the model for Christian behavior, he stated:

"Christ compared Himself to a hen, Christians behave like hawks. Christ was a shepherd of the sheep, Christians tear each other like wolves. And who is responsible for all this? Not the common people, but kings . . . not the young but the greybeards . . . not the laity but the bishops."



Limiting Warfare—A Reformation Approach

In the early 16th century, Martin Luther (1546) discussed the ever-burning question of war. Like Augustine and Aquinas, Luther posited a painful tension between the right of the State to defend itself and the Christian's obligation to avoid violence, a tension that manifested itself in the stand he took during the Peasants' War. He held that:

- The State could engage in a just war with its concomitant violence, but it must do so mournfully.
- The Church could not engage in violence—its only weapon was the Word of God.

Luther considered war just only if it sought peace: "I could more easily number the sands or count all the blades of grass," he said, "than narrate all the blessings of peace."

John Calvin (1564) was more belligerent in his doctrine. He repeatedly stated that no consideration could be paid to humanity where the honor of God was at stake. Since the State's function was to support true religion, Calvin's concern was not so much with "just" means as with "holy" results.

With the rise of the strong, centralized nation-state in the centuries that followed, it became harder for the Churches—Protestant or Catholic—to mitigate the increasingly widespread destructiveness of wars. As established (official) Churches, they were in a poor position to raise their voices effectively against the sound of marching feet—regardless of the cause or pretext.

Primitive Christianity Revisted

During the period of the 16th through the 18th centuries, three "peace Churches" arose whose influence continues to this day:

1. The Anabaptists (now Mennonites and Hutterites) were radically pacifist and eschewed any active involvement in society.
2. The Brethren were pacifists who believed that, as a Church, they could support no wars.
3. The Quakers, though pacifists, attempted to change society by political means.

Like the early Christians, these Churches have been a committed minority providing an extremely valuable witness to the love ethic of the Gospels which is too easily overlooked by majorities both in Church and State.

From the Howitzer to the Atom Bomb

In our times when nuclear weapons have added a new and horrifying dimension to the quest for peace, the Churches and their theologians are re-evaluating the historic Christian attitudes toward war. The major denominations have rejected total nuclear war. The universal fatherhood of God, the unity of the human family, the consequences of violence and the necessity for worldwide peace-keeping institutions are of common concern today.

"The War to End Wars"

World War I was a new type of conflict in the tattered history of humankind. In 1917, Marshal Foch of France pointed to this when he stated:

> "Truly a new era has begun, that of national wars which are to absorb into the struggle all the resources of the nation; which are not to be aimed at dynastic interests, but at the defense or spread of philosophic ideas first, of principles of independence and unity."

The Era of Total War

Political scientist Hans Morgenthau observes that the first World War marked the beginning of the process by which entire nations were mobilized for all-out or "total" wars.

World War I was a stern challenge to religion. Christian nations fought bitterly against each other. Historian Roland Bainton observes that "the Churches in every land gave support to their governments."

In Germany, Catholics and Protestants alike looked upon the conflict as one of defense against enemies bent on the Fatherland's strangulation. In the United States, as in the other Allied countries, people of all faiths were united with each other as never before.

A Voice in the Wasteland

Little recognition has been given to the energetic role played by Pope Benedict XV (1914–22) in the first World War. From the beginning he promised that he would be impartial, that his only concern would be for peace.

At various times and by ingenious means he attempted to secure the exchange of prisoners, humane treatment for the captured and limitation in the fighting.

He repeatedly entreated the opposing governments to show compassion to civilians. He was disdainfully ignored, only to be vindicated by later events.

In *Pacem Dei Munus,* his letter of 1920, he counseled that all states "should unite in one league, or rather in a sort of family of peoples, calculated to maintain their own independence and safeguard the order of human society."

This plea for an organized unity of nations was to become a chorus as leaders of various Christian Churches took up the call for peace with justice. Benedict also stated that the moral law must apply to international affairs as well as to individuals. This lessened the sharp split seen by earlier moralists between individual morality and the ethics of the State.

Another significant step was taken in 1914 with the founding of the Fellowship of Reconcilation by Richard Roberts, a Presbyterian, and Henry Hodgkin, a Quaker. Its work was to "abolish war and to create a community of concern transcending all national boundaries and selfish interests . . ."

Theology in the Roaring Twenties

In the United States, the Churches after World War I sought to eliminate future wars by taking one of three paths:

1. To vastly reduce the amount of armaments each nation could possess.
2. To refuse as Churches to support any more wars.
3. To develop an international machinery of justice and communication which would seek to resolve conflicts by non-violent pressure.

Many religious leaders warmly endorsed the World Court and the League of Nations. The non-violent success of Mohandas K. Gandhi in India during this period was an undoubted influence.

Before the Gathering Storm

In 1931 a Theological Convention at Fribourg stressed the following points regarding modern wars:

1. Before a State could engage in a fully legitimate war it must have made use of all the international machinery available for the settlement of the dispute.
2. States are first subject to the moral law before they are to their own laws.
3. Modern war was no longer considered a proportionate means of establishing justice and peace. This did not rule out, however, a limited war of defense.

In the United States, Reinhold Niebuhr, a Protestant theologian and moralist, criticized the assumptions of the Churches as idealistic and called for "realism" in international relations. In 1932, his work *Moral Man and Immoral Society,* stressed that, while people acted morally as individuals, they often acted immorally as members of large groups. He consequently believed that recourse to war may be necessary where non-violent measures fail to produce peace.

World War II—The Storm Breaks

Just 21 years after the Armistice of 1918, World War II erupted. In the course of this carnage, 50 million people were killed, 25 million of them civilians. In America and Europe, this war was declared "just" by clergy on both sides.

In Germany, in 1939, the Roman Catholic hierarchy urged soldiers to support their country and "to do their duty in obedience to the Fuhrer, ready for sacrifice and with commitment of the whole being." In the Allied countries, there was widespread backing for the war among Catholic and Protestant clergy. Yet many entered the war with a mournful mood. A minister from Canada was representative when he stated:

> ". . . this is the saddest war in history. There is not a jot or atom of hatred in our hearts . . . We expect nothing from this war except that everything sweet and precious will be crushed out of life for most of us. Nevertheless, we could do no other."

Pope Pius XII worked untiringly to heal the wounds of battle. While he did not officially intervene, his constant pleas for peace through justice and his behind-the-scenes intervention for the innocent victims leave little doubt as to his concern for peace.

Solitary Witnesses in the Third Reich

Within the Third Reich there were isolated instances of conscientious objection to the war. Franz Jaggerstatter, an Austrian Catholic, refused induction into the German army and stated: "I cannot and may not take an oath in favor of a government that is fighting an unjust war." The clergy with whom he consulted, including his local bishop, all urged him to enter the army. But he remained steadfast to the end and was beheaded on August 9, 1943.

The Lutheran theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer, who had strong pacifist leanings, was also killed for resisting the war of Hitler. He was hanged by the SS on April 21, 1944, after being found guilty of participating in a plot on the Fuhrer's life.

The Cold War Begins

Following the war, all Churches condemned the atrocities of the Nazi regime, some of which came to light only after the Allied victory. The mass murder of six million Jews, while suspected, became a horrible reality with the liberation of such death camps as Dachau and Buchenwald. The Nuremberg trials of Nazi war criminals emphasized a recognition by the Allied powers that the individual must obey a law higher than that of the State in certain circumstances. On the other hand, violations of the "rules of war" were not so readily punished by the victors in the case of their own forces.

The Allied nations also came under censure, albeit belatedly, for the fire bombings of Hamburg and Dresden, and the atomic annihilation of Nagasaki and Hiroshima. These were regarded as indiscriminate assaults on predominantly civilian populations.

Late in World War II, while in prison for opposing Nazi attrocities, French Bishop Pierre Marie Theas was instrumental in the foundation of Pax Christi, whose initial purpose was to produce reconciliation between French and German Catholics. Pope Pius XII later proclaimed Pax Christi as the "international Catholic movement for peace."

Three issues confronted the Churches after the war and are still of major concern today:

1. The need for a strong international body to mediate conflicts and ensure prevention of future wars.
2. The cessation of construction of and testing for nuclear, chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction.
3. The inviolability of individual conscience regarding participation in all, or particular, wars.

In a remarkable allocution to military doctors (October 19, 1953), Pius XII said:

> "Let there be punishment on an international scale for every war not called for by absolute necessity. The only constraint to wage war is defense against an injustice of the utmost gravity which strikes the entire community and which cannot be coped with by any other means—for otherwise one would give free course, in international relations, to brutal violence and irresponsibility."

Relating the principle of proportionality to modern times, he added:

> "Defending oneself against any kind of injustice, however, is not sufficient reason to resort to war. When the losses that it brings are not comparable to those of the 'injustice tolerated,' one may have the obligation of 'submitting to the injustice.' This is particularly applicable to the A.B.C. war (atomic, biological, chemical)."

"Peace on Earth"

In his short tenure as Pope (1958-1963), John XXIII did much to advance the cause of world peace. In his letter *Pacem in Terris,* the Pope decried the arms race and called upon nations to solve their difficulties by negotiation and mutual trust. He gave strong endorsement to the United Nations:

"It is our earnest wish that the UNO—in its structure and its means—may become more equal to the magnitude and nobility of its tasks. May the day soon come when every human being will find therein an effective safeguard for the rights which derive directly from his dignity as a person . . . " (# 145)

"The Joys and Hopes . . . of Men"

The Second Vatican Council attempted to look upon war "with an entirely new attitude." In its Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, the Council took the following positions:

1. It condemned the concept of "total" war, while conceding that in the absence of a "competent and sufficiently powerful authority at the international level, governments cannot be denied the right to legitmate defense once every means of peaceful settlement has been exhausted." (#79, 80)
2. It declared the arms race "an utterly treacherous trap for humanity" which "injures the poor to an intolerable degree." (# 81)
3. It demanded an end of the arms race, "not indeed a unilateral disarmament, but one proceeding at an equal pace according to agreement, and backed up by authentic and workable safeguards." (# 82)
4. It called for a "universal public authority" which would be "endowed with effective power to safeguard, on behalf of all, security, regard for justice and respect for rights." (# 82)
5. It urged international cooperation to end "excessive economic inequalities" between nations which are among the chief causes of war. (# 83)
6. It foresaw a "surpassing need for renewed education of attitudes and for new inspiration in the area of public opinion . . . to instruct all in the sentiments of peace." (# 82)
7. The Council recognized the right of conscientious objection to military service and told members of the armed forces that as long as they were agents of security and freedom, they were making a "genuine contribution to peace." (#79)

On October 4, 1965, during Vatican II, Pope Paul VI made his dramatic appeal before the United Nations: "No more war, war never again." In a later letter, *The Progress of Peoples,* (1967) the Pope stated that the modern word for peace was "development" and repeated his call made at Bombay in 1965 that a world fund be established to care for the most destitute of the world. The Pope repeated that it should be financed in part by the money "spent on arms." In 1977 Paul called for an end to "this senseless cold war" and continued to the end of his pontificate to raise an anguished voice for an end to the international arms race coupled with promotion of the works of justice.

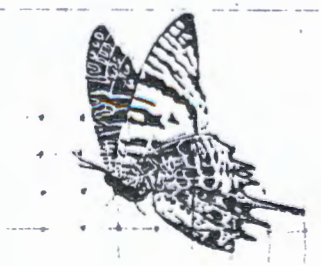
In 1971, the Second World Synod of Bishops stated that "action on behalf of justice and participation in the transformation of the world fully appear to us as a constitutive dimension of the preaching of the Gospel." The Synod also called for a "strategy of non-violence to be fostered" and especially endorsed the United Nations as "the beginning of a system capable of . . . securing disarmament and settling conflicts by peaceful methods of legal action, arbitration, and international police action."

In 1976 the Holy See issued extremely strong testimony to the United Nations condemning the arms race "unreservedly." The testimony stated that the arms race "is an act of aggression, which amounts to a crime, for *even when they are not used,* by their cost alone, *armaments kill the poor by causing them to starve."* (emphasis in original) Regarding the strategy of deterrence, the testimony declared: "The severity of the diagnosis is thus clear. In the eyes of the Church, *the present situation of would-be security is to be condemned."*

The Protestant Peace Witness

Through the years the World Council of Churches of Christ has consistently demonstrated a concern for peace and a just world order. The following are salient points of the WCC's position on peace:

1. War is incompatible with the teachings and example of Jesus Christ.
2. Human survival can be insured only if all nations disarm themselves of atomic, biological, and chemical weapons.
3. Pacifism and selective conscientious objection —opposition to a particular war—are valid Christian positions.
4. Military service is permissible so long as the just-war principles are observed.
5. Authentic peace can be insured only through the establishment of a world order based on international law.
6. Multilateral steps must be taken for disarmament although appropriate "risks" should be taken by individual nations.
7. The just economic and political treatment of Third World nations is essential to the elimination of future global violence.



In the United States, the National Council of Churches has repeatedly called for an end to the arms race to be accompanied by the works of justice at home and abroad.

Many religious groups and leaders such as the evangelical Sojourners and the Rev. Billy Graham have added their voices to the call for disarmament based on the biblical insight that Christians must place their faith in God rather than weapons if we are to achieve authentic defense and security.

The NCC has also given qualified support for the SALT II nuclear weapons treaty between the USA and the USSR and in 1979—reversing a long-standing commitment—withdrew its support for the use of nuclear forms of energy.

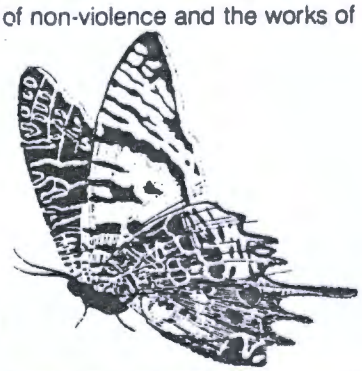
The United States Catholic Conference

The Roman Catholic bishops of the United States have repeatedly addressed themselves to the issues of peace and global justice. They believe that Americans have too long been preoccupied with preparation for war and weapons superiority, and they have strongly endorsed the previously discussed teaching of the Second Vatican Council.

Following is a summary of their expressions of concern for peace:

1. They have called for "gradual, bilateral, and negotiated disarmament."
2. They have supported the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.
3. They have condemned the use of nuclear weapons and declared that "not only is it wrong to attack civilian populations but it is also wrong to threaten to attack them as part of a strategy of deterrence."
4. They have supported the SALT process "as a partial and imperfect step" in the direction of halting the arms race and leading to actual reductions in arms.
5. They have endorsed the right of Catholics to pursue selective and general conscientious objection to war while maintaining their traditional acceptance of Catholic participation in military service.

In addition, individual bishops have suggested that it is legitimate to withhold that percentage of the income tax which goes to military preparations and have asked armament factory workers to consider resigning their positions to pursue more humane employment. Many dioceses and religious communities—especially religious women—have established justice and peace commissions and called for social justice through disarmament. Finally, schools, parishes and universities are actively engaged in the study of non-violence and the works of justice.



Pope John Paul II

Pope John Paul II has vigorously called for an end to the arms race and weapons preparation and for a restructuring of global priorities to enable the poor nations to achieve justice. Like Pope Paul VI, John Paul is comfortable neither with capitalism nor communism as a solution to the world's ills and has called upon rich nations to share of their "substance" with the poor rather than through merely token aid programs. In *Redemptor Hominis* the Pope stated:

> "The Church, which has no weapons at her disposal apart from those of the spirit, of the Word and of love, does not cease to beg everybody in the name of God and in the name of man: Do not kill! Do not prepare destruction and extermination for men!"

In his visit to the United Nations in 1979 the Holy Father asked "whether there will continue to accumulate over the heads of this new generation of children the threat of common extermination" and repeated the Church's consistent call for disarmament. The themes of disarmament and an end to human, political, and economic violence have been the singular message that the Pope has communicated on his many trips to such nations as Brazil, Ireland, Poland, the United States, Japan, and the Philippine Islands.

Hope for the Future

In the past, the Christian Churches have been justly criticized for not having taken a stronger stand in behalf of peace.

There is mounting evidence, however, that this will not be the pattern of the future. The "Jesus and I" outlook, which concerned itself largely with personal perfection, is being replaced by an attitude that takes into account the communal aspects of salvation.

Both Protestant and Catholic thinkers are developing a theology which stresses that individual salvation is achieved in response to the divine call to work for the total betterment of all people.

The statements and concrete actions of Churches concern themselves increasingly with pressing social problems: poverty, illiteracy, alienation from God and man, and warfare. These are seen as a threat not only to humane living but also to human survival. We are witnessing a return to the fundamental New Testament insight that the perfecting of this world is an absolute prerequisite to bringing about the Kingdom of God.

For centuries, in an attempt to mitigate its evils, our Churches have elaborated various theologies of war. In our times, an emerging theology of peace is calling attention to the essential role of the Christian in a war-torn world: reconciliation of enemies. The implications of universal humanity are leading to an examination of such realities as the arms race, revolution, and foreign policy from the perspective of Christian ethics. Our major Churches have also supported the United Nations as our best hope for peaceful cooperation among nations and eventual world unity. Churches are increasingly performing a valuable service as constructive critics of governments when their policies fall short of truly human principles.

It is important to note that statements, even by leading Church bodies—however bold and soundly based—are no more than words. Only to the extent that Christians respond in action to the challenging words of their leadership will humankind's historic quest for peace become an attainable reality.

Peace, War and Your Conscience

The fact that government officials, military experts and scientists have been unable to agree on the best way to achieve a just peace should deter any of us from proposing oversimplified solutions.

But each person can do something constructive to take meaningful, effective steps toward a more peaceful world.

All must look to their own conscience to discover what can be done to promote peace. Suggestions like the following may be of some assistance:

1. LEARN ABOUT PEACE. It is harder to work for peace than to drift into war. Keep informed about current events and examine the various proposals advanced for achieving a peaceful world.

2. PROMOTE PEACE THROUGH EDUCATION. A "peace" dimension can be added to almost any course of study from grade school through university. The humanities can focus on the religious, social, and historical views of peace. The sciences can examine humankind's technological achievements and what these can do to remove the seeds of global war. Business subjects can discuss the role of business in shaping a world free from want.

3. BREAK THE LINK BETWEEN VIOLENCE AND COURAGE. The man or woman of moral strength is the one who energetically labors for non-violent solutions to community and national problems. Courage and violence have no necessary connection.

4. PUNCTURE THE MYTH. Convince others that war is neither noble nor glorious. Total war, in this nuclear age, is an unspeakable evil, universally condemned by thinking people of every faith and conviction.

5. SHAPE PUBLIC OPINION. Through everyday conversations, letters to newspapers and your elected representatives, you can help dispose countless persons towards peace and away from war.

6. COOPERATE WITH OTHERS. Associate yourself with responsible individuals and groups to call for such programs as economic assistance to needy countries . . . limitation of the arms race . . . a cabinet-level Department of Peace . . . provision for selective conscientious objectors . . . a bi-lateral nuclear arms freeze on the part of the U.S. and the USSR.

7. VOTE FOR PEACE. Become involved in party politics to participate in the selection of primary candidates who are peace-minded rather than war-minded. Take the time and trouble to secure their election and back them up when their advocacy of peace leads them into taking unpopular positions.

8. SUPPORT THE UNITED NATIONS. With all its handicaps, the United Nations provides a forum for the peaceful airing of disputes, furnishes a peace-keeping force to police contested borders and recruits technical experts to promote human betterment in economically underdeveloped regions.

9. ENCOURAGE TRUE PATRIOTISM. The real patriot is the person who is not afraid to criticize the defective policies of the country which he or she loves. The patriot never belittles or disdains the affection of others for their native lands. Our common humanity is more basic than any political distinctions.

10. EXAMINE YOUR FAITH. Do you personally believe that war and injustice represent a loss of faith in God's view of the universe, a denial of hope for the future, and the refusal to make love the cornerstone of civilization? It is the task of prophetic religion to announce the Good News that through God's grace we have been liberated from our sin and consequently can make a world free from war and injustice and secure in peace.

MATTHEW Murphy is the spokesman for the Reagan Administration's position on the nuclear arms freeze, but he can shift from discussions about technical data to theology with ease. Murphy, an information officer with the Federal Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in Washington, D.C., debated Archbishop Raymond G. Hunthausen of Seattle last month. When the bishop maintained that as Christ turned the other cheek to his persecutors, so should Americans, turn the other cheek to our enemies, Murphy strongly disagreed.

"My argument was that, in a sense, Christ had no choice if we were to be redeemed," Murphy told Catholic New York. "At the same time He would not expect us to throw away the fruits of redemption — the faculties to know, love and serve Him — by submitting ourselves to the risk which unilateral disarmament presents."

When Archbishop Hunthausen went further, arguing that we should have faith that unilateral disarmament would not result in our physical and moral destruction, Murphy made the point: "We were given the gifts of both faith and reason. Based on what I know of Soviet attitudes and Soviet actions, reason indicates to me that we should not place our faith in unilateral disarmament. Instead we should concentrate on the achievement of bilateral, equitable, and verifiable arms control agreements which is, in fact, the present teaching of the Church."

Murphy supports the nuclear freeze proposals — but only after the United States achieves nuclear parity with its rival superpower. While proponents of the nuclear freeze initiative insist that such parity already exists, Murphy points out that the Soviets possess many more advanced nuclear weapons, principally ICBMs, while the U.S. is ahead in the less sophisticated bombers and submarines. He explained:

"It's a destabilizing situation. Both sides have counterforce weapons — Soviet ICBMs and American ICBMs. However, the threat posed to our weapons by the Soviets is far greater than the threat we pose to their ICBMs. This is the critical imbalance which a freeze would perpetuate."

Because of the problems with parity and verification, and the reasoning that a freeze would provide no incentive for Soviet weapons reductions, Murphy explains that the Reagan Administration supports a resolution sponsored by 61 Senators which insists on a U.S. nuclear weapons buildup before a freeze. The Administration has rejected the Hatfield/Kennedy proposal that calls for the United States to sit down with the Soviets immediately to decide on a freeze and subsequently to begin weapons reductions. The more radical proposal which has received support from Archbishop Hunthausen, and more than 60 other bishops, calls for an immediate freeze as well as the end of the development, production, and deployment of such weapons.

Despite his opposition to these two proposals, Murphy sympathizes with and supports the motivations behind them.

"There are three factors which motivate these activists to support the freeze. The proposals let the government know that large numbers of people are concerned about the possibility of nuclear war and the potential for destruction. Many of these supporters realize that the freeze proposals as they now stand are not valid, but see them as a way of pressuring the Administration to sit down to arms reduction talks," he said.

Perhaps Murphy's own desire for negotiations for arms control and reductions is best illustrated by his tolerance of the views of the more radical Catholic pacifists. He predicts, however, that the grass-roots movement in favor of the freeze will lose momentum once the Administration begins the strategic arms reduction talks this summer.

"We had a similar situation in Europe with regard to the talks about the U.S. missiles which were going to be deployed there," he explains. "Once Reagan announced the zero option proposal the demonstrations against the U.S. missiles decreased, because the proposal offered the Europeans not only the possibility of no new American systems, but also that the Soviet systems would be destroyed."

He never wavers from his solid support for the Administration's position on the freeze, but Murphy does reveal some "personal disappointment" that negotiations for arms reductions have not already started.

White House plans for negotiations with the Soviets this summer, however, offer him hope for the future.

As a Catholic he contends he can only support Reagan's position on the nuclear freeze because the Administration is making a conscientious effort to move towards arms control and eventual reduction of the weapons systems — a qualification of the Church's just war theory. As a Catholic, he also takes issue with activists, including several bishops, who maintain that nuclear weapons are absolutely immoral.

"The only moral justification for nuclear weapons is that they are a temporary means of deterring their use against us, our allies, and our legitimate national interests," he said, paraphrasing statements from Vatican Council II and Pope John Paul II, "Nuclear weapons in and of themselves are not immoral; it's the use to which men put them which determines their immorality."

Murphy is resigned to the U.S. role in the arms race.

"We just will say to the Soviets, 'At whatever level you want to threaten us, we have a comparable level of force,'" he said.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

FIRST DRAFT

PASTORAL LETTER ON PEACE AND WAR

GOD'S HOPE IN A TIME OF FEAR

JUNE 11, 1982

WASHINGTON POST, 6/19/82

Nuclear Weapon Use Immoral, Bishops State

By Marjorie Hyer
Washington Post Staff Writer

The committee of Roman Catholic bishops charged with drafting a policy statement on nuclear warfare for the church in this country has concluded that there are virtually no circumstances under which the use of nuclear weapons is morally acceptable.

First use of nuclear weapons, no matter how restricted the scale, and use of nuclear weapons against population centers or other predominantly civilian targets are categorically ruled out by the position paper, according to sources familiar with the document.

Use of nuclear weapons can be morally justified only after similar weapons have been used against the United States or its allies, and then only against exclusively military targets in circumstances that would not endanger civilians, the document states. The statement expresses what one knowledgeable figure described as "grave skepticism" that those conditions could ever be met.

The document, reflecting 18 months of study by a five-member committee of bishops headed by Archbishop Joseph L. Bernardin of Cincinnati, will be distributed Monday to the nation's 280 bishops, who are cloistered in an unprecedented 10-day retreat in Collegeville, Minn.

While the document will not be debated there, it is being distributed now, a church spokesman said, so that the prelates can consult and think about it in preparation for final action in November.

The policy statement that evolves out of the debate and is adopted by the bishops this fall will become the official moral teaching of the church in this country. The nation's 50 million Catholics will not necessarily be bound to agree with it, but they will be obliged to consider it seriously in forming their own consciences.

The nuclear arms race has been a growing concern for many prelates. More than half the church's bishops have endorsed a nuclear weapons freeze. Whereas the Catholic peace movement, as recently as the Vietnam war years, was largely scorned by the hierarchy, a sizeable number of bishops are now looked to as heroes and leaders of that movement.

The substance of the Bernardin committee's conclusions leaked out when a member, Auxiliary Bishop Thomas J. Gumbleton of Detroit, summarized the main points during a seminar of the Catholic Theological Society of America, meeting last week in New York. According to a knowledgeable source here, who asked not to be identified, the paper makes six main points on the morality of nuclear weapons:

- No use on civilian targets, ever, under any circumstances.
- No first strike, on however restricted a scale.
- Any threatened use must be governed by points 1 and 2.
- If nuclear weapons may ever be used, it is only in retaliation for a nuclear attack, and then "only in an extremely limited, discriminating manner against military targets," the source said, adding, "we don't really believe these conditions can be met."
- Possession of nuclear weapons as a deterrent is morally acceptable only if there is a commitment to the first four rules.
- The morality of any use or even possession of nuclear weaponry is contingent on the government's willingness to engage "seriously" and "energetically" in negotiations for arms reductions.

The statement reportedly is very emphatic on the need for the U.S. government to take the initiative in negotiations leading to arms reduction.

In developing its position statement, the Bernardin committee, which was carefully chosen to include hawks and doves of the hierarchy, took testimony from scores of experts ranging from representatives of the antinuclear Ground Zero movement to Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger. The goal was to produce a nuclear age version of the church's traditional guidelines on a just war.

Draft of pastoral rejects U.S. policy items

By Jerry Filteau

Important elements of current U.S. nuclear deterrence policy are condemned as immoral in a draft national pastoral letter written by a committee of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops.

The document specifically rejects, on the basis of traditional Catholic moral principles, any policy that holds out the option of nuclear response to a non-nuclear attack, or any strategic deterrence policy that involves the targeting or even the threat of targeting of nuclear warheads on civilian populations.

The former policy is part of the U.S.-NATO defense policy in Western Europe. The latter is a policy operative in current global U. S. nuclear strategy.

The document sharply questions even the possession of nuclear weapons without substantive progress toward their elimination.

Saying that "we face...a deterrent that is in place and which we cannot, according to Catholic moral principles, approve," the authors conclude that the only justification for possession of nuclear weapons in the principle of temporary "toleration of moral evil." The principle of toleration, however, demands that all efforts be made to get out of this "objectively evil situation" in an orderly, controlled way, the authors say. They emphasize that the principle of toleration invoked is not "a comforting moral judgment, but an urgent call to efforts to change."

The draft pastoral letter, written by a committee of five bishops headed by Archbishop Joseph L. Bernardin of Cincinnati, was distributed to about 250 U.S. bishops attending an 11-day assembly at St. John's University in Collegeville, Minn.

The document was not made public. Nevertheless, stories on it appeared in the general press and elsewhere. They were apparently based on what reporters were being told about the document, however, rather than on reading the document itself.

The document itself reveals tightly reasoned applications of moral principles which, if agreed to by the rest of the U.S. hierarchy, would make the final statement one of the strongest moral condemnations of nuclear deterrence yet issued by a major Church body in the United States.

As a first draft, the document is still subject to committee changes based on comments and criticisms by the bishops. A revised draft will then be subject to further debate an amendment when the country's bish ops hold their annual general meet ing this November. It would requir approval by a two-thirds vote befor becoming a national pastoral lette expressing the collective moral guid ance of the U. S. hierarchy on wa and peace issues today.

The key section of the draft pastor al letter, dealing with the mora issues of nuclear war and nuclea deterrence, calls reliance on suc weapons "fundamentally abhor rent." It says they would have " n place" at all in a world of peacefu reconciliation towards which all peo ple should strive.

The document rejects immediate unilateral disarmament as a mora requirement, saying, "We do no think the facts are so clear, or th moral imperatives so compellin that we can advance a judgmen that is more stringent than toleratio of the deterrent."

But it emphasizes that this "toler ation" does not mean approval an is conditioned on substantive effort to modify the current state of affair and move out of the "objectively evi situation."

It calls for a controlled, negotiate and verifiable multilateral disarma ment process, at the same tim warning that past efforts at "grad ual' disarmament have made tha term "relatively meaningless."(NC

APPENDIX: THE NCCB COMMITTEE ON WAR AND PEACE

The NCCB Committee on War and Peace had its beginnings in a lengthy discussion of the moral and religious dimensions of war which occurred at the 1980 General Meeting. After several *varia* on the topic had been introduced, Bishop Head, Chairman of the Soial Development and World Peace Committee, proposed that the NCCB leadership accept responsibility for responding to the *varia*.

In line with this proposal, Archbishop Roach, President of the NCCB, established an ad-hoc committee to prepare a pastoral letter on the topic of war and peace. The letter was to take into consideration what the NCCB/USCC had done on the question of modern war, the arms race, conscientious objection, and related issues, and it was then to use papal, conciliar, and other theological resources to develop a new policy statement designed to respond particularly but not exclusively to the challenge of war and the need for a theology of peace in the nuclear age.

Archbishop Roach asked Archbishop Bernadin (Cincinnati) to chair the ad-hoc committee and four other bishops were invited to join: Bishop Fulcher (Columbus), Bishop Gumbleton (Detroit), Bishop O'Connor (Military Ordinariate), and Bishop Reilly (Norwich). The Conference of Major Superiors of Men and the Leadership Conference of Women Religious were invited to appoint representatives as consultants to the committee: Rev. Richard Warner, C.S.C. and Sr. Juliana Casey, I.H.M. Bruce Martin Russett, Professor of Political Science at Yale University, was engaged as the principal author of the pastoral

letter. The staff to the committee were Rev. J. Bryan Hehir, Director of the USCC Office of International Justice and Peace, and Mr. Edward Doherty, Adviser for Political-Military Affairs in the same office.

The committee formally began its work in July 1981. Between July 1981 and July 1982 it held 14 meetings receiving the views of a wide range of witnesses whose names appear at the end of the Appendix. The witnesses were selected to provide the committee with a spectrum of views and diverse forms of professional and pastoral experience. After several meetings with nongovernmental representatives, the commitee met with members of the Administration.

The first draft of the pastoral went to the entire membership of the NCCB in June to solicit comments; in July the committee met to consider the comments and revise the draft in light of them. The revised draft came before the Administrative Board in September and was approved for action by the General Meeting at the November 1982 meeting.

Witnesses who appeared before the Committee on War and Peace:

Former Government Officials

Harold Brown, Secretary of Defense in the Carter Administration; Secretary of the Air Force in the Johnson Administration; James Schlesinger, Secretary of Defense in the Nixon-Ford Administrations; Director of the CIA in the Nixon Administration; Secretary of Energy in the Carter Administration; Gerard Smith, Chief of the U.S. Delegation to the SALT I Negotiations for President Nixon; Ambassador at Large and Special Presidential Representative for nonproliferation

for President Carter; Helmut Sonnenfeld, Counselor to the Department of State in the Nixon-Ford Administrations; Herbert Scoville, Deputy Director of the CIA; arms control specialist; David Linebaugh, analyst at the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; arms control specialist; Roger Molander, specialist for nuclear weapons policy on National Security Staff for Carter Administration; Executive Director of Ground Zero program.

Moral Theologians/Ethicists

Dr. William O'Brien, Professor of Government and International Law, Georgetown University; Rev. Frank Winters, S.J., Assistant Professor of Ethics at Georgetown University School of Foreign Service; Dr. Gordon Zahn, Professor Emeritus at University of Massachusetts; Pax Christi, Board of Directors; Rev. Francis Meehan, Professor of Moral Theology, St. Charles Seminary, Philadelphia, PA; member of Pax Christi; Dr. Ralph Potter, Professor of Social Ethics, Harvard Divinity School; Dr. Alan Geyer, Director of Center for Theology and Public Policy, Mr. James Finn, author, editor of Worldview for many years; Dr. Paul Ramsey, Professor of Christian Ethics at Princeton University; Rev. Charles Curran, Professor of Moral Theology at Catholic University; Rev. Joseph Fuchs, S.J., Professor of Moral Theology, Gregorian University; Visiting Professor at Kennedy Institute, Washington, D.C.; Rev. John Langan, S.J., Assistant Professor of Philosophy at Georgetown University; Staff Associate at Woodstock Theological Institute; Mr. George Weigel, author, columnist, staff associate with World Without War Council.

Scripture Scholars

Rev. Donald Senior, C.P., Professor of New Testament at Chicago Theological Union; Sr. Sandra Schneiders, I.H.M., Professor of New Testament at Jesuit School of Theology in Berkeley; Rev. Roland Murphy, O.Carm., Professor of Old Testament Studies at Duke University; Rev. William Heidt, O.S.B., Professor of Old Testament at Holy Apostles Seminary, Cromwell, Conn.

Catholic Peace Organizations

Mr. Thomas Cornell, Catholic Peace Fellowship; Mrs. Molly Rush, Thomas Merton Center, Pittsburgh; one of the "Plowshares Eight"; Sr. Mary Collins, Benedictines For Peace; Assistant Professor of Religious Studies, Catholic University.

Conflict Resolution Specialists

Dr. Roger Fisher, Professor of Law at Harvard University; Dr. Gene Sharp, Harvard Center for International Affairs.

Retired Military Personnel

Gen. George Seignious, USA (Ret.), Director of Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (Carter Administration); Adm. Noel Gaylor, USN (Ret.), writer on nuclear weapons policy.

Officials of the U.S. Government

Mr. Casper Weinberger, Secretary of Defense; Mr. Lawrence Eagleberger, Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs; Mr. Eugene Rostow, Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; Ambassador Edward Rowny, General USA (Ret.).

The Draft Pastoral Letter

I. The Positive Elements:

1. No demand for pacifism as a national policy.

> "Wars do and will occur. Their causes are multiple and not easily identified. Christians will always find in any violent situation the limitations of a world marked by sin ... So, for example, the command to respond lovingly to injustice and violence on the part of enemies does not necessarily mean that one should suffer every act of violence and aggression passively, if doing so would be contrary to the obligations which love itself generates in one's life ... A right of defense has traditionally been a part of church teaching. The right is an extension of the commandment of love ... Force has often been used to settle such conflicts and, at times, as a last resort this has been justified."

2. Rejection of unilateral disarmament.

> "Rapid, abrupt, and one-sided abandonment of all nuclear deterrents might create dangerous political and military instabilities in the world. Soviet nuclear weapons provide fully as great a threat to humanity as do our own. We are strongly advised that if the United States were to renounce its own weapons unilaterally, it would greatly diminish any incentive for the Soviet Union to negotiate reduction or elimination of its weapons."

3. Grudging acceptance of nuclear deterrence.

> "Although the deterrence relationship which prevails between the United States, the Soviet Union and other powers is objectively a sinful situation because of the threats implied in it and the consequences it has in the world, yet movement out of this objectively evil situation must be controlled

lest we cause by accident what we would neither deliberately choose nor morally condone ... We have hereby outlined what would be at most a marginally justifiable deterrent policy. We find ourselves at odds with elements of current deterrent policy as expressed, for example, in the United States Military Posture statement (see attachment) ... The point here is that toleration of deterrence is not meant to be a comforting moral judgment, but an urgent call to efforts to change the present relationship among nuclear powers."

4. Encouragement of alternative means of deterrence.

"We strongly encourage Catholic scientists and technicians, particularly, to exercise their creative skills in trying to develop safer ways to defend human life, while simultaneously reducing in numbers and devastating potential the arms threatening today's world."

5. Acceptance of arms control as a solution, with reservations.

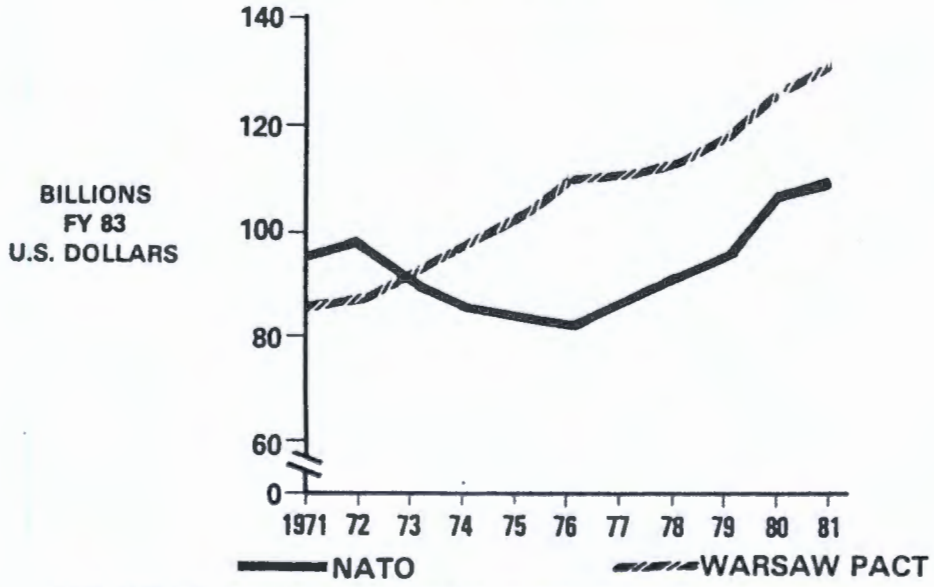
"It is of the utmost importance that negotiations proceed to meaningful and continuing reductions in nuclear stockpiles and eventually, to the phasing out altogether of nuclear deterrence and the threat of mutual-assured destruction.

As long as there is hope of this occurring, Catholic moral teaching is willing, while negotiations proceed, to tolerate the possession of nuclear weapons for deterrence as the lesser of two evils. If that hope were to disappear, the moral attitude of the Catholic Church would almost certainly have to shift to one of uncompromising condemnation of both use and possession of such weapons."

6. Reminder that the debate must be conducted with respect for each other's position and that no one has a monopoly of truth and morality on their side.

> "Religious groups are as entitled as others to their opinions in such cases, but should not claim that their opinions are the only ones that people of good will may hold ... Our charity must include public officials who make awesome decisions about war and peace. While the Catholic citizen must not be politically naive, no society can endure if its public officials are treated only with cynicism or contempt."

NATO & WARSAW PACT MILITARY INVESTMENT*



* U.S. OUTLAYS, NON-U.S. NATO OUTLAYS CONVERTED TO DOLLARS, AND ESTIMATED DOLLAR COSTS OF SOVIET AND NON-SOVIET WARSAW PACT MILITARY PROGRAMS (INCLUDES RDT&E)

CHART II - 6

Summary

The continuity in Soviet defense planning and momentum of Soviet defense production suggests that future trends in Soviet military expenditures are unlikely to deviate substantially from past trends. The degree to which Soviet leadership will continue to increase military investment at the expense of improving the quality of life for its people is unknown. In spite of economic difficulties, there are no indications that Soviet allocation priorities will change. Soviet military expenditures are expected to continue to increase at an annual rate of three to four percent, compared to five to seven percent for the US. Collectively, the West has the capability to meet the Soviet investment challenge and reverse these trends. The current imbalance in strategic, theater nuclear, and conventional forces reflects the urgency of a national commitment to meet the Soviet challenge.

STRATEGIC FORCES

The prime objective of US strategic forces and supporting C^3 is deterrence of Soviet nuclear attack on the US and its allies. Deterrence depends on the assured capability and manifest will to inflict damage on the Soviet Union disproportionate to any goals that rational Soviet leaders might hope to achieve. Any US strategic retaliation must be controlled by and responsive to the NCA, tailored to the nature of the Soviet attack, focused on Soviet values, and inevitably effective. Assured strategic C^3 connectivity across the spectrum of conflict is essential for NCA control of US strategic forces.

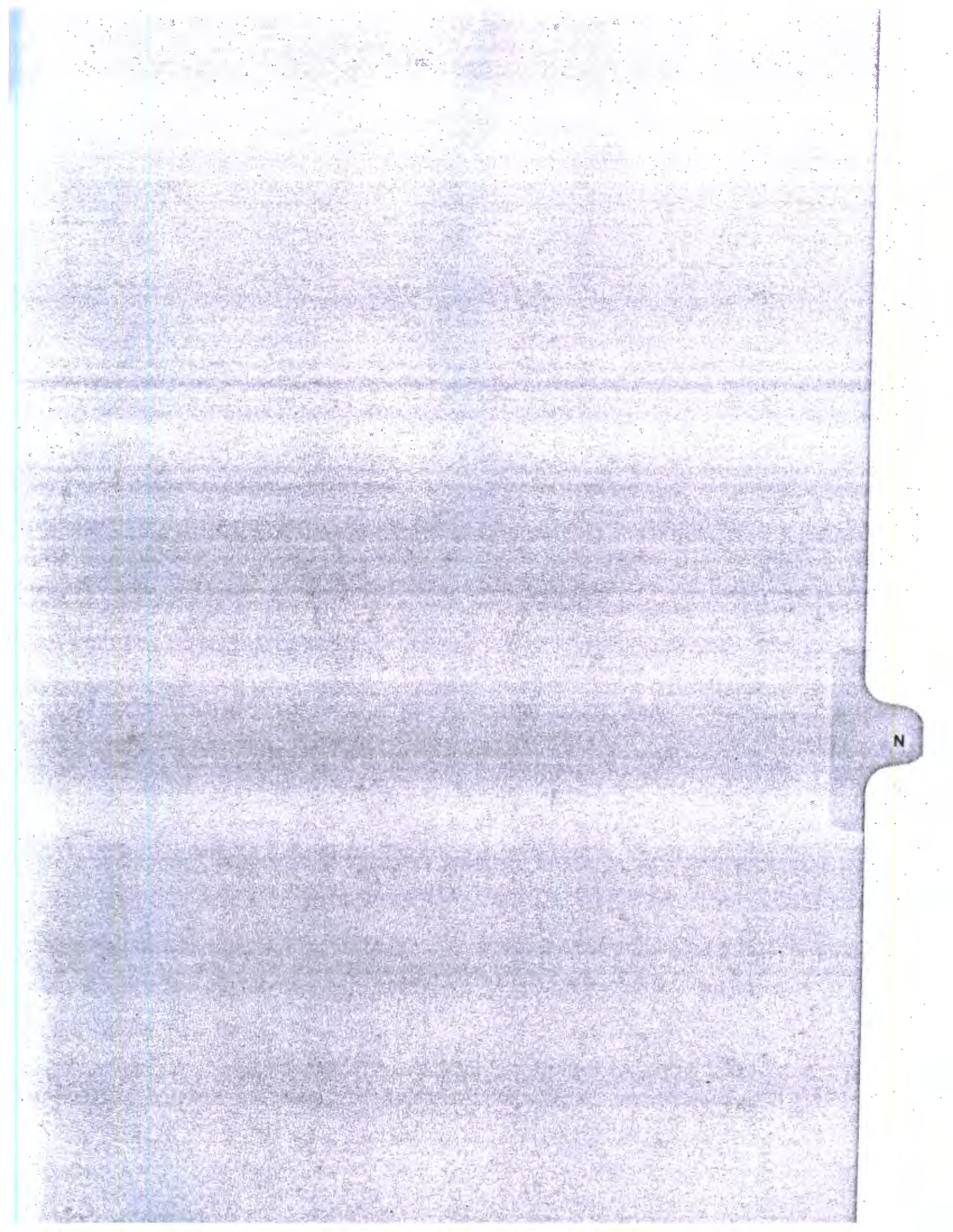
Strategic Offensive Forces

US strategic offensive forces consist of a TRIAD of ICBMs, SLBMs, and intercontinental manned bombers equipped with gravity weapons and air-launched missiles. The TRIAD of mutually supporting systems provides a mix of force characteristics for appropriate response to a number of possible Soviet attacks, complicates Soviet attack and defense planning, and insures the effectiveness of a US nuclear response.

Soviet intercontinental nuclear forces also consist of ICBMs, SLBMs, and manned bombers, but the Soviets currently place greatest emphasis on ICBMs. The Soviets have steadily increased the capability of these forces until they now exceed US forces in several measures of capability (Chart II-7 depicts the trends in numbers of US and Soviet long-range nuclear systems). The US no longer enjoys strategic nuclear superiority, and the overall effectiveness of our retaliatory capability has become increasingly uncertain.

Sources of Deterrent Uncertainty

The increased uncertainty in the effectiveness of the US strategic deterrent has resulted from Soviet stra-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II. The Negative Elements:

1. Circumscription of the uses of nuclear weapons to the extent that the credibility of deterrence is called into question.

> "Those who conduct war must do so with discrimination, limiting their attacks to those who fight in the military forces of the opposing side. In its essence, the principle of discrimination demands that the lives of non-combatants not be taken directly ... However, we cannot reconcile our principles with the use of any weapons aimed at military targets, however defined, where the targets lie so close to concentrations of population that destruction of the targets would likely devastate those nearby populations. Even if the effect on the surrounding population could conceivably be justified as a secondary and not directly intended effect, it could only under exceptional circumstances be justified as proportionate to any conceivable rational objective ... Threats to use nuclear weapons first, or against predominantly civilian targets even in retaliation, cannot therefore be justified."

1a. As a corollary to the above, a strategy based on sufficient counterforce capability to constitute and adequate deterrent, but without a capability to launch a first strike.

> "No enemy could lightly accept the risk that its armed forces would be devastated in retaliation, even if its cities were not struck. We do not intend to legitimize here, however, what is often conventionally described as a counter-force strategy, if by that is meant an effort or ability to deprive our adversary of his own strategic forces."

2. Lack of faith in Administration arms control policies.

> "We fear, however, that 'gradual' disarmament has become a relatively meaningless term, in that the discernible pace of efforts suggests that some political leaders seem to believe the status quo may be safely maintained for many years. We cannot accept this assumption, nor can we accept what is perceived to be a lack of urgency bordering on apathy in the pursuit of this crucial goal."

3. Support of the "freeze."

> "Previous efforts have been far too cautious and limited compared with the risks of nuclear war. We urge the immediate end, by all states, of the further development, production, and deployment of major new nuclear weapons and delivery systems. Not only should development and deployment of new weapons cease, the numbers of existing weapons must be reduced in a manner that reduces the danger of war."

4. The United States, but not the Soviet Union must take risks.

> "The United States must be prepared to take some independent initiatives (By this term we mean limited steps taken by one side in an effort to stimulate reciprocal actions by the other.) to reduce some of the gravest dangers and to encourage a constructive Soviet response. Nor, again, risks in favor of freedom and of human values. Certain risks may well be merited in efforts to help free the world from bondage to nuclear deterrence. For instance, the United States should forego deployment of weapons useful mainly in a first strike."

III. Some Anomalies:

1. Stating, but not addressing, the just war criteria of political utility which says:

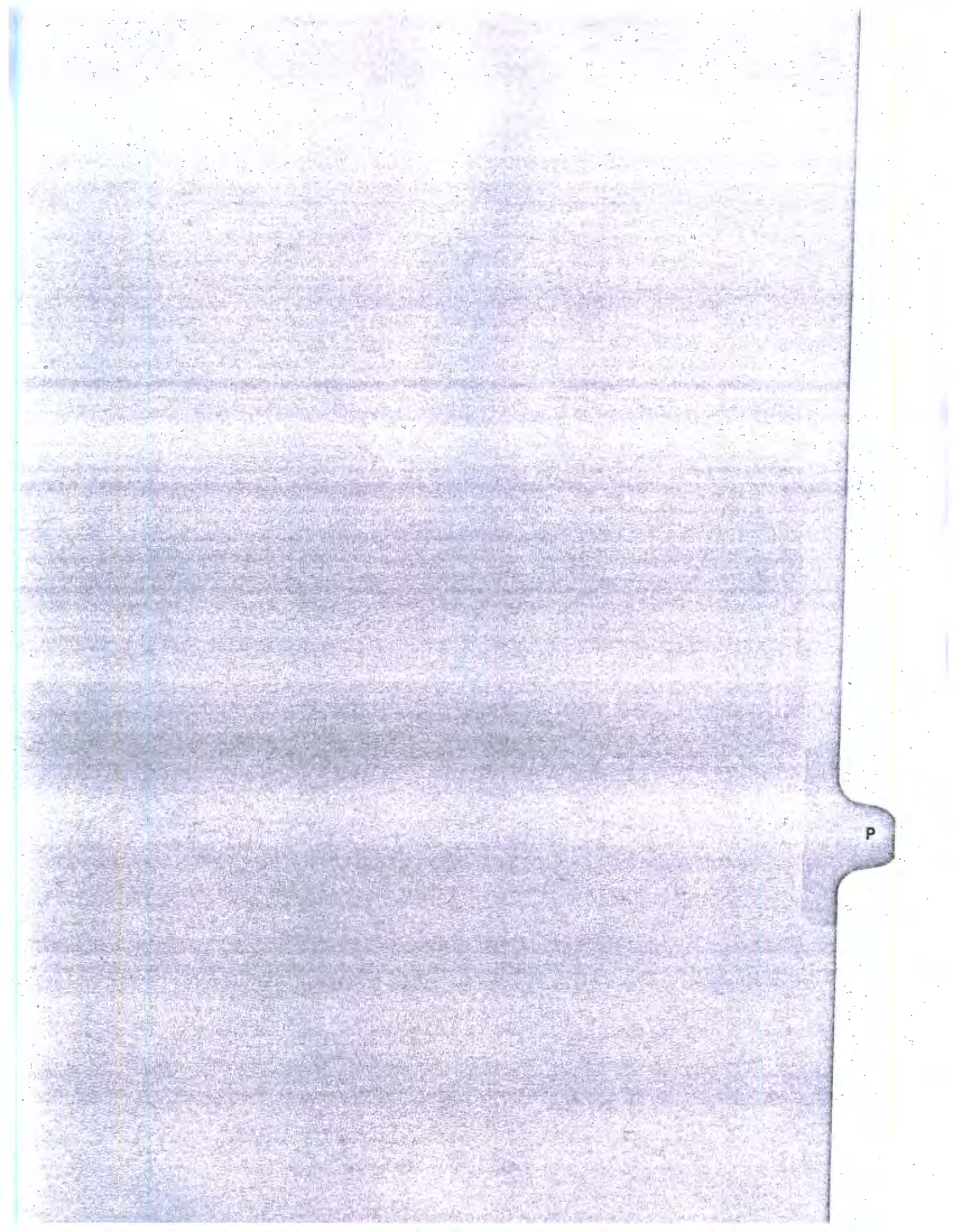
> "There must be reasonable prospect of success in the war."

2. Assuming, without stating why, that the Administration's arms control policies will not succeed.

> "But our toleration (of nuclear deterrence) must be conditional upon sincere, substantial efforts to modify current policy as well as ultimately to eliminate these weapons."

3. Seeing conventional means as a way to deter all war, while simultaneously acknowledging increased conventional weaponry could result in war.

> "We do not in any way want to contribute to a notion of 'making the world safe for conventional war,' which introduces its own horrors. It may well be, however, that people must be willing to make the sacrifices of strengthening conventional forces if indeed this will reduce the possibility of nuclear war. We must reemphasize with all our being, however, that it is not only nuclear war that must be prevented, but war itself, the scourge of humanity. History has demonstrated that an upward spiral even in conventional arms, and a continuing unbridled increase in armed forces, rather than securing true peace, is provocative of war."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