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the earth; <sup>73</sup> we cannot escape this responsibility. We urge every diocese and parish to implement balanced and objective educational programs to sensitize Christians at all age levels to issues of war and peace. These programs should provide a practical framework within which they can discuss the problem and begin to make the moral decisions required. People must be educated in all the currents of our tradition. Development and implementation of these programs should receive a high priority during the next three years. These programs should be developed in an integral fashion. To accomplish this, this pastoral letter in its entirety--including its complexities--should be used as the framework for such programs.

As they are developed, some key points should be kept in mind:

Questions of war and peace have a profoundly moral dimension which responsible Christians cannot ignore. They are questions of life and death. True, these questions also have a political dimension because they are embedded in public policy. But the fact that they are also political is no excuse for denying the church's obligation to provide its members with the help they need in forming their consciences. We must learn together how to make correct and responsible moral judgments. We reject, therefore, criticism of the church's concern with these issues on the ground that it "should not become involved in politics." We are called to move from discussion to witness and action.

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<sup>73</sup> Genesis 1:26-30.

At the same time, we recognize that the church's authority does not carry the same force when it deals with technical solutions involving particular means as it does when it speaks of principles or ends. People may agree in abhorring an injustice, for instance, yet sincerely disagree as to what practical approach will achieve justice. 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.

The church's educational programs must explain clearly those principles or teachings about which there is little question. Those teachings, which seek to make explicit the Gospel call to peace and the tradition of the church, should then be applied to concrete situations. They must indicate what the possible legitimate options are (if indeed there are several), and what the consequences of those options may be. While this approach should be self-evident, it needs to be emphasized. Some people who have entered the public debate on nuclear warfare, at all points on the spectrum of opinion, appear not to understand or accept some of the clear teaching of the church as contained in papal or conciliar documents. For example, some would place almost no limits on the use of nuclear weapons if they are needed for "self-defense." Some on the other side of the debate insist on conclusions which may be legitimate options but cannot be made obligatory on the basis of actual church teaching.

## 2. Reverence for Life in the Pursuit of Peace

To have peace in our world we must first have peace within ourselves. As Pope John Paul II reminded us in his Day of Peace



message, world peace will always elude us until peace becomes a reality for each of us personally. "It springs from the dynamism of free wills guided by reason towards the common good that is to be attained in truth, justice, and love."<sup>74</sup> Interior peace becomes possible only when we have a conversion of spirit. We cannot have peace with hate in our hearts.

No society can live in peace with itself, or with the world, without a full awareness of the worth and dignity of every human person, and of the sacredness of all human life. When we accept violence in any form as commonplace, our sensitivities become dulled. If we accept violence, war itself becomes taken for granted. Violence has many faces: oppression of the poor, deprivation of basic human rights, economic exploitation, wretched prison conditions, religious, ethnic, or sexual discrimination, sexual exploitation and pornography, neglect or abuse of the aged and the helpless, and innumerable other acts of humanity. Abortion in particular blunts a sense of the sacredness of human life. If the innocent unborn are killed wantonly, how can we expect people to feel righteous revulsion at the act or threat of killing innocent non-combatants in war?

### 3. Prayer

A conversion of our hearts and minds will make it possible for us to enter into a closer communion with our Lord. We nourish that by personal and communal prayer, for it is in prayer that we encounter

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<sup>74</sup> Message for the World Day of Peace, paragraph 4.

Jesus who is our peace<sup>75</sup> and learn from him the way to peace. In his presence and gifted with his spirit, we are enabled to recognize the violence and enmity in our own lives, and to repent of our sin, to know the forgiveness of our God. In prayer we are renewed in faith and touch again our hope in God's promise.

We have been told by the Lord that when we pray together he is in our midst. Joined in this one spirit, Christians, knowing they will be heard, beseech the risen Christ to gift our world with his peace. Only in prayer can we find the wisdom and the courage necessary even to begin our search for peace.

Peace is a gift from God. We will be able to make that gift come alive in the world only if our vision is enlightened by his wisdom. Our efforts must be strengthened and shaped by his saving grace. Through prayer we truly become instruments in the Lord's hands, instruments capable of establishing and maintaining peace.

We implore everyone of good will to join us in a continuing prayer for peace. We ask for peace within ourselves, peace in our families and communities, peace within our nation, peace in the world. We suggest the following acts:

a. We should pray as individuals, with some daily supplication for peace. Many Catholics may prefer the Rosary; others some other regular prayer or devotion.

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<sup>75</sup> Ephesians 2:14.



b. We should pray regularly as a community. The mass, in particular, is a powerful means of seeking God's help in creating those conditions, both in ourselves and in the world, which are essential to promoting true peace. In the Eucharist we encounter the risen Lord who bequeathed us his peace; he shares with us the graces of the redemption which enable us to preserve and nourish this precious gift. We encourage every Catholic to make the kiss of peace at mass an authentic sign of our reconciliation with God and with one another. Moreover, to give visible expression to our commitment to pray for peace as a Christian community, we offer the following invocation to be used throughout the United States in every prayer of the faithful:

For true peace throughout the world, and for all who work for it, let us pray to the Lord.

c. We must be helped in our prayer by the word of God. We ask preachers, on those occasions when the scriptural reading is appropriate, to address homilies on the spiritual dimension of the quest for peace.

d. In order to enhance understanding of the theme of the world day of peace, we recommend establishment of a Peace Sunday to be held annually throughout the United States.

#### 4. Penance

We pray with words, and also with penitential practice. We must ask not only for God's help, but for God's forgiveness of the violence of our acts and in our hearts. This is a time of decision, a time of

crisis. The church has a tradition of prayer and fasting before important decisions are made. We should revive that tradition. We ask everyone to adopt some penance, make some sacrifice, to help bring the conversion of our hearts.

Individuals and groups should choose a form of penance that has special meaning for them. We bishops will take a lead by observing Friday as a day of abstinence from meat. We personally will abstain on that day, and we encourage the rest of the church, and all people of good will, to join us. This act of public penitance would become a weekly reminder, to ourselves and all with whom we come in contact, of the depth of our concern for peace.

#### V. CHRISTIAN RESPONSIBILITY

##### A. Message of Encouragement and Hope to Certain Communities of Catholics

Throughout this letter we have been speaking of all humanity's need to seek and preserve peace with justice. We wish now to speak especially to our Catholic people whose special responsibilities and needs merit special words of hope and encouragement. While we necessarily limit our remarks here to certain of these, they represent many others, whom we include implicitly as well.

##### 1. To Catholic Educators: Priests, Religious and Laypersons

We are grateful to those who attempt to teach and to preach effective alternatives to war and the pursuit of a just peace. It is in no way a "weakening of the national will," nor a disparagement of



honorable military service or a strong national defense, to explore every alternative to war.

Educators should remember that just war teaching establishes rigorous conditions that must be met if a decision to go to war, or the continued conduct of war, is just. We believe that accurate teaching, understanding, and application of the just war tradition, in all its demanding intellectual rigor, can serve as a powerful medium for helping to restrict severely the likelihood of war, sharply reduce its savagry, and create a radically improved climate for "waging peace."

We need the wisdom and learning of Catholic theologians in the full development of a true theology of peace. We ask you to give to your activities the same scholarly efforts and prayerful concern that have marked the very best of your effort for centuries. We encourage you, also, to help analyze the critical and controversial issues of the day with technical care and clarity to help Catholics form their own consciences and respect the consciences of others.

Finally we encourage all to be mindful of our obligations both to those who serve our country loyally in the armed forces and those who serve with equal loyalty as pacifists. Excessive criticism of pacifists' means of avoiding war and violence has moved some critics to lose sight of the end of true pacifism, a just peace. Pacifists are even reviled as unpatriotic or disloyal, and at best naive, willing to settle for "peace at any price". Pacifism and pacifists deserve better understanding. Unjust peace may not be pursued either through armed force or by non-violent means. We believe that Catholic



pacifists are committed to this principle. Those dedicated to the pursuit of just peace through peaceful means must not be ignored as visionaries or scorned as misfits. We encourage teachers and preachers to help develop understanding and respect for those who walk the sometimes lonely road of pacifism and non-violence.

## 2. To Catholics in the Armed Forces and Defense Activities

Many millions of Catholics serve in the armed forces and in military defense activities. They carry special burdens of war and peace.

First, we address those involved in the decision making process as advisors or executives, and in the exercise of authority over others. We have been deeply impressed by the demanding moral standards many of you observe in the performance of your duties, and by the example of your personal spiritual lives. We feel, therefore, that we can urge you to do everything you can to assure that every peaceful alternative is exhausted before war is even remotely considered. In developing battle plans and weapons systems, we urge you to try to assure that these are designed to reduce violence, destruction, suffering and death to a minimum, keeping in mind especially non-combatants and other innocent persons.

We remind all in authority and in the chain of command that their training and field manuals have always, and still do, prohibit certain actions in the conduct of war, especially those actions which inflict harm on innocent civilians. The question is not whether certain

actions are unlawful or forbidden in warfare, but which actions.<sup>76</sup> In this document, for example, we have spoken clearly against the deliberate use of weapons against civilian populations. Catholic military personnel must observe those prohibitions.

Those who train individuals for military duties must remember that the citizen does not lose his or her basic human rights by entrance into military service. No one, for whatever reason, can justly treat a military person with less dignity and respect than that demanded and deserved for every human person. One of the most difficult problems of war involves defending a free society without destroying the values that give it meaning and validity. Dehumanization of a nation's military personnel in an effort to increase their fighting effectiveness by dulling their sensibilities and generating hatred toward adversaries robs them of basic human rights and freedoms, degrading them as persons.

Attention must be given to the effects on military persons themselves of the use of even legitimate means of conducting war. While attacking legitimate targets and wounding or killing opposed combat forces may be morally justified, what happens to military persons required to carry out these actions? Are they treated merely as instruments of war, insensitive as the weapons they use? With what moral or emotional experiences do they return from war and attempt to resume the normalcy of civilian life? How does their experience affect society? How are they treated by society?

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<sup>76</sup> Church in the Modern World, paragraph 79.



It is not only basic human rights of adversaries that must be respected, but those of our own forces, as well. We reemphasize, therefore, the obligation of responsible authorities to assure appropriate training and education of combat forces and to provide appropriate support for those who have experienced combat. It is unconscionable to deprive of proper psychological and other appropriate treatment those veterans of combat whose lives have been severely disrupted or traumatized by their combat experiences.

Finally, we are grateful for the sacrifices so many in military service must make, and urge that those sacrifices be mitigated to the degree possible by the provision of appropriate living and working conditions and adequate financial recompense. Military persons and their families must be provided continuing opportunity for full spiritual growth, the exercise of their religious faith, and a dignified mode of life. We especially commend and encourage our priests in military service who do their best to provide such opportunity.

### 3. To Catholic Scientists, Doctors, Technicians and Industrial Workers

We are grateful to members of the scientific community who have contributed their talents to reduction in arms. We further appreciate efforts made by medical doctors who have tried to heighten awareness of the frightening toll in deaths and disabilities that would accrue in nuclear war. 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.

Modern history is not lacking scientists who have looked back with deep remorse on the development of weapons to which they contributed, sometimes with the highest motivation, even believing that they were creating weapons that would render all other weapons obsolete and convince the world of the unthinkableness of war. Such efforts have ever proved illusory. Surely, equivalent dedication of scientific minds to reverse current trends, and to pursue concepts as bold and adventuresome in favor of peace as those which in the past have magnified the risks in war, could result in dramatic benefits for all of humanity.

Nor do we limit our remarks to physical scientists. In his address at the United Nations University in Hiroshima, Pope John Paul II warned about misuse of "...the social sciences and the human behavioral sciences when they are utilized to manipulate people, to crush their minds, souls, dignity and freedom.... Science and technology are a wonderful product of a God-given human creativity, since they have provided us with wonderful possibilities and we all gratefully benefit from them. But we know that this potential is not a neutral one: It can be used either for man's progress or for his degradation."<sup>77</sup>

We cannot ignore those engaged in the actual manufacture of weapons

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<sup>77</sup> Address on February 25, 1981, reported in Origins: NC Documentary Service, March 12, 1981, p. 62.

designed to produce massive and indiscriminate destruction. We have judged immoral even the threat to use such weapons. At the same time, we have held that the possession of nuclear weapons may be tolerated as deterrents, while meaningful efforts are underway to achieve multilateral disarmament. Therefore, we cannot at this time require Catholics who manufacture nuclear weapons, sincerely believing they are enhancing a deterrent capability and reducing the likelihood of war, to leave such employment. Should we become convinced that even the temporary possession of such weapons may no longer be morally tolerated, we would logically be required to consider immoral any involvement in their manufacture. All Catholics in weapons industries should evaluate their activities on a continuing basis, forming their consciences in accordance with the general principles enunciated in this pastoral letter.

#### 4. To Catholics in Communications Media

The Second Vatican Council emphasized the requirements of charity and of truth, and the role of communications media fulfilling in these requirements to make everyone "a partner in the business of the human race".<sup>78</sup> We make these sentiments our own both in thanking Catholics totally committed to communicating truth through the media in which they are employed, and in encouraging them to express with meticulous care the truth about issues of war and peace.

We admire those who have risked their lives in combat conditions to

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<sup>78</sup> The Pastoral Instruction on the Means of Social Communication, paragraph 19.



report the truth of war as they perceive it. With rapid communications and the opportunity for peoples throughout the world not only to learn of conflicts with great speed, but actually to see them taking place on television, the presentation of such events bears with it grave obligations. The reporting of wars can enormously affect their nature, national attitudes concerning them, and even their final outcome.

Truthfully reporting on international issues related to war and peace requires scrupulous honesty and objectivity. Catholics in the media have a special obligation to subordinate personal interests and viewpoints when these may discolor their perception and reporting of the truth. By articulating the whole truth clearly and intelligently the skilled communicator can help those in disagreement to understand each other's perspectives, to find common ground, and, at least, to disagree with mutual respect.

#### 5. To Catholic Public Officials

The Second Vatican Council did not hesitate to speak of "the difficult yet noble art of politics."<sup>79</sup> Political leaders today face few difficulties equal to those concerning war and peace; nor is greater nobility demanded in the development of public policy than that concerning such issues.

We encourage Catholics holding public office to be open to the views of the people in whose name you help shape critical decisions.

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<sup>79</sup> Church in the Modern World, paragraph 75.



Sufficient reliable and authentic information must be shared with the people to enable them to formulate their views intelligently. At the same time, we encourage our people to invest in you the trust you merit and to pray that you be guided by the Holy Spirit. Leaders of democratic states must ultimately depend on popular consensus to effect their policies over extended periods of time. Our own nation has even today not fully recovered from the turbulence of engaging in a military conflict without such consensus.

We would ask you above all others to be sensitive to the horrors of war and the sufferings it inflicts upon the entire mystical body of Christ. Every war pits brother and sister against brother and sister, since we are all sons and daughters of the one Father. Those of us who pray so frequently the Our Father have a special obligation to help remind others that we are all children of God.

We ask you to examine with great care and objectivity every potential initiative toward world peace, regardless of how unpromising it might first appear. At the same time we ask you to be particularly sensitive to the consciences of those who sincerely believe that they may not morally support warfare in general, a given war, or the exercise of a particular role within the armed forces. Catholic public officials might well serve all of our fellow citizens by proposing and supporting legislation designed to give maximum protection to this precious freedom, true freedom of conscience.

Finally, since peace is not merely the absence of war, but the exercise of equity and the support of human rights for all, we urge Catholic public officials to seek justice for persons everywhere.

Public policy that makes clear to the world our commitment to share appropriately with all humankind the bountiful resources with which God has blessed us can contribute immeasurably to peace.

6. To Catholic Youth

We urge you never to become discouraged. This is still very much God's world. We pray that you will never have to suffer war, but we encourage you to trust God in all things, to work and pray unceasingly for peace with justice, and to do always what is honorable. You have a grave responsibility to learn what is right teaching about war and peace, and to seek appropriate guidance in forming your consciences. In this difficult task you have our sympathetic understanding and support.

7. To Catholic Parents

We are conscious of the endless sacrifices you make, rejoice with you when these sacrifices seem to be rewarded, and are sad with you in your disappointments. We pray that you will never suffer the loss of sons and daughters through war. We know that you will try to guide their decisions about war and peace in accordance with the teachings of our faith, and that you will try to prepare them morally for whatever they may have to face.

8. To Catholics Who Are Aged, Ill, or Military Veterans

Many of you have seen the years pass and in experiencing a lifetime of wars and rumors of wars have acquired a wisdom enjoyed by few but the aged. We need your perspective, guidance and prayers.



You who suffer illness can offer your pain, joined with that of Christ who still suffers in his crucified body that we call the world. Your pain can do much to promote healing and reconciliation in the hearts of those in conflict.

To you who have known military service and possibly even fought and suffered in battle, we turn for special help. We are grateful for the sacrifices you have made for all of us, and now we ask your guidance for the young who may themselves serve in the armed forces. Offer your experiences of war to those who still believe war to be glamorous. Offer your prayers that one day there will be "Never again war"!

#### 9. To Catholics in Special Peace Activities

We save our final words in this portion of our message of encouragement and hope for you who struggle so hard and give so much of yourselves in special activities devoted to peace with justice and especially to the vision of non-violence in this violent world.

How deeply we appreciate your commitment to be among those peacemakers Jesus termed blessed. We know the many problems, indeed, even the suffering you have faced. Now we ask you to go even beyond your courageous efforts to alert the world to the terrible dangers of war, and point to the way of non-violence. We ask you to help build bridges to your brother and sister Catholics whose approaches to peacemaking differ from your own. The Apostle Paul reminds us of the diversities of gifts that are given by the one Spirit; the differences of ministries, but the one Lord; the variances of operations, but the



same God working in all.<sup>80</sup> It would be a sad paradox, indeed, were we to engage in bitterness and recriminations while urging others to pursue the vision of peace.

You who are ambassadors of peace are indeed ambassadors of the Prince of Peace. His was a ministry of reconciliation, of gathering together the fragments. You have proved your willingness to sacrifice yourselves in countless ways to advance the cause of peace with justice in the world. We are confident now, that without compromise of conscience, you and all who are dedicated to just peace will offer one another, with deep compassion and love, the same sign of peace that all Catholics offer so joyfully during the mass.

B. A Message to All Catholics as Citizens of the United States

There is no justification for not raising the question of the responsibility of each nation and each individual in the face of possible wars and of the nuclear threat.<sup>81</sup> Nuclear weapons pose especially acute questions of conscience for Catholics who happen to be American. Those citizens wish to affirm their loyalty to their country and its ideals, yet must also hold to the universal principles proclaimed by the church. While some other countries also possess nuclear weapons, the United States was the first to build and to use them. Like the Soviet Union, this country now possesses so many weapons as to imperil the continuation of civilization. Americans share responsibility for the current condition, and cannot evade

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<sup>80</sup> 1 Corinthians, 12.

<sup>81</sup> Pope John Paul II at Hiroshima, section 2.

responsibility for confronting it. The democratic American political system demands thoughtful and informed participation by all its citizens. Most Americans hold religious values that bear on these issues, and Catholics--bearing in mind Christ's teaching of love--can no less evade them.

As loyal citizens, Catholics love their country, but their very love and loyalty make them examine on a continuing basis their country's role in world affairs, asking that it live up to its full potential as a model and bearer of peace with justice for all humankind. "Citizens must cultivate a generous and loyal spirit of patriotism, but without being narrow-minded. This means that they will always direct their attention to the good of the whole human family, united by the different ties which bind together races, people, and nations."<sup>82</sup>

Informed understanding does not exclude the exercise of true Christian charity toward those with whom one may disagree. Their commitment to peace with justice may be no less honest simply because their perceptions of issues may differ. 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. Again the Second Vatican Council provides guidance: Christians "must recognize the legitimacy of different opinions with regard to temporal solutions, and respect citizens, who, even as a

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<sup>82</sup> Church in the Modern World, paragraph 75.



group, defend their points of view by honest methods."<sup>83</sup>

Finally, let us all remember that the vision of peace proclaimed by Jesus is no mere ideal. For the Christian, Jesus' teaching on the Kingdom of God discloses God's ultimate intent for his creation. In our lives we know God in a continuing call from reliance on self to confidence in God, and from concern for self to commitment to others in loving service. This call is a compelling invitation for the Christian, the basis of Christian responsibility. Our conversion is halted or crippled when we refuse to respond. This is the meaning of moral evil.

God's call reaches us in the concrete historical circumstances of our day. We need to remember acts of war committed by our nation, as well as by others, which even at the time were perceived by some as moral outrages, particularly the first use of atomic weapons in 1945. Faced with the sinful reality of the arms race and the threat of nuclear extinction, the Christian who accepts the Gospel vision cannot remain indifferent, silent, or inactive. In no sense can the horror of nuclear war be seen as compatible with, much less an instrument of, the Gospel of the Prince of Peace.

Many factors make it difficult to respond to God's call. Yet we must respond, finding the way to construct new methods of conflict resolution on which human survival and world peace depend.

We must tell ourselves and our fellows: We repent, we love, we

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid., paragraph 75.

hope. "Lo this is our God; we have waited for him, that he might save us... Let us be glad and rejoice in his salvation."<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Isaiah 25:9.



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 Social 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 committee 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.).



A FAIR HEARING FOR THE BISHOPS  
*Francis X. Winter, S.J.*

It was not by chance that the American Bishops' ad hoc Committee on War and Peace, charged with the mandate to prepare a pastoral letter for American Catholics on the morality of nuclear deterrence, invited as its first witness/consultant Dr. William O'Brien of the Government Department at Georgetown. For Prof. O'Brien is the preeminent American authority on the applied theory of the just war in the modern age. While other specialists may have explored some or other aspect of this problematic set of questions more exhaustively than he, O'Brien has no rival in his efforts to explore the interrelationship of the legal, moral, strategic and political context of efforts to limit modern war. Hence, the appropriateness of the Bishops' choice for an inaugural presentation in their process of consultation on the intricacies of forming moral and political judgements on nuclear deterrence and/or war. Similar invitations have engaged his authoritative advice in the deliberations of the Archdiocese of Washington, during the spring of 1982, and in the timely conference scheduled for the fall, 1982, by the Doctrine Committee of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops and the Joint Committee of the Catholic Learned Societies and Scholars. A prophet honored in his own country.

Given this record of openness on the part of the American hierarchy to his learned counsel, one is somewhat taken aback by the tone of O'Brien's article (TWQ, Spring, 1982) "The Peace Debate and American Catholics". He speaks, for example, of a crucial distinction made by the bishops (in direct continuity with the doctrine of the Second Vatican Council, decree on the Church in the Modern World, Gaudium et spes, #79-81,) between the use of nuclear weapons and their mere possession as "insane". (p. 221) More fundamentally, he contends that the challenges to present U.S. strategic

doctrine which have issued from the National Conference of Catholic Bishops in the last five years have tended to disregard the Church's teaching of the just war theory. With all appropriate deference to Prof. O'Brien's personal authority on these questions and with trepidation on entering the lists with the University's distinguished scholar in this area, one feels obligated, in justice to the bishop's conscientious efforts to meet their own obligations as moral leaders, to utter a few words in defense of the American episcopate. For bishops, as well as scholars, deserve a fair hearing.

The bishops indeed have not disregarded the traditional theory for limiting violence in war. In the first draft of the promised pastoral letter (to be issued definitively on Nov. 17 or 18, 1982) they devote a full twenty-nine pages (pp. 10-38) to recalling the structure of the doctrine and applying it in great specificity to the anguishing questions of the nuclear era. Since the language of the first draft remains unfortunately somewhat "scholastic" in style and thus rather veiled to the modern reader, it might be helpful in balancing the picture of the moral deliberations currently preoccupying the bishops to present something of a translation of the classic statement of principles for limiting the violence of war into language more accessible to the public. With apologies then, to the purist, and with admission of some blurring of scholastic nuance, let me present a summary of the ancient tradition on the limited rights of war.

The church's doctrine on war is a philosophical one, not a mere religious reliance on scriptural directives. For, to the chagrin of many Christians, the church teaches that scripture alone does not suffice to guide the formation of conscience, which requires the rigorous application of reason to the anguishing choices that confront each generation which has the experience of aggression. The question of self-defense is precisely, then, a moral question rather than a narrowly religious one, which must be answered by believers and unbelievers alike, relying on all the resources of intelligence



and learning. The question of war is, like all moral questions, one of rights and obligations.

Self-defense is both a right and, on some members of the community at least, an obligation. Always allowing for the creative contribution of conscientious objection as a leaven in the societal context, the moral doctrine of the church reminds citizens of their obligation to preserve their hard-won treasures of national self-determination and of their culture. Since human beings are obliged by their very nature to seek to develop their talent within the idiosyncratic context of their own culture, all attempts by outsiders to control the political, economic or military fate of a nation must be resisted in the name of nature's mandate. Not to pause inordinately on the fundamental moral logic behind this commonly acknowledged dictate of conscience, we may rest content with the evocation of our own national creed in this matter:

and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's god entitle them...

We are entitled to defend our "separate and equal station" by the law (obligation) to do so. Rights (entitlements) spring, in the American conscience, from obligations. Going to war to repel invasion may not merely be morally right: it may be morally obligatory. Killing in war may be an act of civic virtue.

The right to go to war, however, like all other rights, is limited. It does not confer the license to indulge in any sort of violent response whatsoever to aggression, for the right of self-defense is part of the texture of human rights which envelop and shield the race's communal existence. There are other rights existing alongside of, and sometimes in conflict with, the right of self-defense, for example, the right of the same people (in this case the American people) to survive the war being contemplated in a condition demonstrably superior to their probable fate if they had decided not to go to war. The people who have a right to make war likewise have a right to survive that war and to enjoy the fruits of victory. Individual citizens, then, cannot

evade the election between exercising the right to make war and waiving that right if they foresee doom as the fruit of war. While the right to make (defensive) war is unassailable, it is not unlimited. The utility of the theory of the right to war, which is a more precise way of denominating the just war theory, is to establish these limits. Its merit lies in its capacity to demythologize Mars. War has no right of its own. Defensive warriors have (limited) rights, as do the peoples against whom they war. For, just as the people's right to make war is circumscribed by their right to survive in no worse a state than if they had not fought, so it is limited by the competing rights of the civilians of their adversary state to escape (intentional) targetting in the course of the hostilities. It is here, when challenged by the perennial prohibition against the intentional targetting of civilians, that the modern mind is most often puzzled by the classic doctrine of the rights of defense.

For virtually all contemporary theories (and strategies) of nuclear deterrence and/or arms control rest squarely on the serious threat to target civilians in the event that nuclear deterrence fails and that less genocidal military measures fail to bring an end to hostilities. American nuclear planning has never eschewed the intention to resort finally to counterpopulation attacks is all else fails to assure "victory" in a nuclear exchange. Indeed, one of the most harrowing and ironic convictions animating American "doves" over the last decade has been the conviction that successful arms control negotiations should aim at a condition of "stable deterrence" resting on the reduction of nuclear weapons to a small number (e.g. ten) of invulnerable submarines armed with missiles in each side, poised to strike only the "soft targets" of the enemy, namely, the citizens, while eschewing any effort to target military values. The Catholic intelligence rebels at this displacement of humanitarian constraints by genocidal reductionism.

Aghast at the open (if conditional) commitment of their society to destroy utterly another society (the U.S.S.R.) in certain highly plausible



circumstances, the American bishops have been gradually bestirring themselves to speak out against this abomination being threatened in the name of the people of the United States. At this moment they are on the verge of uttering a definitive condemnation of at least all militarily intelligible uses of strategic weapons. They are formulating this condemnation of present U.S. strategic policy precisely because the war being contemplated by strategic planners and government officials is a war without limits. Limits, the bishops will insist, characterize all legitimate human activities, war included.

Two traditional limitations of the right to make war are being insisted on in the emerging statement as perennially, and hence, contemporaneously, binding on all policy-makers and citizens: (1) the prohibition against the intentional targetting of civilians and (2) the necessity to insure that the war-generated destruction not outweigh the values to be defended in war.. On both counts, the bishops challenge the moral legitimacy of contemporary nuclear strategic doctrine. It goes without saying, as Prof. O'Brien consistently admits, that counterpopulation targetting, even as a last resort and final stage in the escalation of nuclear reprisals, is morally illegitimate in the eyes of the church since such an act violates the traditional prohibition against direct/intentional killing of the innocent. O'Brien therefore urges channeling of U.S. military preparedness towards flexible, counterforce war. Although some passages in the first draft (June 11, 1982) of the bishops' letter also endorse such a strategic posture in response to prior U.S.S.R. nuclear strikes against us or our allies, the process of formulating the second draft of the letter, after responses from all the American bishops and many consultants, it may reverse this toleration of limited retaliatory counterforce strikes. For the first draft had clearly warned that no strategy that is liable to escape control may be executed, while also reporting that the evidence available to them discounted the possibility that such a nuclear exchange would remain under control. Inexplicably, after articulating these related premises of judgment,

the letter then goes on to approve flexible countermilitary strikes, whereas the attentive reader was expecting to read exactly the opposite conclusion from the principle, namely, the condemnation of all use of nuclear weapons.

From this discussion of the text of the pastoral letter, we can descry the pivotal role played by the factor of the controllability of nuclear war in the judgment about deterrence. O'Brien perceptively closes his article by posing several sharp questions on controllability:

Is all "strategic" nuclear war, even in a counterforce mode, "uncontrollable"?  
What constitutes "control"?

( The answers are readily at hand. No knowledgeable analyst of counterforce nuclear exchange professes moral certainty that such exchanges can be controlled. While the dynamics of nuclear war remain speculative, the inability of the experts to guarantee such control stems from the following congeries of convictions among defense specialists.) First: the "competent authority" (who is authorized to wage war, according to the Catholic tradition, as O'Brien points out on p. 221), that is, the government of the nation, is not certain to remain in effective control of the chain of command for conducting such a graduated escalation of nuclear strikes. For, in a nuclearly contaminated atmosphere, specialists expect the swift disruption of the C<sup>3</sup> (communications, command and control) systems which convey orders through the appropriate levels of command. The result of such interruptions of communication within the chain of command would likely include automatic authorization of autonomous operation by commanders of submarines bearing nuclear missiles allowing them to attack pre-determined targets without specific orders. Evidently the replacement of the central command by such uncoordinated centers of initiative would spell the end of action by "competent authority," that is, by the government of the nation.

Secondly, even as long as they do retain such effective command, their intention to limit the strikes to military targets, thus observing the



constraint against indiscriminate targetting, may be frustrated by technological failures now clearly anticipated by specialists. Missiles may not enjoy in war the accuracy they boast in trial shots outside of war. Thirdly, radiation fallout even from accurate and discriminating counterforce strikes would foreseeably and inevitably affect civilian sectors both of the nation being attacked and of other contiguous nations. On these two points, let us reflect more deeply by imagining the dynamics of the most plausible.

If we analyse the dynamics of the most plausible retaliatory utilization of nuclear weapons against military targets, namely, the scenario of a U.S. retaliation against the million Soviet forces stationed along the Sino-Soviet border, we see that the admitted uncontrollability of nuclear exchanges (previously confessed in the text itself) undercuts the supposed legitimacy of such an attack. For, if the American retaliatory counterforce attack did not remain under effective control of the chain of command, our weapons could strike just as readily the massive concentration of Chinese soldiers stationed just across the disputed border from the Soviets. But since the People's Republic of China is not a party to this war, her soldiers are non-combatants and thus morally inviolable to attack. Taking a known (and high) risk of so directly violating their non-combatant immunity is forbidden by the principles of the church's teaching on war. Even if the exchange were to remain controlled, moreover, the same Chinese troops (and probably vast numbers of civilians as well) would be subject to the massively lethal doses of radiation emanating from the enormous level of explosives required to eliminate those huge Soviet troop concentrations along a thousand miles of the border. Furthermore, any such saturation of a sizable theatre of war by U.S. inter-continental missiles would elicit a substantial Soviet response against U.S. targets. Some share of the responsibility for evoking this response could not be avoided by U.S. decision-makers who would be certain in advance that their own decision would guarantee such a Soviet response.



Finally, it is unlikely that even if none of these previous failures of discriminating control were to occur, it is widely judged politically unlikely that the competent authority would refrain from escalating to counter-city attacks in the face of such attacks by the adversary. The cumulative effect of these five uncertainties about the likelihood of effective discriminating control by competent authority during limited nuclear war has led the policy community to despair of controlled limited war. Perhaps Alexander Haig summarized the consensus of the government planners in his words spoken at a CSIS address in April:

Flexible response is not premised upon the view that nuclear war can be controlled. Every successive allied and American government has been convinced that a nuclear war, once initiated, could escape such control. They have therefore agreed upon a strategy which retains the deterrent effect of a possible nuclear response, without making such a step in any sense automatic.

(A balanced statement of the consensus in the policy community is available in Desmond B 11, "Can Nuclear War Be Controlled?" Adelphi Paper, 169, International Institute for Strategic Studies, London).

The bishops too have in principle accepted this prudent counsel of despair although they have so far failed to draw from this despair the appropriate conclusion: that attempts at fighting a limited nuclear war are doomed to introduce escalation towards total war, and thus stand condemned by the principles of the tradition of limited war. Enlightened and alarmed by this professional consensus casting profound doubt on the feasibility of flexible counterforce conflict remaining under discriminating control of the nation's "competent authority," the bishops have themselves expressed grave doubts (pp. 27-28, first draft) about the compatibility of such a strategy with the just war tradition's criteria of legitimate conduct in war. Inexplicably, as we have remarked above, they have nevertheless failed in this draft to draw the logical conclusion condemning this strategy.

If, however, in the process of the presently ongoing revision of the text, the committee should condemn all offensive (even retaliatory) utilization



nuclear weapons even against military targets, would they then be renouncing as well the whole structure of deterrence as a shield against Soviet aggression? Michael Novak has drawn this conclusion in his article, "Arms and the Church," Commentary, March, 1982, pp. 37-41. It seems to me, however, that the doctrine of legitimate self-defense articulated in the first draft of the pastoral letter clearly disallows this conclusion. For the bishops have relied on the distinction (ridiculed by O'Brien as "insane,") between the morality of using nuclear weapons and the morality of maintaining the arsenal even without the intention (or serious threat) to use it. Echoing the doctrine of the second Vatican Council (Gaudium et spes, #80), the American bishops' committee has insisted that the moral question of possessing the existing arsenal is distinct from the morality of its use. Hence, they shrewdly conclude that a distinct moral analysis be made of the two issues. Briefly, they affirm the moral acceptability of not dismantling the strategic arsenal precisely because the arsenal itself, even apart from any intention/threat to unleash it, does deter Soviet aggression. While most of those discussing the bishops' position doubt the deterrent efficacy of a strategic system in the hands of a government renouncing the intention to use it, it seems at least to the present writer overwhelmingly evident that Soviet planners would continue to stand in dread of the deterrent both because they could not be sure of the genuine intentions of our government and because the physical potentiality of the deterrent force would remain available for use if the U.S. government were to change its policy, reversing its earlier renunciation. Moreover, they are aware that the unilateral choice to dismantle the arsenal would forego gratuitously the single most powerful incentive to induce the Soviets to enter into negotiations aimed at reciprocal reductions of the nuclear stockpiles. They have opted, with notable casuistic ingenuity, for possession of the strategic arsenal along with renunciation of the intention to employ it.

Towards the end of his article, Prof. O'Brien speaks of the ongoing process of consultation and drafting that is preparing the way for the

publication of the pastoral letter in November. He expresses the reasonable hope that the final draft will display the "kind of empirical and analytical competence required" for such a statement. While awaiting the publication of the letter, it may be appropriate, especially within a Catholic university community, to recall that episcopal competence is not reducible to the sophisticated command of strategic theory or even the economy of a logician's syllogism. (For the church's judgment is essentially an articulation of the common sense evaluation by church leaders, uttered in the name of the people, about the drift of public policy in their time. They are asking themselves whether government policy is working towards the common good of the people or not.) Despits some theoretical clumsiness in the first draft of their letter, the bishops are displaying the sort of competence in political judgment which is not the exclusive property of academicians and policy-planners. (Everyone with sound judgment is capable of seeing through the dangerous complacency of the experts who have long been advocating "stable deterrence" which rests of the threat of executing a genocidal-suicidal pact if deterrence fails and of those other experts who advocate fighting a "limited" nuclear war in the same circumstances.) (These advocates of limited nuclear war have not been deterred in their campaign by their own awareness that such limitation of nuclear exchanges is generally admitted by defense experts themselves to be an illusion) Even the bishops, then, are capable of calling us back from such public follies. Even the untutored voice of the episcopate can call us back from the precipice at which we have too long lingered. At least if we give them a fair hearing.

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Father J. Bryan Hehir

# The Teaching Of The Church On War And Peace

During 1981 a visible and vocal constituency arose in the American Catholic hierarchy in opposition to the direction and dynamic of the nuclear arms race. It is crystallized in the annual meeting of the U.S. Bishops' Conference in November. Archbishop John R. Roach, President of the Conference, described the nuclear arms race as "the most dangerous moral issue in the public order today." The chairman of the recently established Committee on War and Peace, Archbishop Joseph L. Bernardin, provided the meeting with a substantive report of progress being made toward a 1982 pastoral letter on the topic. The Bernardin report in turn stimulated a ninety minute discussion among the bishops on the need to address the moral questions of the arms race as a key element in their pastoral teaching ministry.

The purpose of this article is to summarize the content and character of the universal teaching of the Church which in turn has produced a local response. Although the moral problem of warfare has been a staple of Catholic moral theology from the New Testament and Patristic ages, the advent of nuclear weapons confronted the tradition with a new set of questions, provoking a reassessment of what had been said and taught prior to World War II. It is this period of review and renewal of Catholic teaching on war and peace, running from Pius XII through John Paul II, which is the concern of this essay.

## Pope Pius XII

Pius XII's teaching on war and peace has a double significance. First, he stands as a classical representative of the dominant voice in Catholic theology from St. Augustine to his pontificate: Pius XII articulates the just-war position. Second, Pius XII was the first Pope who had to assess the meaning of nuclear weapons for the just-war theory. There are three dominant characteristics to the very substantial corpus of Pius XII's writings on international affairs.

The first was his conviction that the construction of the international system after two world wars required a change in the political and legal structure of the system. Pius XII urged the idea which has remained a central thread in post-war papal teaching: the need for an international authority of some form to coordinate the interaction of sovereign states in an increasingly interdependent world. Second, Pius XII's approach to nuclear weapons, found in a series of addresses he gave on atomic, biological and chemical warfare, was to try to incorporate them in the just-war framework.

Pius XII did not rule out in principle the use of nuclear weapons; rather he assessed their moral significance in terms of the principle of proportionality. If their effects could not be contained, he argued, they could not be used. This analysis set limits on some nuclear weapons, but left open the debate about the morality of limited nuclear war.

Third, Pius XII refused to provide moral justification for a Catholic position supporting conscientious objection. This effectively ruled out, in his teaching, a theoretical basis for a Catholic pacifist position.

## Pope John XIII

Both the tone and the themes of John XIII's *Peace On Earth* are different from Pius XII's analysis of the nuclear arms race. The tone of the document is not simply a matter of style: it conveys the substantive judgment that nuclear weapons present a qualitatively new moral problem to Catholic teaching. The destructive capability of specific weapons, and the more general conflict to which even limited use of nuclear weapons may lead, challenge the underlying premise of just-war theory: that the limited use of force can be a legitimate extension of politics. The recognition of this challenge is contained in one of the most publicized sentences of the encyclical: "Therefore, in this age of ours, which prides itself on its atomic power, it is irrational to think that war is a proper way to obtain justice for violated rights."

Without ever rejecting Pius XII's assessment of nuclear weapons in terms of the principle of proportionality, *Peace On Earth* conveys a much harsher judgment on the idea of nuclear war. It calls for the banning of nuclear weapons, a process of equal and simultaneous arms reduction and a displacement of the nuclear balance as the basis for peace.

## Vatican II

New categories and specific judgments are both contained in the *Pastoral Constitution On The Church In The Modern World*; it is the controlling text in Catholic moral teaching on war and peace to the present moment.

The *Pastoral Constitution* has six basic points in its chapter on the "Fostering of Peace and the Establishment of a Community of Nations." First, both the title of the chapter and its contents place the document in line with the political-legal vision found in Pius XII and John XIII. The work of peace is tied to the establishment of justice within and among the nations.

Second, in the light of this positive conception of peace, the council calls Catholics to "an evaluation of war with an entirely new attitude." One does not find in the document an articulated design of what the new attitude should be, but there are examples in the text. A primary element is the stress placed upon the responsibility of personal conscience regarding warfare.

Third, growing out of the stress on conscience the conciliar document sets forth a justification for a nonviolent posture as a mode of discipleship, including the right of conscientious objection. The latter position is not set forth as a requirement, and it is balanced by a statement affirming military service as a genuine contribution to peace. The doctrinal significance of the reference to conscientious objection is that it establishes, alongside the just-war position, an option of Catholic pacifism.

Fourth, the just-war position is reaffirmed by implication; since the document asserts the rights of states to legitimate defense, it opens the moral argument of what constitutes an act of legitimate defense. The purpose of just-war theory has been to answer that question for societies as a whole and for individuals.

Fifth, the justification of the right to use force is sharply circumscribed when the council speaks of "scientific weapons." The clear referent here is nuclear weapons which "can inflict massive and indiscriminate destruction, thus going far beyond the bounds of legitimate defense." Such a prospect moves the council to reaffirm previous papal condemnations of total war, and to make its own condemnation of attacks on civilian centers of population.

Sixth, the potential use of weapons of mass destruction brought the council to an unequivocal condemnation of attacks on civilian centers, but the problem of deterrence produced a more circumspect judgment. While succinctly stating the moral dilemma posed by deterrence (the threat to use nuclear weapons may prevent use, but the declared intention to strike civilian centers is immoral), the council chose not to make a final judgment on it.

## Pope Paul VI

Pope Paul's commitment to a ministry of peace was one of the most visible dimensions of his papacy. Surprisingly, however, he did not issue a major teaching document on war and peace in the style of Pius XII or John XXIII. His contribution is found in his U.N. address of 1965 and the inauguration of the annual Day of Peace throughout the Church, a practice which continues to the present.

The U.N. address was classical in structure and contemporary in tone. The contemporary note was a fervent appeal to banish war from human affairs: "No more war, war never again!" The classical character was the careful case made affirming the limited but real right of defense which nations retain in a still decentralized international system.

## Pope John Paul II

John Paul II brings his own distinctive style to the teaching on war and peace. His discourses on the topic thus far have been at the United Nations in New York, UNESCO in Paris, in Ireland and at Hiroshima. On key ideas he stands in direct continuity with the previous papal teaching; these include an unequivocal condemnation of the arms race and the misallocation of resources it produces.

The distinguishing characteristics of his approach are found in three themes. First, the categories John Paul uses; until the 1982 Day of Peace message he had not employed the traditional categories of analysis. Specifically, he had neither affirmed in

principle a nation's right to legitimate defense, as did Paul VI and Vatican II, nor had he endorsed in principle the position of conscientious objection as the *Pastoral Constitution* had. The Day of Peace message asserts the moral right and duty of a nation to defend its "existence and freedom by proportionate means against an unjust aggressor." Even while acknowledging the right, he limited it severely because of the nature of modern warfare.

Second, the Holy Father has consistently endorsed nonviolent solutions to problems, most vigorously in his homily at Drogheda on the border of Northern Ireland. In Brazil he stated his conviction that failure to address systematic patterns of injustice will lead to violence, but such a solution will be "without lasting result and without benefit for man."

Third, in his analysis of the nuclear arms race, the Pope has cast his argument in terms of the relationship of technology, ethics and politics. The theme is a central one in his thought, one he uses to address medical-moral questions as well as international relations. In his first encyclical, the *Redeemer of Man*, and in his recent address at Hiroshima he used the prism of technology and ethics to analyze the meaning of the arms race. John Paul II's analysis involves two steps. First, the nuclear arms race is depicted as the most visible example of a larger question: how modern technology can move beyond both moral and political guidance thus submitting the human person to an impersonal power. The technological dynamic of the arms race fits this pattern—new improvements in weaponry are always one step ahead of the most recent attempts to control them.

Second, this technological dynamic means that the challenge for the human community is to reestablish the primacy of ethics and politics over technology. In his address to scientists and intellectuals at Hiroshima, John Paul II stated his basic theme:

*In the past, it was possible to destroy a village, a town, a region, even a country. Now it is the whole planet that has come under threat. This fact should finally compel everyone to face a basic moral consideration: From now on, it is only through a conscious choice and through a deliberate policy that humanity can survive.*

The realm of moral choice on this issue lies ultimately, although not exclusively, in the political process. Scientists, journalists, educators and religious leaders prepare the atmosphere of choice, even shape the categories for choosing, but effective action on the arms race requires decisive political action. At the United Nations and at the White House in 1979, John Paul II acknowledged this and called for political measures to control and reverse the spiral of the arms race.

The universal teaching briefly summarized here has set the framework for the teaching of our local Church. The universal teaching is general and often one step removed from specific examples. The local teaching, addressing the arms race within the public debate of one of the superpowers has a more specific, concrete and, at times, more complex character. This complementarity of the universal and local levels of Catholic social teaching fits the model outlined by Paul VI in his apostolic letter, *The Eightieth Year* (1971):

*In the face of such widely varying situations it is difficult for us to utter a unified message and to put forward a solution which has universal validity. . . . It is up to the Christian communities to analyze with objectivity the situation which is proper to their own country, to shed on it the light of the Gospel's unalterable words and to draw principles of reflection, norms of judgment and directives for action from the social teaching of the Church.*

A longer article could assess the content of what is being said in the Catholic Church in the United States in light of recent universal teaching. This essay simply documents our debt to the prophetic vision of the papal and conciliar voices. What they have said stands as a challenge for us to apply creatively and courageously.

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*The Catholic Church has been teaching on questions of war and peace for centuries. Recent Popes have been particularly eloquent on the dangers posed by nuclear weapons and the arms race. The Second Vatican Council articulated the Church's basic teaching in this area. The Vatican's statement on disarmament and the American Bishops' statements have raised fundamental questions about nuclear weapons and the arms race.*

# Nuclear Weapons/Morality

## The Fathers Of Vatican II

As long as the danger of war remains and there is no competent and sufficiently powerful authority at the international level, governments cannot be denied the right to legitimate defense once every means of peaceful settlement has been exhausted....

The horror and perversity of war are immensely magnified by the multiplication of scientific weapons. For acts of war involving these weapons can inflict massive and indiscriminate destruction far exceeding the bounds of legitimate defense. Indeed, if the kind of instruments which can now be found in the armories of the great nations were to be employed to their fullest, an almost total and altogether reciprocal slaughter of each side by the other would follow, not to mention the wide-spread devastation which would take place in the world and the deadly after effects which would be spawned by the use of such weapons.

All these considerations compel us to undertake an evaluation of war with an entirely new attitude....

Any act of war aimed indiscriminately at the destruction of entire cities or of extensive areas along with their population is a crime against God and man himself. It merits unequivocal and unhesitating condemnation.

The unique hazard of modern warfare consists in this: it provides those who possess modern scientific weapons with a kind of

occasion for perpetrating just such abominations. Moreover, through a certain inexorable chain of events, it can urge men on to the most atrocious decisions.

Scientific weapons, to be sure, are not amassed solely for use in war. The defensive strength of any nation is considered to be dependent upon its capacity for immediate retaliation against an adversary. Hence this accumulation of arms, which increases each year, also serves, in a way heretofore unknown, as a deterrent to possible enemy attack. Many regard this state of affairs as the most effective way by which peace of a sort can be maintained between nations at the present time.

Whatever be the case with this method of deterrence, men should be convinced that the arms race in which so many countries are engaged is not a safe way to preserve a steady peace. Nor is the so-called balance resulting from this race a sure and authentic peace. Rather than being eliminated thereby, the causes of war threaten to grow gradually stronger.

While extravagant sums are being spent for the furnishing of ever new weapons, an adequate remedy cannot be provided for the multiple miseries afflicting the whole modern world....

Therefore, it must be said again: the arms race is an utterly treacherous trap for humanity, and one which injures the poor to an intolerable degree....

*The Church In The Modern World, 1965.*

## Pope Paul VI

No more war, war never again! Peace, it is peace which must guide the destinies of people... Disarmament is the first step toward peace.

*United Nations, 1965*

## Pope John XXIII

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 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 American Bishops

We are also obliged as Americans and especially as Christians to reflect profoundly upon war and, more importantly, upon peace and the means of building it.

The Church has traditionally recognized that, under stringent conditions, engaging in war can be a form of legitimate defense. But modern warfare, in both its technology and in its execution, is so savage that one must ask whether war as it is actually waged today can be morally justified.

At the very least all nations have a duty to work to curb the savagery of war and seek the peaceful settlement of disputes. The right of legitimate defense is not a moral justification for unleashing every form of destruction. For example, acts of war deliberately directed against innocent noncombatants are gravely wrong, and no one may participate in such an act....

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, A Pastoral Letter of The American Catholic Bishops, 1976*

## Pope John Paul II

The continual preparations of war demonstrated by the production of ever more numerous, powerful and sophisticated weapons in various countries show that there is a desire to be ready for war, and being ready means being able to start it. It also means taking the risk that sometime, somewhere, somehow, someone can set in motion the terrible mechanism of general destruction....

We must ask ourselves whether there will continue to accumulate over the heads of this new generation of children the threat of common extermination for which the means are in the hands of the modern states, especially the major world powers. Are the children to receive the arms race from us as a necessary inheritance? How are we to explain this unbridled race?...

Can our age still really believe that the breathtaking spiral of armaments is at the service of world peace? In alleging the threat of a potential enemy, is it really not rather the intention to keep for oneself a means of threat, in order to get the upper hand with the aid of one's own arsenal of destruction? Here too it is the human dimension of peace that tends to vanish in favor of ever new possible forms of imperialism.

*United Nations, 1980*

War is the work of men. War is destruction of human life. War is death.

Some people, even among those who were alive at the time of the events that we commemorate today, might prefer not to think about the horror of nuclear war and its dire consequences.... But there is no justification for not raising the question of the responsibility of each nation and each individual in the face of possible wars and of the nuclear threat....

Those who cherish life on earth must encourage governments and decision makers in the economic and social fields to act in harmony with the demands of peace rather than out of narrow self-interest. Peace must always be the aim; peace pursued and protected in all circumstances. Let us not repeat the past, a past of violence and destruction. Let us embark upon the steep and difficult path of peace....

*Himshima, 1981*

## Vatican Delegation To The U.N.

"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, an injustice, a mistake, a sin and a folly...."

"The obvious contradiction between the waste involved in the over-production of military devices and the extent of unsatisfied

vital needs is in itself an act of aggression against those who are its victims (both in developing countries and in the marginal and poor elements in rich societies). It 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...."



# Questions: Voices Of The Church

Recently, many Bishops in the United States have addressed the arms race and nuclear weapons. The following excerpts from four of these pastoral statements show the breadth and depth of the discussion among the American Bishops. Next November the Bishops of the United States are expected to consider a national pastoral letter on war and peace.

## Cardinal John Krol

The Catholic bishops of this country believe that too long have we Americans been preoccupied with preparations for war; too long have we been guided by the false criterion of equivalence or superiority of armaments; too long have we allowed other nations to virtually dictate how much we should spend on stockpiling weapons of destruction. Is it not time that we concentrate our efforts on peace rather than war? Is it not time we take that first step toward peace: gradual, bilateral, negotiated disarmament?...

The perspective which shapes this testimony, therefore, recognizes that some forms of war can be morally legitimate, but judges that nuclear war surpasses the boundaries of legitimate self-defense....

The moral paradox of deterrence is that its purpose is to prevent the use of nuclear weapons, but it does so by an expressed threat to attack the civilian population of one's adversary. Such a threat runs directly counter to the central moral affirmation of the Christian teaching on war: that innocent lives are not open to direct attack....

Not only the use of strategic nuclear weapons, but also the declared intent to use them involved in our deterrence policy is wrong. This explains the Catholic dissatisfaction with nuclear deterrence and the urgency of the Catholic demand that the nuclear arms race be reversed. 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.

## Archbishop John Quinn

The continued existence of the human race is seriously endangered today by the threat of nuclear destruction.... Our dilemma arises from the fact that we have created a vast military technology without thinking through its moral implications.... Nuclear weapons are not simply conventional weapons on a larger scale. They are qualitatively of a whole different order of destructiveness....

In human terms excessive spending on arms production takes lives just as surely as if the weapons produced had actually been put to use. The extreme poverty that is endured by one-third of the human race is in large part a direct byproduct of an arms race out of control. The billions of dollars presently being spent on arms each year throughout the world is surely an appalling form of theft in a world where so many persons die each day of starvation and privation....

The teaching of the Church is clear: Nuclear weapons and the arms race must be condemned as immoral....

A strong condemnation is inevitable when we judge the realities of nuclear warfare in the light of the Church's traditional "just war" principles. Those classic moral principles clearly teach that for a war to be even reluctantly permitted, all of the following conditions must be met:

## Cardinal Terrence Cooke

There is a pressing need to pursue peace with justice and to work for the elimination of war. Clearly, the upward spiral in armaments and what it implies must be ended....

Although the Church urges nations to design better ways — ideally, non-violent ways — of maintaining peace, it recognizes that as long as we have good reason to believe that another nation would be tempted to attack us if we could not retaliate, we have the right to deter attack by making it clear that we could retaliate.

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....

Catholics reject means of waging or even deterring war which could result in destruction beyond control and possibly a final holocaust of humanity.

In particular, strategic nuclear weapons of massive destructiveness and poisonous regional or global aftereffects must never be used.

Consequently, the reduction through negotiated agreements and, eventually, the elimination of such weapons, must be the overriding aim of policy. Without it, there can be only one alternative: the indefinite continuation and escalation of the strategic competition. The doctrine of strategic equality, by itself, does not ensure against such competition; rather it almost guarantees it. Some risks must be taken in the direction of control, both to avoid nuclear war and to rescue us from the moral dilemma of nuclear deterrence....

*Testimony On SALT II for the United States Catholic Conference, 1978.*

In very simple terms, this is the "strategy of deterrence" we hear so much about. It is not a desirable strategy. It can be terribly dangerous. Government leaders and peoples of all nations have a grave moral obligation to come up with alternatives. But as long as our nation is sincerely trying to work with other nations to find a better way, the Church considers the strategy of nuclear deterrence morally tolerable; not satisfactory, but tolerable. As a matter of fact, millions of people may be alive in the world today precisely because government leaders in various nations know that if they attacked other nations, at least on a large scale, they, themselves, could suffer tremendous losses of human life or even be destroyed.

It follows clearly that if a strategy of nuclear deterrence can be morally tolerated while a nation is sincerely trying to come up with a rational alternative, those who produce or are assigned to handle the weapons that make the strategy possible and workable can do so in good conscience. The Church does condemn the use of any weapons, nuclear or conventional, that would indiscriminately destroy huge numbers of innocent people, such as an entire city, or weapons that would "blow up the world." Every nation has a grave moral obligation to reduce and finally to get rid of such weapons altogether, but the Church points out that this must be done gradually, with all nations cooperating, and with prudence. The Church does not require, nor have the popes of the nuclear age or the Second Vatican Council recommended, unilateral disarmament....

*The Church, Military Service And Nuclear Weapons. A Letter To Military Chaplains, Archdiocese of New York, 1981.*

## Bishop Roger Mahoney

Today I add my voice to the growing chorus of Catholic protests against the arms race because I believe the current arms policy of our nation, as well as the Soviet Union, has long since exceeded the bounds of justice and moral legitimacy. Moreover, the arms race makes it impossible effectively to end the urgent crisis of world hunger. It can no longer be tolerated....

Just as the right to legitimate defense is not a justification for unleashing any and every form of destruction, so moral arguments for the possession of nuclear weapons for deterrence do not constitute support for every national arms policy that is advanced in the name of deterrence. The only possible Catholic support for a national nuclear deterrence policy depends on three related moral judgments: first, that the primary moral imperative is to prevent any use of nuclear weapons under any circumstances; secondly, that the possession of nuclear weapons is always an evil which could, at best, be tolerated, but only if the deterrence strategy is used in order to make progress on arms limitation and reductions; and thirdly, that the ultimate goal of what remains, at best, an interim deterrence policy is the eventual elimination of nuclear arms and of the threat of mutual assured destruction....

Since I believe the American arms policy has exceeded the moral limits of deterrence and has eroded our real security, and since there has been up until now no serious connection between American arms policy and a serious attempt to reduce arms world-wide, it is my conviction that Catholics no longer have a secure moral basis to support actively or cooperate passively in the current U.S. arms policy and escalating arms race....

I am proposing that we search together for the ways to become a peace-advocate church. We American Catholics will need to become aware of all the true facts and issues concerning the arms race. We will need to make new efforts to continue to educate ourselves about all the relevant factors. But, first of all, we must pray for a conversion of heart to become the kind of peacemakers spoken of in the Gospel....

*Becoming A Church Of Peace Advocacy. Diocese of Stockton, California, 1982.*







## THE US BISHOPS AND ARMS CONTROL

1. Recently several prominent US bishops have denounced the policy of deterrence in statements, the ultimate logic of which will demand unilateral disarmament. Two of them are members of a five-bishop committee charged by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops with preparing a draft pastoral letter for possible consideration by the conference on the subject of the Church and Nuclear Policy. What follows is an indication of who the dissenters are, what their line of reasoning is, and suggests some counter-arguments.

### 2. WHO ARE THE DISSENTERS?

- a. Raymond Hunthausen, Archbishop of Seattle.
- b. Leroy Matthiesen, Bishop of Amarillo, location of the Pantex assembly plant.
- \*c. Thomas Gumbleton, Bishop of Detroit, Chairman of Pax Christi, an international Catholic pacifist organization. (Member of five-bishop committee)
- d. James Hickey, Archbishop of Washington.
- e. Joseph Bernardin, Archbishop of Cincinnati, Chairman of the Five-Bishops' Committee on War and Peace, NCCB.
- f. John Cardinal Krol, President, US Catholic Conference.
- g. Francis X. Winters, S.J., Georgetown professor of Moral Theology.

\*Members of the Five-Bishop Committee on Church and Nuclear Policy

### -3. WHAT THE DISSENTERS ARE DOING:

- a. Hunthausen urged Seattle Catholics to withhold 50% of their federal income tax in protest against the US nuclear arms buildup.
- b. Matthiesen called on Catholics working at the Amarillo Pantex nuclear weapons assembly plant to seek employment elsewhere.
- c. Krol testified in favor of SALT II. Some of his statements are bald appeals for unilateral disarmament.

### 4. WHAT THEY ARE SAYING:

- a. Vatican II called for an evaluation of war "with an entirely new attitude," and condemned "any act of war aimed indiscriminately at the destruction of entire cities."



- c. It is immoral to use, or state the intent to use, the US nuclear arsenal. All planned escalation to counter city attacks is unconditionally forbidden, thus rejecting the essential capstone of US deterrent policy.
- d. The moral obligation to avoid even the threat to use nuclear forces is unilateral and unconditional.
- e. Catholic government officials are in the dilemma of choosing between their consciences and their profession. Resignation from office is their only morally acceptable alternative.
- f. Our security is compatible, although arduously so, with military defeat. Nuclear war surpasses the boundaries of legitimate self-defense. Just war theory must be abandoned.

5. COUNTER ARGUMENTS TO THEIR POINT OF VIEW:

- a. We share in the profoundest way the common goal of reducing and eventually eliminating the prospects of nuclear war.
- b. Vatican II documents and subsequent Papal pronouncements acknowledge the value of deterrence, as well as traditional Church teachings on the legitimate right of self-defense and just war theory.
- c. The US bishops neither theologically nor in practice speak for the universal Church.
- d. The extreme position advocated by some is blatantly partisan, and does violence to the Catholic tradition of the separation of church and state.
- e. The universal Church does not require, nor have the Popes of the nuclear age required or recommended unilateral disarmament.
- f. When opinion among competent theologians is so widely divided, as it is on the issue of deterrence, any sweeping canonical pronouncements at either extreme will not hold up against challenge of the doubtful law principle.
- g. Attributing to the Soviets the same sense of moral responsibility is neither wise, nor realistic, nor responsible.
- h. During the past several years of relative US restraint, the Soviets have built inexorably to a position of nuclear superiority.
- i. Asserting that some actions, specifically deterrence through potential retaliation, can never be taken prejudices the issue.
- j. We are charged by Christian principles to live by those principles in faith and reason. Unilateral disarmament is unreasonable.



D



# Seattle archbishop will withhold tax

SEATTLE (AP) — Seattle's Roman Catholic archbishop says he will withhold half of his 1981 personal income tax to protest "our nation's continuing involvement in the race for nuclear arms supremacy."

In announcing his decision Wednesday, Rev. Raymond G. Hunthausen acknowledged that some people will support him while others "will be puzzled, uncomprehending, resentful and even angry."

The archbishop said he reached his position "after much prayer, thought and personal struggle."

The amount of income tax he withholds will be deposited in a fund to be used for charitable, peaceful purposes, he said.

"I believe that the present issue is as serious as any the world has faced," he said in a pastoral letter to the people of the Seattle archdiocese. "The very existence of humanity is at stake."

The prelate's action was not unexpected. In a June 12 speech at Pacific Lutheran University, he had suggested the possibility of tax withholding as a protest

against nuclear arms escalation.

In that speech, Hunthausen said he would "share a vision of yet another action . . . of a sizable number of people in the state of Washington — 5,000 or 10,000 or half a million people — refusing to pay 50 percent of their taxes in non-violent resistance to nuclear murder and suicide."

The stand propelled the archbishop into a national role in the peace movement.

A spokeswoman for the archdiocese said she did not know the amount of tax that would be due from the archbishop on April 15, the deadline for filing federal income tax returns.

According to the Internal Revenue Service, persons who refuse to pay taxes on constitutional, religious or moral grounds "can anticipate strict civil and criminal enforcement of the laws." Conviction can mean fines up to \$10,000 and up to five years in prison.

In the pastoral letter, Hunthausen said he could not "support or acquiesce to a nuclear arms buildup which I consider a grave



REV. HUNTHAUSEN  
'After much prayer, thought'

moral evil."

He cautioned: "I am not suggesting that all who agree with my peace and disarmament views should imitate my action . . . I prefer that each individual come to his or her own decision on what should be done to meet the nuclear arms challenge."

The archbishop disputed the charge by some that it would be immoral to disobey the law of the state for a good end. He said that in certain circumstances, civil disobedience may be an obligation of conscience.

## Bishop stresses concern; prays for involvement

by MIKE WOOD  
Bulldo Staff Writer

Arguing that "Our nuclear weapons are the final crucifixion of Jesus," Archbishop Raymond G. Hunthausen defended his recent decision to withhold part of his taxes in a speech at Kennedy Pavilion Wednesday night.

Hunthausen was the principal speaker in the fifth annual Van Christoph lecture. He opened the lecture with a speech entitled "The Gospel, the Church and the Arms Race," in which he called on Americans to "lay down our weapons and put our faith in God."

He told the audience of students and Spokanites "out of compassionate love, Jesus claimed a non-violent way, a divinely given way, as an alternative to the violence" of Jewish revolutionaries. "We," he said, "must return to that divinely given way."

The controversial archbishop first drew national attention last summer, when he called nuclear war "immoral because there is no conceivable proportionate reason which could justify the immense destruction of life and the resources which such a war would bring about."

**AT THAT TIME,** he mentioned withholding one-half of one's federal income taxes as a possible protest against the United States for the arms race. Hunthausen recently declared that he would take such action.

"I am not attacking my country," Hunthausen said. "I love my country." He noted, however, "Civil law is not an ab-

solute," and he argued that those who do not take action against nuclear weapons are guilty of "moral complicity."

Everything that goes on in the Trident base and the Pentagon is paid for by you and me--as long as we pay our income taxes," he said.

**REFERRING TO THE** submarine base located near him, the archbishop said, "Trident is the Auschwitz of Puget Sound." Calling it "one of the most deadly weapons in the world," he criticized the base and referred to his previous participation in the campaign against it.

Hunthausen said nuclear weapons make sense as a means to protect the wealth of the country, but he questioned the basis of

that wealth. He spoke of a "world of wealth and power," which, he said, "usually speaks well of Gonzaga graduates and Catholic archbishops."

However, he said, "If we go that way of wealth and power we will end the world in nuclear." Hunthausen quoted St. Luke's version of the Beatitudes, promising relief and reward to the oppressed. He noted, "I am not an oppressed person." He added, however, that Jesus' message was for all to hear, because "people without clout cannot tear down, build up, or change what ought to be torn down, built up, or changed."

**COMPARING THE CHOICE** facing Christians today with that faced by early Christians in Rome, Hunthausen referred to a

Continued On Page 2



# ARCHBISHOP

continued from p. 1

"nuclear idolatry." Noting the refusal of those Christians to offer incense to Caesar, he stated, "Tax dollars are our freely offered incense to a nuclear idol." Christians must oppose the state when it is morally wrong, Hunthausen said.

The advocacy of unilateral disarmament, Hunthausen said, is the advocacy of a considerable risk. "I don't think we would decide to get rid of our nuclear weapons," he said.

In any case, Hunthausen said, he can not justify "inflicting nuclear war on a repressed people in order to preserve anyone's freedom." "There is no possible justification for the will to employ nuclear weapons," he added.

"THE GOOD NEWS of Jesus is that we can choose a world of peace and justice," Hunthausen said, adding that "we must give everything we have for that kingdom." All of today's Christians, he said, "need conversion to that divine way of unrestrained compassion" that Jesus had.

Hunthausen spoke of "different strategies," and he said, "I cannot make your decision for you. I can and do challenge you to make a decision." All the strategies, he said, should employ the "non-violent force of life and love at the heart of the gospels." He added, "May God give us the strength now to see and choose that non-violent cross."

After Hunthausen's speech, the two other panelists offered brief responses. The first to respond was Matthew Murphy the public information officer of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Like Hunthausen, he said, the Reagan administration hates nuclear war. "Where we differ," he noted, "is on how we get away from the nuclear dilemma."

**SOVIET ATTITUDES**, Murphy said, indicate that "unilateral disarmament is not a viable policy option." He cited past Soviet refusals to accept significant reductions or limitations on nuclear weapons. Unilateral action cannot be considered, he said, "until we see a change in the Soviet attitudes as evidenced by strategic weapons programs."

Prior to the crisis in Poland, Murphy said, administration

principles. The first, he said, was to ensure deterrence, and the second concerned "a serious desire to enter arms negotiations." Reagan's intentions are to continue with such a program when the situation permits, Murphy said.

Speaking as a private citizen and as a Catholic, Murphy noted that nothing in Vatican II or recent papal statements indicates the moral need for unilateral disarmament. "I do not face a moral crisis," he said. He does hope for bilateral disarmament, he said, "so that we need not fear the end of life as we know it."

**THE FINAL SPEAKER** was Micael Leiserson, a member of Gonzaga's political science department. While he affirmed "that nuclear war must be avoided," he added, "I cannot bring myself to believe that non-violence is the answer in international affairs."

Referring to similar movements in Europe in the years before World War II, Leiserson argued, "It won't do to apply principles of non-violence in the relations to other states." He cited an "inescapable potential for violence between states."

Leiserson does not, however, support current policy. Noting that "somebody has to be the first to use a nuclear weapon," he encouraged "an absolute refusal to first use of nuclear weapons" by the U.S. This is not the case now, he said, citing "tactical" or "battlefield" nuclear weapons as possibilities for first use. Because of the conceivability of their use, Leiserson called such weapons "in a sense, the most dangerous."

**IN ORDER TO** bring about an absolute ban on the first use of nuclear weapons, Leiserson said, the country "may have to consider the possibility of even increasing the power of conventional forces." He recognizes the difficulties, he said, specifically mentioning the widespread opposition to a peace-time draft.

A second change Leiserson suggested is to establish a clear "difference between conventional and nuclear weapons." This, he argued, would make use of tactical or "small" nuclear warheads less likely by clearly placing them apart from conventional weaponry.

After the three presentations, KQOTV's news director Dean

The three panelists reiterated their original positions, for the most part, and tried to clarify their positions in the light of the other comments.

**IN RESPONSE TO** a question by Murphy, Hunthausen admitted that he "cannot guarantee that we would not suffer very serious consequences," saying, "This might be our crucifixion." He said, "Unilateral disarmament might sound risky and naive, but to continue as we are is more risky and naive." He does not, he contended, want to be responsible for the death of innocent people in order to protect his security.

Murphy defended the sincerity of the Reagan administration's efforts to effect arms control, saying, "If I did not believe that they were sincere, I would resign." Everyone, he said, wants to avoid nuclear war.

Leiserson concluded the program of discussion and audience questions by offering an alternative to the individual. Since the U.S. depends upon the nuclear threat to bolster our weaker conventional forces, he said, "If you really want to prevent nuclear war, you could volunteer for service in a defensive position."

The presentation, which was free to the public, will be broadcast Sunday night on KSPS-TV, Channel 7.

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# Seattle bishop's stance provokes opposition

by Bob Cabbage  
Inland Register staff

Some consider him a prophet, some feel he is dangerous." Some admire his stand against the nuclear arms build-up, others abhor it.

The man of controversy is Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen of Seattle who recently announced he would withhold 50 percent of his income taxes this year to protest the nuclear arms race. The archbishop believes the building of nuclear arms definitely implies that the world's powers will use these arms some day and, if so, that day could herald the end of the human race.

Archbishop Hunthausen has advocated unilateral disarmament as one way of halting the arms build-up, although he adds that he is "for anything that will get us out of our nuclear tomb."

## Views seen as dangerous

Many view his tax resistance and his espousal of unilateral disarmament as "dangerous" to the interests of the United States. "To follow what Archbishop Hunthausen advocates is a sure invitation to a Soviet invasion of this country," said one irate Catholic last week after reading the archbishop's views.

Archbishop Hunthausen's views flies in the face of the Reagan Administration, and many Catholics who disagree with the archbishop are in the Reagan camp.

Some even work for President Reagan like Matthew Murphy, a public information officer for the U.S.

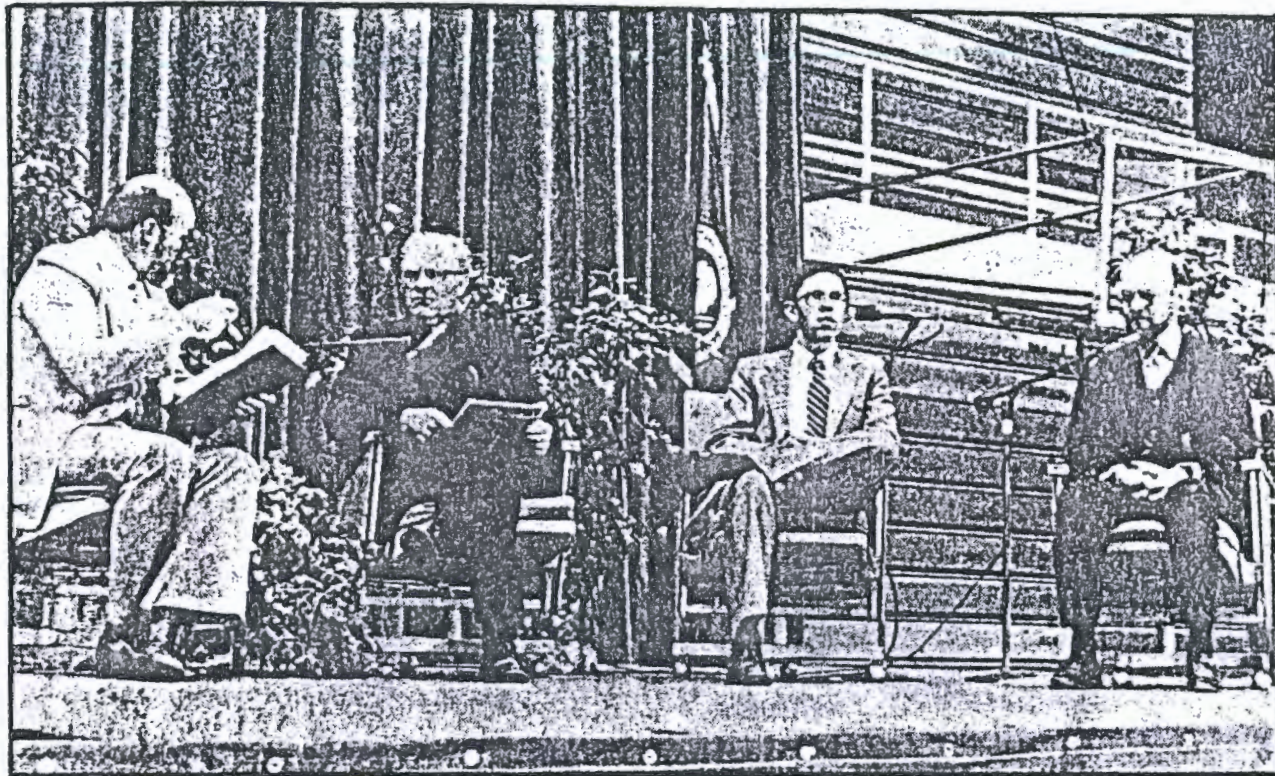
Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in Washington, D. C. In a public rebuttal to Archbishop Hunthausen's lecture at Gonzaga University two weeks ago, Murphy said, "As a Catholic, I find nothing in Vatican II documents nor in the Holy Father's peace messages which causes a crisis of faith for me" on the nuclear arms race.

Murphy wholly rejected the archbishop's call to unilateral disarmament. "The administration does not believe that the Russians would respond in a similar loving and Christ-like manner," he said.

"When we talk about Russia today, we are not talking about the Christian czar," he said.

Recent history has proven that the Russians are not interested in disarming at all, Murphy said, listing the following examples:

- In 1947, the United States proposed a "Beirut plan" which would place all nuclear weapons, research and technology under international control. Russia refused this plan.



## Panel responds to archbishop

Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen (second from left) fields a question from Dean Mell (left), moderator, while two other panelists, Matthew Murphy and Michael Leiserson (far right) await to respond during a forum at Gonzaga University two weeks ago. The forum followed a lecture by Archbishop Hunthausen

titled, "The Gospel, the Church and the Arms Race." Murphy presented the Reagan Administration's views on nuclear arms while Leiserson gave "a bridge" between the spiritual and pragmatic aspects of nuclear arms. (Photo by Tom Sofio)

- In 1962, the U. S. Secretary of State tried to get the Russians to agree that nuclear weapons would not be used on non-combatant targets in case of war. The Russians refused.

- In 1977, the Soviet Union again rejected a Carter Administration entreaty to cutback on nuclear weapons.

- Recently, the Reagan Administration has tried to signal it is reducing its arsenal of nuclear arms — primarily by not replacing obsolete arms with new weapons — but there has been no corresponding action from the U.S.S.R.

The U. S. build-up of nuclear arms is a deterrent, Murphy explained. "It is there to stop Russian aggression and to induce the Soviets to negotiate seriously on eliminating all nuclear arms."

The only way to halt the nuclear arms race is a bilateral, verifiable, stage-by-stage disarmament agreement between Russia and the U. S., he said.

Bi-lateral disarmament would insure we are not annihilated in a nuclear war or taken over by an atheistic, totalitarian government, Murphy concluded.





UNITED STATES ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY

Washington, D.C. 20451

February 19, 1982

MATT:  
BRAVO  
Jc

MEMORANDUM

TO: CPA/PAU - Joseph D. Lehman

FROM: CPA/PAU - Matt Murphy m.m.

SUBJECT: Speaking Engagement

On Wednesday, February 10, 1982, I participated in a panel discussion on the subject "The Gospel, the Church and the Arms Race", sponsored by Gonzaga University in Spokane Washington. (Attachment 1)

Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen of Seattle, the keynote speaker, dismissed all practical arguments against unilateral disarmament by calling on the audience to trust that the Lord would protect them, and to believe that the Russians would respond in a like manner to U.S. unilateral disarmament measures. (Attachment 2)

In my rebuttal to the Archbishop I cited negative Soviet responses to past American political initiatives (e.g. 1947 Baruch Plan, MacNamara's 1962 Ann Arbor speech, Carter's 1977 SALT proposals), as well as the lack of Soviet restraint in producing and deploying nuclear weapons. (Here I quoted Harold Brown who said "When the U.S. builds, the Soviets build, when the U.S. stops, the Soviets continue to build.") I also addressed the religious and moral implications of basing national security on nuclear deterrence, saying nothing in the Church's teachings demands unilateral disarmament. On the contrary, the Church tolerates nuclear deterrence so long as sincere efforts are underway to achieve bilateral arms control agreements which are equitable, verifiable, and will result in the reduction of nuclear weapons.

During the subsequent panel discussion, I challenged anyone to point out where the Administration's arms control policies were wrong, or to say why they believed the Administration was

not sincere in its approach to arms control. Unfortunately, no one wished to discuss the issue on these terms. The audience were emotional on the subject of unilateral disarmament and their criticisms of Administration policy (as well as my personal religious stance) were based on purely religious and moral teachings, as they interpreted them. (At one point, for example, the exchange between a questioner and myself consisted of a theological debate on the meaning of the Incarnation.)

In a subsequent private exchange with the Archbishop, I found him to be much less rigid and inflammatory than he had been in public. He said he would like to see the U.S. initiate steps leading towards nuclear disarmament, but acknowledged that if this did not evoke a similar Soviet response, then we should stop. He also acknowledged that he did not understand the technical arguments which the Administration used to justify its defense and arms control policies, thus implying that he could not say specifically what first steps the U.S. should take, how far we should go, and where we should stop.

Comment: I found His Grace to be very personable and sincerely committed to his point of view. Despite each of us stating our opposing positions bluntly in public, there was no subsequent ill-feelings. I believe the Archbishop is open to arguments presented sincerely and honestly and believe if he could be informed on a sustained basis of Administration positions and the reasons for them, his extreme position calling for U.S. unilateral disarmament could be moderated.







# The Bishop Vs. the Bomb: A Conversion

## Texas Catholic Says, 'We Live Once Again in the Shadow of Death'

By KATHLEEN HENDRIX, Times Staff Writer

Looking back, prior to August, 1981, Leroy Matthiesen calls himself "a good ole boy," a real country boy from a cotton farm in West Texas. He calls himself that even though, over the course of his 61 years, he left the farm for a seminary in Ohio and was ordained to the priesthood, moved to the Panhandle and, in 1980, was consecrated bishop of the Roman Catholic diocese of Amarillo.

These days, the former good old boy, in the Los Angeles area earlier this week as a guest of Pasadena's Interfaith Center to Reverse the Arms Race, calls himself "a bishop in need of prayers."

In August of last year, Bishop Leroy Matthiesen went public with what he calls his conversion.

For 33 years he had lived in fairly blissful ignorance of what was going on next door to his diocese at the Pantex plant, the final assembly point for all nuclear weapons manufactured in the United States, where an average of four new warheads a day are assembled and trucked away.

The goings-on at Pantex troubled him no more than the arms race did in general, no more than the Vietnam War and campus uprisings had, no more than the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki had.

"That all passed me by," he said.

"I had other concerns and besides, our community is not very receptive to that sort of thing. It's a hawkish, quiet place. There has been a simple taking for granted that what is good for defense is good for the country."

Then last year a series of events led to the bishop's conversion, a process that culminated in his publication last August, in the diocesan newspaper, of a statement condemning the U.S. government's decision to proceed with the production and stockpiling of neutron bombs.

In his statement, wherein he called the decision "the latest in a series of tragic anti-life positions taken by our government" and begged for a halt to the arms race, Matthiesen went on to urge "individuals in-

involved in the production and stockpiling of nuclear bombs to consider what they are doing, to resign from such activities and to seek employment in peaceful pursuits."

It seemed like a harmless statement at the time, Matthiesen now says, but it set off an immediate chain reaction.

As of last week, it had led in Amarillo to the United Way's announcement that it was cutting off all funding of programs operated by the diocesan Catholic Family Services.

And it had led to the bishop's visit

to Los Angeles, latest in a series of invitations around the country, where he has described the events that led to his conversion and shared with his listeners his journey across an uncharted moral and ethical landscape where his conscience is taking him.

Matthiesen is a quiet, unassuming man with a serious manner that matches his face. He frequently is humorous, but never hearty—a fleeting smile, a quick chuckle. He does not speak with much of an authoritarian tone or go in for grand phrases. He lost his Texas accent in Ohio, he says, but his speech remains informal and plain.

The peace movement still is new to him and he told a small group gathered for a pot-luck supper at St. Anthony's Convent in Pasadena that he had only recently become acquainted with the clear, strong statements the Pope have made in the nuclear age. He had to agree with his colleague, Bishop Walter Sullivan of Richmond, Va., that the teaching of the Church on nuclear warfare was the best-kept secret of the Church.

"When I first learned of the teachings," he said, "I wanted to say, 'How come nobody ever preached this?' And then I had to say to myself, 'Hey, I'm the bishop.'"

The closest he came to oratory on his visit was at All Saints Episcopal Church in Pasadena where he participated in an ecumenical service, "Let My People Go," with Interfaith Center founders Dr. George Regas

and Rabbi Leonard Beerman.

The message of the evening was that people are enslaved today by nuclear weapons. Matthiesen, from the pulpit, told the packed church, "I realize now that freedom is not a one-time thing. It is a process. Carelessly, unconsciously, perhaps because of some Satanic influence,

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*'We say, "In God we trust,"  
but we want to hedge our bets  
with nuclear weapons'*

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we have allowed ourselves to fall back into bondage. We live once again in the shadow of death."

He tells his story with an earnest simplicity sometimes sharing his admittedly newly acquired knowledge of MIRVs and cruise missiles and megatonnage, but usually confining his remarks to the moral and ethical considerations of the arms race.

His life began changing, he says, with a series of events that started when hearings were held in Amarillo to discuss the feasibility of siting MX missiles in the area.

Nobody wanted the things, he said, and the general consensus seemed to be "We need them; put them somewhere else." That disturbed the bishop. If the missiles were no good for the people of Amarillo, they were no good for somebody else.

### Protest Demonstration

There was a protest demonstration at Pantex after the hearings. Six people, three of them Roman Catholics and one of those a priest, Father Larry Rosebaugh, scaled the first fence, tripped off the alarms and waited to be arrested.

Rosebaugh got one year in a federal penitentiary for that. Matthiesen visited him while he was still in jail and came away disturbed. He respected the man.

There was the announcement about the neutron bomb. There was an investigation into the feasibility of dumping highly radioactive waste into the Panhandle region. And then the bishop had visitors.

Robert Gutierrez was a member of the diocese. He was 57, in poor health and without much formal education. He had recently been ordained a deacon, the highest order a layman can obtain in the Catholic Church. In the course of his preparation for the diaconate, Gutierrez had studied the church's teachings on peace and justice. He was very troubled. He worked at Pantex.

Gutierrez and his wife came to the bishop for some counseling. Did the bishop think what Gutierrez was doing was wrong?



# CONVERSION: Bishop Vs. Bomb

## 'He Was Right to Question

"I told him I thought he was right to question," Matthiesen said, but finally counseled Gutierrez to remain at the plant in good conscience, at least until something else turned up. At his age, and in his health, Matthiesen said, it did not seem a good alternative for the man to quit his job outright and cut off his family's means of support.

Last Monday morning, Matthiesen expanded on that advice to a group of clergy and religious who were listening to him speak at the Claretian Fathers house in central Los Angeles.

"Some say that's finally what a person has to do (quit outright)," he said, "but I don't think someone counseling such an individual can lay that on. People have to make their individual decisions and follow their own consciences."

Gutierrez was only one person, the bishop realized. It was time for him to speak out.

Once the statement was published, the reaction in Amarillo was immediate. Shock. Some were outraged, calling Matthiesen at best naive and an idealist. A few supported him—the local rabbi was one of the first, he said. Most were simply puzzled, making no judgment.

Immediately he started receiving mail and contributions from all over the country.

"With my statement, there surfaced an additional problem," he said, "the need to help those who wished to transfer. With the contributions we established the Solidarity Peace Fund and that got me into more trouble."

He had called Catholic Family Services, he said, and asked if their family counseling program would help any Pantex employees approaching them about transferring. CFS agreed.

The fund really got off the ground, he said, with a grant of \$10,000 from the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in Minnesota, the order of priests to which Rosebaugh, of the Pantex Six, belonged. It was publicized that counseling services were available and that there were some

funds to help people who wanted to make a transfer.

"That's when it all hit the fan," the bishop said.

Apparently, some Pantex employees were upset, and complained to United Way about their contributions to it ending up with Catholic Family Services. United Way asked the bishop to retract his statement. He refused, as did the board of Catholic Family Services. United Way made its announcement, saying it feared the loss of contributors. It had partially funded three of the agency's seven programs—giving a total of \$61,000 to child- and wife-abuse, runaways and unwed-mothers programs. The money represented 7.2% of the agency's \$1.1-million budget.

The diocese of Amarillo is small, not wealthy, and not part of the Establishment. It numbers only eight churches and its members amount to only 10% of Amarillo's 150,000 population. The overwhelming majority of its members are Latino.

Just as Matthiesen acknowledges that his diocese's relative poverty and insignificance gave him a freedom to act ("We had nothing much to lose"), he also will say that those same factors give the opposition, most tangibly so far, United Way, the freedom to come down on him in what he terms a punitive act more than a real fear of

loss of contributions. Pantex is the largest employer in the area; there is overlap on boards of directors; most of the pillars of the community go to church elsewhere.

He laughed, recalling a visitor from the East who commented to him. "This would never have happened in Philadelphia."

Not surprisingly, Pantex still is in business.

"We're not making a great impact," Matthiesen said. "I know some employees have transferred and not asked for help. The job opportunities are pretty good around Amarillo. A few have come and asked for financial assistance. I know it won't make much difference. Someone leaves. Someone else will apply to replace him. Everyone has to make his own decision. The role of the church is to create a climate where ethical and moral decisions are made, and to respond to the needs of individuals as they come forward."

This role of the church was at the heart of the bishop's message wherever he spoke in Los Angeles this week.

He has been doing his homework: He needed information he said, and joined Pax Christi, a Catholic peace group, about one year ago. He noted that at the time,

Pax Christi listed 16 bishops as members. Today, 60 of the nation's 301 bishops belong. Matthiesen is part, he knows, of a rapidly growing movement in the church, one that may set the church on what he calls "a collision course with the government."

Not only has he been educating himself about the nuclear age, weaponry and the peace movement—last book read, a biography of J. Robert Oppenheimer, "Shatterer of Worlds"—he has been learning about the position of the church on war, going back to the Scripture and early tradition, and on nuclear weapons, going back to papal teachings and pronouncements, starting with Pope Pius XII.

His research and his thinking have brought him to the point, he says, where he is prepared to say, "In order to be a Christian, one must be a nuclear pacifist. The just-war theory is not operative in a nuclear age."

Come November, the National Conference of Bishops will gather for their annual meeting and issue the statement on nuclear arms that they tabled last year for further research. There is already consensus, based on clear teaching, Matthiesen said, that nuclear war is immoral, that the threat to use nuclear weapons is immoral, that in principal it is immoral to possess them.

There still is a group within the American Church, Matthiesen said, led by Cardinal Terrence Cooke of New York, that says possession may be tolerated as long as meaningful negotiations to get rid of them are going on. With no such broad-based meaningful negotiations going on, Matthiesen said, there is a distinct possibility the consensus at the November meeting will be to condemn possession of nuclear weapons.

Politically, Matthiesen advocates bilateral moves towards a freeze in production and disarmament. Personally, however, he would not have a problem with a unilateral move on the part of the United States.

"The threat of Soviet aggression is real," he said, "but it pales. The 'red or dead' question is irrelevant. There won't be any reds to convert me or to join. They'll be dead and so will I. It comes down to what Martin Luther



# CONVERSION

King Jr. called a question of nonviolence or nonexistence . . . We say 'In God we trust,' but we want to hedge our bets with a few nuclear weapons. It takes a radical leap in faith to put our trust in God rather than in armaments. You start talking like that on a national basis and you seem naive and unrealistic, I know, but the reality of the present course is national suicide."

Not all of his own thinking has jelled yet. To questions about withholding income taxes, he said he was uncomfortable with that. Needed services would suffer in the process. He was thinking of withholding a symbolic amount instead, although he was still undecided. To questions about acts of civil disobedience, he said he was not personally comfortable with the thought of climbing over fences and dumping blood on files. He admired those who did; he said; but also thought such actions allowed detractors to ignore the real issues. He had been asked to participate with the Pantex Six, he said, and had said no, "but of course that was before my conversion."

He does know that he reads Scripture in an entirely different way now. That Jesus said he would vomit those who were lukewarm from his mouth bothers him. He looks physically uncomfortable as he repeats the phrase.

His conversion has changed his life, he says. Totally.

"I think," the bishop said, "it has finally forced me, and it probably will others, too, to really be a Christian."

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UNITED STATES ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY

Washington, D.C. 20451

April 15, 1982

MEMORANDUM

TO: CPA - Mr. Lehman

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

SUBJECT: Speaking Engagement, 4/1/82

On April 1, I participated in an afternoon faculty seminar discussion and an evening "dialogue" at St. Mary's College, South Bend, Indiana, with Bishop Leroy Mathiessen of Amarillo, Texas. The theme of the day's activities was "Which Road to Peace."

The faculty seminar was very informal and "off the record." As a result, I was able to present both the Administration's arms control policies and my feelings as a Catholic layman who supports these policies. The general reaction of the faculty was "everything you say sounds logical and rational, yet the potential for nuclear destruction of the world still exists and we seem unable to do anything about it." Bishop Mathiessen, however, was surprised to learn of the steps the U.S. has taken to take useless nuclear weapons out of service, replace nuclear weapons with conventional where possible, and the pursuit of technologies which offer promise of defense against nuclear delivery vehicles. (I subsequently sent the Bishop a copy of FY 1983 ACIS to reinforce what I said.)

In the evening, Bishop Mathiessen made a conscious effort to create an atmosphere for "dialogue" rather than "debate," and I believe all profited from this. I delivered a prepared statement based on excerpts from Reagan's November 18 "Zero Option" speech, a speech of the Director's refuting the "overkill" argument and Warnke's testimony supporting the overall objectives of the Reagan strategic program. Since Bishop Mathiessen based his presentation on the moral implications of nuclear weapons and nuclear deterrence, I also addressed these issues, from the perspective of a Catholic layman trying to develop "an informed conscience."

My objective in both presentations was to point out the difficulties and dilemmas which administrations and individuals face in trying to defend the Nation and its citizens against unjust aggression, using weapons and strategy consonant with "just war" concepts, restraints which are irrelevant to our adversary.

Comment: Although Bishop Mathiessen and I were talking past each other at one point, (we disagreed about whether the idea of "a just war" had any validity in the nuclear age) I believe there is a good deal of agreement and room for accommodation between the Bishop and the Administration. (He did, after all acknowledge that he voted for Reagan.)

In informal discussion with me, Bishop Mathiessen said he recognized the existence of evil in the world, that Soviet actions have been examples of that evil, and that aggression against the innocent is still possible. And, while acknowledging that unilateral disarmament is not a politically viable policy (although he respects those such as Archbishop Hunthausen who call for it as an expression of their personal "witness") he believes there are more than enough nuclear weapons in the world to serve any possible deterrent need. For that reason he supports the freeze. However, I also received the impression that if the U.S. could develop non-nuclear weapons and deterrent strategies for their use which also were in accordance with the criteria of a "just war" both his opposition to Administration policies and support of the "freeze" movement would wane. (He thought the development of space-based non-nuclear weapons to destroy nuclear delivery vehicles offered promise.)

To conclude, Bishop Mathiessen is a very intelligent, very sophisticated individual, a good public speaker, with "command presence," and the ability to be forceful without offending. Most importantly from our point of view, he remains open to argument, he is actively seeking facts on the Administration's side of the issues, and he does not believe that his position is absolutely correct for all time.