

# Can Modern War Be Morally OK?

Waukegan, Ill. — (NC) — Designations of "dove" and "hawk" were cast aside as theologians, political scientists and social workers gathered here to air their views on how a world which shows no signs of eliminating war can survive.

Permeating the conference on "The Morality of Modern War and the Search for Peace" was the realization that if nations continue to threaten each other's interests — and indeed their very existence — these interests must be protected, but protected in a framework of justice and morality.

Much of the discussion among the 150 participants at the Waukegan Inn centered around making the ancient theory of "just war" applicable to the world today.

An attempt was also made to delineate the role of the teaching authority of the Church in dealing with ethical issues of war and peace.

The meeting, which was identified as an "academic conference," made no more than passing mentions of specific trouble areas until the closing session, when the Middle East situation was explored as an example of the problems of national foreign policy formulation.

The conference was sponsored by the Catholic Adult Education Center, the Catholic Association for International Peace, the Midwest Association of Theological Schools, the National Catholic Social Action Conference, Bellarmine School of Theology, Mundelein College, the Chicago Area Turn Toward Peace, the Social Action Committee of the Association of Chicago Priests, and the Commission on Peace and International Affairs of the Chicago Conference of Laymen.

Dr. Theodore R. Weber of Emory University's Candler School of Theology defended the relevance of the just war theory to modern warfare which, he said, "is and has been the principal moral theory with which most of the communions of Christendom in most of the centuries of Christian history have wrestled with the problems of war and peace."

Though admitting that pacifism is an even older Christian belief, Weber said, "we continue to 'just war' Christians never have looked upon the concept as merely a concession to human sinfulness," but as the means through which "the responsibilities of Christian vocation must be discharged with the means that are provided in the temporal and visible world."

However, he said, the onset of nuclear technology has caused a severe crisis in applying the concept of just war.

"The incredible destructive power" of nuclear weapons have repudiated "meaningful distinctions between combatant and noncombatant," said Weber.

"Under the terms of just intention," he said, "it is not morally permissible to destroy or threaten to destroy an entire political society. Yet that consequence is what is implied in the will to execute a strategic nuclear deterrent."

But the crisis is not limited to questions of nuclear confrontation, he said. Another type of warfare — insurgency — is also creating problems because "it is fought among and through the people rather than on battlefields between organized units."

"This style of warfare," said Weber, "inevitably makes civilian areas the targets of direct attack, and it raises the question whether effective counter-insurgency action can be mounted without necessarily violating the just war principle of non-combatant immunity."

"An occasional attack of the type that destroys a whole village which also is a guerrilla base may conceivably find proportionate justification, but can the practice be justified when the nature of the conflict requires it as a matter of standing policy?"

Weber added that a further difficulty occurs in deciding what is to be done when "peasants become daytime farmers and nighttime guerrillas."

Relating the concept to the United States as a nuclear power, Weber said: "The implications of modern weapons technology have destroyed the possibility of a justifiable cause for deploying force adequate to cope with the most fundamental threat to American societal existence."

"Regardless of the values at stake," he said, "under present conditions of international politics the direct application of just war criteria to the United States military system yields only prohibitions and not permissions."

"But that is only one side of the difficulty. The other is represented in the certainty that any attempt on the part of the United States to abdicate its position of power in the world — an unlikely occurrence — would produce more serious international tension and more likelihood of nuclear war than would the maintenance of its nuclear armaments in a state of wartime readiness."

He called the U.S. military power "the most important stabilizing element in world politics," and added: "Any seri-

ous signs of intention to withdraw from that role would place the Russians especially and also the Chinese under enormous pressure and temptation to improve their power positions even at the risk of war, and it would set off a scramble for nuclear weapons systems on the part of states that could foresee the loss of their protection."

Weber said: "The risk of escalation involve the devastation we are likely to suffer as a nation and the devastation we are likely to inflict as a nation. They cannot be justified by defense against aggression, however threatening to basic values the aggression may seem to be."

"But," he said, "precisely because they are so serious they justify the mounting of a discriminating deterrent which intends to serve the primary purpose of prevention of atomic war, not of national self-defense."

In a response to Weber's presentation, Dr. William O'Brien, chairman of the Institute of World Politics at Georgetown University, Washington, said: "It is futile to talk about nuclear weapons not violating the principle of noncombatant immunity unless it is in the Antarctic or the Sahara Desert."

The sole reason for use of force, said O'Brien, "is the need for defense — regardless of the ideologies involved."

Addressing himself to the problem of insurgent warfare, he asked: "Can you have a revolution without guerrilla warfare? And can you have guerrilla warfare without terrorism?"

In the lone dissent to Weber's paper, Father John L. McKenzie, S.J., professor of theology at Notre Dame University, said that "the paper seems to accept violence as a normal form," which he as a pacifist could not do.

"War is basically irrational and immoral," he said. "Man should not do things which are irrational and immoral."

Father McKenzie said: "Christianity which doesn't teach love of enemy isn't Christianity, and my difficulty with Weber's presentation is that it takes the stand that we will always have to deal with them as such."

Speaking on the "Democratization of Just War Theory," Quentin L. Quade, of Marquette University's political science department, rejected pacifism as not being "the proper path of Christian judgment."

"I believe that greater evil to my brothers would be forthcoming from the adoption of a pacifist stance than by its rejection."

Quade outlined broad principles on "how to permeate the government with a sense of justice:

"First, make a political system that is genuinely representative of a responsibility to society. You need to see if the present one is, and if it is not, to use its own devices to make it so."

"Next, learn to use politics as you use your car or your home: all the time."

"Finally, make sure this representative system represents a society worth representing."

In an effort to establish the role of the Church's teaching authority in war and peace issues, Father Daniel Maguire,

# War: its Morality; its objectors...

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professor of theology at the Catholic University of America in Washington, said, "the Church acting is the Church teaching."

He warned, however, that the teaching role of the Church "is a task at which it can fail."

He cited the difficulty of applying infallibility to moral questions, and said it is almost impossible to find an example of a "clear-cut" moral pronouncement.

Father Maguire noted that a recent survey showed that more Catholics than Protestants favored the administration's policies in Vietnam.

He attributed this in part to "childish dependence on authority figures" on the part of Catholics, and said their detachment from the problem was such that perhaps many who

"favored" the policies "should have marked 'no opinion.'"

However, Michael Schlitz of the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago, observed that "you don't know whether those people favor the administration's policies because they think the policies are hawkish or because they think they are dovish."

William O'Brien, who is president of the Catholic Association for International Peace, the keynote speaker at the conference, told his audience that those "who are serious concerned" about the morality of war must:

"Master the empirical disciplines of arms control, national security, behavioral peace research, the new approaches to international law organizations and relations in terms of analyses of the political-legal decision-making process."

"Master and keep track of developments, international and national, which provide both the material and the political-social context for speculations and actions on war/peace problems."

"Rethink the approaches, techniques of analysis and perspectives of all the normative disciplines; seek fresh approaches to war and peace problems which seem to defy traditional modes of normative analysis."

"In their writings, discussions, debates and in their thoughts seek real charity and self-discipline with respect to those with whom they disagree, but who are avowedly seeking similar ends from different perspectives and by different means."

He also said emphasis on "the supreme importance of the gift of the heart of Jesus in His spirit should help to eliminate once and for all from our thinking that the devotion to the Sacred Heart is something soft and emotional, unworthy of the true Christian."

General sessions and panel discussions at the congress dealt with the various expressions of devotion to the Sacred Heart as practiced by U.S. Catholics today. These include—Eucharist, the Home, the Apostleship of Prayer, Night Adoration, perpetual adoration in parish churches and First Friday observances.

These people, dissatisfied with the lack of community in their parish experience, have found community in other areas," he said, "and they want a liturgical expression of this community as well."

"These experimental communities and the people who form them are most interesting, but I see a danger that they might become a Christian 'in-group,' closed to others, or like a new religious order."

Elsewhere, he noted, modern man, a member of many communities, finds "little difference" between his Church and other affiliations.

Other officials who welcomed the delegates to the congress was Illinois State Auditor Michael Howlett. He told the congress that "in the struggle for men's minds, the real enemy of any faith is not another faith but irreligion."

He suggested that the parish

Too Much Attention to War  
World Community Unbuilt

De Kalb, Ill.—(RNS)—Intellectuals and churchmen have not succeeded in efforts to develop a "world community," Dr. E. Morganthau, professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago, told the National Newman Congress here.

Dr. Morganthau said that "world community" is a "misnomer" for presently existing institutions and that part of the reason is that "organized religion has taken the side of parochial loyalties."

"Church leaders have blessed the flags of nations going to war in the name of the God of both nations," he said.

The theme of the Congress, held at Northern Illinois University here and attended by 750 chaplains, students and nuns, was "Community" in the world, the Church, society, the university and the individual. Speakers found the present level of "community" deficient both in the world and the Church.

The technological revolution has made the contemporary nation-state as "obsolete" as medieval feudal society, said Dr.

# Sects Multiply in Africa

Nairobi, Kenya — (RNS) — Separatist churches in Africa south of the Sahara are growing faster than their Protestant or Catholic counterparts and by the year 2000 there will be nearly 500 separatist churches on the continent.

This is predicted by the Rev. David B. Barrett, Secretary for Research in the Nairobi Unit of Research, an Anglican ecumenical organization.

In East Africa alone there are now 147 separatist churches with about 635,000 members.

Independent church movements, Mr. Barrett estimated, have a total of 7 million adherents scattered throughout 33 African nations.

"Schisms from foreign mission bodies in Africa have been taking place for the past 100 years on a scale unparalleled in the entire history of the expansion of Christianity," Mr. Barrett said.

"This massive proliferation is, figuratively speaking, only the tip of the iceberg—hundreds more of such indigenous movements of renewal or protest remain inside the Protestant and Catholic Churches at varying depths without as yet having broken the surface in schism."

Yet, he added, conditions within the historical Churches remain "sufficiently inhospitable" for the movement to break off at a present rate of more than 100 a year.

These independent churches are not the result of bad relations, the Anglican clergyman said. Africans want to worship God in their own way. Both sides needed to cooperate, but it was very difficult where there was "tremendous social inequality." The separatist movements followed.

In a recent study, Mr. Barrett said, it had been noticed that three factors could invariably be associated with the breakaway groups. These included certain factors representing the strength of traditional African society, such as polygamous structures or the ancestral cult; certain factors representing the strength of the European colonial impact, such as high literacy or the presence of white settlers; and certain factors representing the strength of the missionary impact, including the publication of vernacular translations of the Scriptures and "high missionary density."

Archbishop Luigi Raimondi, new apostolic delegate to the United States, was the chief celebrant at a Mass in immaculate Conception cathedral.

Theme of the convention was the continued importance of devotion to the Sacred Heart. Some 500 persons from outside the host diocese of Kansas City-St. Joseph attended the session. Some 1,100 Catholic school students of this area also were present.

Bishop Helmsing told those at the opening Mass that in honoring the heart of Jesus, Catholics see value "for the poor, suffering and struggling men of the pilgrim Church."

He also said emphasis on "the supreme importance of the gift of the heart of Jesus in His spirit should help to eliminate once and for all from our thinking that the devotion to the Sacred Heart is something soft and emotional, unworthy of the true Christian."

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## Sacred Heart Devotion Said Still Needed

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