

U.S. Bishops' Pastoral: Human Life in Our Day

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speaks in the spirit of that Gospel message, which is at heart a doctrine of non-violence rather than violence, of peace understood as Jesus proclaimed it (cf. John 14: 27).

We call upon American Catholics to evaluate war with that "entirely new attitude" for which the Council appealed and which may rightly be expected of all who, calling themselves Christians, proclaim their identity with the Prince of Peace. We share with all men of good will

deploy weapons which, if used against each other, could annihilate their respective civilizations and even threaten the survival of the human race. Nothing more dramatically suggests the anti-life direction of technological warfare than the neutron bomb; one philosopher declares that the manner in which it would leave entire cities intact, but totally without life, makes it, perhaps, the symbol of our civilization. It would be perverse indeed if the Christian conscience were to be unconcerned or mute in the face of

sists, it will eventually spawn all the lethal ruin whose path it is now making ready" (n. 81).

Nonetheless, the nuclear race goes on. The latest act in the continuing nuclear arms race is no doubt the US decision to build a "thin" anti-ballistic missile system to defend against possible nuclear attack by another world power.

In themselves, such anti-ballistic missiles are purely defensive, designed to limit the damage to the United States from nuclear attack. Nevertheless, by upsetting the present strategic balance, the so-called balance of terror, there is grave danger that a United States ABM system will incite other nations to increase their offensive nuclear forces with the seeming excuse of a need to restore the balance.

WE SERIOUSLY QUESTION WHETHER THE PRESENT POLICY OF MAINTAINING NUCLEAR SUPERIORITY IS MEANINGFUL FOR SECURITY. THERE IS NO ADVANTAGE TO BE GAINED BY NUCLEAR SUPERIORITY, HOWEVER IT IS COMPUTED, WHEN EACH SIDE IS ADMITTEDLY CAPABLE OF INFLECTING OVERWHELMING DAMAGE ON THE OTHER, EVEN AFTER BEING ATTACKED FIRST.

ANY EFFORT TO ACHIEVE SUPERIORITY ONLY LEADS TO EVER-HIGHER LEVELS OF ARMAMENTS AS IT FORCES THE SIDE WITH THE LESSER CAPABILITY TO SEEK TO MAINTAIN ITS SUPERIORITY. IN THE WAKE OF THIS ACTION-REACTION PHENOMENON COMES A DECREASE IN BOTH STABILITY AND SECURITY.

The National Conference of Catholic Bishops pledges its united effort toward forming a climate of public opinion for peace, mindful of the Council's advice that "government officials . . . depend on public opinion and feeling to the greatest possible extent". We will therefore, through existing and improved agencies, support national programs of education for Catholic Americans and for all Americans in collaboration with all religious groups and other organizations.

We commend the arduous and unceasing efforts of statesmen and specialists in the field of arms control and disarmament, and to add our own encouragement of systematic studies in this field. As the Council appealed to Catholic schol-

The International Community

The Council Fathers recognized that not even ending the nuclear arms race, which itself cannot be accomplished without the full cooperation of the international community, would ensure the permanent removal of the awesome threat of modern war. Nor would disarmament alone, even assuming it to be complete and across the board, remove the causes of war. "This goal undoubtedly requires the establishment of some universal public authority acknowledged as such by all, and endowed with effective power to safeguard, on the behalf of all, security, regard for justice and respect for rights".

We commend the efforts of world statesmen, particularly those of our own nation, who seek to extend the spirit and practice of cooperation in international agencies and regional associations of nations, with the object not only of terminating or preventing war, and of building up a body of international law, but also of removing the causes of war through positive programs.

Since war remains a melancholy fact of life today, we believe the United States not only should insist on adherence to and the application by all nations of existing international conventions or treaties on the laws of war, such as the revised Geneva Convention relative to the treatment of prisoners of war, but should take the lead in seeking to update them. Certain forms of warfare, new and old, should be out-

"In assessing our country's involvement in Vietnam we must ask: Have we already reached, or passed, the point where the principle of proportionality becomes decisive? How much more of our resources in men and money should we commit to this struggle? Has the conflict in Vietnam provoked inhuman dimensions of suffering? Would not a timely withdrawal be equally disastrous?"

the protection and promotion of the sanctity of human life and the dignity of the human person in times of war and peace.

WE EARNESTLY APPEAL TO OUR OWN GOVERNMENT AND TO ALL GOVERNMENTS TO GIVE THE ELIMINATION OF THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL "WAR SYSTEM" A PRIORITY CONSISTENT WITH THE DAMAGING EFFECT OF MASSIVE ARMAMENT PROGRAMS ON ALL THE OBJECTIVES OF THE GOOD SOCIETY TO WHICH ENLIGHTENED GOVERNMENTS GIVE PRIORITIES: EDUCATION, PUBLIC HEALTH, A TRUE SENSE OF SECURITY, PROSPERITY, MAXIMUM LIBERTY, THE FLOURISHING OF THE HUMAN ARTS AND SCIENCES, IN A WORD THE SERVICE OF LIFE ITSELF.

THIS WILL REQUIRE INTERNATIONAL PEACEMAKING AND PEACE-KEEPING MACHINERY. TO THIS END WE URGE ALL TO SUPPORT

balance, the U.S. presence in Vietnam was useful and justified.

Since then American Catholics have entered vigorously into the national debate on this question, which, explicitly or implicitly, is going deeply into the moral aspects of our involvement in Vietnam. In this debate, opinions among Catholics appear as varied as in our society as a whole; one cannot accuse Catholics of either being partisans of any one point of view or of being unconcerned.

IN OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT OF POLITICAL DISSENT CANNOT BE DENIED, NOR IS RATIONAL DEBATE ON PUBLIC POLICY DECISIONS OF GOVERNMENT IN THE LIGHT OF MORAL AND POLITICAL PRINCIPLES TO BE DISCOURAGED. IT IS THE DUTY OF THE GOVERNED TO ANALYZE RESPONSIBLY THE CONCRETE ISSUES OF PUBLIC POLICY.

IN ASSESSING OUR COUNTRY'S INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM WE MUST ASK: HAVE WE ALREADY REACHED, OR PASSED, THE POINT WHERE THE PRINCIPLE OF PROPORTIONALITY BECOMES DECISIVE? HOW MUCH MORE OF OUR RESOURCES IN MEN AND MONEY SHOULD WE COMMIT TO THIS STRUGGLE, ASSUMING AN ACCEPTABLE CAUSE OR INTENTION? HAS THE CONFLICT IN VIETNAM PROVOKED INHUMAN DIMENSIONS OF SUFFERING? WOULD NOT AN UNTIMELY WITHDRAWAL BE EQUALLY DISASTROUS?

Granted that financial considerations are necessarily subordinate to ethical values in any moral question, nonetheless many wonder if perhaps a measure of the proportions in this, as in any modern war, may be reflected in the amounts inevitably lost to education, poverty-relief and positive works of social justice at home and abroad (including South East Asia) as a result of the mounting budgets for this and like military operations.

While it would be beyond our competence to propose any technical formulas for bringing the Vietnam War to an end, we welcome the bombing halt and pray for the success of the negotiations now underway.

MEANWHILE THERE ARE MORAL LESSONS TO BE LEARNED FROM OUR INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM THAT WILL APPLY TO FUTURE CASES. ONE MIGHT BE THAT MILITARY POWER AND TECHNOLOGY DO NOT SUFFICE, EVEN WITH THE STRONGEST RESOLVE, TO RESTORE ORDER OR ACCOMPLISH PEACE, AS A RULE INTERNAL POLITICAL CON-

"We therefore recommend a modification of the Selective Service Act making it possible, although not easy, for so-called conscientious objectors to refuse—without fear of imprisonment or loss of citizenship—to serve in wars which they consider unjust."

EFFORTS FOR A STRONGER AND MORE EFFECTIVE UNITED NATIONS THAT IT MAY BECOME A TRUE INSTRUMENT OF PEACE AND JUSTICE AMONG NATIONS.

Turning to the more positive aspects of the building of an international community and the duties of us as Americans in this matter, we deplore the lack of a stable, persevering national concern for the promotion of the international common good. This is reflected in the fickleness of public interest in and Congressional support of foreign aid. It is reflected also in a seeming insensitivity to the importance of trade agreements beneficial to developing nations.

A like lack of generosity, dangerous to the fully human common good, is present in the increasingly bold linking of contraceptive programs, even when superficially voluntary, to needed aid programs.

Future aid and trade assistance programs should become increasingly multilateral; they should never merely serve national self-interest except to the extent that national interest is genuinely part and parcel of the general good of the human community.

Because of the war in Vietnam, and the growing preoccupation with the social problems of our cities, there is the peril of an up-

"We join wholeheartedly in the Council's condemnation of wars fought without limitation. We recognize the right of legitimate self-defense, . . . recourse to armed defense and to collective security action. But we seek to limit warfare and to humanize it, where it remains a last resort, in the maximum degree possible."

the conviction that a more humane society will not come "unless each person devotes himself with renewed determination to the cause of peace." We appeal to policy makers and statesmen to reflect soberly on the Council teaching concerning peace and war, and vigorously to pursue the search for means by which at all times to limit and eventually to outlaw the destructiveness of war.

OF ONE MIND WITH THE COUNCIL, WE CONDEMN WITHOUT QUALIFICATION WARS OF AGGRESSION HOWEVER THEIR TRUE CHARACTER MAY SOMETIMES BE VEILED. WHATEVER CASE THERE MAY HAVE SEEMED TO EXIST IN OTHER TIMES FOR WARS FOUGHT FOR THE DOMINATION OF ANOTHER NATION, SUCH A CASE CAN NO LONGER BE IMAGINED GIVEN THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF MODERN WARFARE, THE HEIGHTENED SENSE OF INTERNATIONAL MUTUALITY AND THE INCREASINGLY AVAILABLE HUMANE MEANS TO THE REALIZATION OF THAT MUTUALITY.

WE JOIN WHOLEHEARTEDLY IN THE COUNCIL'S CONDEMNATION OF WARS FOUGHT WITHOUT LIMITATION. WE RECOGNIZE THE RIGHT OF LEGITIMATE SELF-DEFENSE AND, IN A WORLD SOCIETY STILL UNORGANIZED, THE NECESSITY FOR RECOURSE TO ARMED DEFENSE AND TO COLLECTIVE SECURITY ACTION IN THE ABSENCE OF A COMPETENT AUTHORITY ON THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL AND ONCE PEACEFUL MEANS HAVE BEEN EXHAUSTED.

BUT WE SEEK TO LIMIT WARFARE AND TO HUMANIZE IT, WHERE IT REMAINS A LAST RESORT, IN THE MAXIMUM DEGREE POSSIBLE. MOST OF ALL, WE URGE THE ENLISTING OF THE ENERGIES OF ALL MEN OF GOOD WILL IN FORGING THE INSTRUMENTS OF PEACE, TO THE END THAT WAR MAY AT LONG LAST BE OUTLAWED.

Meanwhile, we are gratefully conscious that "those who are pledged to the service of their country as members of its armed forces should regard themselves as agents of security and freedom on behalf of their people. As long as they fulfill this role properly, they are making a genuine contribution to the establishment of peace".

Peace cannot be reduced solely to the maintenance of a balance of power between enemies; nor is it to be brought about by dictatorship, whether this be the imposition of the sheer will of a ruler, a party or even a majority. It is an enterprise of justice and must be built up ceaselessly in seeking to satisfy the all-embracing demands of the common good. This is the point of Pope Paul's positive, dynamic concept of peace: the modern word for peace is development.

Peace therefore presupposes the fraternal confidence which manifests itself in a firm determination to respect other persons and peoples, above all their human dignity, and to collaborate with them in the pursuit of the shared hopes of mankind.

Arms Control

It is in nuclear warfare, even in its "cold" phase or form, that mankind confronts the moral issue of modern war in its extreme case. This has become a situation in which two adversaries possess and

the multiple moral aspects of these awesome prospects.

The Second Vatican Council, in a solemn declaration, endorsed "the condemnation of total warfare issued by recent popes" and stated:

"Every act of war directed to the indiscriminate destruction of whole cities or vast areas with their inhabitants is a crime against God and man which merits firm and unequivocal condemnation."

The Council explicitly condemned the use of weapons of mass destruction, but abstained from condemning the possession of such weapons to deter "possible enemy attack" (n. 81). Though not passing direct judgment on this strategy of deterrence, the Council did declare that "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 pure and authentic peace. Rather than being eliminated thereby, the causes of war threaten to grow gradually stronger. . . . Therefore it must be said again: the arms race is an utterly treacherous trap for humanity, and one which ensnares the poor to an intolerable degree" (n. 81).

The Council did not call for unilateral disarmament; Christian morality is not lacking in realism. But it did call for reciprocal or collective disarmament "proceeding at an equal pace according to agreement and backed up by authentic and workable safeguards". There are hopeful signs that such a formula

"A Catholic position of opposition to compulsory peacetime military service, has had for its premise the fact that such service has been a contributing cause of the breeding of actual wars, a part of the "great armaments" and "armed peace" security concept. We welcome the voices lifted up among our political leaders which ask for a total review of the draft system."

may be strengthened by the Partial Test Ban Treaty and that the commitment under the Non-Proliferation Treaty to proceed to a negotiation of balanced reductions of nuclear weapons—at the same time extending the use of nuclear power for peaceful development of the needy nations under adequate inspection safeguards—may provide a positive, sane pattern for the future. We earnestly pray so, commending the furtherance of these hopes to responsible political leaders and to the support of all citizens.

Meanwhile, it is greatly to be desired that such prospects not be dashed by irrational resolves to keep ahead in "assured destruction" capability. Rather it is to be hoped that the early ratification by the Senate of the Non-Proliferation Treaty—which in essence is a Treaty between the USSR and the US and other nations—will hasten discussion of across the board reductions by the big powers. Despite, and even because of, the provocations in Eastern Europe and elsewhere, the United States should continue steps to create a better climate for these discussions, such as taking the lead in inviting the UN Atomic Energy Commission and other organizations and foreign states to visit its nuclear facilities, and scrupulously reviewing all commitments for the sale, loan or lease of armaments.

The Council's position on the arms race was clear. To recall it: "Therefore, we declare once again: the arms race is an utterly treacherous trap for humanity. . . . It is much to be feared that if this race per-

ars throughout the world to participate more fully in such studies, so we call upon intellectuals in the Church in our land to bring scholarly competence and their powers of persuasion to that "war on war" which the modern Popes have without exception pleaded that we wage.

We urge Catholics, and indeed all our countrymen, to make a ceaseless vigil of prayers for peace and for all those who are charged with the delicate and difficult negotiations of disarmament. Such prayers provide the most obvious and appropriate occasion for ecumenical services bringing together all in our communities who cherish the blessed vision of peace heralded by the Hebrew prophets and preached by Christ and His Apostles.

We cannot but question the depth of the commitment to peace of people of religious background who no longer pray for peace. But those who only pray for peace, leaving to others the arduous work for peace, the dialogue for peace, have a defective theology concerning the relation between human action and the accomplishment of that will of God in which is our peace. So, too, those who, neglectful of the part of prayer, rely only on their own power, or on the pooling of merely human resources on intelligence, energy and even good will, forget the wisdom of Scripture: "If the Lord does not build the house, in vain the masons toil; if the Lord does not guard the city, in vain the sentries watch" (Psalm 127, 1-2).

lawed, and practices in dealing with civilian populations, prisoners of war and refugees are always in need of review and reform.

Here, too, our dependence on responsible writers, informed speakers and competent critics is crucial to the cause of peace. Hence we encourage Catholic scholars to undertake systematic studies of new developments, theories and practices in warfare, including guerrilla warfare, revolution and "wars of liberation."

A Catholic position of opposition to compulsory peacetime military service, first formulated on the level of the Holy See by Pope Benedict XV, has had for its premise the fact that such service has been a contributing cause of the breeding of actual wars, a part of the "great armaments" and "armed peace" security concept.

IN THE SPIRIT OF THIS POSITION, WE WELCOME THE VOICES LIFTED UP AMONG OUR POLITICAL LEADERS WHICH ASK FOR A TOTAL REVIEW OF THE DRAFT SYSTEM AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF VOLUNTARY MILITARY SERVICE IN A PROFESSIONAL ARMY WITH DEMOCRATIC SAFEGUARDS AND FOR CLEAR PURPOSES OF ADEQUATE DEFENSE.

OUR CALL FOR THE END OF ANY DRAFT SYSTEM AT HOME WHICH, IN PRACTICE, AMOUNTS AT TIMES TO COMPULSORY PEACETIME MILITARY SERVICE IS IN DIRECT LINE WITH PREVIOUS RESOLUTIONS OF THE HIERARCHY OF THE UNITED STATES ON COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING (CF. OUR BISHOPS SPEAK, PP. 234, 237).

Apart from the question of war itself, we deem it opportune here to reiterate the Council's condemnation of genocide, the methodical extermination of an entire people, nation or ethnic minority for reasons connected with race, religion or status such as that undertaken by the Nazis against the Jews against their own citizens and later against all the Jewish people, as well as so-called "gypsies."

We would urge United States ratification of the United Nations Convention on this subject and of every other sound implementing instrument by which the United States Declaration of Human Rights can be translated from the level of ideals to that of actuality. Furthermore, we urge increased support by our countrymen and citizens of all nations of all international programs consistent with

"We earnestly appeal to our own government and to all governments to give the elimination of the present international "war system" a priority consistent with the damaging effect of massive armament programs on all the objectives of the good society: education, public health, a true sense of security, prosperity, maximum liberty, the flourishing of the humane arts and sciences, in a word the service of life itself."

surge of exaggerated forms of nationalism and isolationism which the teachings of all churches reprove and the experience of World War II had, we hoped, forever discredited.

It is the duty of our political leadership, of citizens and especially of believers who acknowledge the brotherhood of man, to promote and develop the spirit of international concern, cooperation and understanding.

Vietnam

In a . . . statement we ventured a tentative judgment that, on

FLICTS ARE TOO COMPLICATED TO BE SOLVED BY THE EXTERNAL APPLICATION OF FORCE AND TECHNOLOGY.

ANOTHER MIGHT BE THE REALIZATION THAT SOME EVILS EXISTING IN THE WORLD, EVILS SUCH AS UNDERNUTRITION, ECONOMIC FRUSTRATION, SOCIAL STAGNATION AND POLITICAL INJUSTICES, MAY BE MORE READILY ATTACKED AND CORRECTED THROUGH NON-MILITARY MEANS, THAN BY MILITARY EFFORTS TO

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(Continued from Page 10) COUNTERACT THE SUBVERSIVE FORCES BENT ON THE EXPLOITATION.

In addition, may we not that violence will be universally credited as a means of remedying human ills, and that the spirit love "may overcome the hate that divide, cherish the bond of mutual charity, understand and pardon those who have them wrong?" (Pacem in T Article 171).

The Role of Conscience

The war in Vietnam typifies issues which present and future generations will be less willing to leave entirely to the normal political and bureaucratic process of national decision-making.

It is not surprising that those are most critical, even intemperate in their discussion of war as a instrument of national policy or ready means to the settling of wrongs, are among the young burden of killing and dying principally of them.

There is sometimes ground for question as to whether the attitude of some toward military duty, not spring from cowardice. If, in fact, as in all crises which generosity and heroism, cast

Chrysler - SCL Development

ATLANTA (RNS)—Chrysler Corporation, the nation's third largest automotive manufacturer, has completed negotiations with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference for a major program designed to assist in economic development of the black community.

The Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, president of the SCLC, announced details of the unprecedented program in a statement issued here.

Major facets of the program include:

- Chrysler's agreement to deposit \$100,000 a month in each of three Negro-operated banks, an annual gross deposit of \$3.6 million.
- An extensive training program designed to prepare 2,000 to 3,000 Negro men for employment as auto mechanics.
- Agreement by Chrysler dealers in the Atlanta area to hire some of these trainees.

Holy Cross Brother To Advise Lesotho

Washington, D.C. — (RNS)—A Brother in a Catholic religious order has been named food consultant to the tiny kingdom of Lesotho in southern Africa.

Brother Herman E. Zaccarelli, international director of the Food Research Center for Religious Institutions, North Easton, Mass., and a member of the Holy Cross community was appointed to the new post.

His duties, according to a spokesman for the Lesotho Embassy here, will include teaching the citizens of the tiny state to utilize their natural food resources to their best advantage through modern techniques of food processing and development.

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