

# The Third Draft

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again because of criticism that the pastoral did not make clear that some of its arguments are morally binding and some are open to debate.

The third draft, written by a committee of five bishops headed by Cardinal Joseph Bernardin of Chicago, was released a little more than two months after Cardinal Bernardin and other representatives of the U.S. bishops met at the Vatican to discuss the pastoral with Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, papal secretary of state, and with representatives of European bishops.

Documents sent the U.S. bishops in March revealed that among the major issues discussed at the meeting was the second draft's analysis of deterrence, particularly in light of Pope John Paul II's remarks on deterrence last year, and its views on no first use of nuclear weapons.

On deterrence — the concept that stockpiling arms will deter the enemy from attacking — the new draft argues for a "strictly conditioned moral acceptance" of the principle, but quickly adds that deterrence is not adequate as a long-term basis for peace and says there must be "continual public scrutiny" of deterrence policies.

As did the second draft, the third draft calls attention to Pope John Paul's statement to the United Nations last June that deterrence based on balance may be judged "morally acceptable" when not used as an end in itself and when used as a step toward disarmament.

But the new draft also attempts to relate Pope John Paul's general views on deterrence to specific U.S. policies.

The draft welcomes the fact that declared U.S. deterrence policy now excludes targeting civilian populations, but it notes that such a targeting scheme by itself does not make the policy moral. Many military targets are within civilian population centers, the draft says, meaning that if the deterrent is unleashed it is likely to cause massive

civilian death, violating the moral principle of proportionality.

That principle says the good to be achieved by a particular military action must be proportional to the evil inflicted.

"These considerations of concrete elements of a deterrence policy made in light of John Paul II's evaluation, but applying it through our own prudential judgments, lead us to a strictly conditioned moral acceptance of deterrence," the third draft says. "We cannot consider it adequate for a long-term basis for peace."

The draft makes several "judgments and recommendations" on the present direction of U.S. strategic policy, though some are the same or similar to recommendations in the second draft. However, the third draft deletes a specific reference to the MX missile, which the second draft said "might fit" the category of a first strike weapon.

The discussion on first use, meanwhile, continues to oppose the initiation of nuclear war on any scale.

"Because of the probable effects, the deliberate initiation of nuclear war, in our judgment, would be an unjustifiable moral risk," according to the new draft.

But in an entirely new addendum to the "first use" section, the third draft recognizes the "responsibility the United States has had and continues to have to protect allied nations from either a conventional or a nuclear attack."

Noting that NATO's refusal to renounce first use of nuclear weapons has enhanced its deterrence against conventional attack the bishops nonetheless "support NATO's moving rapidly toward the adoption of a 'no first use' policy and doing so in tandem with development of an adequate alternative defense posture."

As for the nuclear freeze, the backing away in the third draft comes in a separate section on "specific steps to reduce the danger of war."

Though not mentioning

the freeze movement by name, the second draft said: "We urge the immediate end, by agreement of the nuclear states and to the extent compliance is verifiable, to the further development, production and deployment of major new nuclear weapons and delivery systems. Not only should development and deployment of new weapons cease, the number of existing weapons must be reduced in a manner which lessens the danger of war."

At the same time though the third draft says that "the urgent need for control of the arms race requires a willingness for each side to take some first steps, that is, some independent initiatives."

It argues that there is precedent for successful independent initiatives, citing President Kennedy's announcement in 1963 that the U.S. would unilaterally forego further nuclear testing. A month later, according to the draft pastoral, Nikita Khrushchev "proposed a limited test ban which eventually became the basis of the U.S.-Soviet partial test ban treaty."

In this same section the third draft offers a new analysis of the relationship of nuclear and conventional defenses.

While acknowledging "reluctantly" that it is more costly to maintain a conventional deterrent than a nuclear deterrent, the bishops say it is their hope that "a significant reduction in numbers of conventional arms and weaponry would go hand in hand with diminishing reliance on nuclear deterrence."

The third draft also repeats the second draft's call for an independent commission to study whether current civil defense plans "or any other plans offer a realistic prospect of survival."

Other elements of the new draft pastoral include:

- A repeat of the second draft's link of abortion and peace as issues involving "reverence for life." The third draft, in an addition to the second, also wonders aloud why many who

support the bishops on protecting innocent human beings from the horrors of nuclear war do not also support them on protecting innocent human life in the womb.

- Several revisions in a concluding section of messages to individual Catholics, such as those in the military or defense industry. The draft tells Catholics in the military that the bishops recognize the demanding moral standards they follow and remarks that the pastoral letter is not intended to "create problems" for them. It tells Catholics in defense industries that the bishops "do not presume or pretend that clear answers exist to many of the personal and professional choices facing you."

- A section urging "every diocese and parish to implement balanced and objective educational programs to help people at all age levels to understand better the issues of war and peace."

- An endorsement of proposals to establish a United States Academy of Peace to provide a center for peace studies and activities.

- A reiteration of the second draft's analysis that a more integrated international system is needed to respond to the world's participation in multilateral development is an essential element of world security.



## Child's Play

Timothy and Cynthia Strickler play with military toys bought with a few coins at a neighborhood yard sale. Child's play today for some may forecast roles in life and death decision-making in the future when technology will make weapons more destructive than any in the past. (NC photo by Davis S. Strickler)

# A Pastoral's Progress

Washington (NC) — The third draft of the U.S. bishops' pastoral letter on war and peace, released April 6, marks what is expected to be the final phase in the pastoral's development.

Here is a brief history of the pastoral's progress.

November 1980: At the annual Fall meeting of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, several bishops urge a reassessment or restatement of Church teaching on various war and peace issues. Several different proposals are given to the NCCB leadership for a decision on a course of study or action.

January 1981: The NCCB leadership decides to form a committee to study the proposals and make recommendations. Archbishop Joseph L. Bernardin of Cincinnati (now Cardinal Bernardin of Chicago) is named to head the NCCB ad hoc committee on war and peace.

Spring 1981: Archbishop Bernardin names four committee members: Bishop George Fulcher (then Auxiliary Bishop of Columbus, Ohio, now Ordinary of Lafayette, Ind.); Bishop Reilly of Norwich, Conn.; Auxiliary Bishop Thomas Gumbleton of Detroit, president of the U.S. branch of the Catholic Peace Organization, Pax Christi; and Auxiliary Bishop John O'Connor of the U.S. Military Ordinariate.

July 1981: The committee formally begins its work, which over the next year will include 14 meetings with witnesses

ranging from current and former government officials and defense experts to pacifists, from theologians and moralists to specialists in political science and international diplomacy.

November 1981: Archbishop Bernardin reports back to the annual bishops' meeting on the progress of his committee's work. After reviewing the current state of Church teaching on nuclear weapons, he strikes a prophetic note, asking whether the time might not have arrived for a "new judgment" on specific moral issues of nuclear war and deterrence that the Church has not yet addressed definitively.

June 1982: The first draft of a national war and peace pastoral is distributed to the U.S. bishops during a special assembly for prayer and reflection in Collegeville, Minn. Although it is labeled "confidential," it almost immediately gets leaked to the press and makes national headlines.

September 1982: Archbishop Bernardin announces that, because of the overwhelming response to the first draft and interest expressed by the bishops in having an opportunity to discuss the pastoral at more length before voting on it, the committee will have a second draft ready for the November meeting, but it

will not be brought to a vote.

October 1982: The second draft of the letter is sent to the U.S. bishops and released to the press.

November 1982: Meeting in Washington, the U.S. Bishops devote about half their annual assembly to discussion of the pastoral letter. In mid-meeting the Reagan administration sends the bishops an open letter criticizing some of the draft's positions. The bishops agree overwhelmingly to call an extraordinary national meeting in May to consider the third draft.

January 1983: As a result of the committee's initiatives in seeking comment on successive drafts from the Holy See and from a number of bishops' conferences in Europe, the Holy See convenes an informal two-day consultation on the pastoral, bringing U.S., European and Vatican representatives together to discuss it.

April 1983: The third draft of the pastoral is distributed to the U.S. bishops and released to the press.

May 1983: The nation's bishops to meet in Chicago May 2-3 to discuss the third draft, to amend it, and most probably to vote on whether to adopt it as a national pastoral letter.

## Third Draft in Brief

Washington (NC) — Here in brief is what the third draft of the U.S. Bishops' proposed pastoral letter on war and peace says:

- Initiation of nuclear war at any level is "an unjustifiable moral risk." Nations should adhere to a "no first use" policy.

- Limited nuclear exchanges must also be questioned since they may not be controllable and may not have a reasonable hope of success.

- No weapons may ever be used to destroy population centers or civilian targets. Even when the direct target is military, the principle of proportionality would rule out targeting if the indirect civilian casualty toll would be too great.

- While every nation has a right and duty to defend itself against unjust aggression, offensive war of any kind is not morally justifiable.

- Deterrence policies are

morally acceptable only on a strictly conditioned basis. They must not be an end in themselves but be a step toward progressive disarmament.

- Immediate bilateral and verifiable agreements to curb the testing, production and deployment of new nuclear weapons systems are supported, followed by deep cuts in the arsenals of both superpowers.

- Because of the increasing interdependence of the world, the U.S. should promote political and economic policies aimed at meeting the needs of the world's poor. Such policies are an essential element of a peaceful world. The U.S. also should adopt a stronger supportive leadership role in the United Nations.

- Though Americans need have no illusions about Soviet power and the Soviet system of repression, the "irreducible truth" is that the two superpowers have mutual interests.

- While the debate within

the Church over war and peace should be expressed in the framework of Catholic moral teaching, there also should be mutual respect, civility and charity among participants in the debate.

- Prayer and penance also are essential elements of peace. As one form of penance, Catholics should consider returning to the tradition of fast and abstinence on all Fridays for peace.

- While the concept in scripture of peace has been understood in a variety of ways and contexts, scripture still provides a unique source of revelation on war and peace issues.

- The Church's theological traditions of just war and non-violence are distinct but complementary. Each contributes to the full moral vision needed in the pursuit of peace.

- Parishes and dioceses should implement education programs that promote a better understanding of war and peace issues.

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