

Isolationism

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strongly debated in the drafting of the document.

He said the drafting committee, however, did not share the Detroit auxiliary's judgment that the United States no longer meets the conditions the bishops have spelled out for a morally acceptable nuclear deterrence stance — the key issue the bishops debated 10 years earlier in their peace pastoral as well.

Several of Bishop Gumbleton's amendments were accepted in part, strengthening the statement's attention to nuclear weapons as a continuing threat in the world and to the rich-poor gap as a form of growing injustice and violence.

Archbishop Roach said the amendments rejected "sought to fundamentally shift our approach or to alter the basic judgments of the peace pastoral."

"This reflection acknowledges diverse points of view in our church on nuclear deterrence and just-war theory," he said, but it "focuses not on our differences, but on the agenda we share."

More than 150 amendments to the statement were approved without floor debate — most of them from Cardinals Bernard F. Law of Boston and John J. O'Connor of New York, Archbishop William H. Keeler of Baltimore, Bishops Walter F. Sullivan of Richmond, Va., and Fabian W. Bruskewitz of Lincoln, Neb., and Auxiliary Bishop P. Francis Murphy of Baltimore.

Bishop Gumbleton's unsuccessful efforts to inject a more dramatic anti-war

stance into the statement provoked a suggestion from Bishop Francis A. Quinn of Sacramento, Calif., that the conference should ask him to head an ad hoc committee to draft "a prophetic statement about war and violence" which might be issued by the committee if not by the whole conference.

Bishop Murphy recalled that back in 1968 "Bishop Gumbleton was a lone voice" in the conference arguing that U.S. involvement in Vietnam was immoral. Eventually the bishops' conference as a whole came to agree with that judgment, Bishop Murphy said.

"Now, 10 years after 'The Challenge of Peace,' we renew our call to peacemaking in a dramatically different world," says the new statement. "The 'challenge of peace' today is different, but no less urgent. Although the nuclear threat is not as imminent, international justice, bloody regional wars and a lethal conventional arms trade are continuing signs that the world is still marked by pervasive violence and conflict."

The statement renews and expands on the peace pastoral's discussions of peace based on a just international order.

It says that to achieve this, nations and the world community must promote human rights, economic and social development, participatory government and nonviolent resolution of conflicts.

It notes that the nuclear danger is not the dire singular threat that it was a decade ago and devotes considerably less attention to nuclear issues than the 1983 pastoral did.

It focuses much more than the 1983 document on other problems of injustice, violence and conventional conflicts that threaten or destroy peace.

"At the same time it says: 'Some major tasks identified 10 years ago need to be addressed, including a no first-use policy for nuclear weapons, a comprehensive test-ban treaty and effective action to halt nuclear proliferation.'"

Echoing the 1983 pastoral on nuclear issues, it says: "We must continue to say No to the very idea of nuclear war ... Nuclear deterrence may be justified only as a step on the way toward progressive disarmament. The end of the Cold War, according to the Holy See, 'challenges the world community to adopt a post-nu-

Intervention

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The archbishop said the rights of ethnic groups to self-determination must be respected, but they cannot claim their rights at the expense of other people or other ethnic groups.

The "right to be different" must be defended, he said, because it is closely tied to the dignity of the human person.

Even more than the need for international guarantees that the right to be different is not abused, he said, there is a need for "a world morality" which in action as well as words places a supreme value on protecting human life.



AP/Wide World Photos

Somali women carry their children in need of medical attention to a U.N. clinic at a Pakistan-controlled checkpoint in Mogadishu.

clear form of security. That security lies in the abolition of nuclear weapons and the strengthening of international law."

"The eventual elimination of nuclear weapons is more than a moral ideal; it should be a policy goal," it adds.

"An active commitment by the United States to nuclear disarmament and the strengthening of collective security is the only moral basis for temporarily retaining our (nuclear) deterrent and our insistence that other nations forego these weapons," it says.

In a subtle but significant shift beyond the peace pastoral, the new statement suggests even more strongly than the pastoral that nations and societies as well as individuals should commit themselves to nonviolent forms of conflict resolution and response to aggression.

It cites "the success of nonviolent methods in recent history" — referring to the successful nonviolent revolutions in the Philippines and in many parts of Eastern Europe — as a reason for hope that nonviolent resistance to oppression or injustice "can be an effective public undertaking" as well as a legitimate "personal option or vocation."

On the personal level it reaffirms that within Catholic moral teaching an individual may hold a position of universal conscientious objection, or opposition to all warfare, or of selective conscientious objection — objection to a particular form of military service or to service in a particular war because a person conscientiously judges it to be immoral.

Repeating the call of the peace pastoral, the statement urges the United States to assure legal protection of the rights of both universal and selective

conscientious objectors.

The statement reiterates the traditional just-war principles in Catholic teaching, stressing that "the just-war tradition is not a weapon to be used to justify a political conclusion, but a way of moral reasoning to discern the ethical limits of action."

It warns that "increasing violence in our society" and a "growing insensitivity to the sacredness of life" make it even more difficult today to put the life-respecting principles of just war teaching into practice.

"Ten years after 'The Challenge of Peace,' we remain skeptical that, given the neglect of peaceable virtues and the destructiveness of today's weaponry, modern war in all its savagery can meet the hard tests set by the just war tradition," it says.

It calls on Catholics and others of good will to develop the virtues of peacemakers in their own lives.

It commits the church anew to teaching about peace, praying for it and advocating peace and justice in American public life.

Chairing the nine-bishop writing committee that prepared the new statement was Bishop Daniel P. Reilly of Norwich, Conn., a member of the original drafting committee that wrote the peace pastoral.

Also on the committee were Cardinal Joseph L. Bernardin of Chicago, a former NCCB president and chairman of the original drafting committee for the peace pastoral; Cardinal Roger M. Mahony of Los Angeles; and two other former NCCB presidents: Archbishop Roach and Bishop James W. Malone of Youngstown, Ohio.

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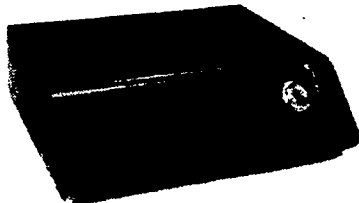
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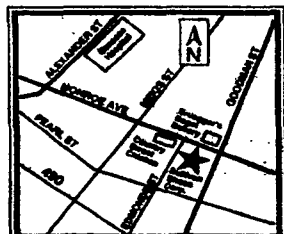
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