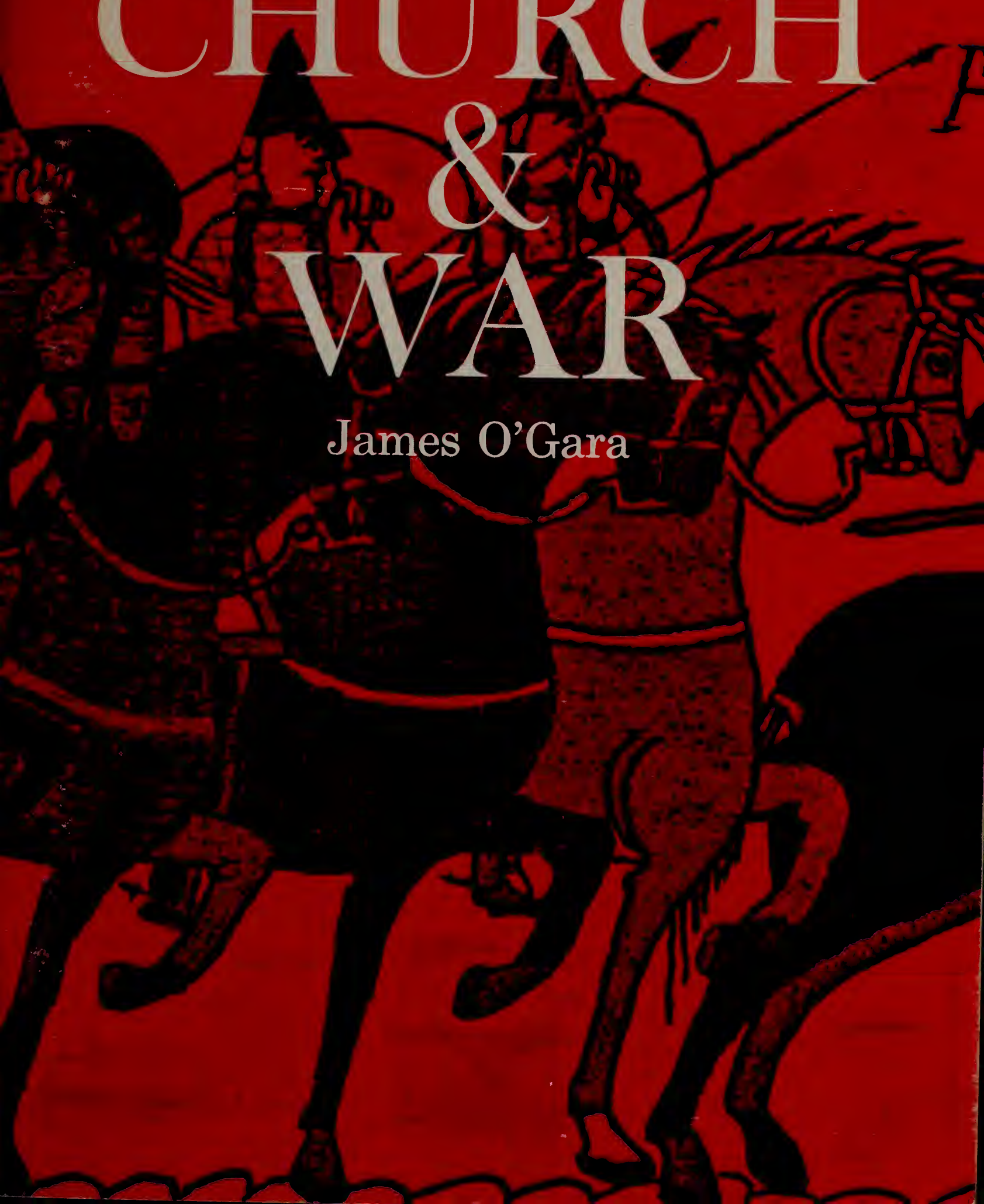


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# THE CHURCH & WAR

James O'Gara



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**THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN**

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THE CHURCH  
AND  
WAR

by

JAMES O'GARA

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NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN

# THE GIBSON

## TO

### 1944

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# *Introduction*

The question of war and peace cannot be a matter of indifference to any rational man, let alone a Christian. "Deliver us, O Lord," we pray, "from pestilence, famine and war!" Yet every day the weapons of war grow more and more "efficient," more and more terrible.

Men today live under a heavy weight of fear. Some have learned to live with this fear, pushing it out of their consciousness. Others are more conscious of the omnipresent danger in which we live. Over all alike hangs the deadly possibility of thermonuclear war. To our generation falls the dubious distinction of being able, for the first time in history, to lay waste the earth and destroy the human race.

In these circumstances Christian questions about the morality of war are essential — although this fact, which should be so obvious, seems to escape many. No one can expect the Church to supply any simple answer to complex questions like those in Vietnam. However, as Father John Courtney Murray suggests, the task is made infinitely harder by the fact that many Catholics seem completely unfamiliar with Christian tradition on war and violence — so much so that they are surprised by any attempt to determine the norms for a just war, or to discover the limits beyond which we must not proceed in warfare on pain of sin, that this should be so is a great scandal.

There are, of course, those who consider the Christian quest for peace impossibly idealistic. "Wars have always taken place," these people say; "they always will." So too some people used to talk about slavery, yet in point of fact slavery has now disappeared from large parts of the world. In similar fashion, wars which once were waged between individual families and clans and tribes are today largely limited to those between nations. Will we one day see fear of that kind of war eliminated also? Will a future international court rule on the

methods and weapons of warfare? Will every state in time find it must yield that part of its sovereignty which now makes possible war between nations?

It was at least to raise questions like these that "The Church and War" was conceived. It is not intended to present my views on war and peace, nor those of any one individual; rather it represented an attempt to focus on what great Popes and Christian thinkers have said on the subject over the course of the Church's life. Obviously, to undertake such a task in four parts demanded extreme selectivity; if there are those on one side or the other who are unhappy with my selections, I can only emphasize that I tried my best to be balanced and fair in presenting this very complex subject.

The problem presented is unquestionably crucial. We all owe a duty to the political community in which we live, and to our leaders. Nonetheless, there clearly must be limits to our loyalty. Certainly we cannot follow the example of Eichmann, obeying blindly and insisting that we are only following orders. The Christian who makes a god of the State and obeys without question betrays the one true God of the Old and New Testaments. That such men exist in our time, and that modern war is more horrible because of this fact, none can deny. On the other hand, there have always been the peacemakers; there have always been those who take Christian tradition seriously those who, like Pope Paul VI, insist that peace must be a matter of central Christian concern. It is to such men and their cause that this booklet is dedicated.

— JAMES O'GARA



# HOW TO USE THE CHURCH AND WAR

Lay organizations, CCD classes, teachers and study clubs can use this booklet to stimulate their members or students to think about their role in promoting peace in today's world. A simple format for using this booklet is: each participant in turn reads a paragraph aloud while the others follow from their copies. Discussion questions for each of the four parts are provided in the booklet to stimulate an exchange of views and attitudes among the participants.

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# I

## THE EARLY CHURCH

Reliable statistics about Vietnam are hard to come by, but it is estimated that at least 250,000 persons have been killed there since 1957. By mid-October of 1966, the United States had over 300,000 troops in Vietnam, and the number of American dead and wounded in the first nine months of that year fell just short of 25,000. By mid-September of 1966, American dead were averaging 100 a week and that figure was expected to mount.

We think of ours as an age of war and violence and with good reason. World War II, Korea, Vietnam — Americans by the millions have participated in these wars and some have even fought in all three. But ours is not the first age of war and violence, by any means. In almost every age the innocent blood of the victims of war has cried out to heaven, and some have come to accept this state of affairs as an almost routine fact of life. For the Christian, however, war and violence and bloodshed can never be routine, can never be accepted casually. St. Paul's epistle to the Romans reiterates why:

“To no man rendering evil for evil . . . If it be possible, as much as is in you, have peace with all men. Revenge not yourselves, my dearly beloved; but give place unto wrath, for it is written: Revenge is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord. But if thy enemy be hungry, give him to eat; if he thirst, give him to drink . . . Be not overcome by evil: but overcome by good.” (Ch 12:17-21)

Christianity, then, is a religion of peace, not of war. Violence and killing are clearly repugnant to the Christian spirit. Even so, though, can a Christian participate in a war declared by the state? Does war so obviously contradict the Gospel message of love that a Christian is necessarily barred from taking part in it?

To this large question there can be no simple, easy response, but to help us find at least the beginnings of an answer we turn to history. What have Christians thought about war and peace over the centuries? What to begin with, did the followers of Christ in the first few centuries think on the subject?

The social effects of Christianity are described by St. Justin. Reflecting on the implications of the Incarnation, St. Justin said:

“We who hated and slew one another, and because of (differences in) customs would not share a common hearth with those who were not of our tribe, now after the appearance of Christ, have become sociable, and pray for our enemies, and try to persuade those who hate (us) unjustly in order that they, living according to the good suggestions of Christ, may share our hope of obtaining the same (reward) from the God who is Master of all . . . and as to loving all (men), He has taught as follows: ‘If you love (only) those who love you, what new thing do you do? for even fornicators do this. But I say to you: pray for your enemies and love those who hate you and bless those who curse you and pray for those who act spitefully toward you.’ ”

Another of the early Christian witnesses was Athenagoras, who was perhaps the first Christian writer to elaborate a philosophical defense of the doctrine of the Trinity. Writing in the second century after Christ, Athenagoras also discussed some of the implications of the Gospel among the early Christians:

“We have learnt not only not to strike back and not to go to law with those who plunder and rob us, but with some

if they buffet us on the side of the head, to offer the other side of the head to them for a blow, and with others if they take away our tunic to give them also our cloak.”

A comparable point of view on violence was expressed by St. Clement of Alexandria. Also writing in the second century, St. Clement said:

“Above all, Christians are not allowed to correct by violence sinful wrongdoings. For (it is) not those who abstain from evil by compulsion but those (who abstain) by choice (that) God crowns. For it is not possible for a man to be good steadily except by his own choice.”

It was with this general mentality that the early Christians first approached the question of military service in the forces of the Roman Empire. In the beginning, however, few really confronted the question as a practical difficulty. Until somewhere around the end of the second century, the question of military service was not a pressing one for Christians. The Romans normally did not practice universal conscription, and except in very unusual circumstances no one was forced to serve in the army. Indeed, slaves and Jews, with whom in the early days Christians were identified, were not even eligible for service. Thus in the first century and a half there seem to have been few if any Christian soldiers and as a consequence little or no detailed consideration by the Church of what was not really a crucial problem. At the same time those who did speak made their views very clear. One of these was St. Cyprian, who said:

“The world is wet with mutual blood (shed): and homicide is a crime when individuals commit it, (but) it is called a virtue when many commit it. Not the reason of innocence, but the magnitude of savagery assures impunity for crimes.”

Condemnatory references to war abound in this period and even later. Arnobius was a leading Christian apologist in the time of Diocletian. He contrasts Christ with the rulers of the Roman empire and asks:

“Did he, claiming royal power for himself, occupy the whole world with fierce legions, and, (of) nations at peace from the beginning, destroy and remove some, and compel others to put their necks beneath his yoke and obey him? . . . What use is it to the world that there should (be) . . . generals of the greatest experience in warfare, skilled in the capture of cities, (and) soldiers immoveable and invincible in cavalry battles or in a fight on foot?”

Arnobius denied that God intended that men, “forgetting that they are from one source, one parent and head, should tear up and break down the rights of kingship, overturn their cities, devastate land in enmity, make slaves of free men, violate maidens and other men’s wives, hate one another, envy the joys and good fortune of others, in a word all curse, carp at and rend one another with the biting of savage teeth.”

A famous pupil of Arnobius was Lactantius, whom Constantine was to make tutor to his son. In his “Divine Institutes” Lactantius frequently refers to war as one of the great blots on human history. Speaking of the Romans, Lactantius said:

“Truly the more men they have afflicted, despoiled, (and) slain, the more noble and renowned do they think themselves; and, captured by the appearance of empty glory, they give the name of excellence of their crimes. Now I would rather that they should make gods of themselves from the slaughter of wild beasts than that they should approve of an immortality so bloody. If anyone has slain a single man, he is regarded as contaminated and wicked, nor do they think it right that he should be admitted to the earthly dwelling of the gods. But he who has slaughtered endless thousands of men, deluged the fields with blood, (and) infected rivers (with it) is admitted not only to a temple, but even to heaven.”

Eusebius is often called the Father of Church History. Born about the year 260, he was the Bishop of Caesarea and the author of one of the principal sources for the history of Chris-

tianity from the apostolic age to his own day. In his writings Eusebius discussed the incessant occurrence of warfare in pre-Christian times, and in large part he blames this on the instigation of demons tyrannizing over the nations that worshipped them.

All the early Christian writers against war were profoundly influenced by the Old Testament prophecy, found both in Isaias and Micah, foretelling the abolition of war and the Messianic age:

“And many nations shall come in haste and say: Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord and to the house of the God of Jacob: And he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths, for the law shall come forth out of Sion: and the word of the Lord out of Jerusalem. And he shall judge among many people and rebuke strong nations afar off: and they shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into spades. Nation shall not take sword against nation: neither shall they learn war any more.” (Micah. Ch. 4:2-3)

This ancient prophecy about the coming of the Messiah is quoted again and again by Christian writers, who argued that it is being fulfilled by the spread of Christianity, because Christians are peace-loving people who do not make war. Quoting the Old Testament prophecy of peace, St. Justin says:

“And that this has happened, you can be persuaded. For from Jerusalem twelve men went out into the world and these (were) unlearned, unable to speak. But by (the) power of God they told every race of men that they had been sent by Christ to teach all (men) the word of God. And we, who were formerly slayers of one another, not only do not make war upon our enemies, but, for the sake of neither lying nor deceiving those who examine us, gladly die confessing Christ.”

To the modern Christian, a striking fact about the writing of early Christians on war and violence is the apparent absence of any question about defending others from violence and evil. It seems to be taken for granted that if a man will

not avenge his own wrongs, he certainly will not avenge those of others — a position, it should be noted, quite the opposite of that of many modern Christian thinkers who may be quite willing to turn the other cheek themselves but who feel it is their duty to defend the innocent against unjust attack.

The early writers who insisted that Christians could not accept military service did so, of course, knowing full well that war figured largely in the Old Testament. This fact seems not to have troubled them, however. For them the wars of the Old Testament and the principles of peace associated with Christ appear to have formed two separate realms. Indeed, the wars waged by Jews of old could be seen as just wars, inspired by God, an approach that somewhat foreshadows St. Augustine's later concept of a just war.

The conditions of life in the Old Testament and those of Christians under a pagan state were, of course, quite different. Reluctance to participate in pagan rites in honor of a divine emperor would obviously reinforce a Christian's basic reluctance for military service. However, Tertullian specifically states that in considering the problem of military service he had in mind those of lower rank who would not have to take part in pagan sacrifices. Nonetheless, Tertullian insisted, "There is no agreement between the divine and the human sacrament, the standard of Christ and the standard of the devil."

"Shall it be held lawful to make an occupation of the sword, when the Lord proclaims that he who uses the sword shall perish by the sword? And shall the son of peace take part in the battle when it does not become him even to sue at law? And shall he apply the chain, and the prison, and the torture, and the punishment, who is not the avenger even of his own wrongs?"

So said Tertullian. At the same time, though, this same Tertullian praised and upheld the position of the emperor



and the stability of the empire. Christians, he said, regard the emperor as a man who received his appointment and power from God. A similar attitude is found among many others of the early writers. In this matter, St. Paul again sets the tone. Writing to the Christians at Rome, he specifically warned them against any anarchical tendencies to defy the government and refuse to pay taxes. Said St. Paul:

“Let every soul be subject to higher powers. For there is no power but from God: and those that are ordained of God. Therefore, he that resists the power resists the ordinance of God and they that resist purchase to themselves damnation. For princes are not a terror to the good work but to the evil.” (Romans Ch. 13:1-3)

The early Christian writers, like St. Paul, seem to have viewed the state as a useful and necessary institution, ordained by God for the security of life and property, the preservation of peace and the prevention and punishment of the more public forms of human sin. At the same time, during the first two centuries they refused to participate in military service and indeed in almost any area of responsibility or authority in the Roman state. How is one to explain this?

One possible explanation is that Christians of the period felt themselves barred by the Sermon on the Mount from violence which pagans could still legitimately employ. Undoubtedly the obligation of those in public service to take sacrilegious oaths on occasion further closed the question as far as they were concerned. In any case, it is clear that during the first two centuries Christians considered it impossible to reconcile their beliefs with service to the pagan state. This is one of the reasons pagans like Celsus attacked Christians; if all refused to serve as Christians did, he said, the empire would fall to the Barbarians.

For their part, Christians saw themselves as members of a holy brotherhood, as part of a new community in Christ which transcended the boundaries of nation or race. This Christian

self-image was by-and-large accepted by non-Christians. Christians were generally viewed as a more-or-less dangerous foreign element, withdrawn and secretive; they were subject to periodic persecution and were often made the scapegoats for national disasters.

But if the first Christians did not serve in the army and were generally regarded with suspicion and hostility, this did not mean that they were unconscious of the function of the state and the value of the army. Christians habitually prayed for the emperor and his subordinates, not only as their enemies and persecutors but as those who guarded law and order and repelled by military force the barbarian invaders, thus Arnobius asks:

“Why have our meetings deserved to be cruelly broken up? Seeing that in them the Supreme God is prayed to, peace and pardon are asked for all — magistrates, armies, kings, friends, enemies?”

Only by understanding this point can one understand how St. Paul could forbid Christians to avenge themselves, telling them to overcome evil with good, and at the same time praise a pagan magistrate as the servant of God for punishing a wrongdoer. On the whole question of violence and military service, in short, it seems plain that the attitude of the early Christians was sharply conditioned by the fact that the state in which they found themselves was a pagan state. Because Christians were not by-and-large responsible for the government or for keeping the peace, they could afford to permit considerable ambiguity in their thinking on the entire question.

In addition, one must recognize that the Christian position changed according to the time and place. When Christians did begin to serve in the imperial forces, toward the end of the second century, those who were stationed on a threatened frontier could hardly look at the question with the same detachment as a professor at Carthage or Rome. The problem, one must remember, was a live one, constantly changing its

dimensions from one decade to another and from one century to another; it had to be solved, not in the abstract but according to the demands of the specific situation. One thing is clear: The Christian attitude toward military service and war changed sharply in the age of Constantine.

Under Diocletian, who reigned in the latter part of the third century, the Church was subjected to perhaps its worst era of persecution. There was no corner of the empire where Christians were not sought out, commanded to offer sacrifices before idols, and if they refused, subjected to torture and death.

In 305, however, Diocletian abdicated. Constantine rapidly rose to power and contested with Maxentius for control of the empire. Their fateful struggle was ultimately decided by the famous battle of the Milvian bridge, at the very gates of Rome. By popular tradition, it was there that Constantine and his army saw in the sky a sign of the cross with these words inscribed: "In hoc signo vinces" (By this sign you shall conquer). In this battle Constantine won a great victory, and his triumph marked a crucial turning point in the history of the Church. The following year, Constantine's Edict of Milan proclaimed Christianity a licit religion and provided for full freedom of worship. This was the beginning of an intimate relationship between the emperor Constantine and the Church.

"We, Constantine and Licinius the Emperors, have met in concord at Milan and having set in order everything which pertains to the common good and public security, are of the opinion that among the various things, which we perceived would profit men, or which should be set in order first, was to be found the cultivation of religion. We should therefore give both to Christians and to all others free facility to follow the religion which each may desire, so that by this means whatever divinity is enthroned in heaven may be gracious and favorable to us and to all who have been placed under our authority . . . Wherefore it is necessary for Your Excellency to know that it is our pleasure that all restrictions which were previously put forward in official pronouncements con-

cerning the sect of the Christians would be removed, and that each one of them who freely and sincerely carries out the purpose of observing the Christian religion may endeavor to practice its precepts without any fear or danger.”

Under Constantine the wheel came almost full circle. Soon the enemies of the church became the enemies of the state. Paganism and superstition were warred against, much as Christianity once had been. Constantine himself, although he did not in fact accept Baptism until his death-bed, flung himself into Church affairs with a vengeance. The effects of this marriage of Church and state were profound, for that time and for subsequent Christian history. Church and state were no longer hostile forces but were closely linked.

It was in this context that St. Augustine lived and worked at the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th centuries. Augustine wrote, not as a leader of a persecuted minority but as a bishop of a Church closely allied with the state and co-extensive with the empire; he wrote at a time when Christians had been serving in the army for some 200 years; he wrote at a time when the Roman empire was under attack both in Europe and in Africa by the Vandals. Confronted with this situation, St. Augustine produced the first authoritative Christian teaching that man can serve Caesar in the army and still serve God.

This is not to say that St. Augustine shared any pagan glorification of war and violence. On the contrary, the bloodshed of his age inspired in him a great hatred for war and scorn for those who exalted military conquest. On the subject of military accomplishments he said:

“Why allege to me the mere names and words of ‘glory’ and ‘victory’? Tear off the disguises of wild delusion and look at the naked deeds; weigh them naked, judge them naked.”

Nonetheless, like his mentor St. Ambrose, St. Augustine flatly rejects the antimilitarism of earlier Christian writers. If

they are acting in a public capacity, Augustine wrote, Christians are not enjoined by the Gospel teaching to abstain from the use of force or from killing: they could, he said, serve in the army and fight the enemies of the state.

What St. Augustine elaborated was a natural law argument setting forth the conditions under which war could be justified, an argument somewhat like that of Cicero much earlier. War, he taught, is always an evil, but sometimes it may be necessary in order to prevent greater evil.

To St. Augustine, a war of defense was obviously justifiable, perhaps even obligatory. A war of aggression could be just if it were carried out with the proper authority and with both a just cause and a right intention. The purpose of war was always to seek peace; war should only be fought if it is really necessary, and should be fought with mercy.

“Peace should be the object of your desire; war should be waged only as a necessity, and waged only that God may by it deliver men from the necessity and preserve them in peace. For peace is not sought in order to the kindling of war, but war is waged in order that peace may be obtained. Therefore, even in waging war, cherish the spirit of a peacemaker, that by conquering those whom you attack, you may lead them back to the advantages of peace.”

For St. Augustine, it is quite clear, killing or wounding an enemy was not in itself incompatible with love for him, and he held that Christians not only could but should fight on occasion. This, many Christians insist, is precisely the position we are in today in Vietnam, and they hold that it is our duty to protect the weak against Communist aggression. At the same time, other Christians hold just as sincerely and just as strongly that our course in Vietnam is unjustified and our conduct of the war immoral.

How would St. Augustine have felt? In this dispute over the rightness or wrongness of our role in Vietnam, no one can

claim that St. Augustine is necessarily on this or that side; no one can say with any certainty whether St. Augustine would approve or disapprove of the Vietnamese war. One thing, however, can be said with certainty: with St. Augustine, Christian thinking reached an entirely new stage of development. For centuries to come, Augustine's position that war could be just was to remain essentially unchallenged in the Christian world.

## II

# THE MIDDLE AGES

In one month's time during 1966, it is estimated that 2,000 Vietnamese civilians were wounded and another 1,000 killed by allied action, and some argue that these estimates were in fact too low. At the same time, as if balancing on the other end of the scale, another estimate was cited: over the past decade, this one went, 20,000 persons have been assassinated in Vietnam by Communist terrorists.

In a world that grows ever more complex, the Christian today weights and balances the moral pro's and con's of the war in Vietnam. In doing so, he is simply repeating once again a procedure as old as the Church itself.

For Greeks, Romans and barbarians alike, conversion to Christianity in the first centuries of the Church meant a sudden change in their whole way of life. St. Athanasius described that change:

“Since they became acquainted with Christian teaching, these men who previously could not live for an hour without their weapons have now laid them aside, in order to become farmers; and now their hands, which had been accustomed to holding swords, are raised to heaven in prayer. In place of the wars which they waged against each other, war is now pressed against the devil for virtue and purity of soul.”

Jesus had said to turn the other cheek, and many early Christians thought they were obeying His command when they refused to serve in the Roman army. A famous example is

that of Maximilian, a young Numidian who would not join the imperial army when ordered to do so. Brought before the Roman consul, he persisted in his refusal to bear arms, saying, "I cannot fight; I am a Christian." Ordered again to take up arms, he said: "I cannot fight if I die; I am not a soldier of this world, but a soldier of God." For this refusal, Maximilian was beheaded.

The evidence in these matters is somewhat scattered and intimately related to particular situations. For that reason, it is not easy to determine the exact meaning for us of the attitude of the early Christians toward war. Nonetheless, it is clear that in the early days of the Christian era, the followers of Christ did not serve in the army of the pagan state, and many prominent Christian commentators condemned military service outright.

The early Christians in the Roman Empire were frequently in doubt as to their status and were often persecuted and even put to death. This was hardly surprising. From the beginning, Christianity showed that it was a universal religion, and one in which there was no room for the worship of Roman gods. Aside from anything else, this factor alone would have worked to keep Christians out of the army, where such worship was almost unavoidable. Roman emperors who claimed divine authority found it hard to tolerate those who would give adoration to God alone and until Constantine the lot of the early Christians were never secure.

Constantine embraced the Church, however, and under Constantine and his successors Christianity became almost the state religion. And in this period St. Augustine broke with the anti-militarism of the past, vigorously defending the idea that there could be such a thing as a just war; in some circumstances, St. Augustine insisted, Christians even had a duty to serve in the imperial forces.

By the early Middle Ages and the time of Charlemagne, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, history had reversed it-



self. When Charlemagne fought the barbarians, he had missionaries follow his conquering forces to evangelize the defeated enemy. Church and State were closely linked, and Charlemagne took a large view of his role. Said the emperor in a letter to Pope Leo III:

“Just as I entered into a pact with the most blessed father your predecessor, so I desire to conclude with your Holiness an unbreakable treaty of the same faith and charity; so that with Divine peace being called down by the prayers of your Apostolic Sanctity, the Apostolic benediction may follow me everywhere, and the most Holy See of the Roman Church may always be defended by the devotion which God gives to us.

It is our part with the help of Divine holiness to defend by armed strength the holy Church of Christ everywhere from the outward onslaught of the pagans and to strengthen within it the knowledge of the Catholic Faith. It is your part, most Holy Father, to help our armies with your hands lifted up to God like Moses, so that by your intercession and by the leadership and gift of God, the Christian people may everywhere and always have the victory over the enemies of His Holy Name and that the name of our Lord Jesus Christ may be glorified throughout the world.”

After Charlemagne's death, the power of the empire declined, and that of various princes and lords arose to take its place. It was in this way that feudalism developed. Dukes, counts and bishops grew more and more independent and more and more powerful, not only driving back invading Moslems and Northmen, but very frequently fighting among themselves. It was in this context that the Church's concern for peace and for restraining and lessening violence showed itself once more.

St. Augustine had been a most respected figure — indeed, he is one of the most influential theologians the Church has produced, and his doctrine of the just war has remained the majority view among theologians since he first enunciated it.

But there were other currents in Christian thought which helped to temper the violence of the age.

From the sixth to the twelfth centuries, a considerable body of opinion in the Church considered killing, even in a just and public war, to be in some degree wrong. Confessors of the period commonly were guided by private penitentials in giving penances. These were not official documents, but they were widely used. In them, the usual penance for killing in a public war was for forty days. The penance would involve fasting, prayer, charitable works and on occasion isolation from Church.

The battle of Soissons in the early tenth century provides an illustration. This was a particularly savage encounter, a battle marked by great cruelty and one in which over half of each army was destroyed. After the battle, a synod of bishops decreed that all who had taken part in it should do penance for forty-day periods for three years. Throughout these periods they had to "abstain in bread and water on the second, fourth and sixth days of each week . . ."

A comparable example is provided by the victory of William the Conqueror in England. William had Rome's agreement to his claim to the English throne and had his banner blessed by the Pope. Nonetheless, after the battle of Hastings, a council of bishops prescribed a set of penances on all ranks of his army. One year's penance was imposed for every man killed, forty days for each man struck. If a man did not know how many he killed, penance was to be performed at the discretion of his bishop one day a week for the remainder of his life.

Such penitential practices were part of a Christian climate which tried, so to speak, to civilize warfare as far as that was possible, to keep violence within reasonable bounds. There were many in the United States who thought the idea of a truce at Christmas in Vietnam was extraordinary, but in fact there was ample historical precedent for such a move. In

addition to the penitential practices imposed on those who killed, even in war, there developed in the Middle Ages what was called first the Peace of God and then the Truce of God.

In the tenth century, there grew up an institution called "the Peace of God," a device of the church to lessen violence by anathematizing all persons who attacked non-combatants or violated the rights of clerics and holy places.

Early in the next century, "the Peace of God" developed into "the Truce of God," an extension of the same idea. In the beginning "the Truce of God" prohibited armed hostilities from Saturday night to Monday morning. Toward the middle of the century the truce was lengthened to last from Wednesday night to Monday morning. In addition, the Synod of Clermont decreed that the Truce should extend from Advent to the octave of the Epiphany, and from Septuagesima to the octave of Pentecost — a rule which soon became general throughout Christendom under penalty of excommunication.

All this is not to say that the Middle Ages were quiet and peaceful. The Church tried to restrain warfare, but the princes and lords were powerful; the age was a violent one, and intermittent warfare was the rule. The most famous of all wars in the period were the Crusades, and in these the Church itself played a leading part. Asked for assistance by the Eastern Emperor against the attacking Moslems, Pope Urban II in 1095 called Christians to a holy war:

"Most beloved brethren, moved by the exigencies of the times, I, Urban, wearing by permission of God the papal tiara, and spiritual ruler of the whole world, have come to you, the servants of God, as a messenger to disclose the divine admonition . . . You must carry succor to your brethren dwelling in the East, and needing your aid, which they have so often demanded. For the Turks, a Persian people, have attacked them . . .

Wherefore, I pray and exhort, nay not I, but the Lord prays and exhorts you, as heralds of Christ, by frequent exhorta-

tion, to urge men of all ranks, knights and footsoldiers, rich and poor, to hasten to exterminate this vile race from the lands of our brethren, and to bear timely aid to the worshippers of Christ. I speak to those who are present, I proclaim it to the absent, but Christ commands. Moreover, the sins of those who set out thither, if they lose their lives on the journey, by land or sea, or in fighting against the heathen, shall be remitted in that hour; this I grant to all who go, through the power of God vested in me."

Urban himself probably never expected the reaction accorded his appeal to arms. All over Europe, men of every rank and nationality left home to put on the cross and save Jerusalem from the unbelievers. Peasants and artisans, knights and nobles, married and single, even men accompanied by their wives and children, undertook the long trip to the East. Even children by the thousands left home and parents forever, under the influence of the Crusaders' cry, "God wills it."

Today, few historians glamorize the Crusades. Many Crusaders set out with the highest motives, but too many saw the Crusades as an unparalleled opportunity for the violence frowned on at home. For some of the Crusaders, anyone who spoke an unknown language was an infidel, fit only to be killed; along their path to the Holy Land, many strangers and particularly many Jews were cruelly treated and even murdered.

The effect of the Crusades on the relationship between Eastern and Western Christians was tragic, particularly after Christians of the West sacked and looted Constantinople, the capital city of Eastern Christians. Intended to heal the wounds that kept East and West apart, the Crusades in fact deepened these wounds and increased hostility — a hostility which has lasted 900 years. Only the symbolic embrace of Pope Paul VI and an Orthodox representative of Eastern Christians at the recent Vatican Council marked the beginning of a possible end to the enmity.

The Crusades represented a great danger . . . the holy war. When violence becomes holy, the danger is that the enemy will be seen as diabolical, and that any means will be seen as permissible. And indeed it must be said that for too many Crusaders, this came to be true. At home in Europe, however, the Church did not abandon efforts to restrain warfare and reduce violence.

A striking example of this may be seen in the knight in the age of chivalry. Here the picture can be romanticized out of all recognition, and it should not be. The knight was the child of violent times. Nonetheless, the ideals of knighthood were lofty, to be embraced only after prayer and penance and an overnight vigil before the altar.

Fighting remained an essential part of knightly activity, but it was exalted on a moral basis. Knights stood ready to take arms against every wrong. In the romantic literature of chivalry, many valiant knights sought the Holy Grail, but only Sir Galahad succeeded in the quest because his heart was pure.

If a man was a true knight, he was to be chivalrous, fair and honorable; his sword was to be at the service of the poor and the oppressed; he was to be the defender of women and children. Granted, there were many who deviated from these high standards, but this was the ideal, a knight like the one described by Chaucer in his *Canterbury Tales*:

“A knight there was, and that a worthy man,  
That from the time he first began  
To ride out, he loved chivalry,  
Truth and honor, freedom and courtesy,

\* \* \*

And though that he was worthy, he was wise,  
And of his port as meek as is a maid.  
He never yet no villainy has said  
In all his life, unto no manner wight.  
He was a very parfit gentle knight.”

Writers of this period generally accepted the concept of a just war. It was commonly held that clerics should be exempt from war and that a just intention was essential. In the thirteenth century, Raymond of the Pennafort held that wars of self-defense were permissible, but that a just war must be conducted in a spirit of piety, justice, and obedience, and this view was typical.

The most authoritative voice to speak on the subject of war in this period was St. Thomas Aquinas, although his treatment of the topic was rather brief. In his *summa* St. Thomas asks, "Is it always sinful to wage war?" — a significant way of phrasing the question. In his answer he leans heavily on St. Augustine. Like most writers at this time, he tended to accept the autonomy of a multitude of petty princes as quite natural. Following the lead of St. Augustine and of Gratian in the eleventh century, St. Thomas rejected both the notion that might makes right and the idea that war was always completely unjustifiable. For a war to be just, St. Thomas saw three conditions as necessary: right authority, sufficient cause, and right intention.

"A just war is wont to be described as one that avenges wrongs, when a nation or state has to be punished for refusing to make amends for the wrongs inflicted by its subjects, or to restore what it has seized unjustly."

For St. Thomas, war can be transformed into true peace by the spirit in which it is fought. War's obvious horrors can be redeemed by a purpose of bringing peace to both sides, and one can be peaceful in spirit even though carrying on a war. For a just war, a good intention is essential, such as that of securing peace, punishing evil-doers and helping the good. A wicked intention can render war unjust.

Theologians in the centuries immediately after Aquinas elaborated more precisely on the concept of the just war. Capetan held that an independent prince who had been attacked could justly wage war and punish his attackers. Martin of

Lodi argued that another nation could legitimately fight in the aid of a nation that had been attacked.

Increasing attention was paid to the means to be used in waging a just war, and to the chances of winning it. Francis de Vitoria in the sixteenth century put the question of the just war on the plane of natural law and of the law of nations. Vitoria agreed that a war of defense would be just, but he insisted that an offensive war could be just only because of a serious injustice suffered. Even in such a war, Vitoria said, there should be a proportion between the evils of war and the good to be gained, and he stressed that the good to be sought should be that of all, not simply that of one nation or one people. Vitoria already had a concept of an order of universal justice and of an international community of nations. In Vitoria, very importantly, the principle of immunity for non-combatants was strongly expressed, and although he taught that soldiers on both sides could be acting in good faith, Vitoria insisted that a subject who was convinced of the injustice of a war could not serve in it.

To almost all of these theologians after Aquinas, the true justification of war, defensive or aggressive, was seen as the maintenance of justice and order and the safeguarding of the common good of the community. Friends and allies were to be aided, but war was only a last resort for maintaining or restoring justice after all other means of settlement had been tried and failed.

So said the theologians, and their views were echoed by a man who was probably the most distinguished humanist of the 16th century, Erasmus. Wrote Erasmus in 1514:

“If one would consider well but the behavior and shape of man’s body, shall he not forthwith perceive that nature, or rather God, hath shaped this creature, not to war, but to friendship, not to destruction, but to health, not to wrong, but to kindness and benevolence. For whereas nature hath armed all other beasts with their own armor, as the violence

of the bulls she has armed with horns, the ramping lion with claws; to the boar she hath given the gnashing tusks; she hath armed the elephant with a long trump snout, besides his great huge body and hardness of skin . . . some she provideth to save by swiftness of flight, as doves; and to some she hath given venom instead of a weapon; to some she hath given a much horrible and ugly look . . . man alone she hath brought forth all naked, weak, tender and without any armor, with most soft flesh and smooth skin. There is nothing at all in all his members that may seem to be ordained to war, or to any violence.”

Humanists and theologians alike might write against war, but new forces were at work in the world, and not everyone was prepared to listen to the moralists. One who spoke for the new ways was Nicolo Machiavelli of Florence, born in 1469. Machiavelli recognized the growing power of the nation-state. Where theologians had always insisted that political affairs were necessarily subject to moral considerations, he argued that success was based on force, and he divorced politics from morality entirely. In Machiavelli's thinking, war was a natural condition in the relations between states; he scorned limited warfare and argued that when states fight for their existence, there can be no limitation on war:

“A prince should therefore have no other aim or thought, nor take up any other thing for his study, but war and its organization and discipline, for that is the only art that is necessary to one who commands, and it is of such virtue that it not only maintains those who are born princes, but often enables men of private fortune to attain to that rank . . . He ought, therefore, never to let this thoughts stray from the exercise of war; and in peace he ought to practice it more than in war, which he can do in two ways: by action and by study.”

By the end of the 15th century, growing national strength and sentiment helped to weaken the sense of Christian unity. Centralized monarchies developed in Spain, Portugal, France and England. Soon the development of vernacular literatures



and the fact of the Protestant Reformation further contributed to the rising spirit of nationalism.

Luther's protest began against abuses but ultimately became an attack on Catholic authority in general and papal authority in particular. The Protestant Churches established themselves on a national basis, and this in itself was a major blow to the sense of Christian unity in Europe. Added to all this was the successful employment of gunpowder during the late Middle Ages, particularly in the sphere of seigecraft. The new artillery was to render the fortified castle obsolete, and with it went the last remnants of prestige for the feudal knight and the age of chivalry.

It was this alliance of gunpowder with the growing resources of the emerging states that was to produce the beginnings of modern war in the 16th century, a time when almost continual fighting was the rule as new weapons and tactics were tried out. Particularly savage were the religious wars which in the last half of the century spread from Germany all over Europe. The intensity of the passions which religious conviction aroused embittered already emerging national rivalries, and in these conflicts men on both sides tended to throw off all restraints; in the name of God and religion, war became less and less limited, more and more ruthless. The shadow of modern ideological warfare was cast over Europe for the first time.

Before the modern world emerged, however, Christendom produced another famous exponent of natural law — the Protestant Hugo Grotius, a Dutch jurist who died in 1645. Between the time of Augustine and Grotius or even of Aquinas and Grotius the world had changed radically. The Empire had disintegrated, powerful nation-states arose, and Christian unity was shattered. In this context, Grotius tried to translate natural law into the secular sphere, writing what is generally considered to be the first definitive text on international law. In it he urged moderation at all times:

“Even when justice does not require us to spare men’s lives in war, it is often agreeable to goodness, to moderation, to magnanimity . . . An enemy, therefore, who considers not what human laws permit, but what is his duty, what is righteous and pious, will spare hostile blood; and will never inflict death, except either to avoid death, or evils like death, or to punish crimes which are capital in desert. And even to some who have deserved that, he will remit all, or at least, capital punishment.”

Writing at a time when nations were becoming facts of central importance, Grotius argued that natural law prescribed rules of conduct for nations as well as for private individuals. Indeed, he argued that more humanity and justice are due to nations than to individuals, because nations are larger:

“Equity, which is required, and humanity, which is praised toward individuals, are the more requisite and praiseworthy toward nations and parts of nations in as much as the injury or kindness is greater with the number.”

The equity and humanity of which Grotius spoke have all too often been conspicuously absent in the years since he wrote. War has not been abolished or even controlled — indeed, man today lives under the threat of the H-bomb, and behind every discussion of the Vietnam war lurks the danger of thermo-nuclear destruction.

Yet Grotius was not a lonely, misguided idealist, but a man who stood in the best Christian tradition. If he had a single theme, it was that international relations should be based on righteousness and morality. Although transferred to the secular sphere, the natural law theory of Grotius was clearly in line with the thinking of Augustine and Aquinas, Vitoria and Suarez. That tradition was of increasing importance, for as the weapons of war became ever more efficient, it became increasingly clear that international society would surely be destroyed if the only law of conduct for nations was not the natural law of Grotius but the jungle law of Machiavelli.

Machiavelli and Grotius — one the voice of cynical national expediency, the other a spokesman for international law. As the world moved toward the modern era, Machiavelli had his disciples, but there could be no doubt that the Church would throw her weight on the side of morality and law — indeed, the words of Grotius on international morality foreshadow in a striking way the views of the modern Popes, as they confronted the facts of nationalism and the horror of all-out war, soon to be unleashed upon the world.



### III

## THE MODERN WORLD

Wars have a way of escalating. In the Battle of Britain, the German Luftwaffe dropped 67,000 tons of bombs on England — an impressive figure, but not much more than the 50,000 tons the United States dropped on Vietnam in one month during 1966. Furthermore, to see both figures in context, one must remember that China's nuclear explosion in May of 1966 was by itself the equivalent of 200,000 tons of TNT.

To us in the twentieth century, war without gunpowder — or its equivalent — is unimaginable, and in a way this view is correct. It was the successful use of gunpowder plus the rise of the nation state which in the 16th century produced the recognizable birth of modern warfare. Wrote Shakespeare on gunpowder:

“And it was great pity, so it was,  
This villainous saltpetre should be dragg'd  
Out of the bowels of the harmless earth,  
Which many a good tall fellow had destroyed  
So cowardly.”

In his protest against gunpowder, Shakespeare wrote in an old Christian tradition. From the beginning of the Church, Christian moralists had argued for limitations on war and violence; they had spelled out the conditions that must be met if a war was to be called just, and they had urged on princes

and people such expedients as the Truce of God and the Peace of God to lessen and confine violence.

Despite the Church, wars did take place, and the Thirty Years War in the seventeenth century was one of the most savage. Toward the end of that violent conflict, wild beasts hid in the ruins of towns whose inhabitants had taken to the woods like wild beasts. Plague and famine killed thousands every month. The Swedes were charged with the destruction of 1500 towns and 18,000 villages. Bohemia claimed the loss of three-fourths of her people during the war, Nassau of four-fifths. A modern historian estimates Germany's total deaths at 7,500,000 — more than one-third of the entire population.

Ironically enough, the very savagery of the Thirty Years War produced a strong revulsion against further fighting. Wars were not abandoned, by any means. But the important thing about the wars of the eighteenth century was the essentially limited nature of their objectives. Wrote English historian Edward Gibbon in 1782:

“In war the European forces are exercised by temperate and indecisive conquests. The Balance of Power will continue to fluctuate, and the prosperity of our own or the neighboring kingdoms will be alternately exalted or depressed; but these partial events cannot essentially injure our general state of happiness, the system of arts and laws and manners, which so advantageously distinguish, above the rest of Mankind, the Europeans and their colonists.”

Those who are accustomed to the nature of modern warfare find it hard to imagine limited war and what it was like. Further testimony on this point is provided by the famed Swiss jurist Emric de Vattel. Wrote Vattel:

“At the present day war is carried on by regular armies; the people, the peasantry, the townfolk take no part in it, and as a rule have nothing to fear from the sword of the enemy. Provided the inhabitants submit to him who is master of the country, and pay the contributions demanded, and refrain

from acts of hostility, they live in safety as if they were on friendly terms with the enemy; their property rights are even held sacred; the peasants go freely into the enemy camp to sell their provisions, and they are protected as far as possible from the calamities of war.”

Wars in this period did not seek the absolute destruction of an enemy, but rather a military decision which would favorably affect the diplomatic bargaining to follow. Wars were fought by relatively small armies, and their objectives were not such as to inflame entire peoples.

All this changed with the French Revolution. On August 23, 1793, the French Committee on Public Safety issued a decree announcing universal conscription for the first time in modern history, making that day one of the most memorable dates in the history of warfare. Said the Committee:

“The young people shall fight; the married men shall forge weapons and transport supplies; the women will make tents and serve in the hospitals; the children will make up old linen into lint; the old men will have themselves carried into the public squares to rouse the courage of the fighting men, and to preach hatred of kings and the unity of the Republic. The public buildings shall be turned into barracks, the public squares into munitions factories; the earthen floors of cellars shall be treated with lye to extract saltpetre. All suitable fire-arms shall be turned over to the troops; the interior shall be policed with fowling pieces and with cold steel. All saddle horses shall be seized for the cavalry; all draft horses not employed in cultivation will draw the artillery and supply wagons.”

Even more important than the introduction of conscription was the fact that the new army reflected the spirit of the French Revolution itself — it was driven by patriotic fervor, even fanaticism, and the result was a change in the very nature of warfare. War had been limited; now it was on the way to becoming “total.” Wars had been fought to seize this or that piece of land or to gain this or that advantage; now the purpose

of war became the complete overthrow of the enemy. Thus when Napoleon became the leader of the Revolutionary armies, he said:

“There must be a superior power that dominates all the other powers, with enough authority to force them to live in harmony with one another — and France is best placed for that purpose.”

Napoleon was not without his admirers, among them the philosopher Hegel. In Hegel we find a recurrence of the Renaissance admiration by the thinker for the practically successful man. He glorified the hero, not only as a superior man but as the embodiment of great historical forces. Convinced that Napoleon synthesized self-interest and revolutionary idealism, Hegel said:

“Such world figures have no consciousness of the general idea they are unfolding while prosecuting their own private aims. On the contrary, they are practical political men, but possessed of an insight into the requirements of the time, an understanding of what is ripe for development. It is theirs to realize this nascent principle; the next step forward which their world is to take. It is theirs to make this their aim and spend their energies promoting it. They are the heroes of an epoch; must be recognized as its clear-sighted ones. Their deeds, their words are the best of their time.”

Under Napoleon, the French armies became a war machine such as the world had never seen, and at the peak of his influence, Napoleon's international domain included a larger area than the European holdings of the Caesars. Eventually the French Emperor went down in defeat before a combination of enemies, but the lessons he taught the world were not easily unlearned.

In the United States, for example, nationalistic passions ran high during our struggle with Mexico, and later in the century, as war with Spain came closer, some of the fervid oratory about America's Manifest Destiny would not have sounded too strange in Napoleon's ears. Our Ambassador to England



referred to that struggle as a "splendid little war," and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge said:

"We have a record of conquest, colonization and expansion unequalled by any people in the 19th century. We are not to be curbed now by the doctrines of the Manchester school, which . . . as an importation are even more absurdly out of place than in their native land . . . From the Rio Grande to the Arctic Ocean there should be but one flag and one country."

In spite of Napoleon, however, or perhaps because of him, the 19th century did see some positive efforts to curb violence or to limit war by international treaty. Efforts to restrict warfare sought to limit hostilities to combatants, to prevent long-drawn-out wars of attrition, and to localize wars. Quarter was given in battle, and even in the bitter American Civil War, the parole system was regularly employed.

In 1864, 26 nations, gathered in Geneva, agreed to respect regulations governing the care of the wounded, the rights of prisoners of war, and of hospitals protected by the new Red Cross. America's Florence Nightingale, Clara Barton, fought for American acceptance of this Geneva Convention; it took until 1882, but in the end, she won.

In all these efforts, the Church took relatively little part. Throughout the centuries, the Church had served as a restraining influence on war and violence. War could be just, Augustine and Aquinas and a host of other lesser commentators had said, true enough. But the corollary of this dictum was that war could also be unjust, and over the years the theologians spelled out conditions which must be met if a Christian in good conscience were to participate in war.

By the time modern warfare began, however, the Church had fallen on difficult times, and its influence was sharply reduced. For many, scepticism and rationalism replaced religion. Wrote the famed Abbé Lamennais about the rationalists:

“They adore Science under the name of human reason. Science for certain minds, is the God of the universe. They have no faith save in this God, they hope for nothing save through him; his wisdom and his power shall replenish the earth, and by rapid advances elevate man to a degree of felicity and perfection that transcends his imagination.”

The Protestant Reformers had created national churches — no longer was there one accepted voice to speak for all Christendom. Secular leaders became jealous of their autonomy; the Popes found themselves excluded from the council of European sovereigns. Nationalistic rivalries became increasingly sharp. At the end of the 19th century, Pope Leo XIII gave his estimate of the situation:

“As a result of the repudiation of those Christian principles which have contributed so efficaciously to the unity of nations in the bonds of brotherhood and have brought all humanity into one great family, there has gradually arisen in the international order, a system of jealous egoism. Nations, consequently, now watch each other, if not with hate, at least with the suspicion of rivals . . . Actuated solely by the desire to increase their national riches, these nations regard only the opportunity afforded by present circumstances, the advantages of successful enterprises and the tempting bait of an accomplished fact, in the certainty that no one will trouble them in the name of right or respect due to rights and justice. Such are the fatal principles which have consecrated material power as the supreme law of the world; on these principles rests the blame for the limitless increase of military establishments and an armed peace in many respects equivalent to a disastrous war.”

Augustine and Aquinas, Suarez and Gratian — all had insisted that war was subject to moral judgment in the light of natural law. The natural law, as Grotius and others taught, bound nations as well as men. But by late in the 19th century, the whole idea of natural law as Aquinas understood it had largely fallen into the discard, and few international lawyers were interested in the traditional concept of a just war. In

1898 the Papal Secretary of State, Cardinal Rampolla, gave Pope Leo's views on this matter:

"The Pope holds that peace cannot possibly be established if it does not rest on the foundation of Christian public law . . . . Men have wished to regulate the relations among nations by a new law founded on utilitarian interests, and predominance of force, the success of accomplished coups, and on other theories which negate the eternal and immutable principles of justice. This is the capital error which has brought Europe to a state of disaster."

The Pope was not alone in his concern over war and peace, and many contemporary commentators described the horrors that would inevitably accompany large-scale modern warfare. As early as 1909, Italian theorist Giulio Douhet predicted that aircraft would play a decisive part in future wars. In a work translated into nearly all European languages, Douhet accurately predicted the nature of the air raid of the future, although he underestimated the ability of the populace to endure such attacks. Wrote Douhet:

"Let us leave poetry to the poets. The population can and must be inured to the horrors of war, but there is a limit to all resistance, even human resistance. No population can steel itself to endure aerial offensives forever. A heroic people can endure the most frightful offensives as long as there is hope that they may come to an end; but when the aerial war has been lost, there is no hope of ending the conflict until a decision has been reached on the surface, and that would take too long. A people who are bombed today as they were bombed yesterday, who know that they will be bombed again tomorrow and see no end to their martyrdom, are bound to call for peace at length."

In 1899 and 1907 a conference of nations was called at the Hague to face the threats of war. The Hague Conference did manage to ban dum-dum bullets and poison gas, and it did establish an optional International Court; other than that, little was accomplished. No matter what proposals were made

to restrain or restrict warfare, it was clear that the nations were unwilling to yield any part of their sovereignty or limit their own freedom of action in any serious way — at the first conference, for example, the United States representative voted against the motion to prohibit poison gas. Again Pope Leo's Secretary of State gave the Pontiff's views on what was needed, in an analysis to be echoed by each of his successors in the Papacy:

“There is lacking in the international consortium of nations a system of legal and moral means to determine and guarantee the rights of each. Only an immediate recourse to force remains. Rivalry among nations and the development of their military power are the results of these policies. In view of such an unfortunate state of things, the institution of mediation and arbitration appears to be the most opportune remedy; it corresponds in all respects to the aspirations of the Holy See.”

Not the spirit of the Pope, however, but that of philosopher of war Karl von Clausewitz proved stronger. War, Clausewitz taught, is the exercise of force for the attainment of a political purpose, unrestrained by any law except expediency, and warfare must always tend to become more and more “absolute” in order to bring about the complete destruction of the enemy's means and will to resist. Said Clausewitz:

“Now, philanthropists may easily imagine there is a skillful method of disarming and overcoming an enemy without causing great bloodshed, and that this is the proper tendency of the Art of War. However plausible this may appear, still it is an error which must be extirpated; for in such dangerous things as War, the errors which proceed from a spirit of benevolence are the worst.”

As World War I approached, it was Clausewitz, not the Pope, whose voice spoke louder in the chancelleries of Europe. The causes of World War I are complex, and historians still quarrel over them. Nationalism, pride, the armament race, commercial rivalries — all these things played their part.

In August 1914, Pope Pius X died. His successor was Benedict XV, a former diplomat and Under Secretary of State. Throughout the war, Pope Benedict steered a neutral course, promising only that he would "leave nothing undone to hasten the end of this calamity."

The first move toward peace made by the Pope was an attempt to revive the traditional "Truce of God" so that fighting would come to a halt on the first Christmas of the war, as was the custom on holy days in the Middle Ages. In this effort, he did not succeed, but he did not cease his efforts for peace. Thus in 1915 Pope Benedict addressed a typical plea to the belligerent peoples and their leaders:

"Why not from this moment weigh with serene mind the rights and lawful aspirations of the peoples? Why not initiate with a good will an exchange of views . . . and thus succeed in putting an end to the monstrous struggle, as has been done under other similar circumstances? Blessed be he who will first raise the olive branch and hold out his right hand to the enemy with an offer of reasonable terms of peace . . ."

But these and other similar pleas by Pope Benedict proved fruitless. The savage war went on, at terrible cost, with thirty nations involved and 65 million men under arms. By the time the war ended, it had caused indescribable suffering, had sent 12 million men to their death, and had directly or indirectly cost more than three hundred billion dollars.

During the war, Benedict had made specific suggestions: he urged the abolishment of compulsory military conscription, the establishment of a tribunal to decide international controversies, the employment of sanctions against any nation that violated international peace. But while he made these positive recommendations for peace-keeping machinery, the Pope worried about the lasting effects of World War I upon the post-war world:

"The dreadful tempest which has passed over the earth has left behind many sad traces of its havoc. It is even more to be feared that it has left in the hearts of men distressing

vestiges of ancient rancors, the unwholesome germs of discord, revenge, and selfish reprisals . . .”

No stable peace or lasting treaties could be signed, the Pope said, unless there was a return to mutual love and respect. In this he was surely right, but short-sightedness and a spirit of revenge prevailed in the treaty-making at Versailles. When Pope Benedict died in 1922, his last words were “We offer our life to God on behalf of the peace of the world.” These were noble words, but the lasting peace he sought was not to be. In Russia, the first Communist state came into being, and one year after the Pope’s death, Adolph Hitler staged his abortive Munich Beer Hall Revolt and wrote the first words of MEIN KAMPF. Few realized it, but the seeds of World War II were sown.

Despite these uneasy portents of the future, the early days after the armistice saw a widespread revulsion against war. If revenge was part of the motivation for the reparations exacted from the conquered countries, the conviction that the guilty should be punished also played a part. Above all, men were determined that World War I should be the war to end all war.

Written into the peace treaties ending World War I were provisions for a new type of international organization, the League of Nations. The basic idea behind the League was collective security: it was hoped that solemn pledges to avoid recourse to war and the threat of sanctions against offenders would avert future wars. However, the nations were not yet ready for such a concept, and from the very beginning the refusal of the United States to join seriously weakened the League. In his encyclical on the Kingdom of Christ, Pope Pius XI described the post-war situation:

“Peace indeed was signed in solemn conclave between the belligerents of the late war. This peace, however, was only written into treaties. It was not received into the hearts of men . . . Nor has the illusory peace, written only on paper, served as yet to awaken noble sentiments in the souls of

men. On the contrary, there has been born a spirit of violence and of hatred which, because it has been indulged in for so long, has become almost second nature in many men . . . Men today do not act as Christians, as brothers, but as strangers, and even enemies.”

Failure to bring about general disarmament was one of the chief causes of the failure of the League of Nations. The League was too weak to enforce collective security, and no nation would disarm until it felt reasonably secure. By 1933, Hitler had withdrawn Germany from the League, and the arms race was in full cry once again.

Like the Communist Revolution in Russia, the rise of Hitler in Germany and to a lesser extent of Mussolini in Italy was brought on by World War I. In a post-war Germany of depression and unemployment, the Nazis insisted that Germany had never been defeated but had been stabbed in the back. They denounced the peace treaty of Versailles; they insisted that Germany was destined for world leadership. Said Hitler, in MEIN KAMPF:

“What a use could be made of the Treaty of Versailles! . . . How each one of the points of that Treaty could be branded in the minds and hearts of the German people until 60 million men and women find their souls aflame with a feeling of rage and shame; and a torrent of fire bursts forth as from a furnace, and a will of steel is forged from it, with the common cry: ‘We will have arms again!’ ”

And as early as September of 1933, the German demagogue had proclaimed a basic credo. Said Hitler:

“Brutality is respected. Brutality and physical strength! The plain man in the streets respects nothing but brutal strength and restlessness — women, too, for that matter, women and children.”

In 1933 Rome signed a concordat with Germany, a move considered a grave error by many, then and now. Four years later, however, there was no room for doubt about the char-

acter of Nazism, and it was then that Pope Pius XI wrote his famous encyclical to the German people, *Mit Brennender Sorge*. In it the Pope solemnly warned against those who would deify the concept of race or state. Said Pope Pius:

“It is with deep anxiety and growing surprise that we have long been following the painful trials of the Church and the increasing vexations which afflict those who have remained loyal in heart and action in the midst of a people that once received from St. Boniface the bright message and the Gospel of Christ and God’s Kingdom . . . He who takes the race, or the people, or the State, or the form of government . . . out of the system of their earthly valuation, and makes them the ultimate norm of all, even of religious, values, and deifies them with an idolatrous worship, perverts and falsifies the order of things created and commanded by God . . . None but superficial minds could stumble into concepts of a national God, of a national religion; or attempt to lock within the frontiers of a single people, within the narrow limits of a single race, God, the Creator of the Universe . . . Whoever wishes to see banished from church and school the Biblical history and wise doctrines of the Old Testament, blasphemes the name of God . . .”

But in the end the words of the Pope and the anxieties of millions all over the world counted for nothing. The totalitarian philosophy that regarded peace as merely a preparation for war carried the day. In 1931, Japan invaded Manchuria. In 1935, despite the disapproval of Pius XI, Italy invaded an almost defenseless Ethiopia, and the League of Nations proved powerless to halt the aggression. In 1936, both communists and fascists tried out new weapons and methods of warfare in Spain. In August 1939, Hitler and Stalin signed a treaty assuring the German dictator a free hand; the next month, the German *blitzkrieg* struck Poland, and World War II began. Before it was to end, the major cities of Europe were to be turned into rubble, and twenty-two million men, women and children were to die in the most total war Christians have yet known.



## IV

# IN OUR TIME

From the day of his election as Pope, Pius XII strove to eliminate the threat of World War II. "Conquests and empires not founded on justice cannot be blessed by God," he said in August of 1939. "Nothing is lost by peace, but everything may be lost by war." But the Pope's words were not heeded, and a week later, Europe was at war.

The second World War quickly became the most cruel of all wars. Aggression against small nations, enslavement of captive people, concentration camps and wholesale slaughter of the innocent, the murder of 6 million Jews, terror bombings of cities — such features made World War II the most savage conflict since the Thirty Years' War. Confronted with a totalitarian enemy, the allies constantly faced the temptation to ignore all moral restraints in the name of victory. Thomas E. Murray, a distinguished Catholic layman and member of the Atomic Energy Commission, later commented on this fact. Said Mr. Murray:

"The Christian effort at peace-making, from its origin, undertook the task of civilizing warfare. It set itself against pacifism: the notion that war is always immoral. But it set itself even more strongly against barbarism: the notion that the use of armed force is not subject to any moral restraints. Against these two extremes, tradition asserts that war can be a moral action, but only if it is limited in its purposes and methods by the norms of justice.

The fact today is that the Christian tradition of civilized warfare has been ruptured. The chief cause of the rupture has been the doctrine of total war fought to total victory: the kind of victory that looks to the total ruin of the enemy nation. This doctrine of totalization of war represents a regression toward barbarism. It is contrary to the central assertion of the civilized tradition that the aims of war are limited, and the use of force in war is likewise limited, not merely by political and military counsels of expediency, but primarily by the moral principle of justice.”

From the time of St. Augustine, Christian moralists have always asserted that war could be just, but only under certain conditions. Wars, the theologians said, must be fought for a just cause by proper authority and with a right intention; the ultimate object of every just war is the creation of a just and lasting peace. Always the principle of proportionality must be observed; greater good than evil must result and there must be a proportion between the means used and the likely results.

To many Catholics today, these principles have a strange and unfamiliar sound. Father John Courtney Murray, of the Society of Jesus, one of America’s most distinguished theologians, discussed this point:

“I think that the tendency to query the uses of the Catholic doctrine on war initially rises from the fact that it has for so long not been used, by Catholics. That is, it has not been made the basis for a sound critique of public policies, and as a means for the formation of a right public opinion. The classic example, of course, was the policy of ‘unconditional surrender’ during the last war. This policy clearly violated the requirement of the ‘right intention’ that has always been a principle in the traditional doctrine of war. Yet no sustained criticism was made of the policy by Catholic spokesmen. Nor was any substantial effort made to clarify by moral judgment the thickening mood of savage violence that made possible the atrocities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. I think it is time to say that the traditional doctrine was irrelevant during World War II. This is no argument against

the traditional doctrine. The ten commandments do not lose their imperative relevance by reason of the fact that they are violated.”

London and Berlin, Rotterdam and Coventry — during World War II, the cities of both sides suffered all-out assault from the air. In England, more than fifty thousand people died in air raids; in Europe, three hundred thousand. British and American airmen dropped 2,700,000 tons of bombs in the European war — almost one-quarter of this total on cities. Said Pope Pius XII early in the war:

“Not rarely we witness with the greatest sadness violations of the laws that regulate the relations among civilized peoples. It happens that open cities, agricultural villages and hamlets are terrorized, set on fire and devastated by bombardments; citizens without defense, the sick, even helpless old people and innocent children, are deprived of their homes and often killed.”

The principle of unchecked national sovereignty had brought Europe to ruin. In 1944, Pope Pius described what he saw as a remedy for this mentality:

“The decision already published by international commissions permit one to conclude that an essential point in any future international arrangement would be the formation of an organ for the maintenance of peace, of an organ invested by common consent with supreme power to whose office it would also pertain to smother in its germinal state any threat of isolated or collective aggression.

No one could hail this development with greater joy than he who has long upheld the principle that the idea of war as an apt and proportionate means of solving international conflicts is now out of date. No one could wish success to this common effort, to be undertaken with seriousness of purpose never before known, with greater enthusiasm, than he who has conscientiously striven to make the Christian and religious mentality reject modern war with its monstrous means of conducting hostilities.”

After years of bitter hardship on both sides, Germany surrendered in May, 1945, but Japan continued the struggle. On Monday, August 6, 1945, the United States dropped on Hiroshima the first atomic bomb to be used against a populated target. The explosive force of the first A-bomb was the equivalent of 20,000 tons of TNT — by itself, almost one-fifth of the total amount that had been dropped on Japanese cities throughout the course of the war. As the mushroom cloud rose over the doomed city, from seventy to eighty thousand people lay dead, and fifty thousand were injured. Almost five square miles of Hiroshima were completely flattened, and more than 80% of all the city's buildings were destroyed by the one bomb.

Are nuclear weapons moral? There is no simple answer to this question. Some tactical nuclear weapons deliver only from five to ten percent of the power of the Hiroshima A-bomb. The more recent hydrogen bomb, however, measures its power not in thousands but in millions of tons of TNT — indeed, the H-bomb for the first time raises the very real spectre of a weapon that could wipe out the human race, in large part because of the deadly radioactive fall-out that would follow any use of such bombs. In its nuclear stockpile, the U. S. now possesses the equivalent of 6 tons of TNT for every man, woman and child on the planet. In any all-out H-bomb war, casualty estimates for the United States are counted in the tens of millions, depending on the national state of readiness, with many estimates in the 100,000,000 category.

There are those who say H-bomb attacks on cities can be justified. One who has long disagreed is American theologian Father John C. Ford, S.J., who said:

“Terror bombing means killing and maiming innocent non-combatants in order to frighten the resistance out of those who survive. We did this in Germany. If we do not intend to do it again, why are we stock-piling large quantities of high-megaton H-bombs? The military targets for such bombs are

few and far between. If we are really intending to hit only military targets, why do we not concentrate on the smaller nuclear weapons which can be honestly aimed at military objectives? It is academic and unreal to talk about the principle of double effect when it is clear that the actual intent will be to win the war by wiping out everything in sight.”

Given the nuclear dilemma, what is the Christian to do? Many are convinced that the excesses of World War II have left modern man morally insensitive. Wrote Thomas Merton, famed Trappist monk and author of *The Seven Storey Mountain*:

“It must be frankly admitted that some of the military commanders of both sides in World War II simply disregarded all traditional standards that were still effective. The Germans threw those standards overboard with the bombs they unloaded on Warsaw, Rotterdam, Coventry and London. The allies replied in kind with the saturation bombing of Hamburg, Cologne, Dresden and Berlin. Spokesmen were not wanting on either side, to justify these crimes against humanity. And today, while ‘experts’ calmly discuss the possibility of the United States being able to survive a war if ‘only fifty million’ of the population are killed; when the Chinese speak of being able to ‘spare’ three hundred million and ‘still get along,’ it is obvious that we are no longer in the realm where moral truth is conceivable.

The only sane course that remains is to work frankly and without compromise for the total abolition of war. The pronouncements of the Holy See all point to this as the only ultimate solution.”

The abolition of war — this is precisely what the allied nations sought at the end of World War II, when they turned their wartime alliance into a permanent organization to keep the peace and prevent World War III. The United Nations, like the League of Nations, sought to outlaw war, except as a collective police action to keep the peace. At the end of the war, however, the Soviet Union quickly showed that it had

no intentions of cooperating. By refusing to withdraw its troops, it forced many of the East European countries into satellite status, and it soon threatened Communist aggression in Greece, Turkey, Korea and elsewhere. It is in this harsh context of the Communist threat that the morality of modern warfare must be viewed today.

There have always been pacifists in the Church, such as Dorothy Day of the "Catholic Worker" in our country today, and as the methods of modern warfare grow ever more horrible, their number may increase. One who holds a pacifist position, for example, is Gordon Zahn, a Catholic sociologist, a sponsor of the Catholic Peace Fellowship and the author of *German Catholics and Hitler's Wars*. Wrote Mr. Zahn about Vietnam:

"In the light of my now extensive writings about the failure of the Church in Nazi Germany with respect to Hitler's wars, there would be little justification for remaining silent in my conviction that American Catholicism and its leaders are well along the way toward matching the same pattern of tragic failure by not openly opposing this nation's present policies in North Vietnam. And one must go even further and add that in our failure we have far less claim to the measure of justification afforded by mitigating circumstances: the American government has not shown the inclination — nor has it the monopoly of totalitarian power to support any such inclination — to crush any ecclesiastical spokesmen who might dare to voice dissent, something the Nazis most likely would and probably could have done. My position is that the United States, at this moment of writing, is conducting an unjust war of aggression against North Vietnam."

Like the Christian pacifists, the modern Popes have always favored peace, but by the same token, they have always insisted on the right of nations to self-defense. In 1953, Pope Pius XII said:

"The community of nations must reckon with unprincipled criminals who, in order to realize their ambitious plans, are

not afraid to unleash total war. This is the reason why other countries, if they wish to preserve their very existence and their most precious possessions, and unless they are prepared to accord free action to international criminals, have no alternative but to get ready for the day when they must defend themselves. This right to be prepared for self-defense cannot be denied, even in these days, to any state."

Pope Pius not only upheld the right to self-defense; he reiterated that other nations should go to the aid of the innocent. At the same time, his concern over nuclear weapons was very great, as in his description of what would result if large scale nuclear weapons were ever put to use:

"This is the spectacle offered to the terrified gaze as a result of such uses; entire cities, even the largest and richest in art and history, wiped out; a pall of death over pulverized ruins, covering countless victims with limbs burnt, twisted and scattered while others groan in their death agony. Meanwhile, the specter of a radioactive cloud hinders survivors from giving any help and inexorably advances to snuff out any remaining life. There will be no song of victory, only the inconsolable weeping of humanity, which in desolation will gaze upon the catastrophe brought on by its own folly."

Few statesmen would disagree with this vision of what would occur if nuclear warfare became a fact. But does the grim possibility of such an event completely rule out all atomic warfare, or the bacteriological and chemical war that the Pope tended to classify with it? Such a war can only be contemplated, said the Pope, if it were forced on one by what he called "an obvious, extremely serious and otherwise unavoidable injustice." He went on:

"Even then, however, one must strive to avoid it by all possible means through international understanding or to impose limits on its use that are so clear and rigorous that its effects remain restricted to the strict demands of defense. When, moreover, putting this method to use involves such an extension of the evil that it entirely escapes from the control

of man, its use must be rejected as immoral. Here there would be no longer a question of 'defense' against injustice or a necessary 'safeguarding' of legitimate possessions, but the pure and simple annihilation of all human life within the radius of action. This is not permitted for any reason whatsoever."

In 1958, Pope Pius XII died, but the peacemaking efforts of the Papacy were continued by his successor, Pope John XXIII. In *Pacem In Terris*, Pope John reaffirmed that in the atomic era, war is no longer a reasonable instrument of policy. Urging step-by-step moves towards arms control and disarmament, he said:

"Even though it is difficult to believe that anyone would deliberately take the responsibility for the appalling destruction and sorrow that war would bring in its train, it cannot be denied that the conflagration may be set off by some uncontrollable and unexpected chance. And one must bear in mind that even though the monstrous power of modern weapons acts as a deterrent, it is to be feared that the mere continuance of nuclear tests undertaken with war in mind, will have fatal consequences for life on earth.

Justice, then, right reason, and humanity 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 finally a general agreement should be reached about progressive disarmament and an effective method of control."

One of Pope John's greatest acts was the summoning of the Second Vatican Council. At the Council, the subject of war was taken up in the pastoral Constitution on the Church Today, voted by the Fathers and promulgated by his successor, Pope Paul VI, in the fourth and last session. Because of modern science, the Council Fathers pointed out, "the fierce character of warfare threatens to lead the combatants to a savagery far surpassing that of the past." Guerilla warfare and sheer



terrorism complicate international relations. Given these facts, the Council Fathers reaffirmed the binding force of the traditional principles of the universal natural law, condemned all actions which conflict with these principles, then went on to say:

“On the subject of war, quite a large number of nations have subscribed to various international agreements aimed at making military activity and its consequences less inhuman . . . . Agreements of this sort must be honored. Indeed, they should be improved upon so that they can better and more workably lead to restraining the frightfulness of war.

All men, especially government officials and experts in these matters, are bound to do everything they can to effect these improvements. Moreover, it seems right that laws make humane provisions for the case of those who for reasons of conscience refuse to bear arms, provided however, that they accept some other form of service to the human community.”

Having thus recognized the citizen's right of conscientious objection to bearing arms, the Fathers also reasserted a nation's right to legitimate self-defense in view of the absence of a sufficiently powerful international body to settle grievances. At the same time, the Fathers cautioned against believing that “the mere fact that war has unhappily begun means that all is fair between the warring parties.” The Council Fathers then discussed the question of total war:

“. . . this most holy Synod makes its own the condemnations of total war already pronounced by recent Popes, and issues the following declaration: 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. That such in fact may never happen in the future, the bishops of the whole world, in unity assembled, beg all men, especially government officials and military leaders, to give unremitting thought to the awesome responsibility which is theirs before God and the entire human race.”

After apparently ruling out any counter-city nuclear strategy, the Council Fathers took note of the argument that the accumulations of arms served as a necessary deterrent of enemy attack. Nonetheless, they said “. . . the arms race is an utterly treacherous trap for humanity,” and they discussed the possibility of outlawing war entirely. Said the Fathers:

“It is our clear duty, then, to strain every muscle as we work for the time when all war can be completely outlawed by international consent. This goal undoubtedly requires the establishment of some universal public authority acknowledged as such by all, and endowed with effective power to safeguard, on behalf of all, security, regard for justice, and respect for rights.”

In this endorsement of the idea of a universal public authority able to keep the peace, the Fathers of the Vatican Council were saying nothing new; they were instead merely reiterating the aspirations of all the modern Popes. In his historic trip to the United Nations in 1965, Pope Paul dramatically illustrated the same concern. Describing himself as convinced “that this organization represents the obligatory path of modern civilization and of world peace,” Pope Paul said to the delegates:

“In saying this, we feel we are making our own the voice of the dead and of the living: of the dead, who fell in the terrible wars of the past; of the living who survived those wars, bearing in their hearts a condemnation of those who would try to renew wars . . . The edifice that you have constructed must never fail; it must be perfected, and made equal to the needs that world history will present . . . Is there anyone who does not see the necessity of coming thus progressively to

the establishment of a world authority, able to act efficaciously on the juridical and political levels?"

The U.N. then, must be strengthened. In the meantime, however, before there is a world authority able always to act effectively in situations like Vietnam, what should we do? One thing is clear: Catholics should exert their influence to keep the fighting within moral bounds. Even though he felt the U. S. position in Vietnam was honorable, Lawrence, Cardinal Shehan of Baltimore pointed out in a pastoral letter last July:

"It is difficult for a nation to wage war with restraint and to nourish sentiments of peace at the same time. This is true particularly when its own casualties begin to mount and the conflict threatens to grow in duration and intensity. In such circumstances, those who argue against restraint and against keeping a nation's warmaking acts within moral bounds are likely to win an ever greater hearing. Within our nation it seems that such harsh voices are growing stronger and are attempting to pressure our leaders into decisions which the Christian conscience could not endorse.

If we are to resist such lethal appeals to our understandable impatience, we must constantly recall that only on moral grounds can our course in Vietnam be just. If our means become immoral, our cause will have been betrayed. Let us also avoid the narrowness of supposing that all the vice and bad will lie on one side of any major conflict, and that all the virtue and good will lie on the other."

Similar sentiments were expressed by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops in a November statement on world peace. Said the Bishops:

"While we cannot resolve all the issues involved in the Vietnam conflict, it is clearly our duty to insist that they be kept under constant moral scrutiny. No one is free to evade his personal responsibility by leaving it entirely to others to make moral judgments . . .

Americans can have confidence in the sincerity of their leaders as long as they work for a just peace in Vietnam. Their efforts to find a solution to the present impasse are well known. We realize that citizens of all faiths and of differing political loyalties honestly differ among themselves over the moral issues involved in this tragic conflict. While we do not claim to be able to resolve these issues authoritatively, in the light of the facts as they are known to us, it is reasonable to argue that our presence in Vietnam is justified . . . But we cannot stop here. While we can conscientiously support the position of our country in the present circumstances, it is the duty of everyone to search for other alternatives. And everyone — government leaders and citizens alike — must be prepared to change our course whenever a change in circumstances warrants it . . .

On the basis of our knowledge and understanding of the current situation, we are also bound always to make sure that our government does, in fact, pursue every possibility which offers even the slightest hope of a peaceful settlement. And we must clearly protest whenever there is a danger that the conflict will be escalated beyond morally acceptable limits . . .

There is a grave danger that the circumstances of the present war in Vietnam may, in time, diminish our moral sensitivity to its evils. Every means at our disposal, therefore, must be used to create a climate of peace . . . In the spirit of Christ, the Christian must be the persistent seeker in the Gospel, the man willing to walk the second mile. He walks prudently, but he walks generously and he asks that all men do the same."

As Cardinal Shehan noted, the issues in Vietnam are complex, and in discussing them, "Christians of equal sincerity and of equal devotion to the Gospel may honorably differ in their conclusions." But is it possible to achieve agreement on what our central aim should be? Is there one goal of Christian thought on war and peace, a goal that should be the common property of hawk and dove alike? It was at the

U.N. that Pope Paul answered this question, in words that put a fitting end to this series. Said Pope Paul:

“Listen to the lucid words of the great departed John Kennedy, who proclaimed, four years ago: ‘Mankind must put an end to war, or war will put an end to mankind.’ Many words are not needed to proclaim this loftiest aim of your institution. It suffices to remember that the blood of millions of men, that numberless and unheard of sufferings, useless slaughter and frightful ruin are the sanction of the pact that unites you with an oath that must change the future history of the world: no more war, war never again! Peace, it is peace that must guide the destinies of peoples and of all mankind.”

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

### I

1. "Christianity is a religion of peace, not of war. Violence and war are repugnant to the Christian spirit." Comment.
2. How would you sum up the attitude of the early Christians on military service and war?
3. To what extent might the historical situation of the early Christians have influenced this attitude?
4. What change did Constantine's victory make in the situation of Christians?
5. How would you sum up St. Augustine's attitude toward war?

### II

6. How did Charlemagne's conception of his role and his practice in war represent a break with the past?
7. The just war teaching of St. Augustine was widely accepted, but what other Christian practices and customs in the Middle Ages tended to "civilize" warfare and restrain violence?
8. Describe some good and bad features of the Crusades.
9. What part did chivalry play in the Christian attitude toward war and violence?
10. In general, what was the theory of the just war as found in St. Thomas Aquinas and the theologians who came after him?
11. How would you compare the attitude of Grotius and Machiavelli?

### III

12. "It was the successful use of gunpowder plus the rise of the nation-state which in the 16th century produced the recognizable birth of modern warfare." Comment.
13. How did the French Revolution change the nature of modern war?
14. Describe the efforts to limit warfare in the 19th and the early 20th century. What was the role of the Church and of the United States in these efforts?
15. What concrete proposals were made and steps taken by Rome to bring peace during World War I?
16. Why did the League of Nations fail?
17. How did World War I further the rise of Communism and Fascism?
18. What was the attitude of Pope Pius XI toward Nazism?

### IV

19. How does the doctrine of total war represent a break with Christian tradition?
20. How would you sum up the traditional Christian principles regarding a just war? Would you say many Catholics are familiar with them?
21. Did all concerned in World War II ignore the standards required for a just war, at least to some extent?
22. Is the use of nuclear bombs justified? Explain.
23. Why did the Vatican Council uphold both the right to self-defense and the right to conscientious objection against bearing arms?

## The Church and War

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