



EASTER 2003  
VOL. 2. 2

# the SIGN of PEACE

JOURNAL OF THE CATHOLIC PEACE FELLOWSHIP

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## THE RISEN JESUS IS NO STRANGER

**T**hroughout Lent, we heard news about the war. From the car radio on the way to work, conversations at lunch, and TV in the evenings, we became familiar with such city names as Basra, Mosul, and Nasariya and with such glib, armchair warrior phrases as “embedded reporters,” “leadership targets,” and “bunker busters.” What passes for information about war has anesthetized us to its reality. As its “ending” now has come, as it fades from our television screens, as it recedes from our conversations and retreats from our thoughts, we may be relieved, but the war goes on. War stories will continue: of missing children, orphans and widows; of bewildered families and memory-haunted soldiers; of demolished homes and refugees; of rotting corpses, severed limbs, maimed bystanders, emergency surgeries conducted without medicines in darkened hospitals and cities whose residents are so crazed with thirst that they will drink from sewers.

*“And Jesus came and stood among them. He said to them, ‘Peace be with you.’” (John 20:19)*

So proclaims the Gospel of the Second Sunday of Easter, a component of our Church’s annual celebration of the fact that Jesus has prevailed over sin and death, risen to new life, appeared to His disciples, and then uttered these words of peace. The story at the heart of our faith is so joyous that it might seem wholly irrelevant to the war stories still coming out of Iraq, but for this one detail . . .

*“After saying this, He showed them his hands and his side.” (John 20:20)*

Jesus showed them his wounds to convince the disciples that no ghost stood before them, but He Himself, the Crucified One. Perhaps it was also a way to warn them that the peace He brought them would draw them into those wounds. The disciples would learn the costliness of this peace when they left the upper room to carry Christ’s peace into the Jerusalem streets and out to all nations. They would be rewarded with his wounds: with ridicule, arrest, exile, imprisonment, torture, and (in all but one case) martyrdom. Jesus gave the disciples peace, but it was a peace purchased by the limitless love that now animated them, by suffering and looking upon and knowing and binding up the wounds of others; by understanding in the fierce light of Resurrection that those same wounds have been inflicted on the Body of their Crucified and Risen Master.

Thus the ancient story of Easter and the contemporary story of Iraq must become one and the same story. Easter faith requires us to shun the pitiless logic of empire and to take on the task of healing the wounds of all who have been pierced by a soldier’s lance. We can take heart that some in our company have begun to heed this Easter call: the Church’s leaders and faithful who emphatically denounced the war, the soldiers who refused to participate in it, the volunteers who have journeyed to Iraq to be among the people who suffer its ravages.

Alongside carrier groups and MOAB’s, this may seem a slender mooring for the anchor of our hope. But this is what our faith commands, revealing another lesson of the Easter story: When Thomas, the skeptical disciple who had been absent from the upper room, heard the others insist that the Lord was alive, he replied,

*“Unless I can put my hand into his side, I refuse to believe.” (John 20:25).*

A week later, of course, upon being invited to do exactly that, he did believe. Stunned, chastened, and afire with that belief—accompanied by the same Risen Lord—Thomas journeyed east from Jerusalem to inspire and sustain several communities of faith, including many in what is now Iraq. Today, the beneficiaries of his travels in Iraq number about 1,000,000. This Easter season, they join us in proclaiming the same story, receiving Christ’s peace, and binding Christ’s wounds in their midst. Why? Because in binding wounds we find true joy, the joy of the cross. Even now amid the death and destruction wrought by war, we must embrace Christ’s wounds, receive his peace, and become characters in the Easter story.

*“The disciples were filled with joy at seeing the Lord, and He said to them again, ‘Peace be with you’”*

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The Sign of Peace is published  
six to eight times a year.  
Voluntary Subscription Rate:  
\$1.00 a copy, \$10.00 a year.

Periodical Postage paid at South  
Bend, IN Postmaster.

Please send subscriptions  
and address changes to:  
Lauren Beyer  
The Sign of Peace  
P.O. Box 41  
Notre Dame, IN 46556

The Sign of Peace is available  
online at the CPF website:  
www.catholicpeacefellowship.org

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## ABOUT THIS ISSUE

In this Easter edition of *The Sign of Peace*, we offer some theological reflections on the war in Iraq as well as on the practical application of the Church's teaching on war and conscience. In particular, we re-print a letter from Bishop Michael Botean, ordinary for Romanian rite Catholics in the United States. Botean provoked questions and not a little controversy with war-time instructions for his diocese.

We also present a report on the presence of ROTC programs at Catholic colleges and universities. About half of our schools either host ROTC or contract with nearby schools to host it for them, but at what cost to their Catholic identity? In her essay, Katie Millar takes up just this question. A reflection by Tom Gibbons connects the issue of ROTC to our ongoing treatment of conscientious objection in the Catholic tradition.

Finally, John Dear, sj reflects on the figure of Mary, her *Magnificat*, and a theology of peace. Like all mothers who know intimately the scourge of violence and war, the Mother of God cries out for peace. And so, even during this joyful season of Easter, we think of the women who still mourn dead children, casualties of war in Iraq. Wanting their cries to be at the heart of our statement on the war that was, the war that is, we offer you this etching from Georges Rouault's series of images known as "Miserere et Guerre."



Georges Rouault (French, 1871-1958)

**BELLA MATRIBUS DETESTATA** "War, which all mothers hate" [Horace: Odes I, I, 24-25] 1927

# THE POPE, THE PRESIDENT, AND HOW U.S. CATHOLICS ENGAGED THE WAR EFFORT

BY MICHAEL GRIFFIN, CSC AND PATRICK O'NEILL

**A**sh Wednesday seems a distant memory. Yet this Easter we will not easily forget how our Lent started, or ended. Beginning that first day, when he sent Cardinal Pio Laghi to tell President Bush that war would be a “defeat for humanity,” the pope continued to make international headlines: “No to war! The solution will never be imposed by recourse to terrorism or armed conflict, as if military victories could be the solution.”

Yet the pope's pleas went unheeded by Washington: the U.S. and its “coalition of the willing” passed from undeclared war to declared war to, now, declared victory in Iraq. And the rising chorus of triumphant voices—“we told you so,” “see how much the Iraqis love our troops,” “look how quick and easy the war was—includes many Catholics who are puzzled by the pope's opposition to the U.S.-led attack. In fact, some have wondered recently whether the pope might change his mind and see in retrospect the wisdom of war in this case.

The answer is that he has not changed his mind. The pope's argument against the war was never rooted in a belief that the U.S. could not overpower the Iraqis. No surprise there. Nor was the pope under the illusion that the Iraqis had a great love for Saddam. Of course they cheered the demise of their oppressor. Rather, the pope's case rested on a long-term claim that the world would be a more dangerous after this “preventive” and unilateral war. Acutely aware of the fallout on relations between Muslims and Christians, the pope has pleaded that “bold audacious ways of peace” be tried. These ways could have been tried, a long time ago. For twelve years, the Iraqi people suffered under crushing United Nations sanctions. Had they not been placed squarely in the crosshairs of this dangerous economic weapon, a program of Iraqi resistance to Saddam may have been possible.

And so throughout Holy Week the pope continued to focus on the tragic consequences—including thousands of deaths and the threat of increasing religious division—of the war. The Holy Thursday collection was donated to the work carried out by the Church in Iraq on behalf of war victims. Among those asked to carry the Cross for him in the Good Friday procession were four Iraqis, including a

mother and daughter who had fled Baghdad in fear of the war. On Easter, in his annual *Urbi et Orbi* address, he exclaimed, “Peace in Iraq!” and continued his challenge to U.S. policy by calling for more power for the international community—and especially for the Iraqi people themselves—in shaping the future there.

Moreover, the pope's position on the war did not emerge only from disagreement about the best political strategy in Iraq. His opposition was a moral judgment, rooted in the church's teaching that killing is extremely difficult to justify. The Vatican spokesperson, Joaquin Navarro-Valls said that the conditions justifying warfare are, in the contemporary context, “so rare that they are almost nonexistent.”

All of this is not music to the ears of some U.S. Catholics. George Weigel, for example, has pointed out that decisions about the morality of war belong to the “prudential judgments of statesmen.” True enough, politicians must exercise all kinds of prudential judgments for the common good. But those judgments sometimes can be wrong. And in the case of an attack on war, the pope thought that Bush's judgment was not very prudential and, in a word, wrong.

The pope also made another claim that will be even less comfortable for those wishing to wed U.S. foreign policy to Catholic doctrine. In an address to diplomats on Jan. 13, 2003, the pope pleaded for a “yes to life.” In one and the same paragraph, he moved from a rejection of “abortion, euthanasia and human cloning” to the following declaration: “War itself is an attack on human life since it brings in its wake suffering and death. The battle for peace is always a battle for life.” No doubt, we are witnessing a historic moment in Catholic teaching on war and peace. From this moment on, Catholic opposition to war is a bona fide pro-life issue.

The connection between “the life issues” (abortion, euthanasia) and war was noted in a column by Paul Moses in *The Tablet*. Moses wryly notes the irony in the pro-war rhetoric from pundits like Weigel: “various so-called American Catholic experts on papal teachings have turned into apologists for President George W. Bush. Having long insisted that Catholics pay heed to the pope, they now argue in effect that they know Catholic tradition

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Michael Griffin is an associate editor of this journal; Patrick O'Neill is cofounder of the Fr. Charlie Mulholland Catholic Worker House in Garner, NC.

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better than he does.”

Catholic pundits were not alone. Archbishop Edwin F. O'Brien of the U.S. Military Archdiocese increasingly distanced himself from the pope's rejection of the war. He made news by commenting publicly last year that the justice of an attack on Iraq would be questionable. But in an apparent about-face, he wrote in a March 25 letter that “given the complexities of factors involved,” soldiers should “carry out their military duties in good conscience.”

Like many Catholics, the Archbishop invoked “support for the troops” to silence his war dissent once action began. Yet what about support for troops whose conscience was *not* okay with the war, those who perhaps had heeded the message of the pope? To this end, a Catholic group circulated a statement calling on soldiers to refuse to fight against Iraq. Signatories stand in violation of federal laws that forbid counseling soldiers to disobey orders. “Brothers and Sisters in the Military: Refuse to Fight! Refuse to Kill!” the statement said. “You are being ordered to war by a president ... who has never fought in a war, and who is saying that it is acceptable to use nuclear weapons ... You are being ordered to war by a nation whose self-acknowledged posture is that of world domination, mastery, control. This nation can have no moral justification for war.”

Detroit Auxiliary Bishop Thomas Gumbleton, who signed the statement, said Catholic soldiers should disobey orders and refuse to serve in the war. “We want to challenge people in the military,” Gumbleton said. “You have a conscience. You must follow your conscience before you follow your

### **ARCHBISHOP OF BAGHDAD: WAR WAS LIKE A ‘PUNCH’ TO THE IRAQI PEOPLE**

On April 21, Catholic News Service published comments made by Archbishop Jean Sleiman of Baghdad in an interview with the Italian newspaper *Avvenire*. Far from echoing the sentiments of Washington about the quickness of the war, Archbishop Sleiman reiterated the position that the war was wrong. Not only was force and violence used in the name of freedom and peace, but the result will be the real threat of increased extremism. Here is an excerpt of his comments.

“This war was like giving a punch to these people. It was an earthquake, after which reigns an anguished emptiness, not only for Christians, but for everyone. War is simply evil and ugly. If there is truly a need to build a peaceful world, our values cannot be imposed with force.”

government or your military superiors. Your conscience has to come first.”

While all branches of the US military claim to honor conscientious objectors' rights not to fight, they do so only if the person is adjudged a strict pacifist—someone who would never kill under any circumstances. Soldiers who claim to be “selective” conscientious objectors face likely prosecution in a military court if they refuse to follow

orders. Scores of soldiers were court-martialed, and many sent to prison, for refusing to fight in the 1991 Gulf war.

The Catholic Church, however, does recognize selective conscientious objection, always allowing soldiers to make moral decisions based on conscience—even on the battlefield. And so Catholics in the military faced a choice: follow the teachings of their faith or follow the unjust commands of earthly authorities. “Right now if they follow their consciences they're going to be prosecuted, but I hope many will do it,” Gumbleton said. “It's a huge sacrifice ... (but) each of them has to stand before God.”

And so the story of Catholic response to the war chasm between the president and the pope has proven very revealing. From the Military Archbishop's call for trust in “our president's decision” to an auxiliary bishop's exhortation to disobey orders, the unresolved question of war and conscience looms large in the Church. Yet perhaps the most interesting and provocative response of all came from Bishop John Michael Botean, the ordinary for Romanian Catholics (an eastern rite in union with Rome) in the United States. His letter—which was read at every mass on the First Sunday of Lent in the diocese's fifteen parishes—follows on the next page.

# STATEMENT BY THE ROMANIAN CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOP OF CANTON OHIO

March 7, 2003

Romanian Catholic Diocese of St. George in Canton  
Office of the Bishop  
PO Box 7189  
Canton, Ohio 44705-0189 USA

Beloved brothers and sisters in our Lord, Jesus Christ,

Great Lent, which we now begin, is traditionally a time in which we take stock of ourselves, our lives, and the direction in which we are headed. In the common language of the Catholic Church, it is a time for a deep “examination of conscience” as we fast, pray, and otherwise attend to the call for repentance issued by the Church for the forty days before we celebrate the Resurrection of her savior, Jesus Christ.

A serious examination of conscience requires that we recognize that there are times in the life of each Christian when one’s faith is seriously and urgently challenged by the events taking place around him or her. Like it or not, these challenges show us just how seriously—or not—we are living our baptismal commitment to Christ. Most of us, most of the time, would prefer to keep our heads in the sand, ostrich-like, than to face truths about ourselves. This is why the Church has found it so vitally necessary to have seasons, such as Lent, during which we must pull our heads out of the sand and take a good, hard look at the world around us and how we are living in it.

We cannot fail, as we examine our consciences, to take into account the most critical challenge presented to our faith in our day: the fact that the United States government is about to initiate a war against the people of Iraq. For Romanian Catholics who are also United States citizens, this raises an immediate and unavoidable moral issue of major importance. Specifically stated the issue is this: does the killing of human beings in this war constitute murder?

The Holy Gospels reveal our Lord, God, and Savior Jesus Christ to be nonviolent. In them, Jesus teaches a Way of life that his disciples are to follow,

a Way of nonviolent love of friends and enemies. However, since the latter half of the fourth century the Church has proposed standards that, if met, would make it morally permissible for Christians to depart from that way in order to engage in war.

These standards have come to be known in popular language as the “Catholic Just War Theory.” According to this theory, if all of the conditions it specifies are adhered to, the killing that is done in fighting a war may be justifiable and therefore morally allowable. This theory also teaches that if any one of the standards is not met, then the killing that occurs is unjust and therefore morally impermissible. Unjust killing is by definition murder. Murder is intrinsically evil and therefore absolutely forbidden, no matter what good may seem to come of it.

The Church teaches that good ends do not justify the use of evil means. The Catechism of the Catholic Church states this principle succinctly: “One may never do evil so that good may result from it.”

(*Catechism*, para. 1789) One contemporary example of this would be abortion. Abortion is intrinsically evil; hence regardless of the good that may seem to issue from it, a Catholic may never participate in it.

Paragraph 2309 of the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* states: “The strict conditions for legitimate defense by military force require rigorous consideration. The gravity of such a decision makes it subject to rigorous conditions of moral legitimacy.” Since war is about the mass infliction of death and suffering on children of God, Christians can enter into it and fight in it only if the war in question strictly meets all the criteria of the just war theory, and only if these same standards are likewise meticulously observed in the course of fighting the war. Vague, loose, freewheeling, conniving, relaxed interpretations of Catholic just war theory and its application are morally illegitimate because of “the gravity of such a decision.”

“The evaluation of these conditions of the just war theory for moral legitimacy belongs to the prudential judgment of those who have responsibility for the common good,” states the Catechism (para. 2309). However, the nation-state is never the final arbiter or authority for the Catholic of what is moral

***"Beyond a reasonable doubt this war is morally incompatible with the Person and Way of Jesus Christ."***

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or for what is good for the salvation of his or her soul. What is legal can be evil and often has been. Jesus Christ and his Church, not the state, are the ultimate informers of conscience for the Catholic.

This is why the Church teaches as a norm of conscience the following: "If rulers were to enact unjust laws or take measures contrary to the moral order, such arrangements would not be binding in conscience." (*Catechism*, para. 1903) She also warns "Blind obedience [to immoral laws] does not suffice to excuse those who carry them out" (*Catechism*, para. 2313). When a moral conflict arises between Church teaching and secular morality, when contradictory moral demands are made upon a Catholic's conscience, he or she "must obey God rather than man" (Acts 5:29).

Because such a moment of moral crisis has arisen for us, beloved Romanian Catholics, I must now speak to you as your bishop. Please be aware that I am not speaking to you as a theologian or as a private Christian voicing his opinion, nor by any means am I speaking to you as a political partisan. I am speaking to you solely as your bishop with the authority and responsibility I, though a sinner, have been given as a successor to the apostles on your behalf. I am speaking to you from the deepest chambers of my conscience as your bishop, appointed by Jesus Christ in his Body, the Church, to help shepherd you to sanctity and to heaven. Never before have I spoken to you in this manner, explicitly exercising the fullness of authority Jesus Christ has given his Apostles "to bind and to loose," (cf. John 20:23), but now "the love of Christ compels" me to do so (2 Corinthians 5:14). My love for you makes it a moral imperative that I not allow you, by my silence, to fall into grave evil and its incalculable temporal and eternal consequences.

Humanly speaking, I would much prefer to keep silent. It would be far, far easier for me and my family simply to let events unfold as they will, without commentary or warning on my part. But what kind of shepherd would I be if I, seeing the approach of the wolf, ran away from the sheep (cf. John 10:12-14)? My silence would be cowardly and, indeed, sinful. I believe that Christ, whose flock you are, expects more than silence from me on behalf of the souls committed to my protection and guidance.

Therefore I, by the grace of God and the favor of the Apostolic See, Bishop of the Eparchy of St. George in Canton, must declare to you, my people,

for the sake of your salvation as well as my own, that any direct participation and support of this war against the people of Iraq is objectively grave evil, a matter of mortal sin. Beyond a reasonable doubt this war is morally incompatible with the Person and Way of Jesus Christ. With moral certainty I say to you it does not meet even the minimal standards of the Catholic just war theory.

Thus, any killing associated with it is unjustified and, in consequence, unequivocally murder. Direct participation in this war is the moral equivalent of direct participation in an abortion. For the Catholics of the Eparchy of St. George, I hereby authoritatively state that such direct participation is intrinsically and gravely evil and therefore absolutely forbidden.

My people, it is an incontestable Biblical truth that a sin left unnamed will propagate itself with lavish zeal. We must call murder by its right name: murder. God and conscience require nothing less if the face of the earth is to be renewed and if the salvation offered by Our Lord, God, and Savior Jesus Christ is to reach all people, including us. We have no choice before the face of God but to speak unambiguously to the moral situation with which we are confronted and to live according to the Will of

Him who gazes at us from the Cross (*Catechism*, para. 1785).

Let us pray for each other and take care of each other in this spiritually trying time. To this end our Church is wholeheartedly committed to the support of any of our members in the military or government service who may be confronted with situations of legal jeopardy due to their need to be conscientious objectors to this war. Let us also pray in earnest with the Mother of God, who knows

what it is to have her Child destroyed before her eyes, that the destruction of families, lives, minds and bodies that war unleashes will not take place.

Finally, my brothers and sisters in Christ, be assured that Our Lord is aware that our "No" to murder and our prayers for peace are our faithful response to his desires. He will remember this forever and ever, and so it is to him we must now turn, in him we must now trust. Amen.

Sincerely in Christ-God,  
(Most Reverend) John Michael Botean  
a sinner, bishop

**...for the sake of  
your salvation as well as  
my own, ... any direct  
participation and  
support of this war  
against the people of  
Iraq is objectively grave  
evil, a matter of  
mortal sin."**



# ROTC AT CATHOLIC UNIVERSITIES

By KATIE MILLAR

The relationship between military training and Catholic universities is long, complex and intimate. For the better part of a century, even before the birth of the current ROTC (Reserve Officers Training Corps) programs, many Catholic campuses hosted programs for U.S. military training. During World War I, the University of Notre Dame, the University of Dayton, and several other universities hosted SATC (Student Army Training Corps) programs as a way to regain revenue that was lost due to decreased student enrollment during the war. Indeed, military training goes as far back as the nineteenth century on some Catholic campuses, among them Xavier University in Ohio and the University of Santa Clara. Moreover, until the late 1960s, ROTC on some Catholic campuses was *mandatory* for freshmen and sophomores. And now, although it is no longer a requirement anywhere, ROTC remains widespread on Catholic campuses. More than 100 Catholic colleges or universities have students enrolled in ROTC, and of those, thirty host their own ROTC program.

With such a long history of ROTC at Catholic universities, many students, faculty and administrators have come to assume a basic compatibility between the mission of a Catholic university and the nature of an ROTC program. However, an examination of the ROTC program and the way it functions at a university shows that it can tear at the fabric of Catholic schools. Supporters argue that Catholic colleges and universities host ROTC in an attempt to form future officers and thus exert a positive influence on the military. As some have put it, the goal is to “Christianize the military.” But a close look at ROTC reveals that it works the other way around, that ROTC exerts an influence over our colleges and universities, and not necessarily a salutary one. What exactly is the relationship between ROTC and its host universities? And more importantly, what does this relationship mean for the Catholic character of these schools?

## MONEY OR MORALS?

Whatever the moral arguments for hosting ROTC at a Catholic university, there is no denying that one principal motivation is financial. The Department of Defense offers full-tuition scholarships to students who commit to the ROTC program and to four (or in some cases more) years of military service following

graduation. At private, Catholic schools, these scholarships can amount to well over \$100,000. In the year 2000, the four ROTC programs at the University of Notre Dame gave students more than \$6 million dollars in financial aid. Many argue that without this scholarship money, students from lower working-class families would not be able to afford a higher Catholic education. True enough. But such an argument raises serious moral questions: Why is a Catholic university relying on the military, rather than upon itself, to provide tuition to students from poorer families? Why is a Catholic university placing students in a position where they must either choose military service or else be denied a Catholic education? And doesn't this place obstacles in the way of a student's free discernment of conscience?

Surely, no Catholic university would want to contribute to a student having to make a decision of conscience based on tuition payment instead of on prayerful discernment—would it?

Of course, there are ways for a university to avoid creating such dilemmas. One way would be for the university to offer a peace scholarship that pays a student's tuition in return for volunteer service following graduation. This way, a student would not be caught in a decision between military service and their Catholic education, but would instead have the option of performing non-military service. Another way would be for the university to promise to pay the tuition of an ROTC student who later decides to become a conscientious objector. Students would, therefore, be able to freely explore their views on issues of war and peace and their vocations in the Church without external, financial pressures. Indeed, as long as Catholic universities refuse to make such guarantees, we cannot assume that a student freely chooses to join ROTC or is able to freely discern their vocation to military service.

But the financial motivations for hosting ROTC run much deeper than student scholarships. The presence of ROTC is also related to research grants and other funds that universities receive from the U.S. government. This is because in 1995, Representative Gerald Solomon (NY) successfully added an amendment to the Defense Appropriations bill that forbids the Department of Defense from granting funds to any university that removes ROTC or military recruitment on campus. In 1997, this provision was expanded to include funding from other federal agencies including the departments of Education, Energy, Transportation, and Health and Human Services. Several institutions of higher education have already been directly affected by this law. For

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*Katie Millar, a graduate of the University of Notre Dame ('02), currently works with landless peoples in Passo Fundo, Brazil.*





example, in 1997, the Department of Defense informed San Jose State, which had begun phasing out ROTC in 1994 due to the military's stance on homosexuality, that it would lose \$18 million in federal research grants unless it rescinded its ban on ROTC. San Jose State backed down and continued its sponsorship of ROTC. Not only does the "Solomon Amendment" reveal the military as coercive and antagonistic to the freedom of inquiry characteristic of the university; it also questions a university's incentive to host ROTC. When millions of research dollars are at stake, can we assume that a Catholic university is choosing to host ROTC out of a concern for waging war justly and the religious and moral character of the military? What kind of relationship exists between ROTC and the university when ROTC exploits the economic situation of working-class families as well as the economic viability of universities to gain their support?

### **ROTC AND THE MISSION OF A CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY**

The nature of ROTC may raise doubts concerning the motivations of a Catholic university for hosting a program. It raises even more doubts concerning the compatibility of ROTC and the mission of a Catholic university. To say that a university is Catholic does not mean, on the one extreme, that the curriculum happens to include theology courses; nor does it mean, on the other extreme, that all inquiry is confined to Church doctrine. Rather, a Catholic university is a place where theology interacts with the liberal arts and the social and natural sciences. A Catholic education is an ongoing, multi-faceted discussion in which the pursuit of truth is brought into dialogue with the life of faith. The ROTC program contradicts this understanding of a Catholic university in two ways. First, the ROTC program is an authority that is external to the university. The faculty consists of military officers paid by the US Department of Defense, not academic professors paid by the university. Though the president must approve the faculty, the curriculum is not formed or influenced by the officers of the university

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but by military officers. The requirements are the same at the University of Kentucky as at St. John's University. Thus, unlike any other school or department on campus, ROTC is a *guest* rather than a *part* of the university. This is exemplified at several schools which host an annual Presidential Review. The ROTC students parade in front of the president of the college or university in order to thank the institution for hosting the ROTC program. This may not seem significant, but keep in mind that heated debate has taken place at Catholic universities over *Ex Corde Ecclesiae* and whether the external authority of the Church undermines the university as a center of free thought and discussion. Not even ecclesial authority at a Catholic university escapes debate. Why, then, would a military authority at a Catholic university go unquestioned?

The second way in which ROTC opposes the mission of a Catholic university is by offering an alternative system of values that is non-negotiable. Consider the following description of "Army Values" by the US military: "Your attitudes about the worth of people, concepts, and other things describe your values. Everything begins there. Your subordinates enter America's Army with their own values developed in childhood and nurtured through experience . . . But when soldiers and DA civilians take the oath, they enter an institution guided by Army values. . . . These values are nonnegotiable: they apply to everyone and in every situation throughout America's Army." This statement clearly calls into question the relationship of ROTC to the Catholic university. The fact that the statement explicitly states that those entering the Army must take up "Army Values" affirms that ROTC offers its own system of values, not necessarily the same as those taught by the Catholic Church. In addition, the statement implies that a Catholic who enters the Army must discard the values they developed throughout their life if they conflict with those stipulated by the military. It makes little sense for a Catholic college or university to host a program which would not only teach students an alternative morality but would actually demand that they automatically adopt, upon entry into the military, a different morality from their own. Perhaps most importantly, the fact that the values are "nonnegotiable" contradicts essential aspects of the mission of the Catholic university. Many departments on campus may teach courses which offer worldviews that diverge from the Catholic faith. The difference is that students are not *required* to subscribe to the differing views but to understand and discuss them. The mission of a Catholic university is to explore the various sciences and engage them in a conversation

with faith. A policy of "nonnegotiable Army values" is antithetical to the Catholic university.

### **WHAT ARE WE SUPPORTING?**

Finally, we must recognize that by sponsoring an ROTC program, a Catholic college or university is uncritically sponsoring the US military itself. A university cannot assist in training its students for service in an institution and argue that it is not directly supporting that institution. For this reason, it is morally imperative that universities with ROTC consider the nature and actions of the US military. In other words, we must ask, is the US military just?

There is no doubt that throughout its history, the US military has sanctioned and performed unjust actions and fought in unjust wars according to the Catholic tradition of just war theory. A few examples come to mind: The Mexican-American War, Sherman's March to the Sea, the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the use of napalm and cluster bombs in the Vietnam War, the invasion of Granada, the Gulf War I, and the recent war in Iraq which was denounced by many church leaders, most vociferously the pope, as a harbinger of more violence in the region and throughout the world. In sum, ROTC has been welcomed on Catholic campuses since World War I and yet, all through these years, the US military has fought a number of unjust wars or committed unjust acts. In light of this, there are two considerations to be made. First, the argument that Catholic universities aid in Christianizing the military by hosting ROTC has no empirical evidence. Why haven't we heard the moral outrage of Catholic military officers who were influenced by their Catholic education? And why haven't they been successful at changing the actions of the military? If a Catholic college or university hosts ROTC with the intent to influence the military, but then observes that the military continues to fight unjust wars, should it not reevaluate its mission? It only makes sense to justify a Catholic university's support of ROTC if the officers that are being trained end up making *different moral decisions rooted in Catholic teachings on war and peace*. If a military officer is dropping cluster bombs from his plane or pushing the button on a nuclear trigger, it no longer matters whether or not he is Catholic or was trained by a Catholic university.

The second consideration is simply this: Catholic universities are training their students for service in a military that has not followed, is not following, and is not likely in the future to follow the principles set down by the Church for just warfare. Being in the military, then, is a morally risky enterprise. More-

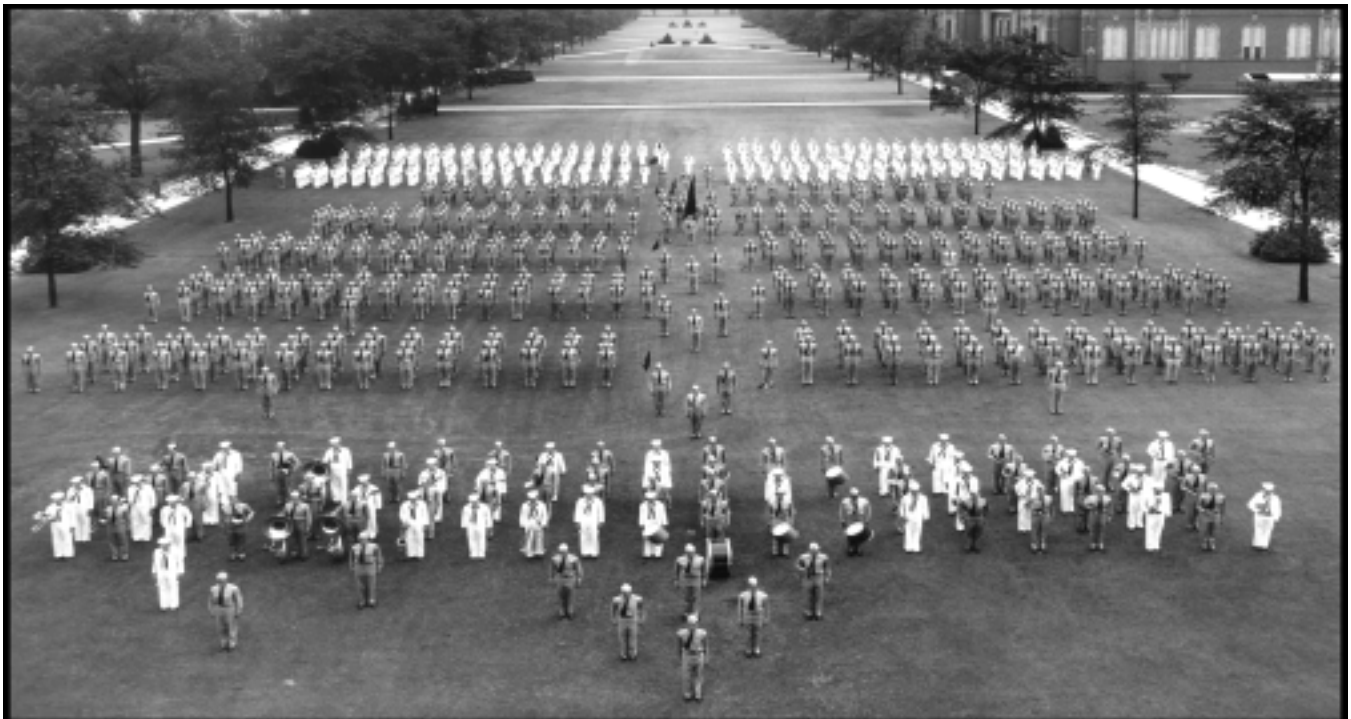
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over, because the US military does not recognize selective conscientious objection (SCO), the likelihood of serious moral compromise is magnified. The just war tradition *requires* the possibility of SCO because it necessitates that one examine the justice of each particular war and particular actions within particular wars. If one determines that the war is just, then one may serve the common good by fighting in the war. However, if one determines that the war is unjust (or for that matter if one cannot determine that the war is clearly just), then one is morally obligated not to fight in it. Thus Catholic universities are sending students into a military that has clearly violated restrictions of the just war tradition and that does not allow for SCO. So, on what basis do Catholic colleges and universities “host” an institution that directly violates Church teaching?

All of this raises the question of whether a Catholic can ever serve in the US military. To be sure, the fact that the US military has fought in several unjust wars and does not recognize SCO must be seriously weighed by any Catholic who intends to fight in the US armed forces. However, we should acknowledge the possibility that a person could decide to enlist if he or she is involved in duties that are not, in light of just war tradition, unjust. Moreover, a person could always refuse to participate in duties that, at a later point, become

unjust. But the situation of a person in the military is different from that of a Catholic college or university that hosts a ROTC program. In the latter case, the support is being given not only to specific action but to the institution in general. Just as Catholic colleges and universities refuse to provide general access to birth control on campus and deny formal recognition to groups supporting abortion because such moves would institutionally undermine the Church’s moral teaching, they should also refuse to host ROTC programs. To do otherwise runs counter to their very identity as a *Catholic* institution.

The arguments for the presence of ROTC on a Catholic campus, then, are less than convincing. Supposedly ROTC programs Christianize the military, but the financial incentives, the conflict between the mission of ROTC and Catholic institutions, and the unjust acts of the US military call this claim into serious question. But if the Catholic institutions of higher education hosting ROTC are not Christianizing the military, then what are they doing? It seems that they are making US military “values” more palatable to Catholic students. And this precisely at a time when the pope is calling those values into more and more question. In this sense, these Catholic colleges and universities are not doing as good a job in transforming the military as the military is doing in transforming these Catholic schools.



ROTC in military formation at University of Notre Dame during WWII.

Photo on previous page : ROTC officers in front of Rockne Memorial at University of Notre Dame during WWII.

## A LIST OF CATHOLIC COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES WITH ROTC STUDENTS

*Italicized names don't have ROTC programs of their own. However, students attending these colleges are able to be ROTC programs at nearby colleges or universities.*

### **CALIFORNIA**

Santa Clara University, Santa Clara  
University of San Diego (navy)  
University of San Francisco  
*Dominican College*  
*Holy Names College*  
*Mount St Mary's*  
*St. Mary's College of California*

### **CONNECTICUT**

*Fairfield University*  
*Sacred Heart University*

### **COLORADO**

*Regis University*

### **DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA**

Georgetown University  
Trinity College, Washington, D.C.  
*The Catholic University of America*

### **FLORIDA**

*St Leo College*

### **ILLINOIS**

*College of St Francis*  
*DePaul University*  
*Lewis University*  
*Loyola University*  
*Saint Xavier University*

### **INDIANA**

University of Notre Dame  
*Marian College*  
*St Mary of the Woods*  
*St Mary's College*  
*Holy Cross College*

### **KANSAS**

*St Mary College*

### **KENTUCKY**

*Bellarmino College*  
*Thomas More College*  
*Spalding University*

### **LOUISIANA**

*Loyola University of New Orleans*  
*Our Lady of Holy Cross College*  
*Xavier University of Louisiana*

### **MASSACHUSETTS**

College of the Holy Cross (navy)  
*Anna Maria College*  
*Assumption College*  
*Boston College*  
*Emmanuel College*  
*College of Our Lady of the Elms*  
*Stonehill College*

### **MARYLAND**

Loyola College in Maryland

### **MICHIGAN**

*Ave Maria College*

### **MINNESOTA**

St John's University  
University of St Thomas  
*Aquinas College*  
*College of St Benedict*  
*College of St Catherine*  
*St Mary's University of Minnesota*

### **MISSOURI**

Avila College  
*Benedictine College*  
*Fontbonne College*

### **MONTANA**

*Carroll College*

### **NORTH CAROLINA**

*Belmont Abbey College*

### **NEBRASKA**

Creighton University  
*College of St Mary*

### **NEW HAMPSHIRE**

*Notre Dame College*  
*Rivier College*  
*St Anselm College*

### **NEW JERSEY**

Seton Hall University

### **NEWYORK**

Canisius College  
Fordham University  
St John's University  
Siena College  
St Bonaventue University  
*College of Mt St Vincent*  
*Marymount College*  
*Mount St Mary*  
*St Francis College*  
*Molloy College*  
*Niagra University*  
*St John Fisher*  
*College of St Rose*  
*LeMoyne College*  
*Maria College, GMC*  
*St Thomas Aquinas College*

### **OHIO**

John Carroll University  
University of Dayton  
Xavier University  
*Ursuline College*  
*Notre Dame College*  
*College of Mount St Joseph*  
*Thomas More College*

### **OKLAHOMA**

*St Gregory's University*

### **OREGON**

University of Portland

### **PENNSYLVANIA**

Gannon University  
St Joseph University  
University of Scranton  
Villanova University (navy)  
*Gwynedd-Mercy College*  
*LaSalle University*  
*Mercyhurst College*  
*DeSales University*  
*Alvernia College*  
*Duquesne University*  
*LaRoche College*  
*St Vincent College*  
*College Misericordia*  
*Kings College*  
*LaRoche College*  
*Marywood College*  
*Cabrini College*  
*Rosemont College*

### **RHODE ISLAND**

*Providence College*

### **TENNESSEE**

*Aquinas College*

### **TEXAS**

St Mary's University  
*Our Lady of the Lake University*  
*University of St Thomas*  
*St Edward's University*  
*University of the Incarnate Word*

### **VERMONT**

*St Michael's College*

### **WASHINGTON**

Gonzaga University  
Seattle University

### **WISCONSIN**

Marquette University  
*Alverno College*  
*Marian College*  
*Mount Mary College*  
*St Norbert College*  
*Viterbo University*

# CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION: A MODEST WAY TO PLEASE GOD

BY TOM GIBBONS

I became a conscientious objector when I was a college student at the University of Notre Dame during the early 1980s. There was no war going on. I had not been drafted. I had entered the Air Force Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) program in my sophomore year out of a combination of some vague sense of patriotism and a very clear sense of the tuition benefits it offered. Like others, I had heard the subtle messages broadcast through the TV and radio commercials: “aim high,” “be all that you can be,” “the few, the proud. . .”. The idea of serving one’s country while gaining valuable leadership training was an appealing one to a young man with ideals and ambition. So I joined ROTC.

But a problem arose. At some point during my junior year, some nagging questions began to surface. As a Catholic, did my faith tradition have any relevance in my recent decision to embark on a military path? I had never really considered the “morality” of war before. Vietnam was a hazy childhood memory. None of my relatives had entered the military. I basically grew up untouched by war on a personal level. I began to ponder some weighty questions. Fortunately, I found some help at the Campus Ministry office. Holy Cross priests John Fitzgerald and Michael Baxter were great sources of support as I began to investigate these concerns.

I studied the just war tradition as well as the Catholic Church’s support of pacifism. The early church was, by and large, pacifist. The legitimacy of conscientious objection was re-affirmed during Vatican II. The teaching that more Catholics adhere to, however, is the Just War Theory. Although generally attributed to St. Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, the theory actually dates back to Cicero, long before Jesus came along. Sadly, no wars have been prevented because of just war theory, nor has just war theory guided a military’s actions during war. It’s a nice set of guidelines, but not particularly Christian in origin, nor is it particularly effective in practice. It seemed to me that most people tended to avoid Church teaching on the subject in favor of allegiance to country in time of war.

This wasn’t a question of could I pull the trigger or not. The reality was, as an Air Force engineer, I would never see hand to hand combat. Moreover, with no talk of war on the horizon, the odds were that I would be stationed at some base in Ohio and never “see action.” However, I soon came to

believe that even if I was designing a landing gear hydraulic system for an F-16 fighter, morally speaking, it would be the same as if I were pulling trigger. This began to trouble me.

At that time, the United States was in a feverish nuclear arms race with the Soviet Union. There were estimated to be 50,000 nuclear warheads stockpiled, and there was no sign of stopping. I told my commanding officer that I was having trouble with the prospect of working on nuclear weapons systems. I wasn’t questioning our right to self-defense, but I was having difficulties putting myself in this escalating game of ‘mutually assured destruction’ as it was called. He explained to me how he viewed his role in the military as a Christian. To his credit, he advised me to think a little more about it.

I investigated the issue for a year. I read books, took classes, visited Air Force bases, and interviewed active-duty military officers as well as a military chaplain. I discussed the issue with fellow ROTC cadets, other classmates, and the clergy. I approached it like an engineer major would, as a problem to be solved. On the one hand, there was the “evil empire” (USSR) and the global strategy of nuclear deterrence. On the other hand, there was the clear Gospel challenge to “love your enemies” and reject the eye-for-an-eye mentality – to be peacemakers. Then in May 1983, at the end of my sophomore year, the Catholic Bishops in the United States released their definitive pastoral letter on the issue of war in the nuclear age, *The Challenge of Peace: God’s Promise and Our Response*. In the letter, the Bishops urged all Catholics to examine this issue and follow their own consciences. For me, this was certainly a propitious event.

My personal aversion to war, including preparing for war, began to crystallize. But I still couldn’t “solve” the question of the legitimacy of a national defense, and of the need to resist evil in a dangerous world. Part of me just wanted to “fit in,” to reconcile somehow the morality question and put it behind me. After all, I was at a Catholic University that was hosting the largest ROTC program in the country. I had plenty of friends who were also in ROTC, and they were good, decent people. And untold numbers of Catholics had served in the military before me. Why do I need to be different?

Ultimately, I realized that my aversion to war as a Christian was deeply rooted in the Gospel message of peace and justice, so deep it was impossible to ignore. I concluded that my obligation to follow the example of Jesus led me to reject participation in the nation’s armed forces. I requested separation from

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*Tom Gibbons, a graduate of the University of Notre Dame ('84) lives and works in New York City.*

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the military on the basis of conscientious objection. (If the country went to war, I would gladly accept some form of “alternate service” as is prescribed in US federal law.) This was the most difficult decision I had ever made. My status in the military and as a student was suddenly very much up in the air. If turned down, I could be removed from campus and sent to a remote military base as an enlisted conscript in a heartbeat. It was a risk. It was not a popular decision. But in spite of all this, I was completely and deeply at peace. I was prepared to take whatever consequences followed. This was a decision born of sincere introspection and based on an informed conscience. In many ways, it was the beginning of a new awareness for me, a new life.

Once I made this decision, the action came fast and furious. I had to prepare a lengthy written statement, attesting to the sincerity and depth of belief that led me to a position of conscientious objection. This statement included procedural information (name, rank, previous education, previous employment), several essay questions (what is the nature of your CO belief? when did you acquire it? when did it come into conflict with being in the military?), and letters of support. With Margaret Garvey, whose role I can only describe as heroic, I completed the investigative hearing. Then more interviews and a trip to Grissom Air Force Base in Indiana. My commanding officer supported me 100%. Not that he agreed with me in principle, of course; but for him that wasn't the point. He knew the ordeal I was going through and that mine was a sincere and deeply held position. Most of my fellow Air Force ROTC Cadets also gave me their support which, quite honestly, meant more than I can express. Two of them

testified at the on-campus investigative hearing on my behalf. On the other hand, I lost my best friend from high school over this issue. Some people told me in no uncertain terms that what I was doing was wrong. This is not surprising. The issue is certainly a complex one, and so were the reactions I witnessed. What sustained me was the fact that somewhere along the line, I came to realize to Whom I owe the most, Who my ultimate authority was. That realization was my strength in the storm.

So, what did my decision really mean? My statement was not about ending war. But it was a clear statement that I was not going to personally contribute to the cycle of violence that perpetuates war. It was a statement that rejected the Nietzschean view that God had no relevance in issues such as national defense. It said that the Christian faith I believe in values all human life, not just American lives. It was a statement that said, in all sincerity I hope, that “I cannot put my faith on the shelf and kill another human being when my government says its time to go to war.” I love my country, but my first allegiance is not to political leaders, but to God.

Is it an idealistic position? Most definitely. Is it hopelessly unrealistic? I'm not so sure. People such as Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Lech Walesa have shown us that there are alternatives to violent social change. In Czechoslovakia in 1989 and in other eastern bloc countries, communist governments were overturned nonviolently. If we don't put our hope in these examples—if we don't put our faith in God – how are we any different than the pagans? A declaration of conscientious objection will not prevent war. But I shudder to think of a world

bereft of Christians who are willing to stand up for peace.

My awakening did not end with my declaration of conscientious objection; it started there. Twenty years later, I look back and realize that the path my life has taken really began with that one decision. After receiving my honorable discharge and graduating from college, many other decisions flowed from this new consciousness. I had to reject my first job offer when I asked my potential boss if it would be a problem if I were not able to work on military-design projects. In the late 1980s I did volunteer work with a delegation that went to Nicaragua, where our country was orchestrating a covert war. I was discouraged when our political leaders ignored international resolutions and basic morality in continuing the mining of Nicaraguan harbors and sponsorship of terrorism in the country. Our volunteer group there offered training, education, and helped to repair a damaged bridge in a small country town. In 1990, I went to Honduras to volunteer at a physical therapy rehabilitation clinic, assisting civilians who represented part of the “collateral damage” of the Contra war (many land mines were placed along the border between Honduras and Nicaragua). A few years ago I joined thousands of others in protest against the School of the Americas in Georgia. Meanwhile, I have done what I can to support other nonviolent causes such as Amnesty International and gun control organizations here at home. Admittedly, the results of one act of conscientious objection are not enough to rid the world of violence and war. I do believe, however, that they are enough to please God.

# “GOD CAST THE MIGHTY FROM THEIR THRONES”

BY JOHN DEAR, SJ

**W**hat does Mary's shocking statement mean for the rulers and the mighty of the United States of America? Martin Luther King, Jr. called our country “the greatest purveyor of violence in the world.” We can expand that, sadly, to name our country as the greatest practitioner of violence in the history of the world. We are the only ones to use nuclear weapons in war thus far. Our bombs killed over 150,000 human beings in two flashes at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The innocent life lost is horrifying. The United States ships billions of dollars worth of arms and weapons of mass destruction to over ninety countries each year. It fights in every war in every country; hoards oil and other natural resources all over the planet; finances dictatorships in countries like El Salvador and Guatemala; and trains soldiers at U.S. military schools around the world. Since 1983, the United States has spent over ninety-five billion dollars on missile shield programs to control outer space, which many politicians agree will never work. The United States maintains a global system that helps keep two billion people around the world in poverty, hunger, and misery. Since World War II, we have spent nineteen trillion dollars on war. Fifty percent of every U.S. tax dollar goes to the big business of killing other human beings, while less than fifteen percent pays for development aid for the world's poor.

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*This article is excerpted from John Dear's newest book “Mary of Nazareth, Prophet of Peace”. Dear is the former Executive Director of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.*

The Gospel of Luke teaches that God does not tolerate such domination. God will not sit idly by as we decimate entire peoples, whether through bombing raids, nuclear explosions, economic sanctions, or the consumerism and globalization that leads to mass starvation. God has thrown down the mighty from their thrones in the past, according to Mary, and will do so again. We can conclude that God will throw down the mighty in the United States.

Just as God throws the rulers down from their thrones, God also picks up the poor and crushed peoples of the earth. “God has lifted up the lowly,” Mary declares. What an astonishing announcement! For the suffering peoples of the earth, there is no better news.

Since World War II, ninety percent of the world's conflicts have taken place in poor countries, according to Caritas-Italy. Since 1945, wars have killed nearly twenty-seven million disenfranchised civilians and produced thirty-five million refugees. Between the years of 1990 and 2000, two million children were killed in war. During the 1990s, there were fifty-six wars in forty-four countries, killing millions of poor people, injuring countless other millions, leaving hundreds of millions permanently scarred by violence. Meanwhile, every day, nearly six thousand people in the world die of AIDS. Twenty million people suffer with HIV in South Africa. Each month, over five thousand people, mostly children, die in Iraq from economic sanctions imposed by the United Nations. The list goes on and on.

“All our problems stem from our acceptance of this filthy, rotten system,” Dorothy Day said.

Mary's God not only throws down these rulers but actively sides with the poor, with the victims of the first world system, and lifts them up

to justice and new life. God picks up those who were pushed down—the homeless, the starving, the refugee, the immigrant, the imprisoned, the sick, the dying, the ostracized, the persecuted. God publicly, actively, politically, socially works to bring them healing, justice, and life. Mary's God comforts the afflicted and afflicts the comfortable, and summons us to do the same.

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When Mary praises God for this revolution of justice and peace, she extols not just a new personal morality, but the restructuring of the entire global social order. God is changing not just individuals, but nations, empires, continents, the world, and all generations. God's perspective encompasses every human being who ever lived. At each moment in history, the entire unjust world order is in the process of being toppled over by the God of justice. Though we may not read about it on the front page of the New York Times, it is happening at this very moment. The first world media that supports the system of war and corporate greed will never promote the grassroots movement of faith-based revolutionary nonviolence. To find out about it, one has to go to the bottom, into the struggle for justice itself.

“God has remembered God's mercy,” Mary concludes, “according to God's promise to our ancestors, to Abraham and Sarah and their descendants forever.” With this bold summary, Mary broadcasts to the world that what God promised to Abraham and Sarah has come true, that God has kept God's covenant of peace with humanity in general, and that in particular, God has been faithful to

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Israel. Her announcement addresses the common doubt of her people. After centuries of oppression, poverty, and suffering under the Romans, the community of faith wondered not only when the messiah would come, but why God had abandoned them. They thought that God had forgotten them. They assumed that God must be like us, forgetful, unfaithful, unreliable, untrue. Because we forget God and our covenant of peace with God, we assume God must, too. It is because we forget God and God's covenant of peace that we forget who we even are and rush off to war.

But Mary has astonishing news: God has not forgotten us! God remembers. God has been faithful to humanity, to God's promise to be with us, and to God's pledge to send us a messiah. Despite our sins, infidelities, violence, injustice and bloodshed, God is still with us. God continues to be merciful to us, just as God promised. God is faithful to us, Mary asserts. "Rejoice with me," she tells Elizabeth. God is coming to us!

The Magnificat sums up the entire gospel. It is a manifesto of prophetic nonviolence calling us to celebrate the God of peace and justice who sides with the poor and liberates the oppressed in their nonviolent struggle for justice. According to Mary, God's transformation of the world has not just begun; it has already happened. God shows a preferential option for the poor; God liberates the oppressed; God topples all ruling authorities and their unjust governments; God lifts up the lowly; God sends the rich away empty; God fills the hungry with good things; God is always merciful to God's people, including and up to this very moment.

Throughout the Gospel of Luke, it can be seen that Jesus learned his revolutionary nonviolence from his mother. He repeats this same call for justice and peace throughout his public life, beginning with his first public sermon in the synagogue of Nazareth (Luke 4). He then goes beyond it in his "Sermon on the Mount," calling us to love our enemies and pray for those who persecute us. He becomes a prophet of nonviolence because Mary was a prophet of nonviolence. Nonviolence is in his blood.

Pondering the extraordinary reversal outlined in the Magnificat, I recall Thomas Merton's brave declaration shortly before his death that he wanted to spend his entire life siding with the poor, the oppressed, the marginalized, the victims of war, the peacemakers, and the persecuted. "It is my intention," Merton wrote, "to make my entire life a rejection of, a protest against, the crimes and injustices of war and political tyranny

which threaten to destroy the whole race of humanity and the world. By my monastic life and vows, I am saying NO to all the concentration camps, the aerial bombardments, the staged political trials, the judicial murders, the racial injustices, the nuclear weapons and wars. If I say NO to all these secular forces, I also say YES to all that is good in the world and in humanity." Merton's testimony to peace and justice for the poor continued the tradition of Mary's prophetic nonviolence.

I think too of Martin Luther King, Jr., who more than anyone stands as the prophet of nonviolence for our falling nation. On April 4, 1967, one year to the day before his assassination, King delivered his prophetic speech against the Vietnam War at the Riverside Church in New York City. It was his own Magnificat to the civil rights movement, both exciting and shocking, full of hope and promise and revolutionary challenge.

"I am convinced that if we are to get on the right side of the world revolution, we as a nation must undergo a radical revolution of values," King declared. "We must rapidly begin the shift from a 'thing-oriented' society to a 'person-oriented' society....A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death. America, the richest and most powerful nation in the world, can well lead the way in this revolution of values. There is nothing, except a tragic death wish, to prevent us from reordering our priorities, so that the pursuit of peace will take precedence over the pursuit of war.

"Our only hope today lies in our ability to recapture the revolutionary spirit and go out into a sometimes hostile world declaring eternal hostility to poverty, racism, and militarism," King concluded. "Now let us rededicate ourselves to the long and bitter—but beautiful—struggle for a new world. This is the calling of the sons and daughters of God, and our brothers and sisters wait eagerly for our response" (James Washington, editor: *A Testament of Hope*, Harper and Row, San Francisco, 1986, 240-243).

On March 31, 1968, just five days before he was killed, King preached his last Sunday sermon at the National Cathedral in Washington, D.C. "America has not met its obligations and its responsibilities to the poor. One day we will have to stand before the God of history and we will talk in terms of things we've done. Yes, we will be able to say we built gargantuan bridges to span the seas, we built gigantic buildings to kiss the skies. Yes, we made our submarines to penetrate oce-

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anic depths. We brought into being many other things with our scientific and technological power. It seems that I can hear the God of history saying, 'That was not enough! I was hungry and you did not feed me. I was naked and you did not clothe me. I was devoid of a decent sanitary house to live in, and you did not provide shelter for me. And consequently, you cannot enter the kingdom of greatness. If you do it to the least of these my sisters and brothers, you do it to me.' That's the question facing America today. I want to say one other challenge that we face is simply that we must find an alternative

to war and bloodshed. Anyone who feels that war can solve the social problems facing humanity is sleeping through a revolution. Humanity must put an end to war or war will put an end to humanity" (A Testament of Hope, 274-276).

The following Sunday, he was scheduled to preach at his church in Atlanta. The day before his murder, he phoned his Ebenezer Baptist Church from that Memphis hotel room with the title of his upcoming sermon: "Why America May Go to Hell." He never gave it. Like any empire, America cannot tolerate prophets of nonviolence.

Just as Mary became a prophet of nonviolence, so too those of us who follow in her tradition have to become prophets of nonviolence. We have to publicly denounce war and injustice, announce God's reign of peace and justice, and point out God's active nonviolence among us. We have to join it, support it, and give our lives to God's peace movement. Being a servant and friend of the God of peace, Mary attests, means speaking God's word of peace, denouncing our wars and injustices, and announcing God's reign of peace and justice. Whether our message is well received or not, it must be proclaimed. That is the task before us, to proclaim the truth and live it here and now.



Just as Thomas Merton, Martin Luther King, Jr., and so many others have tried to embody Mary's call for justice, so too the struggling Christian peace movement has tried to put these texts into practice. Years of contemplative and active nonviolence have led us to attempt our own acts of prophetic nonviolence. We too have proclaimed the disruptive, illegal, revolutionary cry of God's transforming nonviolence.

After her Magnificat, Luke reports, "Mary remained with Elizabeth about three months and then returned to her home." She stayed with Elizabeth through the birth of baby John, then journeyed home to prepare for the birth of her child. The story will take off from there, with the Roman census forcing Joseph

and Mary to travel to Bethlehem where Jesus will be born into poverty, to Herod's order to kill all newborn boys, their flight to Egypt, the twelve-year-old Jesus' delay in returning to Nazareth as he instructs the high priests in the Temple, to Jesus' dramatic public emergence as a prophet and healer, his civil disobedience in the Jerusalem Temple, and his arrest, torture and execution.

Mary's journey from contemplative nonviolence to active nonviolence to prophetic nonviolence was not easy. She paid a price for her acceptance of God's mission, her outreach to Elizabeth, her consolation, her judgment on the ruling authorities and their brutal injustices. She taught her son the alternative vision of God's justice, and saw him rejected and brutally killed because of his words of peace by those same imperial forces of injustice and war.

But Mary was right. She was faithful to the God who sent an angel to her. She was faithful to her son. She stood by him in death, would meet him again in resurrection, and share in the Pentecost of his Holy Spirit.

Mary's pilgrimage outlines the journey of nonviolence, from prayer to action to prophecy, and calls us to carry on that same journey, here and now, in our own difficult times.

# CHRIST IS RISEN, AND THERE IS WORK TO BE DONE

AN UPDATE ON CPF'S RECENT WORK AROUND THE COUNTRY

## DETROIT WORKSHOP

On Saturday, February 22, 2003, a crowd of over fifty people gathered at Holy Redeemer Catholic High School in Detroit, Michigan to attend Catholic Peace Fellowship's daylong workshop on conscientious objection. The event, planned by a coalition of teachers and students from the Archdiocese of Detroit, featured Catholic Peace Fellowship staff Fr. Michael Baxter and Mike Griffin as the speakers for the day. The most hopeful element of the workshop was the presence of over thirty-five high school students, representing a diverse cross-section of the Catholic high schools in the area. At the end of the day, these students separated from the main group to plan concrete actions to challenge their peers to think about war and CO. Plans include teach-ins at their schools, fundraising for a Catholic hospital in Iraq, and an inter-school "Peace Dance" that will take place May 5. The adult group focused on training teachers, directors of religious education and youth ministers in the practical application of the Church's teachings on war and conscience. For information on the Detroit Catholic Peace Fellowship, please contact Kim Redigan at [kredigan@yahoo.com](mailto:kredigan@yahoo.com).

## PITTSBURGH GROUP TRAINED AND READY

Our offices at CPF continue to see the results of our visit to Pittsburgh on February 8. There, a highly motivated "cell group" met to learn more about CO and to plan outreach to the many area reservists who are being called up for deployment in Iraq. Many of these reservists are Catholic and go to local parishes, yet often are not made aware about the Church's tradition of CO and Selective Conscientious Objection (SCO). Already the Pittsburgh group is changing that and serving as counsel in the military's CO application process. The night before the meeting on CO and local reservists, Fr. Michael Baxter gave a

talk to a packed room at Duquesne Law School about his three-week visit to Iraq. He also appeared on a popular morning radio show to discuss Iraq as well as war and conscience in the Catholic tradition. For more information on activity in Pittsburgh, contact Fr. Warren Metzler, (412)-241-1392 or Ed Bortz, (412) 231 1581. Email is [consciencepgh@yahoo.com](mailto:consciencepgh@yahoo.com)

## WORCESTER AREA WORKSHOP

On March 21, Fr. Michael Baxter, Tom Cornell, and Brenna Cussen met in Worcester, MA to hold a one-day CPF workshop at the College of the Holy Cross. Sponsored by the Center for Religion, Ethics and Culture and organized with the help of the Agape Community and the Worcester Catholic Worker, the workshop came in three parts: a presentation on the theology of conscience by Baxter, one on the legal aspects of conscientious objection by Cornell, and two break-out sessions, one on CO concerns among high school and college students, and another on CO concerns in the Worcester community at large. About forty people attended. For more information about future plans in the Worcester area, contact Paul McNeil at [paulmcneil@tlc.net](mailto:paulmcneil@tlc.net).

## CPF AT UNIVERSITY OF DAYTON

On April 5, a CPF workshop was held at the University of Dayton. Sponsored by the University of Dayton Campus Ministry Office and the Theology Department at UD, it brought together a small but energetic group of people to teach and counsel conscientious objectors in the area, especially ROTC students at UD and airmen and women at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base. For more information locally, please contact Kelly Johnson, Assistant Professor of Theology at Dayton, by phone at (937) 229-4393 or by email at [Kelly.Johnson@notes.udayton.edu](mailto:Kelly.Johnson@notes.udayton.edu).

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS IN THIS ISSUE

—Masthead image by Fritz Eichenberg, courtesy of Harper and Brothers, Publishers.

—On page 3, Georges Rouault print "War, which all mothers hate", (Horace: Odes I, 1, 24-25), 1927, Plate #42 from *Miserere et Guerre*, 1916-1924, published in 1927, etching and aquatint over heliogravure, 21 x 18 inches  
Gift of Mr. Leonard Scheller to the collection of The Snite Museum of Art, University of Notre Dame 1968.075.003

—The St. Raphael image found on page 18 is from the work of Ade Bethune, published by Sheed and Ward, ©1986 Ade Bethune.

—The photos on pages 9 and 11 are from the Notre Dame Archives, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame IN.

—The excerpts from *Mary of Nazareth, Prophet of Peace* found on pages 15, 16, 17 are printed here with the permission of Ave Maria Press. The icon of Mary, used on the cover of John Dear's book is by John Giuliani, sj. The book can be ordered from Ave Maria Press at [www.avemariapress.com](http://www.avemariapress.com)

# SAINT RAPHAEL RELIEF FUND

**T**HE CATHOLIC PEACE FELLOWSHIP is soliciting donations for **St. Raphael Hospital in Baghdad**. Owned and administered by the Dominican Sisters of the Presentation of Mary, a Chaldean Catholic religious order, St. Raphael's was founded in 1891 as a medical clinic to treat victims of cholera. In 1939 it was expanded into a two-story hospital where some surgery could be done and mothers and their babies could be cared for in the small maternity ward. In 1968, the sisters expanded St. Raphael's once more, and it is today a four-story, thirty-six room medical facility. It provides both in-patient and out-patient medical care and offers specialized services in orthopedics, ophthalmology, gynecology, ENT, and general surgery. Under the direction of Sister Maryanne Pierre, O.P., a native of Iraq, St. Raphael's is staffed by Christians and Muslims and serves people of all faiths.

During a visit to Iraq in January 2003, Michael Baxter and Tom Cornell of the Catholic Peace Fellowship met Sister Maryanne and toured St. Raphael's. She told them that plans were under way to add a delivery room and maternity ward to the hospital, and that the project's estimated cost was \$400,000. Since then, due to the bombing of Baghdad, the riots, and the looting of hospitals throughout the city, St. Raphael's needs have become more basic and much more urgent. We wish to raise \$50,000 and deliver it to St. Raphael's through Church channels.

If you would like to help St. Raphael's Hospital and its patients, please make a generous donation payable to "**Catholic Peace Fellowship**" with a note directing it to the "**Saint Raphael Relief Fund.**" (Information for tax deduction is available upon request.)

We beg you to join us in our prayer for the people of Iraq and in our effort to translate these prayers into corporal works of mercy.

**Make checks payable to:  
THE CATHOLIC PEACE FELLOWSHIP  
P.O. Box 41  
Notre Dame, IN 46556**





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**“WE URGE  
A MIGHTY LEAGUE  
OF CATHOLIC  
CONSCIENTIOUS  
OBJECTORS”**

*—Dorothy Day*