

<http://www.abc-usa.org/resources/resol/peace.htm>

AMERICAN BAPTIST POLICY STATEMENT ON PEACE

8. We call on all nations to abolish their nuclear weapons and to dispose of such weapons in a manner that is not harmful to either the physical or political environment.

Adopted by the General Board of the American Baptist Churches - December 1985

148 For, 5 Against, 12 Abstentions

(General Board Reference # - 7037:12/85)

Modified by the Executive Committee of the General Board - September 1996

POLICY STATEMENT - Adopted by a 3/4 majority vote of the General Board of American Baptist Churches, a policy statement represents the position of the ABC on a broad issue. Each policy statement lays down the principles on which American Baptist resolutions, programs or actions will be based.

RESOLUTIONS - Adopted by a 2/3 majority vote of the General Board of American Baptist Churches, a resolution represents the position of the ABC on a specific issue and calls for some type implementing action. All resolutions must be based on a policy statement.

AMERICAN BAPTIST RESOLUTION ON PEACE

Therefore, the American Baptist Churches will:

1. Press for:

- a. significant international arms reduction agreements of all forms of weaponry;

Adopted by the American Baptist Convention - 1971

796 For, 79 Against, 26 Abstentions

Affirmed as an American Baptist Churches Resolution by the Executive Committee of the General Board - March 1982

Modified by the Executive Committee of the General Board - March 1996

(General Board Reference # - 8091:3/82)

American Baptist Resolution on Arms Reduction

<http://www.abc-usa.org/resources/resol/armsred2.htm>

The biblical vision of God's desire for humanity is characterized by "shalom," the Hebrew word for a comprehensive relationship of harmony and well-being between people and God, between people and the earth, and among nations (Isaiah 65:17-25; Psalm 85:8-13; Micah 4:1-4; Revelation 21:23-26). As disciples of Jesus Christ we have prayed and sought to act so that God's will might be "done on earth as it is in heaven" (Matthew 6:10). However, throughout human history we have turned aside from God's will of "shalom" to pursue security based on weapons and an earthly "salvation" won through military force, which the Bible portrays as a deceptive hope (Hosea 10:13-14; Matthew 26:52).

With the ending of the Cold War and the breakup of the Soviet Union, the world's political and military relationships have changed. The former superpower antagonists are now seeking to work together on various global and regional problems. The United Nations has played an increasingly prominent role in conflict resolution and the addressing of global problems. The prayers and labors of God's people in many parts of the world have helped to open new doors of opportunity for humanity. By God's grace we have the chance to step back from the abyss of global holocaust and learn to work together to see war as the common enemy.

In spite of much that brings hope there are still grave dangers and profound challenges confronting the human community. The ecological damage done during the Cold War is just beginning to be assessed and is staggering in its scope. The financial debt of the Cold War military build-up will burden our children, and has contributed to our present economic dislocation. The proliferation by sale and development of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and their delivery systems has re-focused the threat of their use in war from a superpower stand-off to the context of many highly volatile regional conflicts. There are hundreds of thousands of weapons of mass destruction still in existence and more being developed, many of them under the control of politically unstable nation states throughout the world.

We rejoice over the ending of the Cold War and the steps taken to build greater international cooperation. But the task has just begun. We need global cooperation to overcome the threats to the existence of all peoples. We need creative leadership to take advantage of the opportunities of these days for the sake of peace and human hope. We are called as followers of Jesus Christ to this task of building peace out of the rubble of our conflicts (Matthew 5:9; Romans 12:18,21).

Therefore, the General Board of the American Baptist Churches:

1. Supports the substantial nuclear arms reduction steps taken by the U.S. and Russian governments and calls for expeditious fulfillment of those agreements in partnership with other states from the former Soviet Union.

2. Calls on all nuclear powers to take all nuclear weapons off alert status.
3. Calls for all nation states to halt further production, transfer or sale of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons and nuclear weapons materials.
4. Calls upon nation states and corporations to make substantial reductions in conventional weapons transfers and sales, and for the U.N. to establish systems to monitor and control arms transfers and sales.
5. Calls for the United States and all nuclear nation states to support the expansion of the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty into a Comprehensive Test Ban, and for the universal adoption of such a treaty.
6. Calls for worldwide acceptance and strengthening of the NonProliferation Treaty, including the development of more vigorous verification procedures and a ban on the sale or transfer of nuclear weapons technology and materials.
7. Calls on Congress and the U. S. Administration to make cuts in military spending and deployment commensurate with the changed political and military context.
8. Calls for the U.S. government to halt development of the Strategic Defense Initiative and to abandon all plans for deploying its various components.
9. Calls on Congress to create adequately funded programs for economic conversion and job retraining for workers involved in arms production and for military personnel who are involuntarily discharged.
10. Calls on Congress to appropriate funds for environmental clean-up of closed military and arms production facilities so these properties can be transferred to the civilian sector.
11. Calls for greater support by the United States and U.S. citizens for the United Nations and other international bodies working on conflict resolution among and within nations.
12. Calls for the American Baptist Boards to give higher priority to the study of national security questions and possible savings from the military budget which may be invested more constructively; develop leadership and expertise in this field; provide information to member churches; and support programs to implement these objects.
13. Calls on American Baptists to educate themselves about these issues, advocate steps toward disarmament, and pray that global leaders and all the world's people will be open to God's wisdom and passion for peace and justice at this critical historical juncture.

Adopted by the General Board of the American Baptist Churches - December 1992
148 For, 1 Against, 7 Abstentions

Modified by the Executive Committee of the General Board - March 1996
(General Board Reference - #8198:12/92)

American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A.

American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A. [www.abc-usa.org] (at one time known as the Northern Baptist Convention) has 1.5 million members in 5,800 local congregations. Over the years its General Board at biennial meetings has regularly expressed its concern about nuclear weapons.

In a 1985 Policy Statement on Peace [<http://www.abc-usa.org/resources/resol/peace.htm>] *the General Board stated:*

- We call on all nations to abolish their nuclear weapons and to dispose of such weapons in a manner that is not harmful to either the physical or political environment.

In 1992 the General Board adopted a lengthy Resolution on Arms Reduction, [<http://www.abc-usa.org/resources/resol/armsred2.htm>] *which its Executive Committee updated in 1996. Among other things the resolution indicated that the General Board of American Baptist Churches:*

1. Supports the substantial nuclear arms reduction steps taken by the U.S. and Russian governments and calls for expeditious fulfillment of those agreements in partnership with other states from the former Soviet Union.
2. Calls on all nuclear powers to take all nuclear weapons off alert status.
3. Calls for all nation states to halt further production, transfer or sale of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons and nuclear weapons materials.
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job retraining for workers involved in arms production and for military personnel who are involuntarily discharged.

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Canadian Council of Churches

The Canadian Council of Churches is a community of 19 churches (denominations) that functions as a forum for working together. Its Governing Board is drawn from the member churches. An Executive Committee consists of the Council's officers and chairs of commissions and standing committees.

The Canadian churches have long worked for the elimination of nuclear weapons. Their policy position is regularly expressed in letters to Canadian prime ministers. For instance, in 1982 they wrote to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau to affirm that:

nuclear weapons in any form and in any number cannot ultimately be accepted as legitimate components of national armed forces.

In 1998 the leaders of the 19 member denominations wrote Prime Minister Jean Chrétien:

The willingness, indeed the intent, to launch a nuclear attack in certain circumstances bespeaks spiritual and moral bankruptcy. . . .

Nuclear weapons do not, cannot, deliver security -- they deliver only insecurity and peril through their promise to annihilate that which is most precious, life itself and the global ecosystem upon which all life depends. Nuclear weapons have no moral legitimacy, they lack military utility, and, in light of the recent judgment of the World Court, their legality is in serious question.

*In April 2002 the Canadian Council of Churches again expressed its views in **Letters to the Prime Minister on the Question of Nuclear Disarmament** [<http://www.ccc-cce.ca/english/jp/index.html>] in response to the Nuclear Posture Review released by the U.S. Department of Defense. On behalf of the Council's Executive Committee, the Most Rev. André Vallée, president of the Council, wrote to Prime Minister Chrétien:*

We have consistently expressed our conviction that governments and citizens should work as expeditiously as possible toward the complete elimination of nuclear weapons.

Canada should adhere to and courageously promote its long-held goal of global nuclear disarmament. . . . We need to say very clearly to our neighbours that Canada opposes any widening of the role of nuclear weapons, in any country or in any alliance.

This view was elaborated by Ernie Regehr, director of Project Ploughshares, a national peace and disarmament agency of the Canadian Council of Churches. He asked Canada to:

Call on the United States and NATO to explicitly reject all nuclear first-use options and to issue unequivocal public commitments to a policy of no-first-use.

Advocate measures to remove nuclear weapons from alert status, to support de-mating (separating warheads from delivery systems), and in the case of tactical weapons to keep them out of the control of operating units.

Indicate strong support for the concerns of non-aligned parties to the NPT and back their demand for unequivocal negative security assurances from all nuclear weapon states. [That is, pledge never to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries that are party to the NPT.]

Creation at Risk: A Consultation with Churches on Nuclear Issues
Brussels
5-6 October 2000

**THE EVOLUTION OF WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES POLICY
ON NUCLEAR ARMS AND DISARMAMENT, 1948-2000***

Prepared by:
Dwain C. Epps
Coordinator, International Relations
WCC, Geneva

The question of atomic, hydrogen and nuclear weapons has been at the heart of concerns of the World Council of Churches since its first Assembly in 1948. It was a logical focus of an ecumenical movement whose roots were in Christian peace movements going back to the late 19th century. The Amsterdam statement laid the foundations for ecumenical concern in the second half of the 20th century:

War as a method of settling disputes is incompatible with the teaching and example of our Lord Jesus Christ. The part which war plays in our present international life is a sin against God and a degradation of man. We recognise that the problem of war raises especially acute issues for Christians today. Warfare has greatly changed. War is now total and every man and woman is called for mobilisation in war service. Moreover, the immense use of air forces and the discovery of atomic and other new weapons render widespread and indiscriminate destruction inherent in the whole conduct of modern war in a sense never experienced in past conflicts...

The churches must also attack the causes of war by promoting peaceful change and the pursuit of justice. They must stand for the maintenance of good faith and the honouring of the pledged word, resist the pretensions of imperialist power, promote the multilateral reduction of armaments, and combat indifference and despair in the face of the futility of war...

Report of Section IV, "The Church and the International Disorder," *Official Report of the First Assembly*, Amsterdam, 1948, WCC, Geneva. p 89.

The II. Assembly responded to developments beyond the atomic bomb:

The development of nuclear weapons makes this an age of fear. True peace cannot rest on fear. It is vain to think that the hydrogen bomb or its development has guaranteed peace because men will be afraid to go to war, nor can fear provide an effective restraint against the temptation to use a decisive weapon either in hope of total victory or in the desperation of total defeat.

* Excerpts from selected statements or actions that added to the policy development of the WCC.

The thought of all-out nuclear warfare is indeed horrifying. Such warfare introduces a new moral challenge. It has served to quicken public concern, and has intensified awareness of the urgency of finding means of prevention....

An international order of truth and peace would require:

- a) under effective international inspection and control and in such a way that no state would have cause to fear that its security was endangered, the elimination and prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and all other weapons of mass destruction, as well as the reduction of all armaments to a minimum...

We must also see that experimental tests of hydrogen bombs have raised issues of human rights, caused suffering and imposed an additional strain on human relations between nations. Among safeguards against the aggravation of these international tensions is the insistence that nations carry on tests only within their respective territories, or if elsewhere, only by international clearance and agreement.

Report of Section IV, "International Affairs: Christians in the Struggle for World Community," *Official Report of the Second Assembly*, Evanston, 1954, WCC, Geneva, pp 131-134. The resolutions on International Affairs adopted by the Assembly did not include specific reference to nuclear weapons or disarmament.

Between 1954 and 1961, the WCC's Commission of the Churches on International Affairs (CCIA) spoke and worked intensively on the need for an international instrument to control nuclear testing. The III. Assembly further underscored the dangers of nuclear weapons developments, and for the first time officially expressed concerns about the use of outer space.

The most serious problem facing the world today is that of disarmament. General and complete disarmament is widely recognized to be the desired goal...

The recent violations of the moratorium on nuclear bomb testing have shocked the nations into a new realization of the acute danger and horror of modern warfare. Churches must protest against the accelerating arms race and the mounting terror which it portends. The First Assembly...clearly recognized that war is contrary to the will of God. War in its newer forms is understood not only by Christians but the general conscience of the nations as an offense against both the world of nature and the race of man, threatening annihilation and laying on mankind an unbearable burden of cost and terror. The use of indiscriminate weapons must now be condemned by the churches as an affront to the Creator and a denial of the very purposes of the Creation. Christians must refuse to place their ultimate trust in war and nuclear weapons. In this situation the churches must never cease warning governments of the dangers, and they must repudiate absolutely the growing conviction in some quarters that the use of mass destruction weapons has become inevitable. Christians must press most urgently upon their governments, as a first step towards the elimination of nuclear weapons, never to get themselves into a position in which they contemplate the first use of nuclear weapons. Christians must also maintain that the use of nuclear weapons, or other forms of major violence, against centers of population is in no circumstances reconcilable with the demands of the Christian Gospel.

Total disarmament is the goal, but it is a complex and long-term process in which the churches must not underestimate the importance of first steps. There may be possibilities of experimenting with limited geographical areas of controlled and inspected disarmament, of neutralizing certain zones, of devising security against surprise attack which would reduce tension, of controlling the use of outer space....

New Delhi Speaks, Third WCC Assembly, New Delhi, 1961, Association Press, New York, 1962, pp 79ff.

The landmark 1966 Church and Society Conference in Geneva is most often recalled as having brought Third World perspectives and theologies of liberation onto the stage of the global ecumenical movement. However it too devoted particular attention to nuclear war, based again on the Amsterdam affirmation.

...(The) First Assembly...declared, ‘War is contrary to the will of God’... We now say to all governments and peoples that nuclear war is against God’s will and the greatest of evils. Therefore we affirm that it is the first duty of governments and their officials to prevent nuclear war. ...

The real problem is how the supreme task, to avoid nuclear war can be carried out... (here there is) an increasing role for the smaller powers in depolarizing international affairs....

The churches should add that they have (a) common...duty to preserve the life of the peoples of this world, and to work for a world order which will transcend the present uneasy peace of the equilibrium of power. It is intolerable for the peace of the world to depend on a precarious nuclear balance...

Official Report, World Conference on Church and Society, WCC, Geneva 1966, pp 123ff.

That Conference deeply influenced the agenda of the IV. Assembly held two years later. That agenda was heavily devoted to the timely issues of racism and economic development and others stimulated by the global revolutionary fervor of the year 1968. But it too spoke out on the question of nuclear weapons, beginning once more with the Amsterdam declaration.

The WCC reaffirms its declaration at the (First Assembly): “War as a method of settling disputes is incompatible with the teachings and example of our Lord Jesus Christ.” Of all forms of war, nuclear war presents the gravest affront to the conscience of man. The avoidance of atomic, biological or chemical war has become a conditions of human survival...The churches must insist that it is the first duty of governments to prevent such a war: to halt the present arms race, agree never to initiate the use of nuclear weapons, stop experiments concerned with and the production of weapons of mass human destruction by chemical and biological means a move away from the balance of terror towards disarmament. ...

The concentration of nuclear weapons in the hands of a few nations presents the world with serious problems: a) how to guarantee the security of the non-nuclear nations; b) how to enable these nations to play their part in preventing war, and; c) how to prevent the nuclear powers from freezing the exiting order at the expense of changes needed for social and political justice....

Uppsala Speaks, Fourth WCC Assembly, Uppsala, 1998, Geneva, 1968, pp 62 ff.

The V. Assembly in Nairobi was marked especially by the global concern for human rights and East-West tensions. In its Section on “Structures of Injustice and Struggles for Liberation,” to survival, it shifted the nature of Christian responsibility very significantly based on ideas provided by the Federation of Churches in the German Democratic Republic:

Christians must resist the temptation to resign themselves to a false sense of impotence or security, The churches should emphasize their readiness to live without the protection of armaments, and take a significant initiative in pressing for effective disarmament. Churches, individual Christians, and members of the public in all countries should press their governments to ensure national security without resorting to the use of weapons of mass destruction...

We appeal to Christians to think, work and pray for a disarmed world.

Breaking Barriers, The Official Report of the Fifth Assembly of the WCC, Nairobi, 1995, WCC, Geneva, p 182.

The nuclear arms race accelerated rapidly in the late 1970s, and the CCIA was asked by the Central Committee to organize a consultation to consider it and the proliferation of conventional weapons of mass destruction. Its 1978 report noted:

We are living in the shadow of an arms race more intense, more costly, more widespread and more dangerous than the world has ever known. Never before has the arms race been as close as it is now to total self-destruction. Today's arms race is an unparalleled waste of human and material resources; it aids repression and violates human rights; it promotes violence and insecurity in place of the security in whose name it is undertaken; it frustrates humanity's aspirations for justice and peace; it has no part in God's design for His world; it is demonic.... To hope in Christ is neither to be complacent about survival nor powerless in the fear of annihilation by the forces of evil but to open our eyes to the transcendent reality of Christ in history.

“Report of the WCC Consultation on Disarmament,” Glion, Switzerland, 1978, in *The Churches in International Affairs 1974-1978*, WCC, Geneva 1979, p 72

That same year, Dr. Philip Potter, WCC General Secretary brought the concerns highlighted in the consultation to the attention of the United Nations in a plenary address to the General Assembly in which he addressed several of the underlying causes of the global arms race:

We must challenge the idol of a distorted concept of national security which is direct to encouraging fear and mistrust resulting in greater insecurity. The only security worthy of its name lies in enabling people to participate fully in the life of their nations and to establish relations of trust between peoples of different nations. It is only when there is a real dialogue -- a sharing of life with life in mutual trust and respect -- that there can be true security.

Address of Dr. Philip Potter, WCC General Secretary, to the First Special Session of the UN General Assembly devoted to Disarmament, NY, 1978. *op. cit.* p 70f

This concern for national security arose not only as a causal factor in the super-power nuclear arms race, but as a justification for massive violations of human rights, especially by military dictatorships around the world. The Central Committee linked these concerns at its meeting in 1979:

...given the need not only to denounce militarism and the arms race, but to develop positive alternatives to the present destructive system...and as a matter of highest priority for the WCC...(the Central Committee establishes the) Program for Disarmament and against Militarism and the Arms Race.

Minutes of the WCC Central Committee, Kingston, Jamaica, 1979; also contained in *The Churches in International Affairs, 1970-82*, WCC, Geneva, 1983, p 35.

The WCC Sub-Unit on Church and Society organized in 1979 a major world Conference on Faith, Science and the Future in Boston, Massachusetts. It adopted the following declaration which was subsequently endorsed by the Executive Committee and commended to the churches:

We, scientists, engineers, theologians and members of Christian churches from all parts of the world, participants in the WCC Conference on Faith, Science and the Future, now meeting at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (USA), acknowledge with penitence the part played by science in the development of weapons of mass destruction and the failure of the churches to oppose it, and now plead with the nations of the world for the reduction and eventual abolition of such weapons.

WHEREAS:

- the arsenals of tens of thousands of nuclear weapons already constitute a grave peril to humankind;
- sharp changes by the super-powers towards a counterforce strategy are so destabilizing that sober scientists estimate a nuclear holocaust is probable before the end of the century;
- there is widespread ignorance of the horrible experience of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the even greater implications of limited or global nuclear war with current and projected nuclear weapons;
- we are profoundly disturbed by the willingness of some scientists, engineers and corporations, with the backing of governments, to pursue profit and prestige in weapons development at the risk of an unparalleled destruction of human life;
- the waste of the increasingly scarce materials and energy resources of the world on the instruments of war means further deprivation of the poor whom we are commanded to serve;
- we grieve that so many of the most able scientists, especially the young ones, are seduced away from the nobler aspirations of science into the unwitting service of mutual destruction;
- in a time of radical readjustment of the world economy the intolerable burden of the nuclear arms race creates worldwide economic problems;

AND BECAUSE WE BELIEVE:

- that God made us and all creation;
- that He requires us to seek peace, justice and freedom, creating a world where none need fear and every life is sacred;
- that with His grace no work of faith, hope and love need seem too hard for those who trust him;

WE NOW CALL UPON:

- all member communions of the WCC and all sister churches sending official observers, and through them each individual church and congregation;
- our fellow religionists and believers in other cultures, whether Hindu, Jewish, Buddhist or Muslim, and our Marxist colleagues;
- the science and engineering community, especially those engaged in research and development, together with professional scientific associations and trade unions;
- the governments of all nations and especially the nuclear powers;
- all concerned citizens of the world;

TO EMBARK IMMEDIATELY ON THE FOLLOWING TASKS:

- to support and implement the WCC Program on Disarmament and against Militarism and the Arms Race, and give special emphasis to issues related to military technology and its conversion to peaceful uses;
- ...
- to stop the development and production of new forms and systems of nuclear weapons...
- to educate and raise the consciousness of every constituency to the realities of nuclear war in such a way that people cease to avoid it as an issue too big to handle;
- ...
- to prepare local and national programs for the conversion to civilian use of laboratories and factories related to military research and production, and to provide for the retraining and re-employment of those who work on them;
- to resolve never again to allow science and technology to threaten the destruction of human life, and to accept the God-given task of using SCIENCE FOR PEACE.

Minutes of the WCC Executive Committee, Bossey, Switzerland, 1979, op. cit. p 40ff.

That year, 1979, marked a major turning point in the mobilization of world public opinion about the nuclear arms race. The announcement by the USA of its intention to produce a neutron bomb and radically to escalate the number and quality of its nuclear arms based in Europe created a massive public outcry. The Central Committee echoed the demands of the anti-nuclear movement the following year:

The Central Committee urges all nuclear powers to:

- a) freeze immediately all further testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and of missiles and new aircraft designed primarily to deliver nuclear weapons;
- b) start immediately discussions with a view to making agreements not to enhance the existing nuclear potentials and progressively reducing the overall number of nuclear weapons and a speedy conclusion of a comprehensive test ban treaty.

Minutes of the WCC Central Committee, Geneva, 1980, in *op. cit.* pp 43f

The following year, in Dresden (GDR), it received a report from the Program for Disarmament and against Militarism and the Arms Race, and said:

The Central Committee...calls upon the churches now to:

- 1) challenge the military and militaristic policies that lead to disastrous distortions of foreign policy sapping the capacity of the nations of the world to deal with pressing economic and social priorities which have become a paramount political issue of our times;
- 2) counter the trend to characterize those of other nations and ideologies as the “enemy” through the promotion of hatred and prejudice;
- 3) assist in de-mythologizing current doctrines of national security and elaborate new concepts of security based on justice and the rights of peoples;...

Commends the work of a large number of peace and disarmament groups and movements, old and new, around the world, in several of which large numbers of Christians actively participate in obedience to the demands of the Gospel...

Urges the churches, in the context of the preparations for the Sixth Assembly, whose theme is “Jesus Christ, the Life of the World,” to make commitment to peace-making a special concern and to give emphasis to studies on issues related to peace, paying special attention to the underlying theological issues.

Minutes of the WCC Central Committee, Dresden, 1981, in *op. cit.* pp 45ff.

In November 1981, the WCC convened an International Public Hearing on Nuclear Weapons and Disarmament at the Free University in Amsterdam. A hearing panel of 17 church leaders, theologians and ethicists from all the world’s regions heard testimony from 38 expert witnesses, including former US national security advisors, USSR foreign policy experts, senior diplomats in the field of disarmament, political leaders including Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme, leading nuclear scientists and leaders of anti-nuclear peace movements in several parts of the world. Its extensive report was submitted to the WCC Central Committee and widely distributed. It contained, *inter alia*, the following affirmations:

We believe the time has come when the churches must unequivocally declare that the production and deployment as well as the use of nuclear weapons are a crime against humanity and that such activities must be condemned on ethical and theological grounds. ... We recognize that nuclear weapons will not disappear because of such an affirmation by the churches. But it will involve the churches and their members in a fundamental examination of their own implicit or explicit support of policies which, implicitly or explicitly, are based on the possession and use of those weapons.

Before It’s Too Late: The Challenge of Nuclear Disarmament, WCC, Geneva, 1983, pp 3ff.

Dr. Philip Potter took these affirmations and the rising concern of the ecumenical movement back to the United Nations the following year when he addressed the plenary session of the Second Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to Disarmament.

...Compared with the public mood in 1978 when you last met, the growing massive strength of movements of people of every walk of life and ideological position gives us hope that the political will to take concrete steps to disarmament will emerge, and that governments will respect and act on this will. ...

During the last four years after the First Special Session on Disarmament the economic crisis has worsened throughout the world with grave consequences for the poor nations resulting in tensions within and among nations. The continuing stalemate in the North-South discussions on global issues has been accompanied by policies of confrontation and an attempt to divide the South. The present global military order is inextricably tied up with the economic and social system and therefore the quest for disarmament can in no way be isolated from the struggle for justice and human dignity. Consequently, there is deep distrust among the peoples of the Third World about the postures of the nuclear weapon states on deterrence and non-proliferation. Their struggles for social and political change are often distorted by the security considerations and economic interests of the major powers. ...

“Choose Life!” (Deut.30:15,19) Choose what is good, that is, what expresses our inner being as made in God’s image to be shared with others. Choose the blessing, that is, what communicates our vitality to others, what enables us to put what we are and have at the disposal of others that they might become their true selves and share their lives also with others. That is God’s purpose revealed in creation and in men and women made in his image to participate in his life and communicate that life to one another according to his commandments and promises of good. That is life. That is true security and peace.

Statement by WCC General Secretary Philip Potter to the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly devoted to Disarmament, NY, June 1982, in *The Churches in International Affairs 1979-82*, pp 49ff.

At this same meeting of the UN General Assembly, Patriarch Pimen of the Russian Orthodox Church presented the report of the World Conference of Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe he convened in Moscow in May 1982.

The Central Committee in July 1982 commended the report of the International Public Hearings, highlighting its recommendations and calling upon the churches to take clear positions on them. It also issued a statement lamenting the lack of progress at the UN Special Session and renewed its call to the churches and governments to promote peace and disarmament.

In this same period, two volumes were published by the CCIA in the context of the Program for Disarmament and against Militarism and the Arms Race, entitled *The Security Trap I and II* (WCC, Geneva, and IDOC, Rome, 1979 and 1982), that provided in-depth analysis and theological perspectives on militarism and the nuclear arms race. *Peace and Disarmament*, A compendium of major documents of the WCC and the Roman Catholic Church, was also

published jointly by the CCIA and the Pontifical Commission “*Justitia et Pax*” (Rome and Geneva, 1982).

The Sixth WCC Assembly in Vancouver, 1983, was held at a time when massive public protests were being held around the world against the nuclear arms race, many of them inspired or led by the churches. This Assembly was particularly marked by this concern. It said:

Humanity is now living in the dark shadow of an arms race more intense, and of systems of injustice more widespread, more dangerous and more costly than the world has ever known. Never before has the human race been as close as it is now to total self-destruction. Never before have so many lived in the grip of deprivation and oppression.

Under that shadow we have gathered here...to proclaim our common faith in Jesus Christ, the Life of the Word, and to say to the world:

- fear not, for Christ has overcome the forces of evil; in him are all things made new;
- fear not; for the love of God, rise up for justice and for peace;
- trust in the power of Christ who reigns over all; give witness to him in word and in deed, regardless of the cost...

The churches today are called to confess anew their faith, and to repent for the times when Christians have remained silent in the face of injustice or threats to peace. The biblical vision of peace with justice for all, of wholeness, of unity for all God’s people is not one of several options for the followers of Christ. It is an imperative in our time...

We call upon the churches, especially those in Europe, both East and West, and in North America, to redouble their efforts to convince their governments to reach a negotiated settlement and to turn away now, before it is too late, from plans to deploy additional or new nuclear weapons in Europe, and to begin immediately to reduce and then eliminate altogether present nuclear forces.

We urge the churches as well to intensify their efforts to stop the rapidly growing deployment of nuclear weapons and support systems in the Indian and Pacific Oceans, and to press their governments to withdraw from or refuse to base or service ships or airplanes bearing nuclear weapons in their regions...

...(I)n the spirit of the Fifth Assembly’s appeal to the churches “to emphasize their readiness to live without the protection of armaments,” we believe that Christians should give witness to their unwillingness to participate in any conflict involving weapons of mass destruction or indiscriminate effect.

Gathered for Life, Official Report of the VI. Assembly of the WCC, Vancouver, 1983, WCC, Geneva, pp 131ff.

The Vancouver Assembly also called on the churches to engage in a “conciliar process of mutual commitment (covenant) to justice, peace and the integrity of all creation” and to make this a priority for all WCC programs.

The period following the Vancouver Assembly provided no new policy statements on nuclear weapons, but was one in which the WCC encouraged a number of international disarmament initiatives and pressed on the major nuclear powers their responsibilities to disarm. WCC General Secretaries encouraged the initiatives of the “Middle Power Coalition,” the signatories of the Delhi Declaration, the Groupe Bellerive and others. Letters were written to President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev on the occasions of their summit meetings in Geneva and Iceland, encouraging them to take more rapid steps toward nuclear disarmament. On the eve of the meeting of the same leaders in Geneva in January 1987, the Central Committee welcomed the resumption of the earlier talks and appealed to the two nations:

- to declare a moratorium on nuclear tests as a provisional measure that would enable negotiations towards a comprehensive test ban treaty;
- to negotiate agreements on substantial reduction of strategic weapons and elimination of medium range missiles, with a definite time-table;
- to take all necessary steps to prevent the development of space weapons and to strengthen the terms of the Anti-Ballistic Missiles Treaty.

The WCC specially appeals to the US government to respond positively to the initiatives of the USSR on moratorium on nuclear testing, to review its decision to exceed the SALT II ceilings and to reconsider its Strategic Defense Initiative. The WCC also appeals to the USSR government to reinstate and continue the moratorium on nuclear testing.

The Central Committee renews its appeal to the French government to stop forthwith nuclear weapon testing in Polynesia...

We urge the churches in the context of the call to strengthen their commitment to justice, peace and the integrity of creation:

- to intensify their engagement in efforts for peace by specifically working for an end to nuclear testing as an immediate priority;
- to engage in bilateral and multilateral discussions among churches with a view to promoting common understandings and developing common strategies;
- to join other forces of peace for public education and efforts to influence policies of governments and inter-governmental bodies;
- to support the Six Nations Initiative and that of the South Pacific Forum.

Minutes of the Central Committee, Geneva, January 1987, in The Churches in International Affairs, 1987-1990, WCC, Geneva, 1990, pp 44ff.

Later that year, the WCC Officers welcomed the conclusion of the agreements at the USA-USSR Summit in Washington DC, saying that

The agreement to eliminate intermediate nuclear forces and thus an entire class of nuclear weapons is a significant achievement especially with the elaborate system of verification which augurs well for further steps in nuclear disarmament. The initiative already taken for making proposals for reducing strategic nuclear weapons is reassuring.

WCC Officers’ Statement on the Washington Summit, 14 December 1987, *op. cit.*, p 47.

In a statement presented by Dr. Lamar Gibble, a CCIA Commissioner, the WCC told the Third Session of the UN General Assembly devoted to Disarmament (1988):

In the limited time given for this testimony, among many concerns, we choose the following for emphasis. Firstly, even in the aura of a historic agreement to reduce intermediate range nuclear weapons the awful risk of nuclear war remains. We are painfully aware that this agreement can only reduce the nuclear arsenal by 3%. We would, therefore, urge the pursuit of every possible effort to further reduce and ultimately eliminate these weapons of mass destruction. We reiterate the declaration of our most recent Assembly that “the production and deployment of nuclear weapons as well as their use constitute a crime against humanity, and therefore there³ should be a complete halt in the production of nuclear weapons and in weapons research and development in all nations, to be expeditiously enforced through a treaty...” Only if such a comprehensive approach is taken to nuclear disarmament and complemented and reinforced by mutually accepted verification procedures and by the new technology available for verification can the possibility of nuclear holocaust be significantly reduced. We w2ould encourage this session to establish a multilateral mechanism under the auspices of the United Nations to perform such verification functions for our global community.

Secondly, while we recognize the possibility of significant steps in the reduction of nuclear weapons, we cannot overlook the significant new dynamics in the arms race. We view with alarm the development of “star wars” technology, chemical weapons, and the ever more deadly capacity of conventional weapons which blur the distinction between conventional and nuclear, and defensive and offensive weapons. Only through multilateral agreements banning the research, development and testing of these new weapons can we effectively end this process....

op. cit. pp 48ff

The WCC addressed a letter in 1987 to President Bush and General Secretary Gorbachev on the occasion of their summit meeting in Malta, reiterating appeals addressed earlier. But this was the last initiative on nuclear weapons before the VII. Assembly in Canberra (1991).

In Canberra the agenda was radically shifted in the direction of post Cold War armed interventions and internal conflicts. That assembly, meeting as the Gulf War was raging, gave strong clues that this would be a period of divided views and sometimes contentious relationships among the churches as they wrestled with new challenges. The VII. Assembly adopted a major policy statement on the implications of the use of armed force by the Gulf Coalition led by the USA, and another on internal conflicts. The attention of the Central Committee was fixed for most of the ensuing decade on the implications of such challenges and by renewed debates and efforts to address the churches’ positions on violence.

The war in Bosnia/Herzegovina again led to contentious debates in the Central Committee on the old tension between the Christian traditions of pacifism and the just war. In 1994, on the basis of a background document, “Overcoming the Spirit, Logic and Practice of War,” the Central Committee created the Program to Overcome Violence. In the course of the international campaign, “Peace to the City,” carried out in the context of the POV, the focus turned especially

to the issue of small arms and light weapons, and this has continued as a part of the new ecumenical Decade to Overcome Violence established by the VIII. Assembly in Harare (1998).

The disarmament agenda shifted more to the area of conventional arms, following the line traced earlier in consultations on militarism and disarmament. The CCIA Commission held a consultation in 1993 on the conventional arms trade (cf. *The Arms Trade Today*, CCIA Background Information, 1993/1, WCC, Geneva, 1993) and adopted a statement on the subject.

Soon after the Harare Assembly, the following document was issued, and it was the last major policy statement devoted particularly to nuclear weapons to date.

Nuclear weapons, whether used or threatened, are grossly evil and therefore morally wrong. As an instrument of mass destruction, nuclear weapons slaughter the innocent and ravage the environment...

(Therefore) we ask the delegates to call resolutely upon the nuclear weapons states to embark upon a series of steps along the road leading to nuclear abolition. There is broad consensus...on what these steps should be. They include:

- declare a policy of no first use among themselves and non-use in relation to non-nuclear weapons states;
- cease all research, development, production, and deployment of new nuclear weapons;
- refrain from modernizing the existing nuclear arsenal and increasing the number of deployed nuclear weapons;
- take all nuclear forces off alert and remove warheads from delivery vehicles;
- achieve faster and deeper bilateral reduction of nuclear weapons by the United States and Russia.

...We ask the delegates to take the lead in commencing the process of developing a nuclear weapons convention to outlaw and abolish all nuclear weapons...We appeal to the delegates...to consider what is best for the whole Earth and its inhabitants when they vote on issues of nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament. Loyalty to all humankind exceeds that of loyalty within political blocs of nations. We urge delegates to act now, decisively and courageously for the benefit of all the peoples of the earth.

Joint statement of WCC General Secretary Konrad Raiser and Cardinal Daneels, President of Pax Christi International to the NPT Review Conference Preparatory Committee, Geneva, April 1998.

At its first meeting (Morges, Switzerland, January 2000), the newly elected Commission of the Churches on International Affairs adopted guidelines for programmatic work in the field of disarmament which stressed the need for the WCC and its member churches to turn their attention back the continuing threat of nuclear weapons. So, concern about nuclear weapons has not disappeared from the WCC agenda. However, it has been dropped to the lowest levels of priority of many churches, including those in nuclear weapons states. There is an urgent need for the ecumenical movement to remember its history and to reassert leadership at what is in fact a very critical moment of new challenges to the international disarmament regime and the ever more dangerous legacy of the decaying products of the decades-long US-USSR nuclear arms race. Statements alone will not be enough. The statements reviewed here were often backed by

movements in the churches working to bring official church assemblies with them in action and conviction. If we are to be effective again, attention will have to be paid during the forthcoming ecumenical Decade to Overcome Violence to the strengthening, regeneration re-connection of such movements.

Geneva, 4 October 2000

[for insertion in Religious Statements page as an addition to World Council of Churches]

THE EVOLUTION OF WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES POLICY ON NUCLEAR ARMS AND DISARMAMENT, 1948-2000*

Prepared by:
Dwain C. Epps, Coordinator, International Relations
World Council of Churches, Geneva

The question of atomic, hydrogen and nuclear weapons has been at the heart of concerns of the World Council of Churches since its first Assembly in 1948. It was a logical focus of an ecumenical movement whose roots were in Christian peace movements going back to the late 19th century. The Amsterdam statement laid the foundations for ecumenical concern in the second half of the 20th century:

War as a method of settling disputes is incompatible with the teaching and example of our Lord Jesus Christ. The part which war plays in our present international life is a sin against God and a degradation of man. We recognise that the problem of war raises especially acute issues for Christians today. Warfare has greatly changed. War is now total and every man and woman is called for mobilisation in war service. Moreover, the immense use of air forces and the discovery of atomic and other new weapons render widespread and indiscriminate destruction inherent in the whole conduct of modern war in a sense never experienced in past conflicts...

The churches must also attack the causes of war by promoting peaceful change and the pursuit of justice. They must stand for the maintenance of good faith and the honouring of the pledged word, resist the pretensions of imperialist power, promote the multilateral reduction of armaments, and combat indifference and despair in the face of the futility of war...

Report of Section IV, "The Church and the International Disorder," *Official Report of the First Assembly*, Amsterdam, 1948, WCC, Geneva. p 89.

The II. Assembly responded to developments beyond the atomic bomb:

The development of nuclear weapons makes this an age of fear. True peace cannot rest on fear. It is vain to think that the hydrogen bomb or its development has guaranteed peace because men will be afraid to go to war, nor can fear provide an effective restraint against the temptation to use a decisive weapon either in hope of total victory or in the desperation of total defeat.

The thought of all-out nuclear warfare is indeed horrifying. Such warfare introduces a new moral challenge. It has served to quicken public concern, and has intensified awareness of the urgency of finding means of prevention....

An international order of truth and peace would require:

* Excerpts from selected statements or actions that added to the policy development of the WCC.

- a) under effective international inspection and control and in such a way that no state would have cause to fear that its security was endangered, the elimination and prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and all other weapons of mass destruction, as well as the reduction of all armaments to a minimum...

We must also see that experimental tests of hydrogen bombs have raised issues of human rights, caused suffering and imposed an additional strain on human relations between nations. Among safeguards against the aggravation of these international tensions is the insistence that nations carry on tests only within their respective territories, or if elsewhere, only by international clearance and agreement.

Report of Section IV, "International Affairs: Christians in the Struggle for World Community," *Official Report of the Second Assembly*, Evanston, 1954, WCC, Geneva, pp 131-134. The resolutions on International Affairs adopted by the Assembly did not include specific reference to nuclear weapons or disarmament.

Between 1954 and 1961, the WCC's Commission of the Churches on International Affairs (CCIA) spoke and worked intensively on the need for an international instrument to control nuclear testing. The III. Assembly further underscored the dangers of nuclear weapons developments, and for the first time officially expressed concerns about the use of outer space.

The most serious problem facing the world today is that of disarmament. General and complete disarmament is widely recognized to be the desired goal...

The recent violations of the moratorium on nuclear bomb testing have shocked the nations into a new realization of the acute danger and horror of modern warfare. Churches must protest against the accelerating arms race and the mounting terror which it portends. The First Assembly...clearly recognized that war is contrary to the will of God.

War in its newer forms is understood not only by Christians but the general conscience of the nations as an offense against both the world of nature and the race of man, threatening annihilation and laying on mankind an unbearable burden of cost and terror. The use of indiscriminate weapons must now be condemned by the churches as an affront to the Creator and a denial of the very purposes of the Creation. Christians must refuse to place their ultimate trust in war and nuclear weapons. In this situation the churches must never cease warning governments of the dangers, and they must repudiate absolutely the growing conviction in some quarters that the use of mass destruction weapons has become inevitable. Christians must press most urgently upon their governments, as a first step towards the elimination of nuclear weapons, never to get themselves into a position in which they contemplate the first use of nuclear weapons. Christians must also maintain that the use of nuclear weapons, or other forms of major violence, against centers of population is in no circumstances reconcilable with the demands of the Christian Gospel.

Total disarmament is the goal, but it is a complex and long-term process in which the churches must not underestimate the importance of first steps. There may be possibilities of experimenting with limited geographical areas of controlled and inspected disarmament, of neutralizing certain zones, of devising security against surprise attack which would reduce tension, of controlling the use of outer space....

New Delhi Speaks, Third WCC Assembly, New Delhi, 1961, Association Press, New York, 1962, pp 79ff.

The landmark 1966 Church and Society Conference in Geneva is most often recalled as having brought Third World perspectives and theologies of liberation onto the stage of the global ecumenical movement. However it too devoted particular attention to nuclear war, based again on the Amsterdam affirmation.

...(The) First Assembly...declared, ‘War is contrary to the will of God’... We now say to all governments and peoples that nuclear war is against God’s will and the greatest of evils. Therefore we affirm that it is the first duty of governments and their officials to prevent nuclear war. ...

The real problem is how the supreme task, to avoid nuclear war can be carried out... (here there is) an increasing role for the smaller powers in depolarizing international affairs....

The churches should add that they have (a) common...duty to preserve the life of the peoples of this world, and to work for a world order which will transcend the present uneasy peace of the equilibrium of power. It is intolerable for the peace of the world to depend on a precarious nuclear balance...

Official Report, World Conference on Church and Society, WCC, Geneva 1966, pp 123ff.

That Conference deeply influenced the agenda of the IV. Assembly held two years later. That agenda was heavily devoted to the timely issues of racism and economic development and others stimulated by the global revolutionary fervor of the year 1968. But it too spoke out on the question of nuclear weapons, beginning once more with the Amsterdam declaration.

The WCC reaffirms its declaration at the (First Assembly): “War as a method of settling disputes is incompatible with the teachings and example of our Lord Jesus Christ.” Of all forms of war, nuclear war presents the gravest affront to the conscience of man. The avoidance of atomic, biological or chemical war has become a condition of human survival...The churches must insist that it is the first duty of governments to prevent such a war: to halt the present arms race, agree never to initiate the use of nuclear weapons, stop experiments concerned with and the production of weapons of mass human destruction by chemical and biological means a move away from the balance of terror towards disarmament. ...

The concentration of nuclear weapons in the hands of a few nations presents the world with serious problems: a) how to guarantee the security of the non-nuclear nations; b) how to enable these nations to play their part in preventing war, and; c) how to prevent the nuclear powers from freezing the existing order at the expense of changes needed for social and political justice....

Uppsala Speaks, Fourth WCC Assembly, Uppsala, 1998, Geneva, 1968, pp 62 ff.

The V. Assembly in Nairobi was marked especially by the global concern for human rights and East-West tensions. In its Section on “Structures of Injustice and Struggles for Liberation,” to

survival, it shifted the nature of Christian responsibility very significantly based on ideas provided by the Federation of Churches in the German Democratic Republic:

Christians must resist the temptation to resign themselves to a false sense of impotence or security, The churches should emphasize their readiness to live without the protection of armaments, and take a significant initiative in pressing for effective disarmament. Churches, individual Christians, and members of the public in all countries should press their governments to ensure national security without resorting to the use of weapons of mass destruction...

We appeal to Christians to think, work and pray for a disarmed world.

Breaking Barriers, The Official Report of the Fifth Assembly of the WCC, Nairobi, 1995, WCC, Geneva, p 182.

The nuclear arms race accelerated rapidly in the late 1970s, and the CCIA was asked by the Central Committee to organize a consultation to consider it and the proliferation of conventional weapons of mass destruction. Its 1978 report noted:

We are living in the shadow of an arms race more intense, more costly, more widespread and more dangerous than the world has ever known. Never before has the arms race been as close as it is now to total self-destruction. Today's arms race is an unparalleled waste of human and material resources; it aids repression and violates human rights; it promotes violence and insecurity in place of the security in whose name it is undertaken; it frustrates humanity's aspirations for justice and peace; it has no part in God's design for His world; it is demonic.... To hope in Christ is neither to be complacent about survival nor powerless in the fear of annihilation by the forces of evil but to open our eyes to the transcendent reality of Christ in history.

"Report of the WCC Consultation on Disarmament," Glion, Switzerland, 1978, in *The Churches in International Affairs 1974-1978*, WCC, Geneva 1979, p 72

That same year, Dr. Philip Potter, WCC General Secretary brought the concerns highlighted in the consultation to the attention of the United Nations in a plenary address to the General Assembly in which he addressed several of the underlying causes of the global arms race:

We must challenge the idol of a distorted concept of national security which is direct to encouraging fear and mistrust resulting in greater insecurity. The only security worthy of its name lies in enabling people to participate fully in the life of their nations and to establish relations of trust between peoples of different nations. It is only when there is a real dialogue -- a sharing of life with life in mutual trust and respect -- that there can be true security.

Address of Dr. Philip Potter, WCC General Secretary, to the First Special Session of the UN General Assembly devoted to Disarmament, NY, 1978. *op. cit.* p 70f

This concern for national security arose not only as a causal factor in the super-power nuclear arms race, but as a justification for massive violations of human rights, especially by military

dictatorships around the world. The Central Committee linked these concerns at its meeting in 1979:

...given the need not only to denounce militarism and the arms race, but to develop positive alternatives to the present destructive system...and as a matter of highest priority for the WCC...(the Central Committee establishes the) Program for Disarmament and against Militarism and the Arms Race.

Minutes of the WCC Central Committee, Kingston, Jamaica, 1979; also contained in The Churches in International Affairs, 1970-82, WCC, Geneva, 1983, p 35.

The WCC Sub-Unit on Church and Society organized in 1979 a major world Conference on Faith, Science and the Future in Boston, Massachusetts. It adopted the following declaration which was subsequently endorsed by the Executive Committee and commended to the churches:

We, scientists, engineers, theologians and members of Christian churches from all parts of the world, participants in the WCC Conference on Faith, Science and the Future, now meeting at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (USA), acknowledge with penitence the part played by science in the development of weapons of mass destruction and the failure of the churches to oppose it, and now plead with the nations of the world for the reduction and eventual abolition of such weapons.

WHEREAS:

- the arsenals of tens of thousands of nuclear weapons already constitute a grave peril to humankind;
- sharp changes by the super-powers towards a counterforce strategy are so destabilizing that sober scientists estimate a nuclear holocaust is probable before the end of the century;
- there is widespread ignorance of the horrible experience of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the even greater implications of limited or global nuclear war with current and projected nuclear weapons;
- we are profoundly disturbed by the willingness of some scientists, engineers and corporations, with the backing of governments, to pursue profit and prestige in weapons development at the risk of an unparalleled destruction of human life;
- the waste of the increasingly scarce materials and energy resources of the world on the instruments of war means further deprivation of the poor whom we are commanded to serve;
- we grieve that so many of the most able scientists, especially the young ones, are seduced away from the nobler aspirations of science into the unwitting service of mutual destruction;
- in a time of radical readjustment of the world economy the intolerable burden of the nuclear arms race creates worldwide economic problems;

AND BECAUSE WE BELIEVE:

- that God made us and all creation;
- that He requires us to seek peace, justice and freedom, creating a world where none need fear and every life is sacred;

- that with His grace no work of faith, hope and love need seem too hard for those who trust him;

WE NOW CALL UPON:

- all member communions of the WCC and all sister churches sending official observers, and through them each individual church and congregation;
- our fellow religionists and believers in other cultures, whether Hindu, Jewish, Buddhist or Muslim, and our Marxist colleagues;
- the science and engineering community, especially those engaged in research and development, together with professional scientific associations and trade unions;
- the governments of all nations and especially the nuclear powers;
- all concerned citizens of the world;

TO EMBARK IMMEDIATELY ON THE FOLLOWING TASKS:

- to support and implement the WCC Program on Disarmament and against Militarism and the Arms Race, and give special emphasis to issues related to military technology and its conversion to peaceful uses;
- ...
- to stop the development and production of new forms and systems of nuclear weapons...
- to educate and raise the consciousness of every constituency to the realities of nuclear war in such a way that people cease to avoid it as an issue too big to handle;
- ...
- to prepare local and national programs for the conversion to civilian use of laboratories and factories related to military research and production, and to provide for the retraining and re-employment of those who work on them;
- to resolve never again to allow science and technology to threaten the destruction of human life, and to accept the God-given task of using SCIENCE FOR PEACE.

Minutes of the WCC Executive Committee, Bossey, Switzerland, 1979, op. cit. p 40ff.

That year, 1979, marked a major turning point in the mobilization of world public opinion about the nuclear arms race. The announcement by the USA of its intention to produce a neutron bomb and radically to escalate the number and quality of its nuclear arms based in Europe created a massive public outcry. The Central Committee echoed the demands of the anti-nuclear movement the following year:

The Central Committee urges all nuclear powers to:

- a) freeze immediately all further testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and of missiles and new aircraft designed primarily to deliver nuclear weapons;
- b) start immediately discussions with a view to making agreements not to enhance the existing nuclear potentials and progressively reducing the overall number of nuclear weapons and a speedy conclusion of a comprehensive test ban treaty.

Minutes of the WCC Central Committee, Geneva, 1980, in op. cit. pp 43f

The following year, in Dresden (GDR), it received a report from the Program for Disarmament and against Militarism and the Arms Race, and said:

The Central Committee...calls upon the churches now to:

- 1) challenge the military and militaristic policies that lead to disastrous distortions of foreign policy sapping the capacity of the nations of the world to deal with pressing economic and social priorities which have become a paramount political issue of our times;
- 2) counter the trend to characterize those of other nations and ideologies as the “enemy” through the promotion of hatred and prejudice;
- 3) assist in de-mythologizing current doctrines of national security and elaborate new concepts of security based on justice and the rights of peoples;...

Commends the work of a large number of peace and disarmament groups and movements, old and new, around the world, in several of which large numbers of Christians actively participate in obedience to the demands of the Gospel...

Urges the churches, in the context of the preparations for the Sixth Assembly, whose theme is “Jesus Christ, the Life of the World,” to make commitment to peace-making a special concern and to give emphasis to studies on issues related to peace, paying special attention to the underlying theological issues.

Minutes of the WCC Central Committee, Dresden, 1981, in *op. cit.* pp 45ff.

In November 1981, the WCC convened an International Public Hearing on Nuclear Weapons and Disarmament at the Free University in Amsterdam. A hearing panel of 17 church leaders, theologians and ethicists from all the world’s regions heard testimony from 38 expert witnesses, including former US national security advisors, USSR foreign policy experts, senior diplomats in the field of disarmament, political leaders including Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme, leading nuclear scientists and leaders of anti-nuclear peace movements in several parts of the world. Its extensive report was submitted to the WCC Central Committee and widely distributed. It contained, *inter alia*, the following affirmations:

We believe the time has come when the churches must unequivocally declare that the production and deployment as well as the use of nuclear weapons are a crime against humanity and that such activities must be condemned on ethical and theological grounds. ... We recognize that nuclear weapons will not disappear because of such an affirmation by the churches. But it will involve the churches and their members in a fundamental examination of their own implicit or explicit support of policies which, implicitly or explicitly, are based on the possession and use of those weapons.

Before It’s Too Late: The Challenge of Nuclear Disarmament, WCC, Geneva, 1983, pp 3ff.

Dr. Philip Potter took these affirmations and the rising concern of the ecumenical movement back to the United Nations the following year when he addressed the plenary session of the Second Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to Disarmament.

...Compared with the public mood in 1978 when you last met, the growing massive strength of movements of people of every walk of life and ideological position gives us hope that the political will to take concrete steps to disarmament will emerge, and that governments will respect and act on this will. ...

During the last four years after the First Special Session on Disarmament the economic crisis has worsened throughout the world with grave consequences for the poor nations resulting in tensions within and among nations. The continuing stalemate in the North-South discussions on global issues has been accompanied by policies of confrontation and an attempt to divide the South. The present global military order is inextricably tied up with the economic and social system and therefore the quest for disarmament can in no way be isolated from the struggle for justice and human dignity. Consequently, there is deep distrust among the peoples of the Third World about the postures of the nuclear weapon states on deterrence and non-proliferation. Their struggles for social and political change are often distorted by the security considerations and economic interests of the major powers. ...

“Choose Life!” (Deut.30:15,19) Choose what is good, that is, what expresses our inner being as made in God’s image to be shared with others. Choose the blessing, that is, what communicates our vitality to others, what enables us to put what we are and have at the disposal of others that they might become their true selves and share their lives also with others. That is God’s purpose revealed in creation and in men and women made in his image to participate in his life and communicate that life to one another according to his commandments and promises of good. That is life. That is true security and peace.

Statement by WCC General Secretary Philip Potter to the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly devoted to Disarmament, NY, June 1982, in *The Churches in International Affairs 1979-82*, pp 49ff.

At this same meeting of the UN General Assembly, Patriarch Pimen of the Russian Orthodox Church presented the report of the World Conference of Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe he convened in Moscow in May 1982.

The Central Committee in July 1982 commended the report of the International Public Hearings, highlighting its recommendations and calling upon the churches to take clear positions on them. It also issued a statement lamenting the lack of progress at the UN Special Session and renewed its call to the churches and governments to promote peace and disarmament.

In this same period, two volumes were published by the CCIA in the context of the Program for Disarmament and against Militarism and the Arms Race, entitled *The Security Trap I and II* (WCC, Geneva, and IDOC, Rome, 1979 and 1982), that provided in-depth analysis and theological perspectives on militarism and the nuclear arms race. *Peace and Disarmament*, A compendium of major documents of the WCC and the Roman Catholic Church, was also published jointly by the CCIA and the Pontifical Commission “Justitia et Pax” (Rome and Geneva, 1982).

The Sixth WCC Assembly in Vancouver, 1983, was held at a time when massive public protests were being held around the world against the nuclear arms race, many of them inspired or led by the churches. This Assembly was particularly marked by this concern. It said:

Humanity is now living in the dark shadow of an arms race more intense, and of systems of injustice more widespread, more dangerous and more costly than the world has ever known. Never before has the human race been as close as it is now to total self-destruction. Never before have so many lived in the grip of deprivation and oppression.

Under that shadow we have gathered here...to proclaim our common faith in Jesus Christ, the Life of the Word, and to say to the world:

- fear not, for Christ has overcome the forces of evil; in him are all things made new;
- fear not; for the love of God, rise up for justice and for peace;
- trust in the power of Christ who reigns over all; give witness to him in word and in deed, regardless of the cost...

The churches today are called to confess anew their faith, and to repent for the times when Christians have remained silent in the face of injustice or threats to peace. The biblical vision of peace with justice for all, of wholeness, of unity for all God's people is not one of several options for the followers of Christ. It is an imperative in our time...

We call upon the churches, especially those in Europe, both East and West, and in North America, to redouble their efforts to convince their governments to reach a negotiated settlement and to turn away now, before it is too late, from plans to deploy additional or new nuclear weapons in Europe, and to begin immediately to reduce and then eliminate altogether present nuclear forces.

We urge the churches as well to intensify their efforts to stop the rapidly growing deployment of nuclear weapons and support systems in the Indian and Pacific Oceans, and to press their governments to withdraw from or refuse to base or service ships or airplanes bearing nuclear weapons in their regions...

...(I)n the spirit of the Fifth Assembly's appeal to the churches "to emphasize their readiness to live without the protection of armaments," we believe that Christians should give witness to their unwillingness to participate in any conflict involving weapons of mass destruction or indiscriminate effect.

Gathered for Life, Official Report of the VI. Assembly of the WCC, Vancouver, 1983, WCC, Geneva, pp 131ff.

The Vancouver Assembly also called on the churches to engage in a "conciliar process of mutual commitment (covenant) to justice, peace and the integrity of all creation" and to make this a priority for all WCC programs.

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- to declare a moratorium on nuclear tests as a provisional measure that would enable negotiations towards a comprehensive test ban treaty;
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The Central Committee renews its appeal to the French government to stop forthwith nuclear weapon testing in Polynesia...

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- to engage in bilateral and multilateral discussions among churches with a view to promoting common understandings and developing common strategies;
- to join other forces of peace for public education and efforts to influence policies of governments and inter-governmental bodies;
- to support the Six Nations Initiative and that of the South Pacific Forum.

Minutes of the Central Committee, Geneva, January 1987, in The Churches in International Affairs, 1987-1990, WCC, Geneva, 1990, pp 44ff.

Later that year, the WCC Officers welcomed the conclusion of the agreements at the USA-USSR Summit in Washington DC, saying that

The agreement to eliminate intermediate nuclear forces and thus an entire class of nuclear weapons is a significant achievement especially with the elaborate system of verification which augurs well for further steps in nuclear disarmament. The initiative already taken for making proposals for reducing strategic nuclear weapons is reassuring.

WCC Officers' Statement on the Washington Summit, 14 December 1987, *op. cit.*, p 47.

In a statement presented by Dr. Lamar Gibble, a CCIA Commissioner, the WCC told the Third Session of the UN General Assembly devoted to Disarmament (1988):

In the limited time given for this testimony, among many concerns, we choose the following for emphasis. Firstly, even in the aura of a historic agreement to reduce intermediate range nuclear weapons the awful risk of nuclear war remains. We are painfully aware that this agreement can only reduce the nuclear arsenal by 3%. We would, therefore, urge the pursuit of every possible effort to further reduce and ultimately eliminate these weapons of mass destruction. We reiterate the declaration of our most recent Assembly that “the production and deployment of nuclear weapons as well as their use constitute a crime against humanity, and therefore there³ should be a complete halt in the production of nuclear weapons and in weapons research and development in all nations, to be expeditiously enforced through a treaty...” Only if such a comprehensive approach is taken to nuclear disarmament and complemented and reinforced by mutually accepted verification procedures and by the new technology available for verification can the possibility of nuclear holocaust be significantly reduced. We w2ould encourage this session to establish a multilateral mechanism under the auspices of the United Nations to perform such verification functions for our global community.

Secondly, while we recognize the possibility of significant steps in the reduction of nuclear weapons, we cannot overlook the significant new dynamics in the arms race. We view with alarm the development of “star wars” technology, chemical weapons, and the ever more deadly capacity of conventional weapons which blur the distinction between conventional and nuclear, and defensive and offensive weapons. Only through multilateral agreements banning the research, development and testing of these new weapons can we effectively end this process....

op. cit. pp 48ff

The WCC addressed a letter in 1987 to President Bush and General Secretary Gorbachev on the occasion of their summit meeting in Malta, reiterating appeals addressed earlier. But this was the last initiative on nuclear weapons before the VII. Assembly in Canberra (1991).

In Canberra the agenda was radically shifted in the direction of post Cold War armed interventions and internal conflicts. That assembly, meeting as the Gulf War was raging, gave strong clues that this would be a period of divided views and sometimes contentious relationships among the churches as they wrestled with new challenges. The VII. Assembly adopted a major policy statement on the implications of the use of armed force by the Gulf Coalition led by the USA, and another on internal conflicts. The attention of the Central Committee was fixed for most of the ensuing decade on the implications of such challenges and by renewed debates and efforts to address the churches’ positions on violence.

The war in Bosnia/Herzegovina again led to contentious debates in the Central Committee on the old tension between the Christian traditions of pacifism and the just war. In 1994, on the basis of a background document, “Overcoming the Spirit, Logic and Practice of War,” the Central Committee created the Program to Overcome Violence. In the course of the international campaign, “Peace to the City,” carried out in the context of the POV, the focus turned especially to the issue of small arms and light weapons, and this has continued as a part of the new ecumenical Decade to Overcome Violence established by the VIII. Assembly in Harare (1998).

The disarmament agenda shifted more to the area of conventional arms, following the line traced earlier in consultations on militarism and disarmament. The CCIA Commission held a consultation in 1993 on the conventional arms trade (cf. *The Arms Trade Today*, CCIA Background Information, 1993/1, WCC, Geneva, 1993) and adopted a statement on the subject.

Soon after the Harare Assembly, the following document was issued, and it was the last major policy statement devoted particularly to nuclear weapons to date.

Nuclear weapons, whether used or threatened, are grossly evil and therefore morally wrong. As an instrument of mass destruction, nuclear weapons slaughter the innocent and ravage the environment...

(Therefore) we ask the delegates to call resolutely upon the nuclear weapons states to embark upon a series of steps along the road leading to nuclear abolition. There is broad consensus...on what these steps should be. They include:

- declare a policy of no first use among themselves and non-use in relation to non-nuclear weapons states;
- cease all research, development, production, and deployment of new nuclear weapons;
- refrain from modernizing the existing nuclear arsenal and increasing the number of deployed nuclear weapons;
- take all nuclear forces off alert and remove warheads from delivery vehicles;
- achieve faster and deeper bilateral reduction of nuclear weapons by the United States and Russia.

...We ask the delegates to take the lead in commencing the process of developing a nuclear weapons convention to outlaw and abolish all nuclear weapons...We appeal to the delegates...to consider what is best for the whole Earth and its inhabitants when they vote on issues of nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament. Loyalty to all humankind exceeds that of loyalty within political blocs of nations. We urge delegates to act now, decisively and courageously for the benefit of all the peoples of the earth.

Joint statement of WCC General Secretary Konrad Raiser and Cardinal Daneels, President of Pax Christi International to the NPT Review Conference Preparatory Committee, Geneva, April 1998.

At its first meeting (Morges, Switzerland, January 2000), the newly elected Commission of the Churches on International Affairs adopted guidelines for programmatic work in the field of disarmament which stressed the need for the WCC and its member churches to turn their attention back the continuing threat of nuclear weapons. So, concern about nuclear weapons has not disappeared from the WCC agenda. However, it has been dropped to the lowest levels of priority of many churches, including those in nuclear weapons states. There is an urgent need for the ecumenical movement to remember its history and to reassert leadership at what is in fact a very critical moment of new challenges to the international disarmament regime and the ever more dangerous legacy of the decaying products of the decades-long US-USSR nuclear arms race. Statements alone will not be enough. The statements reviewed here were often backed by movements in the churches working to bring official church assemblies with them in action and conviction. If we are to be effective again, attention will have to be paid during the forthcoming

ecumenical Decade to Overcome Violence to the strengthening, regeneration re-connection of such movements.

Geneva, 4 October 2000

Drafts

logo from <http://www.elca.org> (if permission granted)

Evangelical Lutheran Church in America

*The Evangelical Lutheran Church in America [www.elca.org] consists of 5.1 million members in 10,851 congregations. It is governed by a Churchwide Assembly that meets every two years. ELCA is represented in Washington, D.C. by the **Lutheran Office for Governmental Affairs** [www.loga.org].*

*The theological basis for ELCA's concern for nuclear disarmament is provided by a social statement on **For Peace in God's World**, [<http://www.elca.org/dcs/peacein.pf.htm>] which was adopted by the Fourth Churchwide Assembly in 1995. In a section on "A Politics of Cooperation" this statement indicates:*

Give high priority to arms control and reduction. We particularly urge a sharp reduction in the number of weapons of mass destruction. We call for arms control agreements that are substantial, equitable, verifiable, and progressive. We support mutual confidence-building measures to improve mutually assured security. In particular, we give priority to:

- * agreements among the leading nuclear powers to reduce their nuclear stockpiles and to decrease the possibility of nuclear confrontation or accident;
- * the successful negotiation of a renewed Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty, the strengthening of mechanisms to monitor and enforce nuclear treaties, and efforts that move toward the elimination of nuclear weapons;
- * treaties to ban the production, sale, and use of biological and chemical weapons; and
- * agreements to ban the production, sale, and use of land mines.

The Lutheran Office for Governmental Affairs provides current information on nuclear disarmament issues [<http://www.loga.org/Arms.html>] on its web site.

<http://www.elca.org/dcs/peacein.pf.html>

A Social Statement on For Peace in God's World

Adopted by more than a two-thirds majority vote (803-30) as a social statement of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America by the fourth Churchwide Assembly on August 20, 1995, at Minneapolis, Minnesota.

<http://www.elca.org/dcs/peacein.html>

http://www.episcopalarchives.org/e-archives/acts_of_convention/

Resolution Number: 1997-D022 **Title:** Support the Goal of Total Nuclear Disarmament

Legislative Action Taken: Concurred as Substituted

Final Text:

Resolved, That the 72nd General Convention of the Episcopal Church support the goal of total nuclear disarmament; and note with appreciation and pleasure the progress that has been made toward this goal; but inasmuch as the production, testing and deployment of nuclear weapons continue, more must be done to achieve that nuclear disarmament; and be it further

Resolved, That this General Convention urge the Government of the United States to exercise leadership among the nations, especially the nuclear weapons states, by immediately initiating negotiations for an International Treaty on Comprehensive Nuclear Disarmament in all its aspects to include a deadline for the completion of nuclear disarmament; and be it further

Resolved, That this General Convention support the World Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons and encourage Episcopalians to sign the Campaign's Citizens Pledge on Nuclear Weapons Abolition; and be it further

Resolved, That this General Convention call upon the comparable bodies in our sister Churches in the Anglican Communion to speak out in a similar way to their civil authorities and governments so that the world-wide Anglican Communion works in concert for total nuclear disarmament; and be it further

Resolved, That this resolution be transmitted by the Secretary of General Convention to the President of the United States, the Secretaries of State, Defense and Energy, the appropriate Members of Congress, the Secretary General of the United Nations, the United States Ambassador to the United Nations, the Anglican Observer at the United Nations, and the Primates of the Anglican Communion.

Citation:

General Convention, *Journal of the General Convention of...The Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, 1997* (New York: General Convention, 1998), pp. 231-232.

<http://www.episcopalchurch.org/eppn/display.asp?DocID=229>

Nuclear Weapons

No First Use of Nuclear Weapons

General Convention

Resolved, the House of Bishops concurring, that this 67th General Convention urges the government of both the United States and the Soviet Union to adopt a policy of no first use of nuclear weapons; and directs the Secretary of this Convention to communicate this to the President of the United States, members of Congress, and the President of the USSR.

Nuclear Weapons

General Convention 1982

Resolved, The House of Bishops concurring. That this General Convention:

1. Endorses as a first step leading to a reduction of nuclear weapons a bilateral nuclear

freeze and urges the President of the United States to propose a US/Soviet agreement to halt immediately the testing, production and further deployment of all nuclear weapons, missiles, and delivery systems in a way that can be verified on both sides;

2. Commends President Reagan for his proposal to reduce radically the nuclear weapons of the world and urges the President to negotiate with the USSR for an immediate verifiable across-the-board reduction by fifty percent of the nuclear arsenals now being maintained by the two superpowers;

3. Encourages the Executive Council, Dioceses, congregations and individual parishioners to communicate on a continuing basis to the Administration, to the congress, and within their local communities their support for these proposals, and to study and monitor future developments on these and related peace-making initiatives; and

4. Directs the Secretary of this Convention to communicate this resolution to the President and the Vice-President of the United States, to members of the Congress, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and the Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR.

<http://www.episcopalchurch.org/eppn/display.asp?DocID=416>

Urge President to sign and implement comprehensive Test Ban Treaty on nuclear weapons.

Resolved, the House of Bishops concurring, that the 71st Convention of the Episcopal Church, in accordance with our faith in Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace, urge the President of the United States, and the U.S. negotiators at Geneva, to take immediate international leadership in signing and implementing a comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in the coming year, and to pursue diplomatic initiatives, for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons design, testing, and manufacture anywhere in the world.

<http://www.episcopalchurch.org/eppn/display.asp?DocID=192>

**Star Wars/Strategic Defense Initiative, Opposition to
General Convention 1985**

Resolved, the House of Bishops concurring, That this 68th general Convention:

- 1) Express its opposition to President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative known as "Star Wars"; and
- 2) Request members of Congress to withhold funds for study of the feasibility of this proposed "umbrella" that some contend could be built to remove the threat of nuclear war; and
- 3) Direct the Secretary of this Convention to communicate this Resolution to the President of the United States, to the members of Congress, and to the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

<http://www.episcopalchurch.org/eppn/display.asp?DocID=594>

Nuclear Deterrence

Resolved, the House of Bishops concurring, That this 69th General Convention of the Episcopal Church command to the parishes and dioceses of this Church for study and reflection the

statement of the Bishops of the United Methodist Church entitled "In Defense of Creation: The Nuclear Crisis and a Just Peace".

<http://www.episcopalchurch.org/eppn/results.asp>

Episcopal Public Policy Network

<http://www.episcopalchurch.org/eppn/display.asp?DocID=415>

PEACE AND MILITARISM

Observe 50th anniversary of bombing of Hiroshima jointly with Nippon Sei Ko Kai, and recommit Church to work actively for the complete abolition of nuclear war.

Resolved, the House of Bishops concurring, That the 71st General Convention of the Episcopal Church notes that sunday August 6, 1995, which is the Feast of the Transfiguration of Our Lord Jesus Christ and coincides with the 50th Anniversary of the nuclear bombing of the city of Hiroshima, Japan by the United States; and be it further

Resovled, That the Episcopal Church in the United States seek ways with appropriate liturgical commemoration to observe jointly this anniversary with Nippon Sei Ko Kai, and with human rights and peace organization of both the United States and Japan, and that those diocese and parishes in partner relationships with diocese and parishes in Japan be especially encouraged to observe the anniversary jointly by exchange visits, conferences, pilgrimages, projects, and other appropriate efforts, including initiation of discussion on ways to repair the human and natural destruction brought about by war-making: and be it further

Resolved, That the Episcopal Church join in appropriate ecumenical observances of the end of World War II and the founding of the united Nations, keeping in remembrance both the suffering and the imposition of suffering all sides in any war, and asking God's forgiveness for our complicity as a people; and be it further

Resolved, That members of the Episcopal Church take special care in the course of the 50th anniversary commemorations to work agains any "Japan bashing" or other racist behavior; and be it futher

Resolved, That the Episcopal Church recommit itself to work actively for the complete abolition of nuclear war; and be it further

Resolved, That the resources of the Episcopal Church Center, including the Washington Office of the Episcopal Church , in cooperation with other appropriate Church related bodies, including unofficial organizations, be used to identify curricula, study guides, worship and liturgical resources, bulletin inserts, and other rsources for use by dioceses and by local congregations for study and action on issues of nuclearism.

<http://www.episcopalchurch.org/eppn/display.asp?DocID=237>

Peacekeeping, Bi-lateral Nuclear Freeze General Convention 1985

Resolved, the House of Bishops concurring, That the 68th General convention request the National Church and individual Episcopalian, to:

- A. Support and work for a verifiable bi-lateral nuclear freeze, and the continuation of the Salt II accord;**
- B. Review and revise budgetary plans to reflect peace and justice priorities;**
- C. Designate the first Wednesday of each month as a day of action and reflection of peace-making;**
- D. Continue an active program of education and dialogue about peace and justice issues both within the Anglican Communion and with other groups;**
- E. Influence government leaders and the producers of military technology and hardware to examine their moral and social responsibility; and**
- F. Advocate economic conversion of our national resources, especially our labor, to the production of materials and services needed to enhance life.**

[logo from <http://www.episcopalchurch.org/eppn/>]

Episcopal Church

The Episcopal Church [www.episcopalchurch.org] has 2.3 million members and 7,359 local congregations in the United States. It is governed by a bicameral General Convention consisting of a House of Bishops and a House of Delegates that meets every three years. A 38-member Executive Council is the interim governing body. An elected Presiding Bishop serves as primate.

*The Episcopal Church has a long record of opposition to nuclear weapons. Resolutions of the past 20 years are on the web site of the **Episcopal Public Policy Network** [<http://www.episcopalchurch.org/eppn/results.asp>] (search for "nuclear"). They include:*

- support for a policy of no first use of nuclear weapons (1982)
[<http://www.episcopalchurch.org/eppn/display.asp?DocID=229>]
- support for a bilateral nuclear freeze and an immediate halt in the testing, production and further deployment of all nuclear weapons (1982)
[web site to go with "freeze" is
<http://www.episcopalchurch.org/eppn/display.asp?DocID=229>]
- opposition to President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative known as "Star Wars" (1985) [<http://www.episcopalchurch.org/eppn/display.asp?DocID=192>]
- support for the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (1994)
[<http://www.episcopalchurch.org/eppn/display.asp?DocID=416>]

*In 1997 the 72nd General Convention adopted a resolution favoring the **Abolition of Nuclear Weapons** [<http://www.episcopalchurch.org/eppn/display.asp?DocID=333>]. The resolution committed the General Convention to:*

- support the goal of total nuclear disarmament.
- urge the Government of the United States to exercise leadership among the nations, especially the nuclear weapons states, by immediately initiating negotiations for an International Treaty on Comprehensive Nuclear Disarmament in all its aspects to include a deadline for the completion of nuclear disarmament.

Religious Society of Friends (Quakers)

**** American Friends Service Committee***

****Friends Committee on National Legislation***

The Religious Society of Friends, also known as Quakers, was founded in England about 1648. Soon thereafter Friends started settling in North America. William Penn, a Quaker leader, founded the colony of Pennsylvania in 1682. Known for their peace testimony, Quakers are organized in a variety of yearly meetings, conferences, and service organizations.

Americans Friends Service Committee

To be added.

fcnl logo from www.fcnl.org

Friends Committee on National Legislation (Quakers)

The Friends Committee on National Legislation [www.fcnl.org] is a Quaker lobby in the public interest. FCNL seeks to bring the concerns, experiences and testimonies of the Religious Society of Friends to bear on policy decisions in the nation's capital.

Reducing armaments [http://www.fcnl.org/legpolcy/sek_frewar.htm#reduce] is one of FCNL's legislative priorities. In a policy statement FCNL indicates:

National security does not rely on military strength. More arms mean less security for ordinary people. Increasingly, armaments serve to secure the positions of those in power. Military expansion by a country or group provokes similar expansion by others, and reliance on threats tends to increase the hostility and distrust that lead to war.

We believe that nations need to move toward general and complete disarmament, both domestically and internationally. We urge both gun control and arms control to reduce the dangers of personal, conventional and nuclear weapons.

Arms proliferation is rooted in the false premise that one can control one's enemy; it is also perpetuated by immense profits in arms sales and unhealthy dependence on military employment. We urge negotiated worldwide disarmament, supported by conversion of military industries to peaceful production and political settlements under world law. At the same time, based on our understanding of Christian principles, we urge unilateral disarmament, believing that other nations will respond affirmatively. We are prepared to take the risks of such a course, convinced that they are far smaller than the risks involved in the current course of endless weapons development.

FCNL urges the United States to encourage worldwide and regional efforts for peace, disarmament, and global security, among other ways, by:

- eliminating all nuclear weapons and any nuclear power projects which could contribute to weapons production. Testing of nuclear weapons by both explosion and simulation should be permanently halted worldwide, as should the development and production of fissionable materials.

FCNL also urges the United States to take unilateral actions, both because they are valid steps in their own right and because they would challenge other nations to reciprocate in the search for peace. Among such actions would be to:

- eliminate its nuclear arsenal, abandon plans to build new nuclear weapons production facilities, and end all research on weapons of mass destruction, as well as on space-based weapons.

In its current legislative agenda on nuclear weapons

[http://www.fcnl.org/issues/arm/cntrl_nuclear-weapons.htm] FCNL has a concern for the following issues:

- New nuclear weapons development.
- De-alerting the nuclear arsenal
- Strategic Offensive Reduction Treaty
- Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
- Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
- Missile defense

*As a service to the peace and disarmament community FCNL publishes a **Nuclear Calendar** [<http://www.fcnl.org/NuclearCalendar/index.htm>] by e-mail every Monday when Congress is in session to provide information on public hearings, meetings, and international conferences related to nuclear disarmament.*

Interfaith Committee for Nuclear Disarmament

The Interfaith Committee for Nuclear Disarmament is a U.S. coalition of denominational offices and religious organizations that advocate the global elimination of nuclear weapons. It has evolved from an informal group that in 1997 supported ratification of the Chemical Weapons Convention by the United States Senate. Others joined to form the Interfaith Group for the CTBT, which worked from 1997 to 1999 in support of Senate ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. After the Senate defeated CTBT ratification in October 1999, representatives of denominational offices and religious re-grouped to form the Interfaith Committee for Nuclear Disarmament with a broader agenda.

The Interfaith Committee for Nuclear Disarmament is an unincorporated body with no formal membership. Rather, participants indicate their support of actions on particular issues by signing statements and letters to public officials. Its only officer is its chair, Howard W. Hallman, who is chair of Methodists United for Peace with Justice. He also serves as moderator of this web site.

Policy concerns of the Interfaith Committee for Nuclear Disarmament are shown by the following letters to public officials:

Letter to President George W. Bush on National Missile Defense, March 2001

Letter to U.S. Senators and Representatives on National Missile Defense, July 2001

Letter to President George W. Bush on Nuclear Weapons and Terrorism , October 2001

Letter to President George W. Bush on Nuclear Posture Review, March 2002

Also see **Religious Leaders' Appeal to President Bush to De-alert Nuclear Weapons**

[http://www.fcnl.org/issues/arm/sup/nuclear_weapons_religldr.htm], developed by the Friends Committee on National Legislation.

PDF file

**Letter to President George W. Bush on National Missile Defense
March 5, 2001**

The Honorable George W. Bush
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We the undersigned representatives of faith-based organizations share with you the desire to keep God's people, including those in the U.S. homeland, safe from nuclear attack. However, we are deeply concerned about the haste to make a commitment to deploy unproven technology for national missile defense.

First, the real and present danger for nuclear attack on the United States comes from the several thousand Russian missiles now on hair trigger alert and thousands of Russian nuclear weapons in reserve with inadequate security. The best remedies are mutual de-alerting, strategic arms reduction, and stable control of fissile material. These opportunities could be jeopardized if the United States withdraws from the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty to erect a national missile defense. Russia might then withdraw from other arms control treaties and retain multi-warhead missiles now scheduled for elimination under START II. Also, China might increase its nuclear arsenal. This would pose far greater danger to U.S. homeland security than the remote threat of a few missiles a small nation might develop years from now.

Second, heavy emphasis on unproven anti-missile technology to counter a speculative future threat from a few small nations neglects other elements of a comprehensive non-proliferation strategy. More promising methods include international monitoring of nuclear test explosions, rigorous fissile material control, stringent missile technology control, diplomacy, financial assistance to nations cooperating in nuclear non-proliferation, and countering social, economic, and political instability that provides the breeding ground for terrorist groups

Third, we are seriously concerned about budgetary implications. Since 1983 the United States has spent \$69 billion on national missile defense, enriching major defense contractors but producing no effective system. President Clinton's plan, which you have criticized as inadequate, would cost \$60 billion. Indications are that the layered approach you favor could cost more than \$100 billion. A budgetary commitment of this magnitude along with the tax cut you are promoting would preclude achieving the goal of "Leave No Child Behind" and dealing with other urgent domestic needs.

For these reasons we urge you to pull back from the dangerous rush to a premature decision on national missile defense and withdrawal from the ABM Treaty.

Respectfully yours,

Signers:

[Marie: put signers in a box in columns with smaller type as you did the Canberra Commission members on the How to Get to Zero page]

Rev. Dr. Stan Haste, Executive Director
Alliance of Baptists
(organization listed for identification only)

Curtis Ramsey-Lucas
Director of Legislative Advocacy
National Ministries
American Baptist Churches

James Matlack
Director, Washington Office
American Friends Service Committee

Ken Sehested, Executive Director
Baptist Peace Fellowship of North America

David Radcliff
Director of Brethren Witness
Greg Laszakovits
Director, Washington Office
Church of the Brethren General Board

Tiffany Heath
Interim Legislative Director
Church Women United

Gary Baldridge
Global Missions Coordinator
Rev. Lonnie Turner
Washington Office
Cooperative Baptist Fellowship

Joel Heim, Moderator
Disciples Peace Fellowship

Thomas H. Hart
Director of Government Relations
Episcopal Church, USA

Rev. Mark Brown, Assistant Director
International Affairs and Human Rights
Lutheran Office for Governmental Affairs
Evangelical Lutheran Church in America

Ronald J. Sider, President
Evangelicals for Social Action

Mary H. Miller, Executive Director
Episcopal Peace Fellowship

Murray Polner, President
Jewish Peace Fellowship

Rev. Carroll Houle
Maryknoll Office for Global Concerns

J. Daryl Byler, Director
Washington Office

Mennonite Central Committee, U.S.

Howard W. Hallman, Chair
Methodists United for Peace with Justice

Rabia Terri Harris, Coordinator
Muslim Peace Fellowship

Brenda Girton-Mitchell, JD
Assoc. General Secretary for Public Policy
& Director of the Washington Office
National Council of Churches

Nancy Small, National Coordinator
Pax Christi, USA

Rev. Elenora Giddings Ivory
Director, Washington Office
Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

L. William Yolton
Presbyterian Peace Fellowship

Rabbi David Saperstein, Director
Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism

Ann Rutan, csjp , President
Sisters of St. Joseph of Peace

Rev. Meg A. Riley
Washington Office for Faith in Action
Unitarian Universalist Association

Ron Stief
Justice and Witness Ministries
United Church of Christ

Jim Winkler, General Secretary
General Board of Church and Society
United Methodist Church

William J. Price
World Peacemakers

PD file

Letter to U.S. Senators and Representatives on National Missile Defense
July 23, 2001

Dear Senator/Representative:

In the defense authorization bill for the 2002 fiscal year, President Bush is asking for \$8.3 billion for national missile defense, a 57 percent increase over the current fiscal year. We the undersigned representatives of faith-based organizations ask you to consider this request not only as a budgetary issue but also as a matter of justice and peace.

Over the centuries prophets of religion have posed the question: what does justice require? In this instance, one of the clearest answers comes from a five-star general who rose to the highest civilian office of the land, President Dwight D. Eisenhower. In an address before the American Society of Newspaper Editors on April 16, 1953 he stated: "Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed." This statement is so important to the Eisenhower legacy that these words are engraved on the walls by his tomb in Abilene, Kansas.

The vast spending increase now proposed for national missile constitutes a theft of this nature. Since 1983 the United States has spent \$63 billion on this endeavor without technological success. Pouring more funds into this venture would in effect steal money from efforts to "Leave No Child Behind", to provide adequate health care for millions of America, to deal with the global HIV/AIDS crisis, and to meet other urgent social needs. This is clearly wrong and immoral.

It is doubly wrong because there is no credible threat to the American homeland from long-range missiles. Only Russia, China, the United Kingdom, and France have missiles of that range, but they are not on the danger list offered by missile defense proponents. Of the so-called "rogue" states that are said to be a threat, only North Korea has tried to develop a long-range missile. Flight testing is now suspended, and the program could be permanently terminated through diplomacy and selective financial assistance. Moreover, it is not credible that North Korea would attack the United States because of the assurance of massive retaliation. No other potentially hostile state has an effective missile program that would endanger the United States. There are numerous nonproliferation measures that can prevent them from developing one.

The beneficiaries of the national missile defense program are not the American people but rather large defense contractors. They are spending millions every year in political campaign contributions and lobbying operations to promote missile defense. This calls to mind President Eisenhower's warning in his farewell address to the American people: "In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex." You who serve on the House Armed Services Committee should be our guardians.

For these reasons, we ask you to cut back on authorization for national missile defense and to redirect these resources to programs that meet important human and community needs.

Sincerely yours,

Signers:

[in box, columns, smaller type]

Curtis Ramsey-Lucas
Director of Legislative Advocacy
National Ministries
American Baptist Churches USA

James Matlack
Director, Washington Office
American Friends Service Committee

Rev. Ken Sehested, Executive Director,
Baptist Peace Fellowship of North
America

Greg Laszakovits, Coordinator
Church of the Brethren Washington Office

Stan De Boe, OSST, Director
Office of Justice and Peace
Conference of Major Superiors of Men

Rev. Lonnie Turner
Washington Office
Cooperative Baptist Fellowship

Joel J. Heim, Moderator
Disciples Peace Fellowship.

Thomas H. Hart
Director of Government Relations
Episcopal Church, USA

David Culp
Legislative Representative
Friends Committee on National Legislation

Ken Giles, D.C. Representative
Jewish Peace Fellowship

J. Daryl Byler, Director
Washington Office

Mennonite Central Committee, U.S.

Howard W. Hallman, Chair
Methodists United for Peace with Justice

Brenda Girton-Mitchell
Director, Washington Office
National Council of Churches/
Church World Service

Bishop Walter Sullivan, President
Pax Christi USA

Rev. Elenora Giddings Ivory, Director
Washington Office
Presbyterian Church (USA)

Karen M. Donahue, RSM
Issues Coordinator
Institute Justice Team
Sisters of Mercy of the Americas

Ann Rutan, CSJP, President,
Congregation of the Sisters
of St. Joseph of Peace

The Rev. Meg A. Riley, Director Washington Office for Faith in Action
Unitarian Universalist Association of Congregations

Ron Stief
Justice and Witness Ministries
United Church of Christ

Bishop Melvin G. Talbert
Ecumenical Officer, Council of Bishops
United Methodist Church

James Winkler, General Secretary
General Board of Church and Society
United Methodist Church

Bill Price
World Peacemakers

PDF file

Letter to President George W. Bush on Nuclear Weapons and Terrorism
October 23, 2001

The Honorable George W. Bush
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The campaign against terrorism is raising new and important questions about the role and future of nuclear weapons in the global security framework of the 21st century. We would like to share with you our thinking on this matter.

First, we note that some of your advisors inside and outside of government favor using nuclear weapons against terrorist enclaves and against states that possess no nuclear weapons. Some advocate use of nuclear weapons in response to attacks by chemical and biological weapons. This would reverse the long-standing U.S. policy of using nuclear weapons primarily as a tool to deter other nuclear-weapon states. We believe that the policy of the United States should be no first use of nuclear weapons against any state, nuclear or non-nuclear, or against any other adversary at any time under any circumstance. We believe that such first use would be immoral and would constitute a crime against humanity. We also believe that nuclear weapons should never be used in response to an attack by biological and chemical weapons.

Second, we note that in January 2001 the Russia Task Force chaired by Howard Baker and Lloyd Cutler stated: "The most urgent unmet national security threat to the United States today is the danger that weapons of mass destruction or weapons-usable material in Russia could be stolen and sold to terrorists or hostile nation states and used against American troops or citizens at home." The September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States emphasize the importance of this finding. Therefore, we believe that a substantial portion of anti-terrorist funds should go for full implementation of the Baker-Cutler report. In terms of relative priority, we suggest that funds be transferred from the missile defense budget to this and other urgent non-proliferation initiatives.

Third, we believe that the improved relationship between the United States and Russia because of mutual concern over terrorism should be treated as an opportunity to make substantial progress in improving the security of deployed nuclear weapons and dismantling the nuclear arsenals still in place more than a decade after the Cold War ended. Specifically we ask you to implement your campaign promise to work with Russia to de-alert and stand down the respective nuclear arsenals and to achieve deep cuts in strategic nuclear weapons. Not only will this enhance the security of the United States and Russia by lowering the possibility of accidental launch, it will also reduce the danger that a renegade group could gain control of nuclear weapon delivery vehicles and use them for terrorist attack on the United States.

We urge you to carry out these recommendations as a means of achieving a safer and more peaceful world in the 21st century.

Sincerely yours,

Signers:

[in box, columns, smaller type]

James Matlack, Director
Washington Office
American Friends Service Committee

Ken Sehested, Executive Director
Baptist Peace Fellowship of North America

Greg Davidson Laszakovits, Coordinator
Church of the Brethren Washington Office

Tiffany Heath
Washington, D.C. Legislative Office
Church Women United

Rev. Joel J. Heim, Ph.D., Moderator
Disciples Peace Fellowship

David Culp, Legislative Representative
Friends Committee on National Legislation

The Rev. Mark B. Brown
Lutheran Office for Governmental Affairs
Evangelical Lutheran Church in America

Stan De Boe, OSST, Director
Office of Justice and Peace
Conference of Major Superiors of Men

Brenda Girton-Mitchell, Associate General
Secretary for Public Witness
National Council of the Churches of Christ
in the USA

Marie Dennis
Maryknoll Office for Global Concerns

Howard W. Hallman, Chair
Methodists United for Peace with Justice

(Ms.) Rabia Terri Harris, Coordinator
Muslim Peace Fellowship

Kathy Thornton, RSM, National Coordinator
NETWORK: A National Catholic Social
Justice Lobby

Bishop Walter Sullivan, President
Bishop Tom Gumbleton, Former President
Dave Robinson, National Coordinator
Pax Christi USA

Rev. Elenora Giddings Ivory, Director
Washington Office
Presbyterian Church (USA)

Mark J. Pelavin, Associate Director
Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism

Andrew Greenblatt, Coordinator
Religious Leaders for Sensible Priorities

Sr. Ann Rutan, President
Sisters of St. Joseph of Peace

Rev. Meg A. Riley, Director
Washington Office for Faith in Action
Unitarian Universalist Association
of Congregations

James Winkler, General Secretary
General Board of Church and Society United Methodist Church

PDF file

**Letter to President George W. Bush on Nuclear Posture Review
March 15, 2002**

The Honorable George W. Bush
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We the undersigned representatives of religious organizations were encouraged by the meetings you and Russian President Vladimir Putin held last November in Washington and Texas. Together you told the world that the United States and Russia are now friends rather than

military rivals. You each promised to make substantial reductions in strategic nuclear weapons. This follows through on your desire to move beyond the Cold War and its doctrine of mutual assured destruction (MAD). We look forward to your signing a specific agreement on strategic arms reductions when you meet in Moscow in May.

This gives us hope that substantial progress can be made toward the global elimination of nuclear weapons. This is the desire of numerous religious leaders and religious organizations in the United States and elsewhere. For example, 21 top religious leaders in the United States, joined by 18 military professionals, in a statement issued at the Washington National Cathedral in June 2000, proclaimed: **"We deeply believe that the long-term reliance on nuclear weapons in the arsenals of the nuclear powers, and the ever-present danger of their acquisition by others, is morally untenable and militarily unjustifiable....National security imperatives and ethical demands have converged to bring us to the necessity of outlawing and prohibiting nuclear weapons worldwide."**

From this perspective we are discouraged by what Pentagon planners have produced in the Nuclear Posture Review (NPR). We have several concerns we would like to share with you.

(1) Reductions. We commend the NPR commitment to reduce strategic nuclear weapons to 1,700 to 2,200 warheads along with the Russia commitment to reduce theirs to 1,500. This is a positive step in the right direction. Yet, we wonder why it should take ten years to accomplish. We ask that standing down of these warheads and their delivery vehicles be completed by 2004.

(2) Warhead reserve and the terrorist threat. The reduction in strategic weapons is compromised by the NPR plan to keep an estimated 1,500 warheads in an active reserve with their delivery systems intact for uploading. If the United States keeps so many warheads in reserve, Russia is likely to do the same. The more warheads that Russia has in reserve the greater the risk of some of them falling into the hands of terrorist organizations. The United States would be much better off to forgo a large warhead reserve and instead enter into a binding, verifiable agreement with Russia that requires elimination of both delivery vehicles and nuclear warheads taken out of service. This would follow the example of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, signed by President Ronald Reagan, and START I, signed by your father, President George H.W. Bush, both of which provided for the destruction of the delivery vehicles taken out of service.

(3) Mutual assured destruction. We are especially disappointed that the doctrine of mutual assured destruction remains intact in the Pentagon's Nuclear Posture Review. The NPR specifies that "preplanning is essential for immediate and potential contingencies". It indicates that "a contingency involving Russia, while plausible, is not expected." Nevertheless, the approximately 3,500 strategic warheads in active deployment and reserve are of sufficient magnitude to cover hundreds of targets in Russia, as they now do under the single integrated operational plan (SIOP). Thus, in actuality the MAD doctrine prevails.

(4) De-alerting. Not only is MAD continuing but also the practice of keeping large numbers of missiles on hair-trigger alert. During the presidential campaign you rightly told the American people that "for two nations at peace, keeping so many weapons on high alert may create

unacceptable risks of accidental or unauthorized launch." You stated, "the United States should remove as many weapons as possible from high-alert, hair-trigger status -- another unnecessary vestige of Cold War confrontation." Yet, the Pentagon planners have made no provision for de-alerting in the Nuclear Posture Review. True friends do not keep nuclear weapons on hair-trigger alert targeted at each other. Therefore, we call for zero alert.

(5) Expanded role. The Pentagon plan expands the role of nuclear weapons beyond the primary role of deterring nuclear-weapon states from attacking the United States and its allies. The Nuclear Posture Review speaks of flexibility for a range of contingencies. This includes immediate, potential, or unexpected contingencies involving North Korea, Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Libya. The NPR indicates that nuclear weapons could be employed against targets able to withstand non-nuclear attack or in retaliation for use of biological or chemical weapons. In contrast, previous U.S. policy specified no first use of nuclear weapons against any non-nuclear-weapons state not allied with a nuclear-weapon state. We are greatly disturbed that your administration wants to expand rather than contract the role of nuclear weapons in the 21st century.

(6) Testing. Our concern is reinforced by the approach to nuclear testing revealed in the Nuclear Posture Review. While we welcome reaffirmation of your commitment to a moratorium on nuclear weapons testing, we are bothered by the NPR's call for the Department of Energy to reduce the time it would take to resume testing. This goes with your opposition to ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), a treaty we support. This is compounded by the NPR's indication that the current nuclear force is projected to remain until 2020 and that in the meantime the Department of Defense will "study alternatives for follow-ons" for nuclear delivery systems. Preparation to resume testing appears to be part of this scheme. This sounds like a commitment to nuclear weapons forever. We find this objectionable.

Therefore, Mr. President, we ask you to send the Nuclear Posture Review back to the drawing boards and have the Pentagon planners come up with a plan that will truly end the MAD doctrine and will steadily reduce the role of nuclear weapons in U.S. military and foreign policy. We propose that nuclear disarmament objectives be incorporated into the Nuclear Posture Review in accordance to the U.S. obligation under Article VI of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), signed originally by President Richard Nixon. As a point of departure, we call your attention to the practical steps contained in the Final Document of the 2000 NPT Review Conference. Among other things these practical steps set forth the principle of irreversibility and call for "an unequivocal undertaking by the nuclear-weapon States to accomplish the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals".

A revised Nuclear Posture Review along these lines would more nearly fulfill your goal of ending Cold War confrontation and achieving true friendship between the United States and Russia. **We urge you to exercise your presidential leadership in the direction of diminishing the role of nuclear weapons and eventually eliminating them from Earth.** As you do, we will do what we can to help build support with the American people.

With best regards,

Signers:

[in box, columns, smaller type]

Jeanette Holt, Associate Director
Alliance of Baptists

James Matlack, Director
Washington Office
American Friends Service Committee

Rev. Ken Sehested, Executive Director
Baptist Peace Fellowship of North America

Greg Davidson Laszakovits
Church of the Brethren Washington Office

Tiffany Heath, Legislative Officer
Washington Office, Church Women United

Lonnie Turner, Representative to the Diplomatic/Business Community
Cooperative Baptist Fellowship

Rev. Mark B. Brown
Lutheran Office for Governmental Affairs
Division for Church in Society
Evangelical Lutheran Church in America

Rev. Joel J. Heim, Ph.D., Moderator
Disciples Peace Fellowship

Ronald J. Sider, President
Evangelicals for Social Action.

Joe Volk, Executive Secretary
Friends Committee on National Legislation

Murray Polner, Chair
Jewish Peace Fellowship

Bro. Steven P. O'Neil, SM
Office of Justice & Peace
Marianists, New York Province

Rev. J. Daryl Byler, Director
Washington Office
Mennonite Central Committee, U.S.

Rev. Kathryn J. Johnson, Executive Director

Methodist Federation for Social Action

Howard W. Hallman, Chair
Methodists United for Peace with Justice

Brenda Girton-Mitchell
Director, Washington Office
National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA

Kathy Thornton, RSM
National Coordinator, NETWORK:
A National Catholic Social Justice Lobby

Bishop Walter Sullivan, President
Dave Robinson, National Coordinator
Pax Christi USA

Rev. Elenora Giddings Ivory
Director, Washington Office
Presbyterian Church (USA)

Andrew Greenblatt, Coordinator
Religious Leaders for Sensible Priorities

Duane Shank, Issues and Policy Adviser
Sojourners

Ann Rutan, csjp, President
Sisters of St. Joseph of Peace

Pat Conover, Legislative Director
United Church of Christ
Justice and Witness Ministries

Meg Riley, Director
Washington Office for Faith in Action
Unitarian Universalist Association

Rev. James Winkler, General Secretary
United Methodist General Board
of Church and Society

In Defense of Creation

[PDF document]

In 1986 after two years of study the United Methodist Council of Bishops issued a foundation document and pastoral letter entitled In Defense of Creation: The Nuclear Crisis and a Just Peace. In the pastoral letter, after summarizing a theology for peace with justice and the threat of nuclear weapons to the human family and planet earth itself, the bishops stated:

Therefore, we say a clear and unconditional No to nuclear war and to any use of nuclear weapons. We conclude that nuclear deterrence is a position that cannot receive the church's blessing.

In the foundation document the United Methodist bishops outlined a set of policies for a just peace, including:

- Comprehensive test ban to inaugurate a nuclear freeze.
- Consolidation of existing treaties and phased reductions leading to the eventual goal of a mutual and verifiable dismantling of all nuclear armaments.
- Bans on space weapons.
- No-first-use agreement as a transitional measure.

Here is the pastoral letter in its entirety.

A Pastoral Letter to All United Methodists

From your brothers and sisters in Christ Jesus, the Council of Bishops, to all those people called United Methodist in every land: Grace to you and peace in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

With hearts and minds open to Christ, who is our peace;
In obedience to his call to be peacemakers;
And in response to the biblical vision of a wholistic peace, *shalom*, revealed in Scripture to be God's will and purpose for all of creation:

We, the bishops of The United Methodist Church, have been moved by the spirit of Jesus to send you a message that we have titled IN DEFENSE OF CREATION: THE NUCLEAR CRISIS AND A JUST PEACE, a message we believe to be of utmost urgency in our time.

This message has been prepared over a span of two years during which time we have earnestly sought to hear the Word of God through the Scriptures. At the same time we have prayerfully and penitently reflected on the continuing buildup of nuclear arsenals by some of the nations. We have become increasingly aware of the devastation that such weapons can inflict on planet earth. We have watched and agonized over the increase in hostile rhetoric and hate among nations. We have seen the threat of a nuclear confrontation increasing in our world. We have been motivated by our own sense of Christian responsibility and stewardship for the world God created.

This brief *Pastoral Letter* is an introduction to a substantial *Foundation Document* that we have produced as the major portion of our message. In our *Foundation Document* we have attempted to state with clarity the biblical basis for our concerns and our

conclusions about the issue we are addressing. We have set forth a theology for peace with justice in our time that reflects our understanding of the mind and will of Jesus Christ. This theology for a just peace reflects also our understanding of those insights of both pacifism and just-war theory that speak with relevance to the issues of the present nuclear crisis.

We write in defense of creation. We do so because the creation itself is under attack. Air and water, trees and fruits and flowers, birds and fish and cattle, all children and youth, women and men live under the darkening shadows of a threatening nuclear winter. We call The United Methodist Church to more faithful witness and action in the face of this worsening nuclear crisis. It is a crisis that threatens to assault not only the whole human family but planet earth itself, even while the arms race itself cruelly destroys millions of lives in conventional wars, repressive violence, and massive poverty.

Therefore, we say a clear and unconditional *No* to nuclear war and to any use of nuclear weapons. We concluded that nuclear deterrence is a position that cannot receive the church's blessing. We state our complete lack of confidence in proposed "defenses" against nuclear attack and are convinced that the enormous cost of developing such defenses is one more witness to the obvious fact that the arms race is a social justice issue, not only a war and peace issue.

Our document sets forth a number of policies for a just peace, including such disarmament proposals as a comprehensive test ban, a multilateral and mutually verifiable nuclear weapons freeze and the ultimate dismantling of all such weapons, and bans on all space weapons. However, the nuclear crisis is not primarily a matter of technology; it is a crisis of human community. We encourage independent US and Soviet initiatives to foster a political climate conducive to negotiations. We urge a renewed commitment to building the institutional foundations of common security, economic justice, human rights, and environmental conservation. And we make appeal for peace research, studies, and training in all levels of education.

This message we are sending to United Methodist people is not meant to be a consensus opinion of our church or a policy statement of our denomination on the nuclear crisis and the pursuit of peace. It is given from the bishops to the church as both a pastoral and a prophetic word. It is *pastoral* in that we as bishops will seek to lead the church in study, prayer, and action related to this issue and this theme, using the *Foundation Document* as a basic resource and guide. It is *prophetic* in that the *Foundation Document* is our response to the Word of God. It faithfully states our understanding of that Word to our world at this moment in history.

Our message is the result of many months of prayerful study, research, and reflection. It is not given to the church with any feeling that it should be the final word on this issue or with the hope that it will silence all contrary opinions; but rather, we are sending this statement to the church seeking the fullest and fairest possible discussion of our understandings and convictions, together with an honest consideration of difference and critical opinions.

Peacemaking is ultimately a spiritual issue. It is a sacred calling of Jesus. All dimensions of church life offer openings for peacemaking: family life, Christian education, the ministry of the laity, pastoral ministry in every respect, political witness, and the great fact of the church as a worldwide company of disciples that transcends all nations, governments, races, and ideologies.

Now, therefore, we ask you, our sisters and brothers, to join with us in a new covenant of peacemaking; to use the Bible together with our Council's *Foundation Document* as basic resources for earnest and steadfast study of the issues of justice and peace. We call upon each local pastor and lay leader to give leadership in a local church study of the issues surrounding the nuclear threat. We ask you all to open again your hearts, as we open our hearts to receive God's gracious gift of peace; to become with us evangelists of *shalom*, making the ways of Jesus the model of discipleship, embracing all neighbors near and far, all friends and enemies, and becoming the defenders of God's good creation; and to pray without ceasing for peace in our time.

Now we draw this *Pastoral Letter* to a close with prayers for all of you and for all the nations and peoples of the earth.

We humbly pray that God will accept and use our lives and resources that we dedicate again to a ministry of peace.

May the love of God, the peace of Christ, and the power of the Holy Spirit be among you, everywhere and always, so that you may be a blessing to all creation and to all the children of God, making peace and remembering the poor, choosing life and coming to life eternal, in God's own good time.

Amen.

General Conference Endorsement

*In 1988 the General Conference, the official governing body of the United Methodist Church affirmed and supported **In Defense of Creation**. As part of a resolution on "Christian Faith and Disarmament, the General Conference stated:*

We especially affirm and support the statements of the Council of Bishops in their 1986 pastoral letter, "In Defense of Creation", and the accompanying foundation document. We urge our bishops to keep this concern before the Church. We request that the General Board of Discipleship produce new and updated educational materials for children, youth and adults to study the issues of peace and justice and the effects of the nuclear weapons crisis.

Mennonite Church General Assembly Resolution on Security and the Current World Arms Race

As members of the Mennonite Church in the United States and Canada, we have gathered in biennial General Assembly in Bowling Green, Ohio, August 11-16, 1981, to affirm and celebrate our hope in Jesus Christ. In worship, prayer, and mutual deliberations we have sought the mind of Christ.

While celebrating our hope we are also aware of a growing despair in the world due to the escalation of the arms race. The development of new nuclear weapons proceeds amidst a political mood which is apparently ready to use them. Many are now saying that the question is no longer if nuclear weapons will be used, but when. The probable resulting devastation to human life is beyond comprehension.

Two years ago this Assembly adopted a statement on militarism and conscription. In deploreding the arms race observed then, the 1979 Assembly called our members and all people to trust in God rather than military technology, urging the church to "plead and pray for reversal of the world's collision course in manufacturing and deploying the most destructive weapons in all of history." The need for prayer is even more urgent today.

We seek to follow Christ in refusal to prepare for war or take life for any reason and do not seek security in weapons. We also feel called at this time to a particular witness against nuclear weapons because of the enormous consequences of decisions confronting world leaders regarding the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons.

God's commandment that we love our neighbors motivates us to oppose those things that would destroy them. The false god of military security must be challenged by our witness to the sole source of salvation in Jesus Christ. To express our nonresistant faith in the context of the current arms race, we encourage our congregations and members to practice the following forms of faithfulness:

1. To pray regularly for national leaders who have in their hands the fateful power of nuclear weapons.
2. To become informed about the potential of nuclear war and the policies that move in that direction. We encourage congregations to find ways to study the issue and clarify their witness. Conference and churchwide peace committees can suggest helpful resources.
3. To declare our readiness, in the light of our faith in Christ, to live without nuclear weapons in our countries. The World Peace Pledge is one way to record and share this testimony.
4. To enter into discussion and study with other Christians in our communities. Many Christians who have not fully considered the way of love are asking questions about the meaning of the biblical message for issues of war and peace. As an aid for such discussions, we commend the New Abolitionist Covenant, which raises the faith question in regard to nuclear weapons in a manner similar to the way Christians two centuries ago began to question slavery in the light of the Word of God.

5. To invite men and women, including government leaders to that saving faith in Jesus Christ which provides ultimate security and frees from fear.
6. To consider ways to witness to the decision making process in our governments, urging alternatives to military confrontation and supporting the use of scarce resources for human need rather than armaments.

We confess that we have sometimes compromised our loyalty to the Prince of Peace by our silence in the face of preparations for war. We commit ourselves anew to Jesus Christ and the gospel of peace, sharing that gospel by our words and our consistent living as God's people. We resolve in all our relationships to witness to Christ's reconciling love through proclamation of His good news, through ministries of service, and through sacrificial sharing of our resources.

Our hope is in the gospel; our strength is in God. We rely upon the promise found in Zechariah 4:6: Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, says the Lord of Hosts.

Mennonite Church General Assembly
Bowling Green
August 15, 1981

<http://www.mcc.org/us/washington/index.html>

Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) is a relief, service, community development and peace agency of the North American Mennonite and Brethren in Christ churches.

Mennonite Central Committee, the relief, service and development agency of the Mennonite and Brethren in Christ churches of North America, is committed to the biblical vision of peacemaking. MCC is motivated by God's reconciling love and grace, human need and a concern for justice. Peace and peacemaking are central in all aspects of MCC work, and all MCC workers are part of this reconciling witness.

Status: U
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To: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj@igc.org>
Message-ID: <85256BCE.006F40C7.00@mail.mcc.org>
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To: "Howard W. Hallman" <mupj @ igc.org>
From: J. Daryl Byler
Date: 6/4/2002 4:00:17 PM
Subj: Mennonite statement on nuclear arms

Hi Howard:

The connection to our web site is: <http://www.mcc.org/us/washington/index.html>

Below find a 1981 statement from the Mennontie Church General Assembly:=

(See attached file: ArmsRace.Aug15.1981.doc)(See attached file:
ArmsRace.Aug15.1981.wpd)

Mennonite Church General Assembly Resolution on Security and the Current World
Arms Race

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Many are now saying that the question is no longer if nuclear weapons will be used, but when. The probable resulting devastation to human life is beyond comprehension.

Two years ago this Assembly adopted a statement on militarism and conscientious objection.

In deplored the arms race observed then, the 1979 Assembly called our members and all people to trust in God rather than military technology, urging the church to "plead and pray for reversal of the world's collision course in manufacturing and deploying the most destructive weapons in all of history."

The need for prayer is even more urgent today.

We seek to follow Christ in refusal to prepare for war or take life for any reason and do not seek security in weapons. We also feel called at this time to a particular witness against nuclear weapons because of the enormous consequences of decisions confronting world leaders regarding the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons.

God's commandment that we love our neighbors motivates us to oppose those things that would destroy them. The false god of military security must be challenged by our witness to the sole source of salvation in Jesus Christ. To express our nonresistant faith in the context of the current arms race, we encourage our congregations and members to practice the following forms of faithfulness:

1. To pray regularly for national leaders who have in their hands theateful power of nuclear weapons.
2. To become informed about the potential of nuclear war and the policies that move in that direction. We encourage congregations to find ways to study the issue and clarify their witness. Conference and churchwide peace committees can suggest helpful resources.

3. To declare our readiness, in the light of our faith in Christ, to live without nuclear weapons in our countries. The World Peace Pledge is one way to record and share this testimony.

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Many Christians who have not fully considered the way of love are asking questions about the meaning of the biblical message for issues of war and peace.

As an aid for such discussions, we commend the New Abolitionist Covenant, which raises the faith question in regard to nuclear weapons in a manner similar to the way Christians two centuries ago began to question slavery in the light of the Word of God.

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Our hope is in the gospel; our strength is in God. We rely upon the promise found in Zechariah 4:6: Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, says the Lord of Hosts.

Mennonite Church General Assembly
Bowling Green
August 15, 1981

110 Maryland Ave. NE #502
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 544-6564

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[logo from www.mennonitechurchusa.org]

Mennonite Church USA

Mennonite Church USA [www.mennonitechurchusa.org] with 116,000 members is known for its peace stand, taken because of the belief that Jesus Christ taught the way of peace. Many Mennonites choose not to participate in military service.

*Mennonite Church USA is one of 15 sponsors of the **Mennonite Central Committee** [www.mcc.org], a relief, service, community development and peace agency of the North American Mennonite and Brethren in Christ churches.*

*In 1981 the biennial General Assembly of the Mennonite Church (one of two predecessor bodies of Mennonite Church USA) adopted a **Resolution on Security and the Current World Arms Race**, which noted:*

We seek to follow Christ in refusal to prepare for war or take life for any reason and do not seek security in weapons. We feel called at this time to a particular witness against nuclear weapons because of the enormous consequences of decisions confronting world leaders regarding the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons.

PDF document

[Marie: put in a box and indented like Holy See model]

Resolution on Security and the Current World Arms Race

As members of the Mennonite Church in the United States and Canada, we have gathered in biennial General Assembly in Bowling Green, Ohio, August 11-16, 1981, to affirm and celebrate our hope in Jesus Christ. In worship, prayer, and mutual deliberations we have sought the mind of Christ.

While celebrating our hope we are also aware of a growing despair in the world due to the escalation of the arms race. The development of new nuclear weapons proceeds amidst a political mood which is apparently ready to use them. Many are now saying that the question is no longer if nuclear weapons will be used, but when. The probable resulting devastation to human life is beyond comprehension.

Two years ago this Assembly adopted a statement on militarism and conscription. In deplored the arms race observed then, the 1979 Assembly called our members and all people to trust in God rather than military technology, urging the church to “plead and pray for reversal of the world’s collision course in manufacturing and deploying the most destructive weapons in all of history.” The need for prayer is even more urgent today.

We seek to follow Christ in refusal to prepare for war or take life for any reason and do not seek security in weapons. We also feel called at this time to a particular witness against nuclear weapons because of the enormous consequences of decisions confronting world leaders regarding the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons.

God's commandment that we love our neighbors motivates us to oppose those things that would destroy them. The false god of military security must be challenged by our witness to the sole source of salvation in Jesus Christ. To express our nonresistant faith in the context of the current arms race, we encourage our congregations and members to practice the following forms of faithfulness:

1. To pray regularly for national leaders who have in their hands the fateful power of nuclear weapons.
2. To become informed about the potential of nuclear war and the policies that move in that direction. We encourage congregations to find ways to study the issue and clarify their witness. Conference and churchwide peace committees can suggest helpful resources.
3. To declare our readiness, in the light of our faith in Christ, to live without nuclear weapons in our countries. The World Peace Pledge is one way to record and share this testimony.
4. To enter into discussion and study with other Christians in our communities. Many Christians who have not fully considered the way of love are asking questions about the meaning of the biblical message for issues of war and peace. As an aid for such discussions, we commend the New Abolitionist Covenant, which raises the faith question in regard to nuclear weapons in a manner similar to the way Christians two centuries ago began to question slavery in the light of the Word of God.
5. To invite men and women, including government leaders to that saving faith in Jesus Christ which provides ultimate security and frees from fear.
6. To consider ways to witness to the decision making process in our governments, urging alternatives to military confrontation and supporting the use of scarce resources for human need rather than armaments.

We confess that we have sometimes compromised our loyalty to the Prince of Peace by our silence in the face of preparations for war. We commit ourselves anew to Jesus Christ and the gospel of peace, sharing that gospel by our words and our consistent living as God's people. We resolve in all our relationships to witness to Christ's reconciling love through proclamation of His good news, through ministries of service, and through sacrificial sharing of our resources.

Our hope is in the gospel; our strength is in God. We rely upon the promise found in Zechariah 4:6: Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, says the Lord of Hosts.

[Note: this follows the Catholic model]

Methodist
* **United Methodist Church**
* **Methodists United for Peace with Justice**

*Picture of John Wesley [http://www.raptureme.com/resource/wesley/john_wesley.html or
[<http://gbgm-umc.org/umw/wesley/>]*

Caption:

John Wesley

"The world is my parish."

The Methodist Church grew out of the preaching and organizing of John Wesley in 18th century England. It spread to the American colonies in the 1760s. Today Methodism has a considerable number of separate ecclesial bodies with more than 33 million members in 108 countries.

UMC

United Methodist Church

- ***In Defense of Creation*** [link these with entrees below]
- ***Saying No to Nuclear Deterrence***
- ***In the Aftermath of 9-11***

The United Methodist Church [www.umc.org] is a global institution with 8.3 million members in the United States and 1.3 million in other countries, including over one million in Africa. In the U.S. the United Methodist Church brings together churches from the Methodist and the Evangelical United Brethren traditions.

The United Methodist Church is governed by the General Conference, [http://www.umc.org/abouttheumc/organization/general_conference.htm] a body of elected delegates that meets every four years. The Council of Bishops [<http://www.umc.org/abouttheumc/organization/episcopal.htm>] provides episcopal leadership for the denomination. The General Board of Church and Society [<http://www.umc-gbcs>], based in Washington, D.C., implements UMC Social Principles and related policies adopted by the General Conference.

*The United Methodist Church has a long history of speaking on issues of peace and war. This was reflected in a two year study on nuclear weapons by the Council of Bishops in the mid-1980s. When completed, the bishops issued a foundation document and pastoral letter, **In Defense of Creation** (1986). [linkage pastoral letter below] Among other things, the bishops stated:*

we say a clear and unconditional *No* to nuclear war and to any use of nuclear weapons. We conclude that nuclear deterrence is a position that cannot receive the church's blessing.

*The 1988 General Conference affirmed and supported statements of the Council of Bishops in "In Defense of Creation." Subsequent quadrennial General Conferences have passed resolutions on the subject. In 2000 the resolution was entitled **Saying No to Nuclear Deterrence** [linkage to resolution below] and indicated:*

we affirm the goal of total abolition of all nuclear weapons throughout Earth and space.

The resolution also laid out a set of actions necessary for achieving the goal of nuclear abolition.

*At their spring 2002 meeting the United Methodist Council of Bishops took up the issue of nuclear weapons "**In the Aftermath of 9-11**" [linkage to statement below]. Witnessing the renewed interest in developing and possibly use new nuclear weapons, they stated:*

under the heading of "war against terrorism," ethical restraint has been compromised.

[set the following in a box like statements of the Holy See and others]

In Defense of Creation

[PDF document]

*In 1986 after two years of study the United Methodist Council of Bishops issued a foundation document and pastoral letter entitled **In Defense of Creation: The Nuclear Crisis and a Just Peace**. In the pastoral letter, after summarizing a theology for peace with justice and the threat of nuclear weapons to the human family and planet earth itself, the bishops stated:*

Therefore, we say a clear and unconditional *No* to nuclear war and to any use of nuclear weapons. We conclude that nuclear deterrence is a position that cannot receive the church's blessing.

In the foundation document the United Methodist bishops outlined a set of policies for a just peace, including:

- Comprehensive test ban to inaugurate a nuclear freeze.
- Consolidation of existing treaties and phased reductions leading to the eventual goal of a mutual and verifiable dismantling of all nuclear armaments.
- Bans on space weapons.
- No-first-use agreement as a transitional measure.

Here is the pastoral letter in its entirety.

A Pastoral Letter to All United Methodists

From your brothers and sisters in Christ Jesus, the Council of Bishops, to all those people called United Methodist in every land: Grace to you and peace in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

With hearts and minds open to Christ, who is our peace;
In obedience to his call to be peacemakers;
And in response to the biblical vision of a wholistic peace, *shalom*, revealed in Scripture to be God's will and purpose for all of creation:
We, the bishops of The United Methodist Church, have been moved by the spirit of Jesus to send you a message that we have titled IN DEFENSE OF CREATION: THE NUCLEAR CRISIS AND A JUST PEACE, a message we believe to be of utmost urgency in our time.

This message has been prepared over a span of two years during which time we have earnestly sought to hear the Word of God through the Scriptures. At the same time we have prayerfully and penitently reflected on the continuing buildup of nuclear arsenals by some of the nations. We have become increasingly aware of the devastation that such weapons can inflict on planet earth. We have watched and agonized over the increase in hostile rhetoric and hate among nations. We have seen the threat of a nuclear confrontation increasing in our world. We have been motivated by our own sense of Christian responsibility and stewardship for the world God created.

This brief *Pastoral Letter* is an introduction to a substantial *Foundation Document* that we have produced as the major portion of our message. In our *Foundation Document* we have attempted to state with clarity the biblical basis for our concerns and our conclusions about the issue we are addressing. We have set forth a theology for peace with justice in our time that reflects our understanding of the mind and will of Jesus Christ. This theology for a just peace reflects also our understanding of those insights of both pacifism and just-war theory that speak with relevance to the issues of the present nuclear crisis.

We write in defense of creation. We do so because the creation itself is under attack. Air and water, trees and fruits and flowers, birds and fish and cattle, all children and youth, women and men live under the darkening shadows of a threatening nuclear winter. We call The United Methodist Church to more faithful witness and action in the face of this worsening nuclear crisis. It is a crisis that threatens to assault not only the whole human family but planet earth itself, even while the arms race itself cruelly destroys millions of lives in conventional wars, repressive violence, and massive poverty.

Therefore, we say a clear and unconditional *No* to nuclear war and to any use of nuclear weapons. We concluded that nuclear deterrence is a position that cannot receive the church's blessing. We state our complete lack of confidence in proposed "defenses" against nuclear attack and are convinced that the enormous cost of developing such defenses is one more witness to the obvious fact that the arms race is a social justice issue, not only a war and peace issue.

Our document sets forth a number of policies for a just peace, including such disarmament proposals as a comprehensive test ban, a multilateral and mutually verifiable

nuclear weapons freeze and the ultimate dismantling of all such weapons, and bans on all space weapons. However, the nuclear crisis is not primarily a matter of technology; it is a crisis of human community. We encourage independent US and Soviet initiatives to foster a political climate conducive to negotiations. We urge a renewed commitment to building the institutional foundations of common security, economic justice, human rights, and environmental conservation. And we make appeal for peace research, studies, and training in all levels of education.

This message we are sending to United Methodist people is not meant to be a consensus opinion of our church or a policy statement of our denomination on the nuclear crisis and the pursuit of peace. It is given from the bishops to the church as both a pastoral and a prophetic word. It is *pastoral* in that we as bishops will seek to lead the church in study, prayer, and action related to this issue and this theme, using the *Foundation Document* as a basic resource and guide. It is *prophetic* in that the *Foundation Document* is our response to the Word of God. It faithfully states our understanding of that Word to our world at this moment in history.

Our message is the result of many months of prayerful study, research, and reflection. It is not given to the church with any feeling that it should be the final word on this issue or with the hope that it sill silence all contrary opinions; but rather, we are sending this statement to the church seeking the fullest and fairest possible discussion of our understandings and convictions, together with an honest consideration of difference and critical opinions.

Peacemaking is ultimately a spiritual issue. It is a sacred calling of Jesus. All dimensions of church life offer openings for peacemaking: family life, Christian education, the ministry of the laity, pastoral ministry in every respect, political witness, and the great fact of the church as a worldwide company of disciples that transcends all nations, governments, races, and ideologies.

Now, therefore, we ask you, our sisters and brothers, to join with us in a new covenant of peacemaking; to use the Bible together with our Council's *Foundation Document* as basic resources for earnest and steadfast study of the issues of justice and peace. We call upon each local pastor and lay leader to give leadership in a local church study of the issues surrounding the nuclear threat. We ask you all to open again your hearts, as we open our hearts to receive God's gracious gift of peace; to become with us evangelists of *shalom*, making the ways of Jesus the model of discipleship, embracing all neighbors near and far, all friends and enemies, and becoming the defenders of God's good creation; and to pray without ceasing for peace in our time.

Now we draw this *Pastoral Letter* to a close with prayers for all of you and for all the nations and peoples of the earth.

We humbly pray that God will accept and use our lives and resources that we dedicate again to a ministry of peace.

May the love of God, the peace of Christ, and the power of the Holy Spirit be among you, everywhere and always, so that you may be a blessing to all creation and to all the children of God, making peace and remembering the poor, choosing life and coming to life eternal, in God's own good time.

Amen.

From *In Defense of Creation: The Nuclear Crisis and a Just Peace* by the United Methodist Council of Bishops © 1986 by Graded Press. Used by permission.)

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General Conference Endorsement

*In 1988 the General Conference, the official governing body of the United Methodist Church, affirmed and supported **In Defense of Creation**. As part of a resolution on "Christian Faith and Disarmament", the General Conference stated:*

We especially affirm and support the statements of the Council of Bishops in their 1986 pastoral letter, "In Defense of Creation", and the accompanying foundation document. We urge our bishops to keep this concern before the Church. We request that the General Board of Discipleship produce new and updated educational materials for children, youth and adults to study the issues of peace and justice and the effects of the nuclear weapons crisis.

[set the following in a box like statements from the Holy See and others]

Saying No to Nuclear Deterrence

[PDF document]

The 2000 General Conference of the United Methodist Church, its official governing body, reaffirmed its support for the abolition of nuclear weapons and adopted the following resolution.

In 1986, the United Methodist Council of Bishops, after nearly two years of prayerful and penitent study, adopted a pastoral letter and foundation document entitled *In Defense of Creation: The Nuclear Crisis and a Just Peace*.ⁱ

The bishops' statement was deeply rooted in biblical faith. They wrote:

At the heart of the Old Testament is the testimony of shalom, that marvelous Hebrew word that means peace. But the peace that is shalom is not negative or one dimensional. It is much more than the absence of war. Shalom is positive peace: harmony, wholeness, health, and well-being in all human relationships. It is the natural state of humanity as birthed by God. It is harmony between humanity and all of God's good creation. All of creation is interrelated. Every creature, every element, every force of nature participates in the whole of creation. If any person is denied shalom, all are thereby diminished....ⁱⁱ

New Testament faith presupposes a radical break with the follies, or much so-called conventional wisdom about power and security, on the one hand, and the transcendent wisdom of shalom, on the other. Ultimately, New Testament faith is a message of hope about God's plan and purpose for human destiny. It is a

redemptive vision that refuses to wallow in doom.ⁱⁱⁱ

Based upon this faith, the bishops in their pastoral letter stated unequivocally that "we say a clear and unconditional No to nuclear war and to any use of nuclear weapons. We conclude that nuclear deterrence is a position that cannot receive the church's blessing." Based upon this faith, the bishops in their pastoral letter stated unequivocally that "we say a clear and unconditional No to nuclear war and to any use of nuclear weapons. We conclude that nuclear deterrence is a position that cannot receive the church's blessing."^{iv}

The implication is clear. If nuclear weapons cannot be legitimately used for either deterrence or war fighting, no nation should possess them. Accordingly, in the foundation document the bishops indicated:

We support the earliest possible negotiation of phased but rapid reduction of nuclear arsenals, while calling upon all other nuclear-weapon states to agree to parallel arms reduction, to the eventual goal of a mutual and verifiable dismantling all nuclear armaments.^v

In 1988, the United Methodist General Conference affirmed and supported the statements of the Council of Bishops contained in *In Defense of Creation*.^{vi} Four years later, in a resolution entitled "Nuclear Disarmament: The Zero Option," the 1992 General Conference stated that "now is the time to exercise the zero option: to eliminate all nuclear weapons throughout the globe,"^{vii} and the conference offered a series of concrete actions for achieving this goal.

Our Commitment

We reaffirm the finding that nuclear weapons, whether used or threatened, are grossly evil and morally wrong. As an instrument of mass destruction, nuclear weapons slaughter the innocent and ravage the environment. When used as instruments of deterrence, nuclear weapons hold innocent people hostage for political and military purposes. Therefore, the doctrine of nuclear deterrence is morally corrupt and spiritually bankrupt

Therefore, we reaffirm the goal of total abolition of all nuclear weapons throughout Earth and space.

Recommended Actions

Because we unequivocally reject the use or threatened use of nuclear weapons, we call upon all possessors of nuclear weapons to carry out the following actions as soon as possible:

- (1) renounce unconditionally the use of nuclear weapons for deterrence and war-fighting purposes;
- (2) pledge never to use nuclear weapons against any adversary under any circumstance;
- (3) immediately take all nuclear weapons off alert by separating warheads from delivery vehicles and by other means;

- (4) embark upon a program to systematically dismantle all nuclear warheads and delivery vehicles as soon as possible with adequate safeguards and verification, carried out under multilateral treaties and through reciprocal national initiatives;
- (5) ratify and implement the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty;
- (6) cease all research, development, testing, production, and deployment of new nuclear weapons and refrain from modernizing the existing nuclear arsenal;
- (7) halt all efforts to develop and deploy strategic antimissile defense systems because they are illusory, unnecessary, and wasteful;
- (8) respect the requirements of nuclear weapon-free zones where they exist;
- (9) enter into a multilateral process to develop, adopt, and carry out a nuclear weapons convention that outlaws and abolishes all nuclear weapons under strict and effective international control;
- (10) develop and implement a system for control of all fissile material with international accounting, monitoring, and safeguards.

We call upon all nations that do not possess nuclear weapons to:

- (1) cease all efforts to develop these instruments of mass destruction and their delivery systems;
- (2) ratify and carry out the provisions of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty;
- (3) adhere to all provisions of the Non-Proliferation Treaty; and
- (4) respect the requirements of nuclear weapon-free zones and extend this approach to other nations and continents.

Implementation

To promote the achievement of goals and objectives specified in this resolution:

- (1) We ask the Council of Bishops to transmit a copy of the resolution to the heads of states of all nations possessing nuclear weapons.
- (2) We ask the General Board of Church and Society to publicize the resolution with appropriate governmental officials, legislators, the media, and the general public.
- (3) We call upon the Council of Bishops and the General Board of Church and Society to provide leadership, guidance, and educational material to United Methodists, congregations, and conferences in order to assist them in understanding and working for the goal and objectives of nuclear abolition.
- (4) We request the Council of Bishops and the General Board of Church and Society to report to the 2004 General Conference the activities they have carried out and the progress achieved by the nations of Earth toward the goal of nuclear abolition.

Conclusion

We fervently believe that these recommendations will greatly enhance global security by eliminating the possibility of nuclear war. Furthermore, the resources of human talent, production capacity, and money released can become available to deal with urgent human problems around the globe. Nuclear abolition provides great hope for global peace and prosperity.

¹ *In Defense of Creation: The Nuclear Crisis and a Just Peace*, the United Methodist Council of Bishops (Nashville: Graded Press, 1986).

¹ Ibid., page 24.

¹ Ibid., page 28.

¹ Ibid., page 92.

¹ Ibid., page 76.

¹ *The Book of Resolutions of the United Methodist Church, 1988*, page 503.

¹ Ibid., page 601.

From *The Book of Resolutions of the United Methodist Church 2000* © 2000 by
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[set the following in a box like statements from the Holy See and others]

PDF document

In the Aftermath of 9-11

At their semi-annual meeting on April 28 to May 3, 2002 the United Methodist Council of Bishops considered the effects of the "war on terrorism" upon the quest for nuclear disarmament. They concluded that "ethical restraint has been compromised". Here is their resolution:

Whereas, the events of September 11 have changed the political atmosphere and the maintenance of world peace, and Whereas, the United Methodist Church in its Social Principles has previously addressed the ethical issues of nuclear weapons, ABMs, and utilization of first strike nuclear weapons, and

Whereas, we now witness: (a) the potential development and testing of new nuclear weapons; (b) the cancellation of the ABM agreement, and (c) the threatened utilization of first strike nuclear weapons, and

Whereas, under the heading of "war against terrorism," ethical restraint has been compromised;

Therefore Be It Resolved that:

A. The Council of Bishops will be persistent in seeking an audience with President Bush to share with him the voice of the U.M.C. on the concerns noted above, and as articulated in our Book of Discipline 2000, and our Book of Resolutions 2000.

B. We urge all bishops, active and retired, to seek ecumenical and interfaith venues to express and embody the values, principles and positions of The Book of Discipline 2000 and The Book of Resolutions 2000.

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logo of Methodists United for Peace with Justice [print copy to be supplied]

Methodists United for Peace with Justice

- ***Letter to President Bush on Nuclear Posture Review (April 2001)*** [link with below]
- ***Nuclear Posture Review: A Flawed Proposal (April 2002)***

Methodists United for Peace with Justice is a national association of laity and clergy that engages in education and public policy advocacy. It has no formal affiliation with any Methodist denomination. This nonprofit corporation organized in 1987 in response to call of the United Methodist Council of Bishops for prayer and action "In Defense of Creation". Based in Washington, D.C., Methodists United for Peace with Justice publishes a quarterly newsletter, Peace Leaf, and sends out action alerts on legislative issues. It can be contacted at mup@igc.org.

[Photo of Howard Hallman, to be supplied.

[Caption: Howard W. Hallman is Chair, Methodists United for Peace with Justice. He also serves as chair of the Interfaith Committee for Nuclear Disarmament and is moderator of this web site.]

During the last two years Methodists United for Peace with Justice, through its chair, Howard W. Hallman, has offered its views on the Nuclear Posture Review of the Bush Administration. In a letter to President Bush [link to below] in April 2001 when the review was in process, Methodists United indicated:

We believe that the final product should contain a multi-year plan for nuclear disarmament on equal terms with specification of deterrence policy and targeting.

When the conclusions of the Nuclear Posture Review were made public early in 2002, an article in Peace Leaf called the report "A Flawed Proposal". [link to below] It observed:

The greatest flaw is the belief that nuclear weapons should remain forever. In contrast, the voices of religion say that possession, threatened use, and actual use of nuclear weapons is immoral and that all nuclear weapons should be eliminated.

The article identified other flaws: continuation of the doctrine of mutual assured destruction (MAD); expanded role for nuclear weapons; development of new nuclear weapons; the possibility of renewed testing.

[PDF file, set in box]

**Letter to President Bush on Nuclear Posture Review
from Methodists United for Peace with Justice**

April 25, 2001

The Honorable George W. Bush

The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We understand that the strategic review which your administration now has underway is encompassing a review of the U.S. nuclear posture. We note that Congress, in mandating a nuclear posture review, specified that consideration should be given to "the relationship among United States nuclear deterrence policy, targeting, and arms control objectives." We believe, therefore, that the final product should contain a multi-year plan for nuclear disarmament on equal terms with specification of deterrence policy and targeting.

The law of the land in the form of Article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) commits the United States and other nuclear-weapon states "to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament." President Lyndon Johnson and then President Richard Nixon signed this treaty, and the U.S. Senate ratified it in March 1969 by a bipartisan vote of 83 to 15. Affirmative votes were registered by Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen and by two future Senate Republican leaders, Senator Howard Baker and Senator Robert Dole.

The United States and other nuclear-weapon states recommitted themselves to Article VI when the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty was extended indefinitely in 1995. The United States concurred with the Final Document of the 2000 NPT Review Conference, which contains a commitment to "an unequivocal undertaking by the nuclear-weapon States to accomplish the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals."

Voices of Religion

Numerous faith-based organizations and religious leaders join in the call for the total elimination of nuclear weapons. Thus, the Sixth Assembly of the World Council of Churches in 1983 stated

We believe that the time has come when the churches must unequivocally declare that the production and deployment as well as the use of nuclear weapons are a crime against humanity and that such activities must be condemned on ethical and theological grounds. Furthermore, we appeal for the institution of a universal covenant to this effect so that nuclear weapons and warfare are delegitimized and condemned as violation of international law.

Speaking for the Holy See at the United Nations in 1997, Archbishop Renato Martino, the Holy See's Permanent Observer at the UN, stated:

Nuclear weapons are incompatible with the peace we seek for the 21st century. They cannot be justified. They deserve condemnation. The preservation of the Non-Proliferation Treaty demands an unequivocal commitment to their abolition....The world must move to the abolition of nuclear weapons through a universal, non-discriminatory ban with intensive inspection by a universal authority.

In a message on January 1, 2000 His Holiness the Dalai Lama called for a step-by-step approach to external disarmament. He stated, "We must first work for the total abolition of nuclear weapons and gradually work up to total demilitarization throughout the world."

Many denominations in the United States have official policies calling for the elimination of nuclear weapons. For instance, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops in 1993 indicated that "today, the moral task is to proceed with deep cuts and ultimately to abolish these nuclear weapons entirely." They further stated, "The eventual elimination of nuclear weapons is more than a moral ideal; it should be a policy goal."

The United Methodist General Conference, the denomination's official governing body, in May 2000 stated the moral case against nuclear weapons.

We reaffirm the finding that nuclear weapons, whether used or threatened, are grossly evil and morally wrong. As an instrument of mass destruction, nuclear weapons slaughter the innocent and ravage the environment. When used as instruments of deterrence, nuclear weapons hold innocent people hostage for political and military purposes. Therefore, the doctrine of nuclear deterrence is morally corrupt and spiritually bankrupt.

Therefore, we reaffirm the goal of total abolition of all nuclear weapons throughout Earth and space.

In June 2000 an interfaith group of 21 religious leaders joined 18 retired admirals and generals in a statement issued at the Washington National Cathedral in which they said:

We deeply believe that the long-term reliance on nuclear weapons in the arsenals of the nuclear powers, and the ever-present danger of their acquisition by others is morally untenable and militarily unjustifiable. They constitute a threat to the security of our nation, a peril to world peace, a danger to the whole human family.

They further stated:

It is...time for a great national and international discussion and examination of the true and full implications of reliance on nuclear weapons, to be followed by action leading to the international prohibition of these weapons."

Practical Steps

Thus, the voices of religion and the nations of the world as expressed in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty agree on the long-range goal of the total elimination of nuclear weapons. The question is: how do we achieve that goal in a practicable manner? The 2000 NPT Review Conference provided an answer by specifying in its Final Document a series of "practical steps for systematic and progressive efforts to implement Article VI." These steps include:

- ❖ Early entry into force of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT).
- ❖ A moratorium on nuclear weapon test explosions or any other nuclear explosions pending entry into force of that treaty.
- ❖ Negotiation of a multilateral treaty banning the production of fissile material.
- ❖ Early entry into force and full implementation of START II and the conclusion of START III as soon as possible while preserving and strengthening the ABM Treaty as a cornerstone of strategic stability.
- ❖ Further efforts by the nuclear-weapon states to reduce their nuclear arsenals unilaterally.
- ❖ Further reduction of non-strategic nuclear weapons.
- ❖ Concrete agreed measures to further reduce the operational status of nuclear weapons systems.
- ❖ A diminishing role for nuclear weapons in security policies to minimize the risk that these weapons will ever be used and to facilitate the process of their total elimination.
- ❖ The engagement as soon as appropriate of all the nuclear-weapon states in the process leading to the total elimination of their nuclear weapons.

Many of these practical steps were also recommended by the 2000 United Methodist General Conference in the attached resolution, "Saying No to Nuclear Deterrence".

Nuclear Posture Review

In the current nuclear posture review the United States now has an opportunity to translate its treaty commitment for the elimination of nuclear weapons into specific policies and a schedule of concrete steps. Although we share the view of the United Methodist Council of Bishops, who in 1986 said "No" to nuclear deterrence, we recognize that official U.S. policy is unlikely to immediately and totally reverse its 50-year commitment to nuclear deterrence. However, we ask that U.S. nuclear policy reaffirm the treaty commitment to nuclear disarmament and specify "a diminishing role for nuclear weapons in security policies". This diminishing role should include a no-first-use policy by the United States as a transitional measure on the way to total elimination.

With these basic commitments established the U.S. nuclear policy should outline a program of practical steps that will be carried out in the next four years and for another four year period beyond that. These should encompass (1) de-alerting the entire nuclear arsenal by removing weapons from hair-trigger alert, (2) deep cuts in the strategic arsenal through treaty negotiation and unilateral initiatives, (3) expanding the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program (Nunn-Lugar) to help Russia dismantle its nuclear weapons and

achieve secure storage of fissile material, (4) vigorous international control of fissile material and ballistic missile technology, (5) use of diplomacy and financial incentives to curtail development of nuclear weapons and long-range missiles by small nations, (6) maintenance of the nuclear testing moratorium and ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, and (7) preservation of the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty because of its restraining influence on strategic missile deployment.

We believe that this agenda is a far superior way to achieve security of the United States from nuclear attack than national missile defense, which your administration is so vigorously pursuing. We agreed with the United Methodist General Conference which has issued a call to "halt all efforts to develop and deploy strategic antimissile defense systems because they are illusory, unnecessary, and wasteful."

Public Participation

Finally we recommend that there be full public participation in the nuclear posture review, including public hearings by the Department of Defense and by appropriate committees of Congress. We ask that a draft nuclear posture statement be published for widespread public discussion with provision for ample feedback before it is finally adopted.

With the United States leading the way the world can move away from outmoded, 20th century reliance on nuclear weapons and can free the 21st century from the curse of human existence threatened by these terrible instruments of mass destruction. This would constitute true moral progress for humankind. Mr. President, please use the opportunity of the nuclear posture review to provide global leadership for this worthy, achievable goal.

With best regards,

Howard W. Hallman
Chair

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From *Peace Leaf*, April 2002

Nuclear Posture Review: A Flawed Proposal **by Howard W. Hallman**

In January 2002 the U.S. Department of Defense sent to Congress a secret report on the results of its comprehensive Nuclear Posture Review (NPR). Mandated by Congress, the NPR lays out the direction for American nuclear forces for the next ten years and beyond. For the general public the Pentagon released only a bare outline of its

recommendations. In March the Los Angeles Times got hold of the classified version and divulged greater details.

The fuller version reveals a set of policies that has some positive features but also contains serious flaws, some quite disturbing. The greatest flaw is the belief that nuclear weapons should remain forever. In contrast, the voices of religion say that possession, threatened use, and actual use of nuclear weapons is immoral and that all nuclear weapons should be eliminated.

Reductions Insufficient

On the positive side the Nuclear Posture Review offers the goal of 1,700 to 2,200 operationally deployed strategic warheads for the United States by 2012. This is a reduction from the approximately 6,500 warheads now deployed and the goal of 3,500 by 2007 under the second Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START II), which has never gone into effect. This is a step in the right redirection. If achieved, it will be a worthy improvement over the lack of reductions during the Clinton Administration, deadlocked as it was with the Republican-controlled Congress.

Deeper analysis, however, reveals that this reduction is not as significant as first appears. Previous arms control agreements, such as the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, signed by President Reagan, and START I, signed by President George H.W. Bush, provided for the destruction of delivery vehicles (missiles, bombers) taken out of service. In contrast, the Nuclear Posture Review reveals an intent to preserve the delivery vehicles and warheads for possible redeployment

This goes against the principle of irreversibility that the United States agreed to during the 2000 Review Conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Also, it will encourage Russia to keep in reserve warheads and delivery vehicles take out of service. Because Russian security of nuclear weapons and fissile material is sometimes lax, this increases the risk that terrorist organizations could gain access.

A much wiser course would be to dismantle all downloaded warheads and their delivery systems. Moreover, reductions should be accomplished at a much faster pace and should go much deeper than now being considered by President Bush and Russian President Putin.

MAD Continues

The Nuclear Posture Review speaks of an intention to encourage and facilitate a new framework for cooperation with Russia. It indicates that the Cold War approach to deterrence is no longer appropriate. It declares a desire to end the relationship with Russia based on mutual assured destruction (MAD). In speeches and news conferences President Bush has repeatedly stated an intent to move away from MAD. So have Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld and Secretary of State Colin Powell. Rumsfeld has acknowledged that the "deterrent of massive retaliation, or MAD -- mutual assured destruction -- did not do anything to deter the Korean War or the Vietnam War or Desert Storm or dozens of other events."

Their words about moving away from MAD are contradicted by the level of the nuclear force to remain deployed and held in reserve. Administration officials explain that nuclear missiles will no longer be aimed at any particular target but will be available for whatever contingency might arise. But experts indicate that all of the contingencies specified in the NPR beyond Russia -- China and five non-nuclear states (see below) -- would require only a few hundred missiles to deal with if worse comes to worse. The only possible targets for the balance are in Russia.

As Secretary of State George Shultz under President Reagan observed, states design policy not on the basis of intention of other states but rather on their capabilities. Because Russia retains the capability of launching a massive attack on the United States, the U.S. must maintain a counter capability. This means that mutual assured destruction remains in effect between two nations now said to be friends.

The only way to end the MAD doctrine is to substantially reduce capability far below the numbers considered in the Nuclear Posture Review, perhaps to fewer than 200 or 100, and eventually to zero.

Expanded Role

As the United States built up its nuclear arsenal after World War II, the primary role for nuclear weapons was the deterrence of nuclear attack by another state possessing nuclear weapons. The second role until the Cold War ended was deterrence of a Soviet attack on Western Europe. Under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the United States made a commitment not to use nuclear weapons against any nation not possessing nuclear weapons or allied with a nuclear weapons state.

The Nuclear Posture Review of the Bush administration changes this. It indicates that nuclear strike capability should be available for various contingencies. It specifies: "North Korea, Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Libya are among the countries that could be involved in immediate, potential, or unexpected contingencies." The NPR also indicates that nuclear weapons should be used to deter attack by biological and chemical weapons. It adds that nuclear weapons could be employed against targets able to withstand non-nuclear attack, such as, deep underground bunkers and bio-weapon facilities.

When asked about this at a news conference, President Bush explained, "We've got all options on the table." This is a dangerous approach. The expanded role for nuclear weapons suggests greater legitimacy and encourages other nations to respond in kind. Moreover, it is immoral, for all options should not be on the table. Genocide is not a legitimate option. Slaughter of the innocent is not an acceptable option.

Testing and New Weapon Development

The desire to expand the role of nuclear weapons leads the Nuclear Posture Review to give consideration to return to nuclear weapon testing and development of new nuclear weapons. Although the NPT affirms President Bush's commitment to a moratorium on nuclear weapons testing, it calls for the Department of Energy to reduce

the time it would take to resume testing from the current two to three years to one year or so. Comments by the Pentagon spokesperson at a press briefing on the NPR and statements by other officials suggest that the Administration is looking toward the end of the test moratorium within a few years.

The NPR indicates that the current nuclear force is projected to remain until 2020 or longer. Meanwhile the Department of Defense will study alternatives for follow-ons. This could include a new intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) to be operational in 2020, a new SLBM (submarine-launched ballistic missile) and a new SSBN (ballistic missile submarine) in 2030, and a new heavy bomber in 2040 as well as new warheads for all of them.

Thus, the Bush Administration assumes that nuclear weapons will be part of U.S. military forces for at least the next 50 years. This is clearly in conflict with the goal of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. It is contrary to the recommendation of numerous religious bodies to achieve the global elimination of nuclear weapons.

A Faith Response

Because of such concerns, representatives of 25 national religious organizations have urged President Bush to send the Nuclear Posture Review back to the drawing boards. They propose that it should be reconfigured to incorporate nuclear disarmament components and specify a declining role for nuclear weapons in U.S. foreign and military policy.

An excellent disarmament agenda is available from the Final Document of the 2000 Review Conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). It encompasses a number of practical steps, such as: reduction in operational status of nuclear weapons system; continued moratorium on nuclear-weapon-test explosions; entry into force of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty; irreversible reductions of strategic offensive weapons and also tactical nuclear weapons; increased transparency; engagement of all nuclear-weapon states in the process of achieving the total elimination of their nuclear weapons.

For some, this may sound too idealistic and impractical. It isn't. Numerous admirals and generals in their retirement have told us that nuclear weapons have no military utility. In June 2000 eighteen of them joined 21 top religious leaders in a statement, issued at the Washington National Cathedral, saying that "the long-term reliance on nuclear weapons in the arsenals of the nuclear powers, and the ever-present danger in their acquisition by others, is morally untenable and militarily unjustifiable. They added, "National security imperatives and ethical demands have converged to bring us to the necessity of outlawing and prohibiting nuclear weapons worldwide."

This is moral response for a moral nation. This is the correct nuclear posture for the United States.

[Eliminate the following footnotes. They have been moved to the end of the resolution on "Saying No to Nuclear Deterrence".]

ⁱ *In Defense of Creation: The Nuclear Crisis and a Just Peace*, the United Methodist Council of Bishops (Nashville: Graded Press, 1986).

ⁱⁱ Ibid., page 24.

ⁱⁱⁱ Ibid., page 28.

^{iv} Ibid., page 92.

^v Ibid., page 76.

^{vi} *The Book of Resolutions of the United Methodist Church, 1988*, page 503.

^{vii} Ibid., page 601.

1998 NCC News Archives

Statement on Nuclear Testing by India and Pakistan

Issued by:

**Bishop Craig B. Anderson, President, National Council of Churches
The Rev. Dr. Joan B. Campbell, General Secretary, National Council of Churches
June 12, 1998**

The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA (NCCCUSA) recognizes that our own nation, the United States, as the largest nuclear power, has not yet ratified the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty signed by 149 nations and already ratified by Britain and France. At the same time the NCCC is profoundly concerned about the emerging nuclear arms race in Asia and is deeply distressed by the unexpected decision in May, first by India and then by Pakistan, to test nuclear weapons. They have renewed the prospects for a continued nuclear arms race at the very time that efforts for a Comprehensive Test Ban seemed within reach. They have raised the stakes in any future confrontation between India and Pakistan, whose brief history of relationships is already marked by three wars and ongoing hostility. They have increased tensions in a subcontinent already ravaged by recent wars in neighboring countries.

These events point to the urgency on the global level to develop binding agreements on nuclear, chemical, biological and conventional armaments, seeking restraint on development, production, sale and transfer, so that the existence and trafficking of such weapons does not become a stimulus for tension and conflict. They also point to the necessity of developing alternate security systems and effective means of conflict resolution.

The NCCC urgently calls upon the United States Senate to ratify the treaty, thus giving credibility to U.S. condemnation of India's and Pakistan's nuclear Commitment by the United States to that treaty may provide strong incentive to other nations to do the same. Especially now, the United States must be clear in its own commitments to honor the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty by stopping its own research and development of nuclear weapons as required by that treaty, and to bring into force the long delayed ban on all forms of nuclear testing.

The alarming action of India and Pakistan and the disturbing lack of the ratification of the Test Ban Treaty by the United States make it imperative for the NCCC to assert again its long-standing opposition to both the development and use of nuclear weapons throughout the world. The NCCC has expressed concern in earlier resolutions about the global arms race, its cost in human, economic and environmental terms, the tragedies involved in the numerous local and regional wars that are fed by the arms race and the risk of a destructive nuclear confrontation which may well reach global proportions. In faithfulness to its Christian convictions, the NCCC has consistently affirmed that all life and all of the earth's resources are gifts of God and that all nations are mandated to preserve and enhance God's creation, not to abuse and destroy it.

The NCCC has declared that a major concern must be to eliminate war as a means of obtaining security. We are deeply saddened that India, which shared with the world the committed non-violent leadership of Mohandas K. Gandhi should choose the way of nuclear weapons. India's witness to its non-violent principles has played a vital role in influencing world peace in the last half of this century. India's nuclear tests now weaken the example India had set for other nations and could easily lead to more tragic mistakes which we had hoped the world would leave behind..

Pakistan's response to India with its own nuclear testing demonstrates that the vaunting of nuclear power by any country intensifies the arms race and its accompanying economic impoverishment of nations and threat of potential

destruction. Pakistan's response reminds the world that nations lack confidence in other forms of security. Therefore the NCCC urges all countries, including the USA, to participate fully in developing common security and non-violent processes of conflict resolution through the United Nations to ensure a just peace for every country and peoples.

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Policy basis:

Policy Statement adopted by General Board Sept. 12, 1968: "Defense and Disarmament: New Requirements for Security." Updated November, 1977.

**Policy Statement adopted by Governing Board June 2, 1960: :
"Toward a Family of Nations Under God - Agenda of Action for Peace."**

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**Millennium Peace Summit
ECUMENICAL WITNESS FOR PEACE, JUSTICE & SUSTAINABILITY**

Paper Offered To The Millennium Peace Summit
August 28-31, 2000, United Nations

Rev. Dr. Robert Edgar, General Secretary,
National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.

Introduction

In November, 1999, the General Assembly of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., an ecumenical body involving 35 Protestant and Orthodox denominations in the U.S. with a total membership of 52 million members with 140,000 congregations, adopted a policy statement entitled, Pillars of Peace for the 21st Century. This same gathering elected me to become the General Secretary of the NCC, following my former service as President of the Claremont School of Theology, as a six-term Representative in the U.S. Congress, and prior to that as a United Methodist parish pastor and campus minister. So I inherited a sound “platform report” to work with in my ecumenical leadership role.

Pillars of Peace for the 21st Century offers a new vision of a world of peace rooted in justice. It articulates basic principles to guide governments, peoples and civil society groups including religious communions. At this Millennium World Peace Summit of Religious and Spiritual Leaders, I am especially pleased to note that the NCC policy statement’s preamble affirms that “The world is the responsibility of each of our communities,” and that “to work for justice and peace for all is to affirm God’s promise of the fullness of life.” The Preamble concludes with these words: “The NCCCUSA reaffirms its support for the United Nations and calls upon the United States government to fully support the United Nations in fulfillment of its charter and in its highest calling to work for peace and justice for all the world’s people.”

Mature Christian faith fosters a vision of intentional community that seeks “the well-being of all people and all creation.” This ecumenical worldview is based on belief in: 1) the transcending sovereign love of God for all creation and the incarnation of that love in the public ministry of Jesus Christ who announced such good news to the oppressed, 2) the unity of creation and the equality of all races and peoples, 3) the dignity of humans as children of God, and 4) the church’s mission to do justice, defend creation and make peace, in response to God’s action in natural and human history.

The following chart shows the faith-based values that inform each pillar of peace:

PILLARS OF PEACEFAITH-BASED VALUES

1. International framework for political collaboration and accountabilityResponsible participation in civil life
2. International economic accountabilityEconomic well-being & social health for all
3. Effective international legal systemOneness and mutuality of the human family
4. Liberation and empowermentDoing justice, loving neighbors near and far
5. Peace and conflict resolutionUniversal peace and reconciliation
6. Human dignity and rightsInherent value of human life in God's image
7. Preservation of the EnvironmentCare for creation and conservation of natural resources

The Seven Pillars of Peace (*italicized* text below)

1. Political Accountability. Peace rooted in justice requires increased political collaboration and accountability within the United Nations system, among regional bodies, governments, local authorities, peoples' organizations, and global economic structures to seek the common good and equality for all. This first pillar affirms, as do the opening words of the UN Charter, that the United Nations and regional multinational bodies are organized expressions of the hope that people throughout the world will live together, sharing responsibility, in one public household. The first six pillars offer a revised version of language first formulated by the churches working in ecumenical partnership over half a century ago in the midst of the Second World War. Their statement of basic requirements for international peace with justice was influential in bringing about founding of the United Nations itself.

The challenge remains, however, to find legal, political, and moral means to hold countries and their leaders accountable to international norms and standards developed in the UN process. This has become more difficult in the time of cultural upheaval and economic globalization when many transnational corporations have assets and budgets larger than those of many states, and there are few regulations to limit exploitation.

An important role of the churches is to provide an early warning system to alert other NGOs, quicken the conscience of the powerful, and inspire service to the needs of disregarded groups and places. Working with other civil society groups that share common values, the global religious network that involves the ecumenical churches is positioned to advocate a preferential option for people whose voices and struggles may not otherwise be heard. We in the NCC provide disaster relief and assistance for sustainable development through our ecumenical mechanism, Church World Service and Witness, which is now active in more than 80 countries.

2. Economic Accountability. Peace rooted in justice requires increased moral, ethical and legal accountability at all levels from governments, financial institutions, multilateral organizations, transnational corporations and all other economic actors to seek a just, participatory and sustainable economic order for the welfare and well-being of all people and creation.

To this audience I need not recite the dismal story of accumulated global debt, lack of meaningful debt relief, and the massively harsh results of structural adjustment programs imposed by lending institutions. In Jubilee 2000, the NCC and church groups around the world have joined in a call for debt forgiveness for developing countries. Churches can also join forces with workers and like-minded organizations support fair labor practices and trade standards throughout the world. Meanwhile, through the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility in the U.S., we exercise our power as consumers and stockholders to confront and have dialogue with transnational corporations regarding ways to look beyond their own profits to larger social and environmental values.

Through our Mobilization to Overcome Poverty in the first decade of this new millennium, the NCC is working for international economic equity, and here in the U.S. we are challenging not only the churches but particularly agencies of federal and state governments, and also employers, to meet their responsibilities to the families of the working poor and unemployable adults, from whom public assistance and most health benefits have been withdrawn in an era of "welfare reform."

3. Legal Accountability. Peace rooted in justice requires a comprehensive international legal system, capable of change as conditions require, in order to prevent and resolve conflicts, to protect rights, to hold accountable those who disturb peace and violate international law, and to provide fair and effective

review and enforcement mechanisms.

The NGO community, including churches, urged support for the International Criminal Court (ICC) Treaty adopted by the Rome Conference in July 1998 that makes possible effective prosecution of war crimes and crimes against humanity. While it went into effect upon being signed by 60 nations, strong forces in the U.S. Senate continue to oppose it. So ecumenical Christians must speak up for concrete ways to implement the third pillar of peace.

The religious community has also been an active participant in the human rights struggle in regions of Africa, Latin America, and Asia, and in countries such as Haiti have played an important role in lifting up the voices of persons of faith persecuted in their own countries.

4. Liberation and Empowerment. Peace rooted in justice requires the participation of vulnerable and marginalized groups, seeking to promote justice and peace, in those mechanisms capable of redressing the causes and consequences of injustice and oppression.

Faith communities must work to eliminate root causes of poverty, vulnerability and discrimination in their societies. This involves moving beyond service programs that meet immediate needs to work with the poor and vulnerable to change the conditions that keep them marginalized. Vulnerable and marginalized groups that especially need to gain effective voice or power with whom the NCC stands in solidarity include:

- indigenous communities whose lands are occupied and whose cultures are being destroyed,
- refugees and displaced persons forced to flee because of political and economic crises in their countries,
- women who are denied equal rights and participation in community life or politics, and are quite vulnerable to economic impoverishment,
- children and young people, over 200 million of whom are chronically undernourished and at risk from such conditions as unsafe water,
- poor people who are excluded from the economic, social, and cultural life of the community,
- older persons in rapidly changing societies who are uncertain that their families can provide for them,
- minority religious communities facing a hostile or nationalist religious majority.

U. N.-sponsored Forums and Conferences that illuminated the needs of the vulnerable such as the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women, in Beijing, and the 1995 World Summit on Social Development, in Copenhagen, have involved ecumenical Christians who subsequently guided the churches to undertake appropriate community action programs.

5. Peace and Conflict Resolution. Peace rooted in justice requires the nurturing of a culture of peace in homes, communities, religious institutions, nations and across the world; the use of non-violent means of resolving conflict; appropriate systems of common security; and the end of the unrestrained production, sale and use of weapons worldwide.

In an age of higher military spending for weapons that feed deadly civil as well as international wars that mostly displace, wound or kill noncombatants, and create urgent needs for large international relief and reconstruction efforts, religious communities play important peacemaking roles. The churches continue to be advocates for reduction and nonproliferation of both nuclear and convention weapons, teachers of conflict resolution techniques that are applicable in many local communities, leaders in Reconciliation Commissions following warfare and repression, and pioneers in crossing lines of hostility between countries, such as the outmoded impasse between the U.S. and Cuba.

Now the international community needs to look directly at the role of religious conflict in destabilizing communities and nations. Everywhere there are important stories of courageous action by faith communities to cross the lines of hostility to make peace. E.g., the NCC led the way to rebuild burned churches in predominantly Black communities of the U.S. and has been active in reconciliation efforts between South and North Korea, between Israel and the Palestinians, and elsewhere. The World Council of Churches is engaged with interreligious conflict in many other places.

6. Human Dignity and Rights. Peace rooted in justice requires respect for the inherent dignity of all persons and the recognition, protection and implementation of the principles of the International Bill of Human Rights, so that communities and individuals may claim and enjoy their universal, indivisible and inalienable rights.

The pillars of peace pick up themes of, and are thoroughly consistent with, the articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the follow-up Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the companion Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The churches, along with international human rights organizations and other concerned NGOs continue to educate the public about human rights, call on governments to respect and enforce the human rights of all their citizens, and push the United Nations to monitor implementation of human rights covenants in every member country.

7. Preservation of the Environment. Peace rooted in justice requires a commitment to the long-term sustainability of the means of life, and profound reorientation of economic systems and individual lifestyles to support ecological justice for human communities in harmony with the whole of creation.

The 1992 (UNCED) Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro adopted Agenda 21, an ambitious plan of action dealing with many aspects of environmental responsibility including agreements to protect wetlands and deserts, reduce air and water pollution, develop appropriate energy and agricultural technologies, manage toxic chemicals and hazardous waste, and reduce disease and malnutrition. The Summit produced the Convention on Climate Change, which addressed the threat of global warming.

The Eco-Justice Working Group of the NCC is giving priority to involving churches in policy advocacy and grass roots action to reduce green house gas emissions.

The ecumenical “ecojustice” posture links ecological integrity and social justice, since we will not have one without the other. As part of the National Religious Partnership on the Environment, the NCC has worked for more than a decade to provide important ecumenical leadership for environmental justice.

The NCC also welcomes the completion of The Earth Charter, a new comprehensive statement of the spiritual vision and values for sustainable living. The Charter presents an integrated sets of four ethical principles focused in turn on:

- respect and care for the community of life,
- ecological integrity,
- social and economic justice,
- democracy, nonviolence and peace.

The Charter’s Principles pick up human rights and peacemaking principles within a fresh focus on what it takes to build a sustainable earth community.

Conclusion

We live in a world quite different from the world we were born into, a world where God calls us to make a difference by standing up for peace and justice, standing up for care of the Earth, for being advocates for the vulnerable, and for quality of life.

When I was first elected (in 1974) to the U.S. House of Representatives and was asked if I believed in the separation of church and state, I responded, "Yes, but not the separation of people of faith and institutions of government." God is asking us to step forward to speak truth to power and to respond to the oppressed, not to be silent or to sit by. In his book published after his murder, Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community? Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. wrote words that have been written on my mind and heart and that help me understand the urgency of our work at this important time in history:

We are now faced with the fact that tomorrow is today...In this unfolding conundrum of life and history, there is such a thing as being too late. Procrastination is still the thief of time...The tide in the affairs of humanity does not remain at the flood. It ebbs. We may cry out desperately for time to pause in her passage. But time is deaf to every plea and rushes on. Over the bleached bones and jumbled residues of numerous civilizations are written the pathetic words, Too Late.

Let us be on time in caring for people and the Earth, serving peace rooted in justice.

Note: This paper is based on "The Pillars of Peace for the 21st Century" Study Guide, by Patricia Rumer, Published and distributed by the National Council of Churches office of International Justice and Human Rights, 1999, Room 670, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10115 Listing of additional resources are contained in this publication.



1999 NCC News Archives

NCC Head Urges Senate To Ratify Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty

October 7, 1999, WASHINGTON, D.C. – National Council of Churches General Secretary Joan B. Campbell joined her voice with those of other U.S. religious leaders at a news conference at the White House today to urge the Senate to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. The Rev. Dr. Campbell's statement follows:

"When the United States dropped the atomic bomb on Japan in 1945, most people in the U.S. and in many other countries understood that we had used a weapon that must never be used again. Churches and church people across America have been saying this repeatedly for over fifty years.

"For over fifty years we have been in a long and painstaking journey to contain these weapons of mass destruction. And we have developed some historic landmarks along this journey. The Partial Test Ban Treaty in 1963 was one essential and historic step. Achieving a Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty is a further essential and historic step.

"It has taken us 54 years in this journey to place before the Senate the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. All of us should be filled with pride that the Senate is about to vote on this historic Treaty which churches and church people have so long advocated. Just eight months ago churches in practically every state were conducting yet one more petition drive to pass this treaty. We should be filled with pride.

"Instead, we are filled with horror, as we watch a determined Senate Majority Leader and a determined Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chair using the powers of their offices to put pressure on the Republican Senators to turn this bipartisan issue into a partisan issue in order to prevent taking this historic and essential step.

"Churches across America and around the world should be using this week to prepare celebrations and ring church bells at the passage of the Treaty. Instead, we are filled with horror. Instead, people of faith are having to mobilize yet one more time to make this step in the long journey toward insuring that nuclear weapons are never used again, that they are banned from our precious earth forever, that we can show God that we can be responsible stewards, caring for God's creation. God has set before the Senate the ways of Life and Death. We need not choose Death. We can still choose Life."

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<http://www.ncccusa.org/about/pillars.html>

**"Pillars Of Peace For The 21st Century"
A Policy Statement On The United Nations
(adopted by the General Assembly November 11, 1999)**

5) Peace and Conflict Resolution. Peace rooted in justice requires the nurturing of a culture of peace in homes, communities, religious institutions, nations and across the world; the use of non-violent means of resolving conflict; appropriate systems of common security; and the end of the unrestrained production, sale and use of weapons worldwide.



"Pillars Of Peace For The 21st Century" A Policy Statement On The United Nations

(adopted by the General Assembly November 11, 1999)

Preamble

The world needs a new vision, a vision of peace rooted in justice, a vision of a world bound together in intentional community dedicated to the well-being of all people and all creation. The United Nations, however limited, represents the best efforts made so far by governments and peoples of the world toward such a vision.

The Christian faith and community are rooted in theological understanding that is global by its very nature. The foundation for the church's involvement in the quest for world peace and justice can be found in the following Biblically based beliefs: 1) the transcending sovereignty and love of God for all creation and the expression of that love in the incarnation of Jesus Christ, whose mission was to reveal understanding about that divine presence, to proclaim a message of salvation and to bring justice and peace; 2) the unity of creation and the equality of all races and peoples; 3) the dignity and worth of each person as a child of God; and 4) the church, the body of believers, whose global mission of witness, peacemaking and reconciliation testifies to God's action in history.

The world is the responsibility of each of our communities, where the securing of justice for one individual, one community, one nation contributes to the securing of justice and peace for all. To work for justice and peace for all is to affirm God's promise of the fullness of life: "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof." (Psalm 24:1); "I came that they may have life, and have it abundantly." (John 10:10b).

The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA therefore reaffirms its support for the United Nations and calls upon the United States government fully to support the United Nations in the fulfillment of its charter and in its highest calling to work for peace and justice for all the world's people.

Furthermore, the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA affirms the following principles as "Pillars of Peace for the 21st Century."

PILLARS OF PEACE FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

1) Political Accountability. Peace rooted in justice requires increased political collaboration and accountability within the United Nations system, among regional bodies, governments, local authorities, peoples' organizations, and global economic structures to seek the common good and equality for all.

2) Economic Accountability. Peace rooted in justice requires increased moral, ethical and legal accountability at all levels from governments, financial institutions, multilateral organizations, transnational corporations and all other economic actors to seek a just, participatory and sustainable economic order for the welfare and well-being of all people and all creation.

3) Legal Accountability. Peace rooted in justice requires a comprehensive international legal system, capable of change as conditions require, in order to prevent and resolve conflicts, to protect rights, to hold accountable those who disturb peace and violate international law, and to provide fair and effective review and enforcement mechanisms.

4) Liberation and Empowerment. Peace rooted in justice requires the participation of vulnerable and marginalized groups, seeking to promote justice and peace, in those mechanisms capable of redressing the causes and consequences

of injustice and oppression.

5) Peace and Conflict Resolution. Peace rooted in justice requires the nurturing of a culture of peace in homes, communities, religious institutions, nations and across the world; the use of non-violent means of resolving conflict; appropriate systems of common security; and the end of the unrestrained production, sale and use of weapons worldwide.

6) Human Dignity and Rights. Peace rooted in justice requires respect for the inherent dignity of all persons and the recognition, protection and implementation of the principles of the International Bill of Human Rights, so that communities and individuals may claim and enjoy their universal, indivisible and inalienable rights.

7) Preservation of the Environment. Peace rooted in justice requires a commitment to the long-term sustainability of the means of life, and profound reorientation of economic systems and individual lifestyles to support ecological justice for human communities in harmony with the whole of creation.

POLICY BASE:

NCCC Policy Statement, "The United Nations and the World Community", adopted May 4, 1977

NCCC Policy Statement, "The National Council of Churches Views its Task in Christian Life and Work," adopted May 16, 1951

NCCC Policy Statement, "Statement on the International Situation" adopted January 17, 1951

Federal Council of Churches Statement, "Six Pillars of Peace," 1943

[**Feature Article - "Peace, Justice and Sustainability"**](#)

[**NCC Home Page**](#)

[**NCC Policies and Resolutions**](#)

[logo]

National Council of Churches

The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. is an ecumenical body involving 35 Protestant and Orthodox denominations in the United States with a total membership of 52 million members with 140,000 congregations. For more than four decades it has opposed nuclear weapons and favored their elimination.

*Its current policy framework is based upon **Pillars of Peace for The 21st Century** [http://www.ncccusa.org/about/pillars.html], A Policy Statement On The United Nations, adopted by the General Assembly of the National Council of Churches on November 11, 1999. The fifth of seven pillars deals with peace issues, as follows:*

5) Peace and Conflict Resolution. Peace rooted in justice requires the nurturing of a culture of peace in homes, communities, religious institutions, nations and across the world; the use of non-violent means of resolving conflict; appropriate systems of common security; and the end of the unrestrained production, sale and use of weapons worldwide.

The Rev. Dr. Robert Edgar, General Secretary, National Council of the Churches, expanded upon this pillar in a paper offered to Millennium Peace Summit at the United Nations in August 2000. He stated (emphasis added):

In an age of higher military spending for weapons that feed deadly civil as well as international wars that mostly displace, wound or kill noncombatants, and create urgent needs for large international relief and reconstruction efforts, religious communities play important peacemaking roles. **The churches continue to be advocates for reduction and nonproliferation of both nuclear and convention weapons**, teachers of conflict resolution techniques that are applicable in many local communities, leaders in Reconciliation Commissions following warfare and repression, and pioneers in crossing lines of hostility between countries, such as the outmoded impasse between the U.S. and Cuba.

When India and Pakistan conducted nuclear weapons tests in 1998, the two top officers of the National Council of Churches at that time, Bishop Craig B. Anderson, President, and The RevDr. Joan B. Campbell, General Secretary, issued a Statement [http://www.ncccusa.org/news/news54.htm] in which they said:

These events point to the urgency on the global level to develop binding agreements on nuclear, chemical, biological and conventional armaments, seeking restraint on development, production, sale and transfer, so that the existence and trafficking of such weapons does not become a stimulus for tension and conflict. They also point to the necessity of developing alternate security systems and effective means of conflict resolution.

These recent statements are based upon long-standing policies of the National Council of Churches, including a policy statement on "Defense and Disarmament: New Requirements for Security", adopted by the General Board in September 1968 and updated in November 1977.

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[logo from www.paxchristi.net]

Pax Christi International

Pax Christi International [www.paxchristi.net] is a non-profit, non-governmental Catholic peace movement that began in France at the end of World War II. Today, it is comprised of autonomous national sections, local groups, and affiliated organizations spread over 30 countries and 5 continents, with over 60,000 members worldwide. The movement works in all areas of peace but has a specific focus on demilitarization, security and arms trade, development and human rights, and ecology.

*In 1998 Godfried Cardinal Danneels, president of Pax Christi International, joined with the Rev. Dr. Konrad Raiser, general secretary of the World Council of Churches in a statement entitled **Act Now for Nuclear Abolition** [linkage to the statement elsewhere on this page under 1998 NPT PrepCom], presented to Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Preparatory Conference. Among other things they stated:*

Nuclear weapons, whether used or threatened, are grossly evil and morally wrong. As an instrument of mass destruction, nuclear weapons slaughter the innocent and ravage the environment....When used as an instrument of deterrence, nuclear weapons hold innocent people hostage for political and military purposes. Therefore, the doctrine of nuclear deterrence is morally corrupt.

*In 2000 Pax Christi International published **New Challenges on Nuclear Disarmament Agenda: A Call and Statement on Nuclear Disarmament**. [URL to be supplied] Signed by 74 bishops from 20 nations on five continents, the statement declared:*

The need for abolition [of nuclear weapons] exists because of the real possibility that nuclear weapons could be used in anger for the first time since Hiroshima and Nagasaki, with disastrous results for the whole of humanity. In recent years, we have witnessed policies by several states to extend the role of nuclear weapons in their security policies. India and Pakistan are the most prominent examples. The USA and the Russian Federation too are modernizing and extending the role of nuclear weapons.

We call upon all states to put urgent negotiation of a nuclear disarmament convention at the top of the international agenda.

The Pax Christi International statement then presented a set of immediate steps to move closer to abolition, including nuclear reductions by the United States, Russia, and the small nuclear-weapon states, ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, de-alerting, pledge of no first use, and establishment of nuclear free zones.

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Note to Marie. I've tried to get a URL from Pax Christi International without success. The route is www.paxchrist.net -- resources -- archive (more) -- security & disarmament -- 10/00 -- New Challenges on Nuclear Disarmament Agenda SD04 (EFGDP)00 English. Maybe you can figure out an URL from that. I couldn't.

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Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)

- ***The Continuing Dynamics of the Arms Race***
- ***Threats to the International System Controlling Arms and Their Development***
- ***The New U.S. Nuclear Posture Review***

The Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) [<http://www.pcusa.org>] has 2.5 million members and 11,200 congregations. It is governed by a General Assembly that meets annually but will start meeting every other year after 2004. The ***Presbyterian Washington Office*** [<http://www.pcusa.org/washington.htm>] is the public policy information and advocacy office of the General Assembly.

The Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) was formed in 1983 as a result of reunion between the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., the so-called "southern branch," and the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., the so-called "northern branch". By then the General Assemblies of both branches had a thirty year history of policy positions on nuclear weapons, including opposition to massive retaliation, atmospheric testing, anti-ballistic missile systems, all nuclear testing, the B-1 bomber. See Social Witness Policy Compilation 2000 [linkage to be added].

The Continuing Dynamics of the Arms Race

In 2000 the 212th General Assembly considered and adopted a lengthy resolution entitled "The Challenge of Security in the 21st Century: The Continuing Dynamics of the Arms Race". Among the conclusions were the following:

The 212th General Assembly (2000) of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) reaffirms its long-standing call to end the arms race and urges:

- Ratification of and adherence by the United States to those existing international treaties that it has not yet accepted, such as the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and the Treaty on Land Mines;
- Adherence to and implementation of the treaties already ratified, such as the Chemical Weapons Treaty, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, or the Biological Weapon Convention; and the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaties I and II;
- Termination of efforts to build and deploy a Missile Defense System because its unnecessary and destabilizing military character;
- Reexamination by the United States of both its domestic and international policies, and the seeking of informed public review of its foreign policy perspective and goals for the 21st century will be based on the extension of the rule of law, the development of strengthened instruments of nonviolent conflict resolution, not on the continued enhancement of technological instruments of destruction, shaped originally in the context of the cold war...

Threats to the International System Controlling Arms and Their Development

The 214th Presbyterian General Assembly (2002) revisited this issue and enacted a resolution on "The Challenges to Global Security: Threats to the International System Controlling Arms and Their Development." It is as follows:

A. Introduction

In 2000, at the beginning of the 21st century, the 212th General Assembly (2000) of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) approved a "Statement of Concern Regarding the Challenge of Security in the 21st Century: The Continuing Dynamics of the Arms Race" (Minutes, 2000, Part I, pp. 276*81). Numerous dynamics were identified with suggestions of their potential impact on national and global security. The General Assembly expressed concern about developments/trends in United States foreign policy and its military developments, noting that the arms race, often thought dead because of the "end of the cold war," was still very much alive. It called on the United States to reexamine both its domestic and international policies, and the seeking of informed public review of its foreign policy perspective and goals for the 21st century, to the end that the building of security for the 21st century will be based on the extension of the rule of law, the development of strengthened instruments of international governance, the strengthening of arms control and disarmament agreements, the enhancing of instruments of nonviolent conflict resolution, not on the continued enhancement of technological instruments of destruction, shaped originally in the context of the cold war (*Ibid*, p. 281).

The events of September 11, 2001 (9/11), have made it clear that achieving security for the country within the context of global security is still and will remain a challenge. In some ways, those events should have made clear that devastation can come in unexpected ways, that methods of prevention are not always successful, that violence usually begets violence, and that technological fixes are problematic.

B. Recent Developments

Recent developments and decisions in the United States have justified and heightened the importance of the call of the 212th General Assembly (2002). While it is clear that major decisions with far-reaching consequences have been made, their import seems the opposite of the concerns expressed. The rule of law and international instruments of governance have been weakened. Arms control and disarmament agreements are increasingly under threat. The arms control regime that took decades to develop is increasingly at risk. The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty has been sidetracked and the U.S. is contemplating abandoning its own voluntary moratorium and resuming tests. The Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty has been abrogated and an opportunity to strengthen the Biological Weapons Treaty has been lost. The nation's response to the crimes committed on September 11 has been a massive use of destructive power leveled against the Taliban, an unpopular

government controlling a country already in the throws of desperation, and the Al Qaeda.

Among recent actions of the United States are its refusal to ratify the Ottawa Treaty (the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on Their Destruction) and its refusal to ratify The Rome Statute (the International Criminal Court), partly on the grounds that it poses a threat for our military. While the United States has opposed these two treaties and has tried to weaken them in the negotiation process, it has taken no formal action on them.

Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT): On October 13, 1999, by a 51 to 48 vote, the United States Senate voted on and rejected the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, a decisive legal action and statement to the world. Sought by every U. S. president and General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) and its predecessor bodies for almost thirty years, the CTBT was an effort to complete a partial ban achieved in 1963, which included testing in the atmosphere, outer space, and underwater. The earlier treaty had allowed the continued testing underground and simulation tests. The CTBT would have included the underground tests. This defeat for a long-sought treaty endorsed by all earlier presidents, while not irreversible, certainly contains a more strident message to the rest of the world than simply allowing the treaty to float in legislative-political limbo. The testing of nuclear weapons by India and Pakistan and the increased tensions between those now nuclear powers reveal the importance of both the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the CTBT.

National Missile Defense System: While the Strategic Defense Initiative (Star Wars) was shelved, work continued on missile defense technology. After the end of the cold war, focus turned to a limited version of the earlier challenge, a limited National Missile Defense system, proposed to prevent "rogue states" or "terrorist groups" from limited missile attack. More than twenty years and \$95 billion have been invested in research and testing without proving the ability to successfully deploy such a system. Another \$60 billion in expenses for the program is expected. Whether either provided credible threats or whether such would be probable scenarios seems irrelevant. In the presidential campaign in 2000, President Clinton chose to make the National Missile Defense System an issue, promising continued support for research and development and a recommendation of deployment should initial tests succeed. President Bush, in his election campaign and in his first year in office, made the building of a National Missile Defense system the keystone in his asserted effort to provide homeland protection, despite the fact that it would violate the terms of the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty agreed to in 1972. Since that time, the ABM Treaty has been regarded by most as an important cornerstone of the nuclear control system. The events of 9/11 have not deterred President Bush from that commitment even though the National Missile Defense System would provide no defense for an attack like that suffered. On December 13, 2001, President Bush announced that the United States was giving the six-month required notice

that it was going to abrogate the treaty, something neither country had found necessary during the height of the cold war. This marks the first time that a major post-World War II arms control treaty has been abrogated by a major participant, and in this situation that abrogation has effectively destroyed the treaty since there are only two parties.

The abrogation came after a legal analysis ultimately concluded that building a limited National Missile Defense System would violate the ABM Treaty. The United States opted to abrogate the ABM Treaty, informing its allies of the decision, in opposition to the concerns of Russia and China.

Abrogation is an international method often built into treaties that allows, after a specified time, for ratifiers to withdraw from the obligations of the treaty. The question is not the legality of the decision but its symbolism and the potential consequences both for the United States and global security. The government's own 2002 Intelligence Assessment report suggested that the greatest danger of a nuclear attack on the U.S. would come from planes and ships, not missiles. Greater security would be provided by addressing these other threats.

Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention: Over thirty years ago, the United States took the lead in trying to prevent the development of biotoxin weapons, achieving in 1972 the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction (BWC), a treaty subscribed to by 144 governments. In principle, such weapons have been banned since 1925, recognizing their inherent dangers and risks. A few highly publicized terrorist efforts in recent years have shown both the risks and the difficulties of chemical and biological terrorism and the difficulties of preparing for them. For over seven years, the adherents to that treaty have sought a protocol providing for a new inspection mechanism to help monitor compliance.

As with many treaties, a regular review process takes place. At the five-year review conference that took place in Geneva in December 2001, the U.S. effectively blocked further work on the protocol. This decision stunned other countries, particularly since the United States was reeling from the internal impact of the anthrax scare and caught up in speculation and rumor about a terrorist attack spreading smallpox. The U.S. chose not to try to develop international monitoring mechanisms, efforts its own country specialists had worked on. Yet, little evidence is available in the public domain that the United States, despite decades of consideration, is able to provide protections or even rapid responses for its own people in the light of chemical or biological attack. The United States told the conference that it was not in this country's business and defense interests to have any kind of monitoring or enforcement agreement, thus bringing the conference work to a halt. Conference chairman, Hungarian diplomat Tibor Toth, managed to obtain an adjournment of the meeting until November 2002 rather than to have it

end, in effect, in failure.

Small Arms and Light Weapons: At the United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, the United States was active in expressing concerns about the trafficking, but was also instrumental in blocking the creation or development of any instrumentation with the capacity to monitor or control the flow. Therefore, more than five hundred million small arms and light weapons are in circulation, with more in the pipeline. There are few international mechanisms in place that keep them from the hands of terrorists deemed to be the source of our insecurity and the focus of our open-ended war.

Arms Control Decisions at the United Nations General Assembly: The 56th General Assembly of the United Nations (2001) dealt with a usual array of arms control and security issues. One pattern is worth noting, though, in fact, it is not new. On the major resolutions that were adopted by vote related to nuclear weapons, development, use, etc., the United States voted in the negative on ten of twelve votes, with one abstention and one affirmative. The ten all related to matters that seek to move the world toward nuclear disarmament, including the United States. The affirmative vote was for a resolution on the Non-Proliferation Treaty because its application had been basically aimed at preventing others from gaining what we are legally bound by that same treaty to give up. The abstention, marking a switch from some previous years where the vote had been negative, was on a resolution designed to assure non-nuclear states would not be the victims of nuclear attack from nuclear states. The U.S. was one of four countries to abstain on a resolution seeking to prevent an arms race in outer space (of particular concern for those who feel that the development of the National Missile Defense System will be the first major step in the weaponization of space, reflecting well-circulated U.S. commitments to control space, to fight in, from, and through space).

C. Key Questions for Discussion and Reflection

United States policy and practice in recent years pose concerns for public discussion and reflection. The Advisory Committee on Social Witness Policy (ACSWP) drafted some conclusions regarding U.S. actions, which are shared as questions for discussion.

- Has the United States adopted a unilateralist approach to the whole question of armaments and military developments (in its treatment of allies, its former stated enemies, and its current list of enemies)?
- Is the United States seeking freedom from any international restraints or instruments, no matter how beneficial they may be perceived to be by others? (This includes freedom to build its own military establishment without restrictions. It also includes the option to impose by force, if necessary, its will on those countries that displease it.)
- Does the United States commitment to an extensive military buildup, costly in nature, skew its national priorities? Does it destabilize others in

implication? Does it represent a potential stimulus to others, including the fueling of a new global arms race?

- Does the United States' decision-making reflect a disconnect between a critical analysis of security needs and the efforts to meet those needs? (A so-called rogue state, seeking to attack the United States with nuclear weapons, is more apt to choose a less risky method of delivery, exploring the openness of ports as most container ships arrive without inspection.)
- Has the United States manipulated both the domestic and international climate created by the events of September 11? Has the U.S. counted on the reticence of its political establishment, the U.S. media and public, and its allies to question its actions?
- Is the United States caught in a paradox of its own making? In the name of enhancing national security, is it undermining international efforts at control and restraint developed to provide an increased context of confidence and security? Is the United States seeking to achieve peace by intimidation?
- What price is U.S. "military" security at home and abroad? What cost in addressing critical social needs at home as military budgets escalate?
- What relevance does the development of the international rule of law have to the issues raised by 9/11?

D. Need for Criteria for Evaluation

Over the years, criteria have been set for judging the rightness or wrongness of the use of force. Guidelines embodied in "just war doctrine," and "just peace principles" and "nonviolent intervention principles" have provided the basis for both rational and irrational support of military action. They also provide the basis for challenging those same actions. Discuss whether the following provide a set of criteria to evaluate or judge decisions that are made in the realm of arms development and foreign policy decisions?

- Does the action-program development promote restraint and build confidence instead of engendering fear and mistrust in the world community at large or among states where there has been previous conflict, where there is current tension, or where there are growing issues that could ensue in conflict?
- Does the action-program development tempt other countries to follow suit with similar developments, thus raising the potential level of future conflict? Or does it stimulate efforts to develop countervailing options that stimulate an increased cycle of research, expenditure, and development of other weapons?
- Are the action-program development goals to be achieved at the expense of weaker countries and people, imposing economic, military, or political burdens on them, with or without their informed consensual and participatory acceptance?
- When does a response to a threat/strategy set into motion irreversible, unintended consequences? What is the possibility that the decision, deployment, dare, or defiance will set in motion things that were not intended?

- Does the action-program development tempt or encourage a country or a group of countries to unilaterally exercise power just because it has it; increasing the likelihood, as has usually been the historic case, that in the quest for security, those with the power have become the threat to the security of others?
- Is the action-program development built on worst-case scenario developments, which, if pursued, could be self-fulfilling or on informed understanding of probabilities coupled with deliberate political and diplomatic efforts to resolve sources of potential conflict through nonviolent methodologies
- Has there been an honest, transparent effort to consult with the United Nations and other appropriate international organizations about the implications and consequences of steps that are contemplated?
- What additional criteria would you add?

E. Conclusion and Reflection

The 214th General Assembly (2002) presents this study to the constituency of the church and, for whatever benefit, to the larger society. At the beginning of the 21st century, the American people must learn from the tragedies of the present and the legacies of the past and engage in a full discussion of our country's role and responsibility in the world community. We urge our members to prayerfully study these concerns.

With prayer we lift up our country, which represents but one part of God's good creation, with prayers for its peace and security, with prayers for its leaders and all who are called to serve it, with compassion for all who have suffered from the violence of criminal acts and of war and from the systemic oppressions of economic, social, cultural, and political power. We pray that America, so richly blessed, will use its gifts as they bestow special responsibility, not as they signify special privilege. We pray for all peoples what we would pray for ourselves: the opportunity to live free from fear, free from want, and in the fullness of life intended by God in the creation.

The New U.S. Nuclear Posture Review

In January 2002 the Bush Administration completed its Nuclear Posture Review (NPR). Some of the conclusions were made public, others were leaked to the press. In [month?] 2002 the Presbyterian Washington Office offered its analysis of "The New U.S. Nuclear Posture Review". [<http://www.pcusa.org/washington/issuenet/gs-020401.htm>] Highlights of this analysis include the following concerns:

Whereas the United States has avoided the use of nuclear weapons in times of crisis, the NPR outlined three situations for which the U.S. would use nuclear forces:

- Nuclear weapons could be deployed against targets able to withstand non-nuclear attack.
- In retaliation for the use of nuclear, biological or chemical weapons, and
- In the event of surprising military developments.

Previously, during the Cold War period, U.S. nuclear weapons and policy were designed to deter a deliberate large-scale nuclear attack from the Soviet Union. Having witnessed the horrific impact on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, U.S. nuclear weapons remained the last resort and would be used only if the nation's survival depended on it. Now, the New Triad calls for using our nuclear capability to strengthen the credibility of our non-nuclear offensive force, in order to deter the enemy. This approach has undermined efforts toward nuclear disarmament and has exacerbated the risk of more aggressive nuclear capability development by other states.

The Review also calls for developing low-yield, tactical nuclear weapons to be used against hardened or deeply buried targets (HDBTs). Developing "usable" weapons is a significant change in U.S. policy that could seriously hamper U.S. non-proliferation efforts by encouraging other states to pursue similar capabilities. Moreover, even the use of "small" nuclear weapons will invite retaliation against the U.S. with nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons.

Development of new nuclear warheads would require testing before deployment. The Review contains provisions that would lift the self-imposed moratorium on U.S. nuclear testing.^s Although the Review does not explicitly advocate lifting the moratorium, it proposed a plan that would enable resumption of testing if the President decided such tests are needed.

Presbyterian Church USA

The New U.S. Nuclear Posture Review

Last year, the U. S. Congress passed legislation requiring the Secretary of Defense to conduct a nuclear posture review, and lay out U.S. nuclear policy for the next five to 10 years.

Shortly after September 11, President Bush instructed the Department of Defense to look at developing an alternative strategic posture. The result of the President's instruction is the Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR). The legislative mandate, with the QDR, formulated the Nuclear Posture Review (NPR).

The NPR is more than an inventory of nuclear and conventional arsenals. It is a compilation of current nuclear capabilities, post-Cold War nuclear strategy, and the military imperative to prepare for a world envisioned by Strangelovian nuclear-war planners. It covers every circumstance in which the President might wish to use nuclear weapons.

In accordance with this construct, the Review has called for developing a new generation of nuclear weapons and delivery systems, which has undermined all efforts toward nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation.

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- Nuclear weapons could be deployed against targets able to withstand non-nuclear attack,
- In retaliation for the use of nuclear, biological or chemical weapons, and
- In the event of surprising military developments.

Under these circumstances, the NPR named Russia, China, Iraq, Iran, Syria, Libya and North Korea as countries that the United States would most likely use nuclear weapons against. In the event of surprising military developments, the report recommends that the Pentagon be prepared to use nuclear weapons against hostile regimes or terrorist groups that might suddenly acquire unknown weapons.

The NPR has also drafted contingency plans in case of military confrontation and mirrored nuclear weapons development in the future. These plans outline possible U.S. military intervention in an Arab-Israeli conflict, in an attack from North Korea on the south, or a hostile takeover of Taiwan by China.

Of the seven countries, Iraq, Iran, Syria, Libya and North Korea are non-nuclear parties to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. The Treaty was first signed in 1972 in hopes of keeping nuclear weapons from spreading across the world. The five nuclear states (the U.S., Britain, the Soviet Union, China and France) had pledged never to use nuclear weapon against non-nuclear countries that were parties to the treaty, except in the case of an attack in alliance with a nuclear state. This pledge and the treaty were reaffirmed in April 1995, in connection with a U.N. Security Council resolution.

The United States has avoided the use of nuclear weapons in times of crisis. But the NPR directed by the administration is inconsistent with the commitment to build a secure world through nuclear reduction and disarmament. The NPR establishes a New Triad, composed of:

- Offensive strike systems - both nuclear and conventional forces.
- Active and passive defenses - including the National Missile Defense systems and other defenses.
- A responsive defense infrastructure, which calls for revitalizing our ability to develop and produce nuclear delivery systems.

Offensive Strike Systems

Prior to the New Triad, the three legs of the U.S. strategic arsenal were intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), submarine-launched ballistic missiles, and long-range nuclear-armed bombers. All these are now part of the first leg of the New Triad. The offensive strike systems of the first leg of the New Triad integrate nuclear weapons with conventional weapons along with new non-nuclear strategic capabilities to enhance U.S. offensive forces.

The concept behind the planning of this leg, according to Secretary Rumsfeld's December statement to Congress, is called offensive deterrence. Offensive deterrence is based on the assumption that deterrence would be most effective if the U.S. nuclear arsenal were readily deployed as conventional offensive forces. In other words, our enemy would be less likely to threaten us if they knew that the nuclear arsenal would be used against them before and after their attack. This approach abandons the role of the nuclear arsenal as a defensive force by deterrence.

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Ballistic Missile Defenses

The second leg of the New Triad requires development and deployment of both active and passive defenses against ballistic missile attacks. These defense systems—two Airborne Laser aircraft, an additional ground-based anti-missile system², four sea-based Aegis graded ships—could be operational as soon as 2006-2008.

In December 2001, President Bush announced that the United States would withdraw unilaterally from the Antiballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty and forge ahead with the development and testing of a national missile defense (NMD) system³. Mr. Bush and his national security advisors are asserting that anti-missile defense would reduce our dependence on nuclear weapons and improve our ability to deter attack.

Defense Infrastructure

The Review proposed to train U.S. Special Forces to play the same intelligence gathering and targeting for nuclear weapons as they now do for conventional weapons in Afghanistan. The Review also calls for development of a new generation of nuclear weapon delivery systems: a new land-based intercontinental ballistic missile by 2020, a new submarine launched missile and submarine to launch it by 2030, and a new heavy bomber by 2040.

In addition to the development of more weapons infrastructure, the NPR increases the flexibility and breadth of the nuclear arsenal in our strategic posture. The Review calls for an a la carte approach to find new ways of destroying our enemy's weapons and its infrastructures. This

proposal would incorporate nuclear capability into many conventional weapons and intelligence capabilities now under development.

And finally, the NPR offers two insights into the foreign policy-making of the Bush Administration. First, the administration has been inconsistent in its diplomatic objectives. It first announced it would not use nuclear weapons, but then decided to develop a "usable" nuclear warhead for HDBTs and national missile defense. It entered the U.S. into agreements with Russia and China, separately, on nuclear reduction and nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction, but then named both as countries that the U.S. would use nuclear weapons against. Second, the Bush Administration has taken several steps toward unilateralism. This is most evident in the pursuit of national missile defense, and naming the seven countries in addition to the Axis of Evil without consultation with our allies. The NPR is another concrete plan that allows the U.S. to pursue national interest in the global community through military aggression instead of multilateral collaboration.

([The Nuclear Posture Report is available online](#))

Suggested Action

Please use the information in this article and send an email to the Bush Administration (president@whitehouse.gov and vice.president@whitehouse.gov) urging them to reject the Nuclear Posture Review:

As the May 2002 Bush-Putin summit approaches, the Bush Administration has been sending disturbing signals about nuclear weapons. Following the November 2001 summit, the administration announced a plan to reduce the U.S. nuclear arsenal to 2,000 warheads in return for a Russian reduction to 1,700-2,000 warheads. This encouraging step toward disarmament has since been undermined by the administration's Nuclear Posture Review, which recommends alarming changes to U.S. policy:

- Rather than destroying the 4,000 U.S. warheads, which will be decommissioned because of the November agreement, the Review calls for many of them to be placed in storage. This would allow the warheads to be reassembled and re-deployed quickly, and would mean that the historic gains reached in the November summit could easily be reversed. In addition, if Russia follows suit and puts its decommissioned warheads in storage, this would overload its already-limited ability to protect its nuclear stockpile from theft and illicit sale to rogue nations or terrorist groups.
- The strategic goal of the U.S. nuclear arsenal has always been to deter or respond to nuclear attack. The Review, however, identifies a number of conventional military situations in which to use nuclear weapons. This clearly indicates a rejection of the long-standing, bipartisan taboo against the use of nuclear weapons.

The Nuclear Posture Review constitutes a dangerous way of thinking about nuclear weapons. If this attitude becomes policy, it will endanger U.S. security by encouraging other states to pursue nuclear weapons, and thereby increase the likelihood that nuclear weapons will actually be used. Please tell the Administration to reject the Nuclear Posture Review.

Sample email message - I was very concerned to learn of the Pentagon's new Nuclear Posture Review. Rather than making Americans safer from the threat of nuclear weapons, adopting the recommendations of the Review would undermine our security by encouraging the proliferation of nuclear weapons and make their use more likely. This review is all the more disturbing given the upcoming U.S.-Russia summit in May, during which much progress toward nuclear disarmament could be made.

General Assembly

The 212th General Assembly (2000) of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) reaffirms its long-standing call to end the arms race and urges:

- Ratification of and adherence by the United States to those existing international treaties that it has not yet accepted, such as the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and the Treaty on Land Mines;
- Adherence to and implementation of the treaties already ratified, such as the Chemical Weapons Treaty, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, or the Biological Weapon Convention; and the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaties I and II;
- Termination of efforts to build and deploy a Missile Defense System because its unnecessary and destabilizing military character;
- Reexamination by the United States of both its domestic and international policies, and the seeking of informed public review of its foreign policy perspective and goals for the 21st century will be based on the extension of the rule of law, the development of strengthened instruments of nonviolent conflict resolution, not on the continued enhancement of technological instruments of destruction, shaped originally in the context of the cold war...

Refinements for Religious Statement page of www.zero-nukes.org

June 2, 2002

1. Masthead. Put "Your Feedback" (with "Your" added) on first line. On second line extend brown to right margin.
2. Nuclear Weapons A Moral Issue and dove. Looks good.
3. I would like to change the introductory paragraph as follows and put it in a box.

Here we present a collection of statements on nuclear weapons by a variety of religious bodies and religious leaders. Most were issued since the end of the Cold War.

- *Without exception they oppose the use of nuclear weapons.*
- *Most advocate abolition or total elimination.*
- *A few offer interim acceptance of nuclear deterrence as a step on the way to progressive disarmament.*
- *But most oppose nuclear deterrence here and now.*

[Note: I had to format this artificially to show the pattern.]

4. Brown around Interfaith and Ecumenical looks good.
5. World Council of Churches
 - a. "Report of the Sixth Assembly (1983)" might be in color. The same applies to similar headings throughout the page.
 - b. In introductory paragraph:
 - (i) Put period after "in 1983."
 - (ii) Add: *This statement declared that "the production and deployment as well as the use of nuclear weapons are a crime against humanity and that such activities must be condemned on ethical and theological grounds."*
 - (iii) Strike "*as follows:[scan paragraphs 13-18 from that report]*"
 - c. "Nuclear Arms, Doctrines and Disarmament" I would like this and similar statements to follow the pattern you used for the Holy See and U.S. Catholic Bishops, that is, putting it in a box. This helps to contain and give better visibility to long texts.
 - d. Item 17 of this statement. Eliminate space before sub-item "a".
 - e. Statement to NPT Preparatory Conference. The linkage is to Act Now for Nuclear Abolition, which we present below under Religious Statements to 1998 NPT Preparatory Conference.
 - f. Policy Statement of 2001. In second clause, underline Final Document and link it to the How to Get to Zero page.
6. Religious Statements to 1998 NPT Preparatory Committee
 - a. Enclose the two statements in boxes following the Holy See model.

- b. In second paragraph put in bold face: "described nuclear weapons as grossly evil and morally wrong and stated that the doctrine of nuclear deterrence is morally corrupt."
- c. In third paragraph put in bold face: "spoke of the immorality of nuclear weapons from all three viewpoints."
- d. Co-signers. This is long and boring, but necessary. Maybe the names, etc. should be in a smaller type.
- e. A Spiritual, Ethical.... statement. This needs reformatting to eliminate broken lines within paragraphs. There must have been a problem in transmission.

7. 1999 Parliament of the World's Religions. (a) Put in italic the last words of the introductory paragraph. (b) Divide the quote into two separate sentences, each proceeded by a bullet (arrow). Strike the extra periods at the end of the first sentence.

8. Nuclear Reduction/Disarmament Initiative. (a) Insert the photograph I gave you. (b) Use bullet (arrows) for each of the highlight sentences. Eliminate the broken line in the third highlight.

9. Holy See. I like the way you have presented this, the framing, the pictures of St. Peter's. Pope John Paul II, and Archbishop Martino. I'm seeking similar photos for use elsewhere.

10. U.S. Catholic Bishops. I'm still waiting for permission to use the summary from The Challenge of Peace.

11. Pax Christi International. (a) Second paragraph. Make the linkage -- its under NPT Preparatory Committee and eliminate instructions. (b) New Challenges on Nuclear Disarmament Agenda. I've tried to get a URL from them without success. The route is www.paxchrist.net -- resources -- archive (more) -- security & disarmament -- 10/00 -- New Challenges on Nuclear Disarmament Agenda SD04 (EFGDP)00 English. (c) Change the last sentence of the introductory paragraph to: "Signed by 74 bishops from five continents, the statement noted:" (d) Change the last sentence to read: "*The Pax Christi International statement then presented a set of immediate steps to move closer to abolition, including nuclear reductions by the United States, Russia, and the small nuclear-weapon states, ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, de-alerting, pledge of no first use, and establishment of nuclear free zones.*"

12. Church of the Brethren. Four points after introduction, put in bullets (arrows).

13. Dr. Siddiqi. (a) Amend last part of introductory paragraph as follows: "...made a statement that included the following remarks:" (b) Reformat as follows:

- We in the United States must take lead to stop the nuclear arms race....We must say to ourselves first and then to the world that we want a total and universal ban on the possession and production of nuclear weapons.
- All countries, starting with those that have the largest amount of nuclear weapons, should destroy these weapons. There should be a total ban on their production and testing. Nuclear technology should be used only for humanitarian and peaceful purposes.

- Islam stands for peace and protection of all human beings and their environment. Islam is against any war in which the innocent and the non-combatants are made to suffer.

Marie,

Here are some further refinements for Religious Statements. They add to editing for this page that I sent you earlier in the week.

1. I'm getting a better feel for our web site. It works well to have a symbol or short quote at the top left of a new page and a brief explanation on the right. These should be visible on the initial screen (or above the fold in newspaper terms). Therefore, on the Religious Statements page I suggest:

- a. Move "Religious Statements" to the right side so that "Nuclear Weapons A Moral Issue" and the dove can move up and be fully visible on the left on the initial screen.
- b. Under the words "Religious Statements" on the right, put the introductory paragraph, which is now lower on the page. Previously I sent you some revised language, which I now amend as follows:

On this web page we present a collection of statements on nuclear weapons by a variety of religious bodies and religious leaders. Most were issued since the end of the Cold War.

- *Without exception they oppose the use of nuclear weapons.*
- *Most advocate abolition or total elimination.*
- *A few offer interim acceptance of nuclear deterrence as a step on the way to progressive disarmament.*
- *But most oppose nuclear deterrence here and now.*

2. At the next level put INTERFAITH AND ECUMENICAL on the left and DENOMINATIONS on the right.

a. Under INTERFAITH add **Interfaith Committee for Nuclear Disarmament**. In a separate attachment I'll supply text for insertion below.

b. I am preparing some material for additional denominations. When I send them to you, you can add the denominational names to the contents list under DENOMINATIONS.

3. World Council of Churches. At the beginning of this entry, follow the pattern you set up with the 1998 NPT Preparatory Committee by adding titles of statements that are presented below. That is:

World Council of Churches [on right margin]

- Report of the Sixth Assembly (1983)
- Statement to 1998 NPT Preparatory Committee
- Nuclear Disarmament, NATO Policy and the Churches (2001)
- Evolution of WCC Policy On Nuclear Arms And Disarmament, 1948-2000
[to be supplied in separate attachment]

These entries would use the same type face you used under 1998 NPT and would be linked to the text of the documents.

4. After section on Conference of European Churches, add a section on Interfaith Committee for Nuclear Disarmament. It will have the banner, "Interfaith and Ecumenical". To be supplied in separate attachment.

Thanks,
Howard

To: Marie

Re: Further Editing of Religious Statements

1. Under INTERFAITH AND ECUMENICAL, strike "Interfaith and Ecumenical" and substitute Interfaith Committee for Nuclear Disarmament.

2. World Council of Churches. The inset " that the production and deployment...." should be in non-italic type.

3. Religious Statement to 1998 NPT PrepCom. At the beginning, fix it so that a click on "Act Now...." and "A Spiritual...." moves to those statements.

4. 1999 Parliament of the World's Religions. (a) Put in italic the last words of the introductory paragraph: *Among other elements The Call states:*

(b) Divide the quote into two separate sentences, each proceeded by a bullet (arrow). Strike the extra periods at the end of the first sentence. Such as:

- The threat and use of nuclear weapons...
- We say that a peace...

5.. Nuclear Reductions/Disarmament Initiative. Insert photo from news conference. Use smaller type for caption under photo.

6. Last entree under Interfaith and Ecumenical (in brown) isn't "Interfaith and Ecumenical". It is "Interfaith Committee for Nuclear Disarmament", which I sent you previously.

7. Holy See. Under "Holy See" put titles of two statements (as you do for World Council of Churches) with connections to statements, as follows:

There Has Been Regression
Nuclear Weapons Cannot Be Justified

8. U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops.

a. At top of box under U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, put titles of two statements with connections, as follows (WCC model):

The Challenge of Peace
The Harvest of Justice Is Sown in Peace

b. Remove paragraphs from Pax Christi International that are erroneously in this section, as follows:

In 2000 Pax Christi International published New Challenges on Nuclear Disarmament Agenda: A Call and Statement on Nuclear Disarmament. [URL to be supplied] Signed by bishops from around the world, the statement indicated:

The need for abolition [of nuclear weapons] exists because of the real possibility that nuclear weapons could be used in anger for the first time since Hiroshima and Nagasaki, with disastrous results for the whole of humanity. In recent years, we have witnessed policies by several states to extend the role of nuclear weapons in their security policies. India and Pakistan are the most prominent examples. The USA and

the Russian Federation too are modernizing and extending the role of nuclear weapons.

We call upon all states to put urgent negotiation of a nuclear disarmament convention at the top of the international agenda.

The Pax Christi International statement then presented a set of immediate steps to move us closer to abolition.

9. Pax Christi International. This entree has some missing elements. The correct entree is sent as a separate attachment and should be substituted in its entirety.

10. Church of the Brethren. Use belows before the four points after introduction:

- Under the banner of national security,... [etc.]

11. Dr. Siddiqi. (a) Amend last part of introductory paragraph as follows: "...made a statement that included the following remarks:" (b) Reformat as follows:

- We in the United States must take lead to stop the nuclear arms race....We must say to ourselves first and then to the world that we want a total and universal ban on the possession and production of nuclear weapons.
- All countries, starting with those that have the largest amount of nuclear weapons, should destroy these weapons. There should be a total ban on their production and testing. Nuclear technology should be used only for humanitarian and peaceful purposes.
- Islam stands for peace and protection of all human beings and their environment. Islam is against any war in which the innocent and the non-combatants are made to suffer.

12.. Union of American Hebrew Congregations. I have enlarged this section. A replacement is attached.

Further corrections in Religious Statements -- June 13, 2002

1. Interfaith Committee for Nuclear Disarmament entree
 - a. In next to last line of first paragraph, add "associations" after "religious" to read:
representatives of denominational offices and religious associations re-grouped..
 - c. You did a good job with letters and signers.
 - d. For the signers to the letter to President Bush on National Missile Defense, eliminate extra space after my name.
 - e. For the signers of the letter to senators/representatives, eliminate extra space after Rev. Eleanor Giddings Ivory.
 - f. In letter to President Bush on Nuclear Posture Review, use bold face for the six numbered paragraph headings:
 - (1) Reductions.**
 - (2) Warhead reserve and the terrorist threat.**
 - (3) Mutual assured destruction.**
 - (4) De-alerting.**
 - (5) Expanded role.**
 - (6) Testing.**
 - g. In next to last paragraph of that letter, eliminate the gap at the end of the line following "As a point of".
2. a. After the entree for the Interfaith Committee for Nuclear Disarmament where we come to the statements from denominations, is it necessary to have a new table of contents? Or is it enough to rely on the contents listing at the top of the page? I'm asking, but I'm doubtful because you have arranged to go to top the page after each entree.
b. If you keep this, it is not necessary to list the two statements under Holy See and 1998 NPT PrepCom. It makes it too cluttered. Rather it is enough to list them at the beginning of the actual entrees for these two entities, as you do.
3. U.S Conference of Catholic Bishops.
 - a. I didn't notice it in my last review, but now I see that the four inset quotes should be in non-italic. That is,
 "No use...."
 "In the words...."
 "We must continue...."
 "The eventual elimination...."This helps them to stand out more.
b. You still need to eliminate the extraneous material from Pax Christi International. See my previous memo.
4. Pax Christi International. I am re-sending the new entree.
5. Islam. You didn't do what I suggested.
 - a. Change the last line of the introductory paragraph to read:
America, made a statement that included the following remarks:
 - b. Re-format the quote into three bullets. See previous memo.

6. Union of American Hebrew Congregations. I'm re-sending the new entree.

Marie,

It's close.

1. Thanks for getting the photo into **Nuclear Reductions/Disarmament Initiative**.
2. One new suggestion. At the start of the Catholic section under denominations, put the contents and linkages to the four entities, as follows:

Denominations

Catholic [singular]
* ***Holy See***
* ***U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops***
* ***Pax Christi International***
* ***Pax Christi USA***

The Catholic Church is the largest body of Christians in the world....

3. In the U.S. Catholic Bishops section, there is still extraneous material from Pax Christi International. It comes after this heading:

The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response ***A Pastoral Letter on War and Peace***

After this, the PDF reference and the following excerpt from Pax Christi International should be removed.

*In 2000 Pax Christi International published **New Challenges on Nuclear Disarmament Agenda: A Call and Statement on Nuclear Disarmament**. [URL to be supplied] Signed by bishops from around the world, the statement indicated:*

The need for abolition [of nuclear weapons] exists because of the real possibility that nuclear weapons could be used in anger for the first time since Hiroshima and Nagasaki, with disastrous results for the whole of humanity. In recent years, we have witnessed policies by several states to extend the role of nuclear weapons in their security policies. India and Pakistan are the most prominent examples. The USA and the Russian Federation too are modernizing and extending the role of nuclear weapons.

We call upon all states to put urgent negotiation of a nuclear disarmament convention at the top of the international agenda.

The Pax Christi International statement then presented a set of immediate steps to move us closer to abolition.

With that gone you then have:

The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response

A Pastoral Letter on War and Peace

Summary

[pp. i-viii to be added]

**The Harvest of Justice Is Sown in Peace
A Reflection of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops
on the Tenth Anniversary of The Challenge of Peace**

4. Union of American Hebrew Congregations. You didn't use the replacement text I sent as an attachment.

[logo from www.uahc.org]

Union of American Hebrew Congregations

Founded in 1873, the [Union of American Hebrew Congregations](#) [www.uahc.org] is the central body of the Reform Jewish Movement in North America, encompassing 1.5 million Jews in 900 congregations across the United States and Canada. UAHC's Washington office is the [Religious Action Center for Reform Judaism](#) [www.rac.org], which also represents the [Central Conference of American Rabbis](#). [<http://ccarnet.org/>]

The UAHC has a long history of supporting arms control measures aimed at reducing nuclear dangers and eventually eliminating nuclear weapons entirely.

*In 1981 the General Assembly of the UAHC passed a resolution, [**Control of Nuclear Arms**](#), [<http://uahc.org/cgi-bin/resodisp.pl?file=arms&year=1981D%20>] that urged upon the United States and the USSR a mutually agreed upon freeze of the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons.*

*Two years later General Assembly adopted resolution on [**Preventing Nuclear Holocaust**](#), [<http://uahc.org/cgi-bin/resodisp.pl?file=nuclear&year=1983>] based upon a book with the same titled published by the Religious Action Center (1983). The resolution recorded UAHC's vision about the nuclear arms race.*

This Union, from its inception, has taken seriously the Jewish obligation to "seek peace and pursue it." We have consistently sought to apply the prophetic vision to the urgent contemporary issues of war and peace. Thus we have supported efforts to achieve effective international treaties to limit armaments and in recent years to speak for stable arms control to curb the threat of the nuclear arms race. We have expressed our growing alarm at unchecked nuclear proliferation and we have expressed our horror at both the dangers and the intolerable waste involved in the nuclear arms race, which is exhausting much of the world's resources and impoverishing hundreds of millions of our fellow human beings.

The resolution indicated support for the SALT II and ABM treaties, negotiation of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, halt in development of first-strike nuclear weapons, and other measures of nuclear arms control.

*In 1989 the UAHC General Assembly adopted a resolution appealing to world leaders [**To End the Manufacturing and Trade in Fissionable Material Suitable for the Production of Nuclear Arms**](#). [<http://uahc.org/cgi-bin/resodisp.pl?file=nuclear&year=1983>]*

*The same General Assembly passed a resolution on [**Halting the Nuclear Arms Race**](#) (1989) to: [<http://uahc.org/cgi-bin/resodisp.pl?file=nucleararmsI&year=1989>]*

1. Commend former President Ronald Reagan and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev for the leadership they demonstrated by the signing of the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty.
2. Commend President George Bush for taking significant steps toward limiting short range nuclear missiles and urge the American government to intensify its efforts toward achieving a START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty) agreement, a comprehensive test ban, and a ban on weapons in space.
3. Express appreciation to the Roman Catholic Bishops and the Methodist Bishops for calling for a reassessment of the moral and strategic assumptions of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD).
4. Work toward elimination of long term reliance on nuclear armaments as a deterrent and adopt as our goal a multilateral, negotiated, verifiable arms control process to decrease and eventually eliminate all nuclear weapons from the face of the earth.
5. Support the concept of limited unilateral cuts in the U.S. arsenal which might encourage further similar cuts by the U.S.S.R. without eliminating a credible level of deterrence.

[logo from www.uahc.org]

Union of American Hebrew Congregations

Founded in 1873, the [Union of American Hebrew Congregations](#) is the central body of the Reform Jewish Movement in North America, encompassing 1.5 million Jews in 900 congregations across the United States and Canada. The UAHC has a long history of supporting arms control measures aimed at reducing nuclear dangers and eventually eliminating nuclear weapons entirely.

In a 1981 resolution, [Control of Nuclear Arms](#), General Assembly of the UAHC urged upon the United States and the USSR a mutually agreed upon freeze of the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons.

Two years later General Assembly adopted resolution on [Preventing Nuclear Holocaust](#), based upon a book with the same titled published by the UAHC Religious Action Center (1983). The resolution recorded UAHC's vision about the nuclear arms race.

This Union, from its inception, has taken seriously the Jewish obligation to "seek peace and pursue it." We have consistently sought to apply the prophetic vision to the urgent contemporary issues of war and peace. Thus we have supported efforts to achieve effective international treaties to limit armaments and in recent years to speak for stable arms control to curb the threat of the nuclear arms race. We have expressed our growing alarm at unchecked nuclear proliferation and we have expressed our horror at both the dangers and the intolerable waste involved in the nuclear arms race, which is exhausting much of the world's resources and impoverishing hundreds of millions of our fellow human beings.

The resolution indicated support for the SALT II and ABM treaties, negotiation of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, halt in development of first-strike nuclear weapons, and other measures of nuclear arms control.

In 1989 the UAHC General Assembly adopted a resolution appealing to world leaders [To End the Manufacturing and Trade in Fissionable Material Suitable for the Production of Nuclear Arms.](#)

The same General Assembly passed a resolution on [Halting the Nuclear Arms Race](#) (1989) to:

1. Commend former President Ronald Reagan and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev for the leadership they demonstrated by the signing of the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty.
2. Commend President George Bush for taking significant steps toward limiting short range nuclear missiles and urge the American government to intensify its efforts toward achieving a START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty) agreement, a comprehensive test ban, and a ban on weapons in space.

3. Express appreciation to the Roman Catholic Bishops and the Methodist Bishops for calling for a reassessment of the moral and strategic assumptions of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD).
4. Work toward elimination of long term reliance on nuclear armaments as a deterrent and adopt as our goal a multilateral, negotiated, verifiable arms control process to decrease and eventually eliminate all nuclear weapons from the face of the earth.
5. Support the concept of limited unilateral cuts in the U.S. arsenal which might encourage further similar cuts by the U.S.S.R. without eliminating a credible level of deterrence.

In a 1981 resolution [Control of Nuclear Arms, 1981](#)

remove 1981]

[Preventing Nuclear Holocaust, 1983](#)

[To End the Manufacturing and Trade In Fissionable Material Suitable for the Production of Nuclear Arms, 1989](#)

[Halting the Nuclear Arms Race, 1989](#)

In the Aftermath of 9-11

"Ethical Restraint Has Been Compromised"

By the Council of Bishops, The United Methodist Church

Minneapolis, MN

April 28 - May 3, 2002

Whereas, the events of September 11 have changed the political atmosphere and the maintenance of world peace, and Whereas, the United Methodist Church in its Social Principles has previously addressed the ethical issues of nuclear weapons, ABMs, and utilization of first strike nuclear weapons, and

Whereas, we now witness: (a) the potential development and testing of new nuclear weapons; (b) the cancellation of the ABM agreement, and (c) the threatened utilization of first strike nuclear weapons, and

Whereas, under the heading of "war against terrorism," ethical restraint has been compromised;
Therefore Be It Resolved that:

A. The Council of Bishops will be persistent in seeking an audience with President Bush to share with him the voice of the U.M.C. on the concerns noted above, and as articulated in our Book of Discipline 2000, and our Book of Resolutions 2000.

B. We urge all bishops, active and retired, to seek ecumenical and interfaith venues to express and embody the values, principles and positions of The Book of Discipline 2000 and The Book of Resolution 2000.

Draft

[logo of flame and cross from <http://www.umc.org/abouttheumc/symbol/> -- if permission granted]

United Methodist Church

*** In Defense of Creation**

*** Saying No to Nuclear Deterrence**

The United Methodist Church [www.umc.org] is a global institution with 8.3 million members in the United States and 1.3 million in other countries, including over one million in Africa. In the U.S. the United Methodist Church brings together churches from the Methodist and the Evangelical United Brethren traditions.

The United Methodist Church is governed by the General Conference, [http://www.umc.org/abouttheumc/organization/general_conference.htm] a body of elected delegates that meets every four years. The Council of Bishops [<http://www.umc.org/abouttheumc/organization/episcopal.htm>] provides episcopal leadership for the denomination. The General Board of Church and Society [<http://www.umc-gbcs>], based in Washington, D.C., implements UMC Social Principles and related statements adopted by General Conference.

*The United Methodist Church has a long history of speaking on issues of peace and war. This was reflected in a two year study on nuclear weapons by the Council of Bishops in the mid-1980s. When completed, the bishops issued a foundation document and pastoral letter, **In Defense of Creation** (1986). [linkage to below] Among other things, the bishops stated:*

we say a clear and unconditional *No* to nuclear war and to any use of nuclear weapons.
We conclude that nuclear deterrence is a position that cannot receive the church's blessing.

*The 1988 General Conference affirmed and supported statements of the Council of Bishops in "In Defense of Creation." Subsequent quadrennial General Conferences have passed resolutions on the subject. In 2000 the resolution was entitled **Saying No to Nuclear Deterrence** [linkage to below] and indicated:*

we affirm the goal of total abolition of all nuclear weapons throughout Earth and space.

The resolution also laid out a set of actions necessary for achieving the goal of nuclear abolition.

[set the following in a box like statements of the Holy See and others]

In Defense of Creation

[PDF document]

*In 1986 after two years of study the United Methodist Council of Bishops issued a foundation document and pastoral letter entitled **In Defense of Creation: The Nuclear Crisis and a Just Peace**. In the pastoral letter, after summarizing a theology for peace with justice and the threat of nuclear weapons to the human family and planet earth itself, the bishops stated:*

Therefore, we say a clear and unconditional *No* to nuclear war and to any use of nuclear weapons. We conclude that nuclear deterrence is a position that cannot receive the church's blessing.

In the foundation document the United Methodist bishops outlined a set of policies for a just peace, including:

- Comprehensive test ban to inaugurate a nuclear freeze.
- Consolidation of existing treaties and phased reductions leading to the eventual goal of a mutual and verifiable dismantling of all nuclear armaments.
- Bans on space weapons.
- No-first-use agreement as a transitional measure.

Here is the pastoral letter in its entirety.

A Pastoral Letter to All United Methodists

From your brothers and sisters in Christ Jesus, the Council of Bishops, to all those people called United Methodist in every land: Grace to you and peace in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

With hearts and minds open to Christ, who is our peace;
In obedience to his call to be peacemakers;
And in response to the biblical vision of a wholistic peace, *shalom*, revealed in Scripture to be God's will and purpose for all of creation:

We, the bishops of The United Methodist Church, have been moved by the spirit of Jesus to send you a message that we have titled **IN DEFENSE OF CREATION: THE NUCLEAR CRISIS AND A JUST PEACE**, a message we believe to be of utmost urgency in our time.

This message has been prepared over a span of two years during which time we have earnestly sought to hear the Word of God through the Scriptures. At the same time we have prayerfully and penitently reflected on the continuing buildup of nuclear arsenals by some of the nations. We have become increasingly aware of the devastation that such weapons can inflict on planet earth. We have watched and agonized over the increase in hostile rhetoric and hate among nations. We have seen the threat of a nuclear confrontation increasing in our world. We have been motivated by our own sense of Christian responsibility and stewardship for the world God created.

This brief *Pastoral Letter* is an introduction to a substantial *Foundation Document* that we have produced as the major portion of our message. In our *Foundation Document* we have attempted to state with clarity the biblical basis for our concerns and our

conclusions about the issue we are addressing. We have set forth a theology for peace with justice in our time that reflects our understanding of the mind and will of Jesus Christ. This theology for a just peace reflects also our understanding of those insights of both pacifism and just-war theory that speak with relevance to the issues of the present nuclear crisis.

We write in defense of creation. We do so because the creation itself is under attack. Air and water, trees and fruits and flowers, birds and fish and cattle, all children and youth, women and men live under the darkening shadows of a threatening nuclear winter. We call The United Methodist Church to more faithful witness and action in the face of this worsening nuclear crisis. It is a crisis that threatens to assault not only the whole human family but planet earth itself, even while the arms race itself cruelly destroys millions of lives in conventional wars, repressive violence, and massive poverty.

Therefore, we say a clear and unconditional *No* to nuclear war and to any use of nuclear weapons. We concluded that nuclear deterrence is a position that cannot receive the church's blessing. We state our complete lack of confidence in proposed "defenses" against nuclear attack and are convinced that the enormous cost of developing such defenses is one more witness to the obvious fact that the arms race is a social justice issue, not only a war and peace issue.

Our document sets forth a number of policies for a just peace, including such disarmament proposals as a comprehensive test ban, a multilateral and mutually verifiable nuclear weapons freeze and the ultimate dismantling of all such weapons, and bans on all space weapons. However, the nuclear crisis is not primarily a matter of technology; it is a crisis of human community. We encourage independent US and Soviet initiatives to foster a political climate conducive to negotiations. We urge a renewed commitment to building the institutional foundations of common security, economic justice, human rights, and environmental conservation. And we make appeal for peace research, studies, and training in all levels of education.

This message we are sending to United Methodist people is not meant to be a consensus opinion of our church or a policy statement of our denomination on the nuclear crisis and the pursuit of peace. It is given from the bishops to the church as both a pastoral and a prophetic word. It is *pastoral* in that we as bishops will seek to lead the church in study, prayer, and action related to this issue and this theme, using the *Foundation Document* as a basic resource and guide. It is *prophetic* in that the *Foundation Document* is our response to the Word of God. It faithfully states our understanding of that Word to our world at this moment in history.

Our message is the result of many months of prayerful study, research, and reflection. It is not given to the church with any feeling that it should be the final word on this issue or with the hope that it will silence all contrary opinions; but rather, we are sending this statement to the church seeking the fullest and fairest possible discussion of our understandings and convictions, together with an honest consideration of difference and critical opinions.

Peacemaking is ultimately a spiritual issue. It is a sacred calling of Jesus. All dimensions of church life offer openings for peacemaking: family life, Christian education, the ministry of the laity, pastoral ministry in every respect, political witness, and the great fact of the church as a worldwide company of disciples that transcends all nations, governments, races, and ideologies.

Now, therefore, we ask you, our sisters and brothers, to join with us in a new covenant of peacemaking; to use the Bible together with our Council's *Foundation Document* as basic resources for earnest and steadfast study of the issues of justice and peace. We call upon each local pastor and lay leader to give leadership in a local church study of the issues surrounding the nuclear threat. We ask you all to open again your hearts, as we open our hearts to receive God's gracious gift of peace; to become with us evangelists of *shalom*, making the ways of Jesus the model of discipleship, embracing all neighbors near and far, all friends and enemies, and becoming the defenders of God's good creation; and to pray without ceasing for peace in our time.

Now we draw this *Pastoral Letter* to a close with prayers for all of you and for all the nations and peoples of the earth.

We humbly pray that God will accept and use our lives and resources that we dedicate again to a ministry of peace.

May the love of God, the peace of Christ, and the power of the Holy Spirit be among you, everywhere and always, so that you may be a blessing to all creation and to all the children of God, making peace and remembering the poor, choosing life and coming to life eternal, in God's own good time.

Amen.

General Conference Endorsement

*In 1988 the General Conference, the official governing body of the United Methodist Church, affirmed and supported **In Defense of Creation**. As part of a resolution on "Christian Faith and Disarmament", the General Conference stated:*

We especially affirm and support the statements of the Council of Bishops in their 1986 pastoral letter, "In Defense of Creation", and the accompanying foundation document. We urge our bishops to keep this concern before the Church. We request that the General Board of Discipleship produce new and updated educational materials for children, youth and adults to study the issues of peace and justice and the effects of the nuclear weapons crisis.

[set the following in a box like statements from the Holy See and others]

Saying No to Nuclear Deterrence

[PDF document]

The 2000 General Conference of the United Methodist Church, its official governing body, reaffirmed its support for the abolition of nuclear weapons and adopted the following resolution.

In 1986, the United Methodist Council of Bishops, after nearly two years of prayerful and penitent study, adopted a pastoral letter and foundation document entitled *In Defense of Creation: The Nuclear Crisis and a Just Peace.*ⁱ

The bishops' statement was deeply rooted in biblical faith. They wrote:

At the heart of the Old Testament is the testimony of shalom, that marvelous Hebrew word that means peace. But the peace that is shalom is not negative or one dimensional. It is much more than the absence of war. Shalom is positive peace: harmony, wholeness, health, and well-being in all human relationships. It is the natural state of humanity as birthed by God. It is harmony between humanity and all of God's good creation. All of creation is interrelated. Every creature, every element, every force of nature participates in the whole of creation. If any person is denied shalom, all are thereby diminished....ⁱⁱ

New Testament faith presupposes a radical break with the follies, or much so-called conventional wisdom about power and security, on the one hand, and the transcendent wisdom of shalom, on the other. Ultimately, New Testament faith is a message of hope about God's plan and purpose for human destiny. It is a redemptive vision that refuses to wallow in doom.ⁱⁱⁱ

Based upon this faith, the bishops in their pastoral letter stated unequivocally that "we say a clear and unconditional No to nuclear war and to any use of nuclear weapons. We conclude that nuclear deterrence is a position that cannot receive the church's blessing."

Based upon this faith, the bishops in their pastoral letter stated unequivocally that "we say a clear and unconditional No to nuclear war and to any use of nuclear weapons. We conclude that nuclear deterrence is a position that cannot receive the church's blessing."^{iv}

The implication is clear. If nuclear weapons cannot be legitimately used for either deterrence or war fighting, no nation should possess them. Accordingly, in the foundation document the bishops indicated:

We support the earliest possible negotiation of phased but rapid reduction of nuclear arsenals, while calling upon all other nuclear-weapon states to agree to parallel arms reduction, to the eventual goal of a mutual and verifiable dismantling all nuclear armaments.^v

In 1988, the United Methodist General Conference affirmed and supported the statements of the Council of Bishops contained in *In Defense of Creation.*^{vi} Four years later, in a resolution entitled "Nuclear Disarmament: The Zero Option," the 1992 General Conference stated that "now is the time to exercise the zero option: to eliminate all nuclear weapons throughout the globe,"^{vii} and the conference offered a series of concrete actions for achieving this goal.

Our Commitment

We reaffirm the finding that nuclear weapons, whether used or threatened, are grossly evil and morally wrong. As an instrument of mass destruction, nuclear weapons slaughter the innocent and ravage the environment. When used as instruments of deterrence, nuclear weapons hold innocent people hostage for political and military purposes. Therefore, the doctrine of nuclear deterrence is morally corrupt and spiritually bankrupt

Therefore, we reaffirm the goal of total abolition of all nuclear weapons throughout Earth and space.

Recommended Actions

Because we unequivocally reject the use or threatened use of nuclear weapons, we call upon all possessors of nuclear weapons to carry out the following actions as soon as possible:

- (1) renounce unconditionally the use of nuclear weapons for deterrence and war-fighting purposes;
- (2) pledge never to use nuclear weapons against any adversary under any circumstance;
- (3) immediately take all nuclear weapons off alert by separating warheads from delivery vehicles and by other means;
- (4) embark upon a program to systematically dismantle all nuclear warheads and delivery vehicles as soon as possible with adequate safeguards and verification, carried out under multilateral treaties and through reciprocal national initiatives;
- (5) ratify and implement the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty;
- (6) cease all research, development, testing, production, and deployment of new nuclear weapons and refrain from modernizing the existing nuclear arsenal;
- (7) halt all efforts to develop and deploy strategic antimissile defense systems because they are illusory, unnecessary, and wasteful;
- (8) respect the requirements of nuclear weapon-free zones where they exist;
- (9) enter into a multilateral process to develop, adopt, and carry out a nuclear weapons convention that outlaws and abolishes all nuclear weapons under strict and effective international control;
- (10) develop and implement a system for control of all fissile material with international accounting, monitoring, and safeguards.

We call upon all nations that do not possess nuclear weapons to:

- (1) cease all efforts to develop these instruments of mass destruction and their delivery systems;
- (2) ratify and carry out the provisions of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty;
- (3) adhere to all provisions of the Non-Proliferation Treaty; and
- (4) respect the requirements of nuclear weapon-free zones and extend this approach to other nations and continents.

Implementation

To promote the achievement of goals and objectives specified in this resolution:

- (1) We ask the Council of Bishops to transmit a copy of the resolution to the heads of states

of all nations possessing nuclear weapons.

(2) We ask the General Board of Church and Society to publicize the resolution with appropriate governmental officials, legislators, the media, and the general public.

(3) We call upon the Council of Bishops and the General Board of Church and Society to provide leadership, guidance, and educational material to United Methodists, congregations, and conferences in order to assist them in understanding and working for the goal and objectives of nuclear abolition.

(4) We request the Council of Bishops and the General Board of Church and Society to report to the 2004 General Conference the activities they have carried out and the progress achieved by the nations of Earth toward the goal of nuclear abolition.

Conclusion

We fervently believe that these recommendations will greatly enhance global security by eliminating the possibility of nuclear war. Furthermore, the resources of human talent, production capacity, and money released can become available to deal with urgent human problems around the globe. Nuclear abolition provides great hope for global peace and prosperity.

ⁱ *In Defense of Creation: The Nuclear Crisis and a Just Peace*, the United Methodist Council of Bishops (Nashville: Graded Press, 1986).

ⁱⁱ Ibid., page 24.

ⁱⁱⁱ Ibid., page 28.

^{iv} Ibid., page 92.

^v Ibid., page 76.

^{vi} *The Book of Resolutions of the United Methodist Church, 1988*, page 503.

^{vii} Ibid., page 601.

Testimony on the

Moscow Treaty on Strategic Offensive Reductions

before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Fr. Drew Christiansen, S.J.
Counselor on International Affairs
U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops

July 23, 2002

It is a privilege to be invited here today to address the moral dimensions of this important treaty. I speak on behalf of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, which has addressed the ethical dimensions of U.S. nuclear policy many times and in considerable detail in the past three decades. I also speak as an ethicist who has studied, taught and written about the ethics of war and peace for many years.

The U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops welcomes the new treaty on strategic nuclear weapons, and prays that will not be seen as an end but as one of many steps that must be taken if we are to achieve the goal of a mutual, verifiable global ban on nuclear weapons.

Morality and Nuclear Weapons

Our perspective on this treaty is derived from our moral analysis of the nuclear predicament which the world has faced for more than half a century. This moral assessment begins with a judgment that nuclear weapons—their use and threatened use—pose unique moral challenges, particularly to the just war tradition's norms of discrimination (or non-combatant immunity) and proportionality. While we have not condemned every conceivable use of nuclear weapons *a priori*, we have categorically condemned counter-population attacks, and have opposed doctrines that are based on fighting and winning a "limited" nuclear war and those that entail the first use of nuclear weapons. In short, we have strongly objected to policies and practices that would blur the distinction between nuclear and conventional weapons or would erode the fragile barrier against their use. In fact, in 1993, the bishops stated: "We abhor any use of nuclear weapons." (NCCB, *The Harvest of Justice Is Sown in Peace*, p. 13).

Given the moral problems associated with the use of nuclear weapons, the bishops offered a "strictly conditioned moral acceptance of deterrence" in their 1983 pastoral letter on the subject (NCCB, *The Challenge of Peace* #186). The bishops judged that nuclear deterrence may be morally acceptable as long as it is limited to deterring nuclear use by others; sufficiency, not nuclear superiority, is its goal; and it is used as a step on the way toward progressive disarmament.

This basic two-fold judgment — moral opposition to most every conceivable use of nuclear weapons and a strictly conditioned moral acceptance of nuclear deterrence—

shapes our perspective on the two issues I want to address briefly here: the changing nature of the nuclear question in a post-Cold War world, and the Moscow Treaty and its implications for U.S. nuclear policy.

Unfinished Business

Today, the threat of global nuclear war may seem more remote than at any time in the nuclear age, but we face a different but still dangerous period in which the use of nuclear weapons remains a significant threat. The end of the Cold War has changed the nuclear question in three ways. First, nuclear weapons are still an integral component of U.S. security policies, but they are no longer—and should not be—at the center of these policies or of international relations. During the Cold War, a dominant concern was the ethics of nuclear weapons. Today, this concern, while still critically important, must be considered in the context of a more fundamental question of the ethical foundations of political order: How do we achieve a just and stable political order, so that nations will no longer rely on nuclear weapons for their security?

Second, our nation, together with other nuclear powers, has new opportunities to take steps toward progressive nuclear disarmament. If during the Cold War the first task was to stop the growth of already bloated nuclear arsenals; today, the moral task is to proceed with deep cuts and ultimately to ban these weapons entirely.

Third, the threat of global nuclear war now seems remote, but the use of nuclear weapons—by accident, by terrorists or in a regional conflict—remains a significant threat. Mutual restraint, international cooperation, and leadership by example, are particularly important if the United States is to address effectively the very real threat that nuclear weapons still represent. Just as the nuclear powers must prevent nuclear war, so also they, with the rest of the international community, bear a heavy moral responsibility to stop the spread of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons.

The Moscow Treaty and Its Implications for U.S. Nuclear Policy

The Moscow Treaty is a welcome step insofar as it reflects, and is a product of, these changes. It takes place in the context of significantly improved relations between Russia and the United States and is an example of the mutually reinforcing connection between progress in political relationships and progress in arms control. It makes deep cuts in existing nuclear arsenals after years of stalled negotiations—an example of the useful role that independent initiatives (i.e., the U.S. commitment to unilateral cuts last year) can play in moving forward the arms reduction process. Finally, it is—and should be—part of an effort to address concerns about accidental use and proliferation by helping Russia dismantle and make more secure its nuclear weapons complex.

While we welcome the new treaty and the President's stated commitment to seek ways to escape Mutual Assured Destruction, we are concerned that U.S. planning and policies keep pace with the dramatic changes in world politics since the end of the Cold War, and move away from reliance on nuclear weapons as a central part of our nation's military doctrine. The following issues are of particular importance:

Further cuts in nuclear weapons: We disagree with those who claim that this agreement represents the lowest level our nation can or should go in reducing its nuclear stockpiles. Even when this agreement is fully implemented ten years from now, Russia and the United States will still have thousands of deployed nuclear weapons and thousands more held in reserve for possible future use. Much deeper, more irreversible cuts, in both strategic and tactical weapons, are both possible and necessary. As the bishops said in their 1993 statement, *The Harvest of Justice Is Sown in Peace*, "The eventual elimination of nuclear weapons is more than a moral ideal; it should be a policy goal." More dramatic progress in arms control and disarmament is the only basis for the continued moral legitimacy of deterrence.

The use of nuclear weapons: Given our moral assessment of nuclear weapons, we oppose the continued readiness of the United States to use nuclear weapons, especially against non-nuclear threats, and the potential development of new weapons for this purpose. As I mentioned earlier, we have long held that a minimal nuclear deterrent may be justified only to deter the use of nuclear weapons. It is long past time for the United States to commit itself never to use nuclear weapons first, to reject unequivocally proposals to use nuclear weapons to deter non-nuclear threats, and to reinforce the fragile barrier against nuclear use.

Ratification of the test ban treaty: We urge the President to support the ratification of the comprehensive test ban treaty. An end to nuclear testing is one essential step in escaping the moral predicament posed by nuclear deterrence. Moreover, the United States cannot credibly urge other nations to forego these weapons if it is not even willing to ratify a treaty to stop testing its own nuclear weapons.

Threat reduction: More must be done to assist nuclear nations, particularly Russia, in dismantling and safeguarding their weapons and nuclear materials. The thousands of tactical nuclear weapons that are not covered by existing agreements are of particular concern.

Finally, this treaty and U.S. nuclear policy generally must be connected to the special responsibility of the United States (and other nuclear powers) to use its influence and resources to lead in the construction of a more just and stable international order. An essential part of this international order must be a cooperative security framework that reverses the proliferation of nuclear weapons, guarantees the security of non-nuclear states, and seeks to develop and employ alternatives to war. The United States and other nations should take the necessary measures to help ensure the development of stable, democratic governments in nations which have nuclear weapons or might seek to obtain them. Our nation should lead in the challenging task of envisioning a future rooted in peace, with new global structures of mediation and conflict-resolution, and with a world order that has moved beyond nuclear weapons.

Office of Social Development & World Peace
United States Conference of Catholic Bishops
3211 4th Street, N.E., Washington, DC 20017-1194 (202) 541-3000

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Statement on New Nuclear Treaty and U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy

Most Reverend Wilton D. Gregory

President

U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops

May 24, 2002

We welcome the new treaty on strategic nuclear weapons signed today by President Bush and President Putin. We pray that this new treaty will not be seen as an end but as one of many steps that must be taken if we are to achieve the goal of a mutual, verifiable global ban on nuclear weapons.

The treaty should contribute to non-proliferation efforts and a safer world, particularly in the context of significantly improved relations between Russia and the United States and a commitment by the Bush administration to help Russia dismantle and make more secure its nuclear weapons complex. This treaty shows how progress in political relationships and progress in arms control can be mutually reinforcing. It is also an example of the useful role that independent initiatives can play in moving forward the long-stalled nuclear arms reduction process.

The threat of global nuclear war now seems remote, but the use of nuclear weapons -- by accident, by terrorists or in a regional conflict -- remains a significant threat. Mutual restraint, international cooperation, and leadership by example, are particularly important if the United States is to address effectively the very real threat that nuclear weapons still represent. While we welcome the new treaty and the President's stated commitment to seek ways to escape Mutual Assured Destruction, we are concerned that U.S. planning and policies keep pace with the dramatic changes in world politics since the end of the Cold War, and move away from reliance on nuclear weapons as a central part of our nation's military doctrine. The following issues are of particular importance:

Further cuts in nuclear weapons: We disagree with those who claim that this agreement represents the lowest level our nation can or should go in reducing its nuclear stockpiles. Nuclear deterrence should be used as a step on the way toward progressive disarmament. Even when this agreement is fully implemented ten years from now, Russia and the United States will still have thousands of deployed nuclear weapons and thousands more held in reserve for possible future use. Much deeper, more irreversible cuts, in both strategic and tactical weapons, are both possible and necessary. As we said in our 1993 statement, *The Harvest of Justice is Sown in Peace*, "The eventual elimination of nuclear weapons is more than a moral ideal; it should be a policy goal." More dramatic progress in arms

control and disarmament is the only basis for the continued moral legitimacy of deterrence.

The use of nuclear weapons: We oppose the continued readiness of the United States to use nuclear weapons, especially against non-nuclear threats, and the potential development of new weapons for this purpose. We have long held that a minimal nuclear deterrent may be justified only to deter the use of *nuclear* weapons. It is long past time for the United States to commit itself never to use nuclear weapons first, to reject unequivocally proposals to use nuclear weapons to deter non-nuclear threats, and to reinforce the fragile barrier against the use of these weapons. We abhor any use of nuclear weapons.

Ratification of the test ban treaty: We urge the President to support the ratification of the comprehensive test ban treaty. An end to nuclear testing is one essential step in escaping the moral predicament posed by nuclear deterrence. Moreover, the United States cannot credibly urge other nations to forego these weapons if it is not even willing to ratify a treaty to stop testing its own nuclear weapons.

Threat reduction: More must be done to assist nuclear nations, particularly Russia, in dismantling and safeguarding their weapons and nuclear materials. The thousands of tactical nuclear weapons that are not covered by existing agreements are of particular concern.

The United States, with other nuclear powers, has a special responsibility to use its influence and resources to lead in the construction of a more just and stable international order. An essential part of this international order must be a cooperative security framework that reverses the proliferation of nuclear weapons, guarantees the security of non-nuclear states, and seeks to find alternatives to war. The United States and other nations should take the necessary measures to help ensure the development of stable, democratic governments in nations which have nuclear weapons or might seek to obtain them. Our nation should lead in the challenging task of envisioning a future rooted in peace, with new global structures of mediation and conflict-resolution, and with a world order that has moved beyond nuclear weapons.

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United States Conference of Catholic Bishops
3211 4th Street, N.E., Washington, DC 20017-1194 (202) 541-3000

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