

Papal Conclave 2005

In 2005, the College of Cardinals met, for the first time in 26 years, to elect a new Pope. While the previous Pope, John Paul II, was famous for his outsized influence in global affairs, his successor will have to deal with issues closer to home. The Church has lost much of its moral authority in recent years; secularism is spreading in the developed world, and evangelical movements are gaining ground in the Global South.

Over the course of the next four days, you will play the role of the College of Cardinals, the “Princes of the Church,” as they balance internal politics, personal ambition, and the best interests of Catholicism and its 1.27 billion adherents, to select the next Pope. Traditionally, the Cardinals are confined to the Sistine Chapel, with no communication with the outside world until a Pope is elected. Because both the goals and the procedures of a Papal conclave differ significantly from those of a UN organ, the following modifications to standard Parliamentary Procedure will be used:

1. Each delegate will be assigned the role of a particular Cardinal Elector. While, in reality, some Cardinals have administrative functions at the Conclave, there will be no portfolio powers in this committee, for purposes of balance. Any powers that some delegates’ assigned Cardinals might have will be exercised by the Chair.
2. Position papers are required, and should be written in the voice of the delegate’s assigned Cardinal. The position paper shall take the form of a document outlining the Cardinal’s positions on the issues that he believes will be critical to the future of the Church, and describing the path on which he might lead the Church if elected Pope.
3. The only item on the agenda is the election of a new Pope.
4. No candidate shall be elected unless he has been duly nominated. A candidate shall be deemed nominated upon the presentation of a resolution, with X sponsors and Y signatories, calling for that candidate’s election to the Papacy. It is not expected that any other resolutions will be found germane.
5. Each Candidate will outline their platform in the form of an Apostolic Letter, which will be released to the Catholic faithful upon their election. This Letter will form a part of the resolution calling for the Candidate’s election, as described in Paragraph 4. As the Apostolic Letter will likely draw heavily from the candidate’s Position Paper, delegates are encouraged to bring both print and electronic copies thereof.
6. The Cardinals are permitted and encouraged to seek amendments to the nominees’ draft Apostolic Letters. Delegates who have a major impact on the direction of the next Pope’s administration, as described in the Apostolic Letter, will be looked favorably upon when deciding awards.
7. If, after the passage of an amendment, the nominee is unwilling to support the draft Apostolic Letter, they must renounce their candidacy.

8. The Chair shall, at his discretion, permit a ballot be held, upon receiving a motion to that effect. Upon approving this motion, the Cardinals shall elect the Pope, by voting on each of the nominees, using any such method as the Chair may select. To be elected Pope, a nominee must receive two-thirds of the vote.
9. If, by Sunday, no Pope is elected, the Chair may specify another method of election.

As you deliberate, I ask that you consider the position of each of the candidates on two topics: dogma and ecclesiology. Keep in mind that during the conclave, you will not be considering these topics separately, as the sole item on the agenda is the election of a new Pope. I expect that you will evaluate each of the papal candidates on the strength of their ecclesiological and dogmatic positions.

Topic A: Dogma

Compared to the secular world, the Catholic Church maintains very conservative positions on questions of personal morality, particularly with respect to marriage and sexuality. For many within the Church, these positions are beyond question. They say that is the responsibility of the Church to speak the truth even when the world has rejected it, and that the Church ought to continue to do so, even if it means that the Church will be perceived as outmoded and will lose members. The conservative core of the Catholic faithful will survive uncorrupted, and their moral consistency is more valuable than any fleeting popularity that accommodation will bring.

On the other hand, the smaller but still sizeable liberal wing of the Catholic Church believes that, on certain questions, the positions of the Church must change in response to overwhelming popular opinion. In cases where the Church cannot credibly change its position, it should simply refocus its message to downplay unpopular moral doctrines. For this faction, the risk that the Church will lose relevance if it remains far out of step with popular opinion is too great to ignore.

Both the liberals and the conservatives agree that too rapid a change might lead to a splintering of the Church along ideological lines, as was the case with the Anglican Communion. To the liberals, the rewards might outweigh this risk, especially in light of the reforms of the Second Vatican Council (discussed in further detail under Topic B), which were mostly accepted, though they did lead to some small groups breaking away from the Church. Mitigating the risk of schism will be a priority for any reformist candidates.

Some individuals and groups within the Catholic Church have begun to criticize the Church's conservative stances on moral and dogmatic issues. Whether the Church should crack down on dissenting voices, particularly those from the clergy and other religious (i.e., nuns and monks), is the subject of debate between liberal and conservative authorities.

The divide between liberals and conservatives on a few particular issues is described in further detail below.

Abortion: The Catholic Church has consistently and vocally opposed abortion on moral grounds, and there is no debate within the Church on its acceptability. However, there is division between conservatives and liberals on how abortion is treated. Under current Canon law, procuring an abortion results in automatic excommunication, which bars an individual from all Church sacraments. The excommunication can only be lifted by a bishop, which requires a formal petition from either the excommunicated person or from a priest acting on their behalf¹.

Many liberals within the Church argue that this policy should be changed to allow for the excommunication to be lifted by priests, on the grounds that simplification of this process would make it easier for those who have procured an abortion to return to the Church². Some would go so far as to argue that those who procure an abortion should not be excommunicated at all, or at least that they should not be excommunicated without a trial. Conservatives fear that any change to Canon law to reduce the penalties for abortion would be a betrayal of the Church's moral stance.

Within the United States, and to a lesser extent in other countries, a different question has arisen, as to what the stance of the Church should be towards Catholic politicians who support legal abortion. Last year, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, the highest dogmatic authority in the Church after the Pope, issued a directive instructing priests to deny Holy Communion to politicians supporting legal abortion³. However, the majority of bishops have declined to enforce this directive, though others have gone so far as to threaten pro-choice politicians with excommunication. For the conservative wing of the Church, political support for abortion is as sinful as obtaining or participating in abortion, and argue that any accommodation of pro-choice Catholics would be interpreted as weakening the Church's stance against abortion. Liberals respond that excommunicating pro-choice politicians would divert the attention of Catholic voters from the other political positions of the Church.

Contraception: The current doctrine of the Catholic Church states that any form of contraception is unacceptable, though this policy is widely ignored by the Catholic laity, and is not a focus for most priests⁴. In recent years, the Church has come under fire for its policies on contraception on the grounds that, by preventing the use of condoms, it encourages the spread of HIV and other STDs, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa⁵. The official stance of the Church is that condoms will not have a significant effect on HIV transmission, and money currently spent on condoms would be better used on antiretroviral drugs. However, the liberal faction has argued that, when intended to prevent STDs, the use of condoms may be morally acceptable.

Divorce: Perhaps no moral question is under greater internal debate than the stance of the Church towards divorce. According to current dogma, the sacrament of marriage, like all other sacraments, is indelible. While civil divorce is itself technically permissible, it has no effect on the status of the marriage with respect to Church law. Therefore, remarriage after divorce is impossible, and any person who does contract a civil marriage after divorce commits a grave sin, and therefore

¹ Catechism of the Catholic Church, 2270

² Jimmy Akin. "Holy Year Gestures on Abortion and the SSPX". *National Catholic Register*

³ Joseph Ratzinger. *Worthiness to Receive Holy Communion: General Principles*

⁴ Pontifical Council on the Family. *The Truth and Meaning of Human Sexuality*

⁵ Steve Bradshaw. "Vatican: Condoms don't stop AIDS." *The Guardian*

cannot be admitted to Holy Communion, the central sacrament at the heart of Catholic worship, as doctrine states that no person in a state of grave sin may participate in Holy Communion⁶.

At present, this dogma is in practice not strictly enforced; except when they are public figures, Catholics who present themselves for Holy Communion are rarely denied it. However, Catholics who do receive Holy Communion despite remarriage after divorce are in violation of Church law, which has both spiritual and (rarely enforced) practical penalties. For this reason, many liberal figures within the Catholic Church would prefer an official change in Church doctrine, whereby persons who have divorced and remarried would be allowed to participate in Holy Communion, despite their sins. The liberals believe that such a change would be permissible because the purpose of Holy Communion is to bring people closer to God; it is the sinner who, therefore, most needs it. On a more practical level, the liberals believe that if people who divorce and remarry are barred from Holy Communion, the Church will continue to lose members as divorce rates increase⁷.

The conservatives object to this line of reasoning, on the grounds that eliminating the penalties for remarriage after divorce would undermine the Church's teachings on sexual morality. They further argue that the admission of remarried people to communion despite their sins would open the door to tacit acceptance of any other sin, from homosexuality to heresy.

Homosexuality: The current doctrine of the Catholic Church states that homosexuality is an "objective disorder", and that homosexual acts are a grave sin⁸. While the official position of the Church is that discrimination based on sexual orientation (as opposed to sexual activity) is unacceptable, gay men are barred from becoming priests, and the Church has opposed legislation that, in its view, would normalize homosexuality, including, on occasion, antidiscrimination laws and the decriminalization of homosexual activity⁹.

Some members of the Catholic hierarchy believe that the use of Church resources to oppose legal recognition of same-sex couples is likely to alienate a large portion of the Catholic laity, many of whom, particularly in Europe and North America, disagree with Church teachings on sexual morality. The liberal faction of the hierarchy has also argued that it might be possible for gay men to be ordained as priests, provided that, like all priests within Western Catholicism, they remain celibate¹⁰.

A few liberal bishops and Cardinals, primarily in Europe, have called on the Church to accept same-sex civil unions, arguing that committed unions between people of the same sex should be treated similarly to heterosexual relationships¹¹. Some European priests have gone so far as to

⁶ Archdiocese of Baltimore. *Divorce and Remarriage for Catholics*

⁷ Anthony Faiola. "Pope Francis offers hope to divorced Catholics, says no to gay marriage" *Washington Post*

⁸ Catechism of the Catholic Church, 2357

⁹ Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. *Some Considerations Concerning the Catholic Response to Legislative Proposals on the Non-Discrimination of Homosexual Persons*

¹⁰ Thomas J. Gumbleton. "Yes, Gay Men Should be Ordained" *America*

¹¹ John Skinner. "Protests follow French Bishop's Removal" *National Catholic Reporter*

ceremonially bless same-sex couples, which, while not equivalent to marriage, stands in stark contrast to the views of the conservative leadership.

The role of women: Under current doctrine, women in the Catholic Church are not allowed to be ordained, and with the exception of nuns, women have historically not been chosen for leadership roles within Catholic organizations, though there is no policy to that effect. During the Papacy of John Paul II, girls were allowed to become altar servers, a role that had previously been reserved to boys and had been considered a potential gateway to the priesthood.

Some Catholic splinter groups have broken away from the Church in order to ordain women as priests and bishops, and any change to the status of women within the Church would have an effect on the effort towards reunification within the Church and these groups. Within the Catholic Church, the most liberal factions in the hierarchy have argued that the ordination of women is necessary in order for the Church to survive in the modern world¹². Conservatives argue that doing so would be dogmatically impossible, as John Paul II is claimed to have closed debate on the matter by declaring that Jesus intended for the priesthood to be exclusively male¹³.

Some moderate liberals have argued that women should be allowed to be ordained as deacons, but not progress any further, on the grounds that women appear to have held the office of deacon in the early years of the Church¹⁴. Conservatives object to this compromise, as, in their view, the ordination of women as deacons would necessarily allow them to become priests, because of the sacramental unity between deacons, priests, and bishops.

The most conservative elements of the hierarchy have argued in favor of rolling back some of the changes made to the role of women in recent years, especially by closing the position of altar server to girls, on the grounds that the role should be used to encourage more boys to become priests.

Topic B: Ecclesiology

In recent years, a debate has arisen over what kind of church Catholicism ought to be. To the traditionalists, the Catholic Church is very much the Church of Rome, with grand cathedrals, an imperial papacy, and Latin services. To the traditionalists, the Church is necessarily in opposition to the modern world, and a movement to accommodate popular sensibilities would detract from the dignity of the Church.

Since the reforms initiated by the Second Vatican Council in 1962, a populist movement emerged, which emphasizes the participation of the laity in worship and Church governance, and an emphasis on social justice and improved relations with other denominations and religions. For some of the populists, particularly those from the global south, this extends to the accommodation of traditional forms of worship within Catholicism.

¹² Christa Pongratz-Lippitt. "Swiss Bishop Allows Lay Appeal for Women's Ordination" *The Tablet*

¹³ John Paul II. *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis*.

¹⁴ Phyllis Zagano. "Ordain Catholic Women as Deacons" *Harvard Divinity Bulletin*

In the years immediately following the Second Vatican Council, the populist view was dominant, but over the course of the papacy of John Paul II, the Church has shifted back towards the traditionalist stance. A few of the areas of contention between populists and traditionalists are described below.

Church Governance: In the early years of Christianity, the Church was governed largely by local leadership, with major decisions coming from ecumenical councils, comprised of all bishops. Gradually, power came to be concentrated in the hands of the patriarchs, and, ultimately, in the hands of the Pope. Today, the Pope is the ultimate authority on all matters of Church administration and dogma, and may make infallible pronouncements on doctrinal questions, though even he is subject to the Scriptures and the Traditions of the Church¹⁵. The Pope is assisted by the Curia, the body of senior Church officials based at the Vatican, who administer the major organs of Church governance.

Since the Second Vatican Council, however, a significant portion of the power of the Catholic Church has been delegated to the national Bishops' Conferences, the associations of all Catholic bishops in each country. Today, the Bishops' Conferences make doctrinal and administrative decisions for the Catholic clergy and laity in their respective countries, and are largely responsible for implementing directives from the Pope and the Curia.

For many traditionalists, the increase in the authority of the Bishops' Conferences has given too much independence to local hierarchs, and risks the unity of the Catholic Church. On the other hand, the populists argue that the decentralization of power within the Church has not gone far enough. Even many moderates support a greater role for bishops at the highest levels of decision-making; they believe that, rather than the Pope and the Curia acting alone, major decisions should be made by the bishops as a whole¹⁶.

More extreme populists argue that, beyond the delegation of authority to the bishops, the priests and ordinary members of the Catholic Church should have a greater say in church governance. They propose that greater authority be vested in parish councils, which consist of the priests and selected laypeople of each parish, and that church authorities at all levels seek greater input from lay Catholics. Traditionalists fear that further delegation of authority, especially to non-experts, would weaken the authority, and possibly even the integrity, of the Catholic Church as a whole.

The Latin Mass: Historically, the Catholic Church celebrated Mass in Latin; the congregation, virtually none of whom could understand Latin, did not play an active role. After the Second Vatican Council, the Mass was celebrated in the local languages, with a greater role for the congregation. This change angered many traditionalists, some of whom left Catholicism because of it¹⁷.

¹⁵ Catechism of the Catholic Church 891

¹⁶ Peter Gould. Profile: "Cardinal Carlo Martini." *BBC*

¹⁷ "Traditionalists indicate definitive break with Catholic Church" *Catholic News Agency*.

Currently, bishops may grant permission for the Mass to be celebrated in the traditional form¹⁸. Many Traditionalists within the Church hierarchy would like to go further, and authorize all priests to use the Latin Mass. The more extreme Traditionalists would argue that the Latin Mass ought to be granted preeminence as the “standard” form, with the vernacular mass used as an alternative rite.

Populists, however, believe that the democratization of Catholic worship should go further, with more contemporary music and language incorporated. Many Populist authorities, especially those from the Global South, where evangelical Protestantism has recently gained a foothold, also support the incorporation of Charismatic elements, such as dancing and praying in tongues, to Catholic worship. The Catholic Charismatic Renewal movement, as it is known, has been cautiously supported by Catholic leadership, though it has met fierce opposition from some traditionalists¹⁹

Ecumenism: Historically, the Catholic Church has held that Catholicism is the one, true, universal church, and that outside of it, there is no salvation. The church has softened that position since the Second Vatican Council, and has made an effort towards improving relationships with other Christian denominations and with other religions.

For some Traditionalists, this risks undermining the status of the Catholic Church; by promoting the view that all religions are essentially equal, they say, ecumenical efforts commit a theological error, and risk allowing Catholics to leave the church²⁰. According to some Traditionalists, Catholicism should instead be working to poach converts from other religions, particularly Anglicanism, which has recently alienated many of its conservative members.

Populists, conversely, believe that the Church should continue its ecumenical efforts. Particularly in Asia and Africa, where non-Christian religions have a large presence, Populist Catholic authorities support greater interreligious cooperation, and are willing to find ways to accommodate traditional religious practices within the framework of Catholicism.

Social Justice: The official position of the Catholic Church on economic issues is decidedly left-of-center by American standards. However, the Church’s opposition to Marxism during the Cold War has led to rifts with the Liberation Theology movement, a faction within Catholicism, primarily in Latin America, that has sought to combine theology and left-wing politics, and which has criticized the Church hierarchy for its institutional power and wealth²¹.

The Catholic Church is one of the world’s wealthiest institutions, with enormous real estate holdings, priceless art collections, and its own highly secretive bank, the IOR. According to many populists, these resources would be put to better use if they were liquidated and used for charitable purposes. Even from a PR perspective, the assets of the Church make it appear out-of-touch with

¹⁸ John Paul II. *Quattouor abhinc annos*

¹⁹ John Paul II. *Pentecost Address, 1998*

²⁰ Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. *Dominus Iesus*

²¹ Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. *Instructions on Certain Aspects of the “Theology of Liberation”*

its poorest members, with the luxurious amenities offered to senior officials attracting particular attention. The IOR has also attracted significant criticism, as many feel that it is unbecoming for a Church that claims to act in the interests of the poor to own a bank that forms a part of the global financial networks that further impoverish them.

From the perspective of the traditionalists, however, the material assets of the Catholic Church are necessary to ensure its cultural status. It is the grandeur of the Church that confers dignity and authority on it and its leaders, and its ownership of some of the world's most famous art and architecture make it a guardian of the cultural patrimony of the Western world²². In fact, some traditionalists have claimed that the abandonment of the use of the Papal tiara seriously undermined the Pope's status as a political authority.

²² Rory Carroll. "Cardinal Tells Catholics Way to God is to Line Church's Coffers" *The Guardian*

The Electors

Delegates should note that the ideological affiliations of some of the Cardinal Electors have been changed to promote more balanced debate. In most cases, the changes were made by taking into account ideological shifts occurring after 2005. Research into the positions of individual Cardinals may be useful, but delegates should be aware that they will be expected to represent the positions of their assigned Elector as listed below.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Dogmatic Position</u>	<u>Ecclesiological Position</u>
Joseph Ratzinger	Germany	Conservative	Traditionalist
Camillo Ruini	Italy	Conservative	Traditionalist
Giacomo Biffi	Italy	Conservative	Traditionalist
Marc Oulett	Canada	Conservative	Traditionalist
Angelo Scola	Italy	Conservative	Traditionalist
Darío Castrillón Hoyos	Colombia	Conservative	Traditionalist
Alfonso López Trujillo	Colombia	Conservative	Traditionalist
Julián Herranz Casado	Spain	Conservative	Traditionalist
Nicolás de Jesús López Rodríguez	Dominican Republic	Conservative	Traditionalist
Antonio María Rouco Varela	Spain	Conservative	Traditionalist
Jorge Medina Estevez	Chile	Conservative	Traditionalist
Francis Arinze	Nigeria	Conservative	Moderate
Wilfrid Fox Napier	South Africa	Conservative	Moderate
Giovanni Battista Re	Italy	Conservative	Moderate
Noberto Rivera Carrera	Mexico	Conservative	Moderate
Jaime Lucas Ortega y Alamino	Cuba	Conservative	Populist
Peter Turkson	Ghana	Conservative	Populist

Cláudio Hummes	Brazil	Conservative	Populist
Dionigi Tettamanzi	Italy	Conservative	Populist
Óscar Andrés Rodríguez Maradiaga	Honduras	Conservative	Populist
Walter Kasper	Germany	Liberal	Traditionalist
Chrisoph Schönborn	Austria	Liberal	Traditionalist
Godfried Danneels	Belgium	Liberal	Moderate
Carlo Maria Martini	Italy	Liberal	Moderate
José Policarpo	Portugal	Liberal	Moderate
Karl Lehmann	Germany	Liberal	Moderate
Ennio Antonelli	Italy	Liberal	Populist
Jorge Mario Bergoglio	Argentina	Liberal	Populist
Varkey Vithayathil	India	Liberal	Populist
Telesphore Toppo	India	Liberal	Populist
Theodore McCarrick	United States	Liberal	Populist
Adam Maida	United States	Liberal	Populist
Julius Darmaatmadja	Indonesia	Liberal	Populist
Stephen Fumio Hamao	Japan	Liberal	Populist
Salvatore de Giorgi	Italy	Liberal	Populist