

God, which implies a more perfect form of justice among men and women." (100)

1. World Order in Catholic Teaching

This positive conception of peace sees it as the fruit of order; order, in turn, is shaped by the values of justice, truth, freedom, and love. The basis of this teaching is found in sacred scripture, St. Augustine and St. Thomas. It has found contemporary expression and development in papal teaching of this century. The popes of the nuclear age, from Pius XII through John Paul II have affirmed pursuit of international order as the way to banish the scourge of war from human affairs. (101)

The fundamental premise of world order in Catholic teaching is a theological truth: the unity of the human family — rooted in common creation, destined for the kingdom and united by moral bonds of rights and duties. This basic truth about the unity of the human family pervades the entire teaching on war and peace: for the pacifist position it is one of the reasons why life cannot be taken, while for the just-war position, even in a justified conflict bonds of responsibility remain in spite of the conflict.

Catholic teaching recognizes that in modern history, at least since the Peace of Westphalia (1648) the international community has been governed by nation-states. Catholic moral theology, as expressed for example in Chapters 2 and 3 of "Peace on Earth," accords a real but relative moral value to sovereign states. The value is real because of the functions states fulfill as sources of order and authority in the political community; it is relative because boundaries of the sovereign state do not dissolve the deeper relationships of responsibility existing in the human community. Just as within nations the moral fabric of society is described in Catholic teaching in terms of reciprocal rights and duties — between individuals, and then between the individual and the state — so in the international community "Peace on Earth" defines the rights and duties which exist among states. (102)

In the past 20 years Catholic teaching has become increasingly specific about the content of these international rights and duties. In 1963, "Peace on Earth" sketched the political and legal order among states. In 1967, "The Development of Peoples" elaborated on order of economic rights and duties. In 1979, Pope John Paul articulated the human rights basis of international relations in his address to the United Nations.

These documents and others which build upon them outlined a moral order of international relations, i.e., how the international community *should* be organized. At the same time this teaching has been sensitive to the actual pattern of relations prevailing among states. While not ignoring present geopolitical realities, one of the primary functions of Catholic teaching on world order has been to point the way toward a more integrated international system.

In analyzing this path toward world order, the category increasingly used in Catholic moral teaching (and, more recently, in the social sciences also) is the interdependence of the world today. The theological principle of unity has always affirmed a human interdependence; but today this bond is complemented by the growing political and economic interdependence of the world, manifested in a whole range of international issues. (103)

An important element missing from world order today is a properly constituted political authority with the capacity to shape our material interdependence in the direction of moral

interdependence. Pope John XXIII stated the case in the following way:

"Today the universal common good poses problems of world-wide dimensions, which cannot be adequately tackled or solved except by the efforts of public authority endowed with a wide-ness of powers, structure and means of the same proportions; that is, of public authority which is in a position to operate in an effective manner on a worldwide basis. The moral order itself, therefore, demands that such a form of public authority be established." (104)

Just as the nation-state was a step in the evolution of government at a time when expanding trade and new weapons technologies made the feudal system inadequate to manage conflicts and provide security, so we are now entering an era of new, global interdependencies requiring global systems of governance to manage the resulting conflicts and ensure our common security. Major global problems such as world-wide inflation, trade and payments deficits, competition over scarce resources, hunger, widespread unemployment, global environmental dangers, the growing power of transnational corporations and the threat of international financial collapse, as well as the danger of world war resulting from these growing tensions — cannot be remedied by a single nation-state approach. They shall require the concerted effort of the whole world community. As we shall indicate below, the United Nations should be particularly considered in this effort.

In the nuclear age, it is in the regulation of interstate conflicts and ultimately the replacement of military by negotiated solutions that the supreme importance and necessity of a moral as well as a political concept of the international common good can be grasped. The absence of adequate structures for addressing these issues places even greater responsibility on the policies of individual states. By a mix of political vision and moral wisdom, states are called to interpret the national interest in the light of the large global interest.

We are living in a global age with problems and conflicts on a global scale. Either we shall learn to resolve these problems together or we shall destroy one another. Mutual security and survival require a new vision of the world as one interdependent planet. We have rights and duties not only within our diverse national communities, but within the larger world community.

2. The Superpowers in a Disordered World

No relationship more dramatically demonstrates the fragile nature of order in international affairs today than that of the United States and the Soviet Union. These two sovereign states have avoided open war, nuclear or conventional, but they are divided by philosophy, ideology and competing ambitions. Their competition is global in scope and involves everything from comparing nuclear arsenals to printed propaganda. Both have been criticized in international meetings because of their policies in the nuclear arms race. (105)

In our 1980 pastoral letter on Marxism we sought to portray the significant differences between Christian teaching and Marxism; at the same time we addressed the need for states with different political systems to live together in an interdependent world:

"The church recognizes the depth and dimensions of the ideological differences that divide the human race, but the urgent practical need for cooperative efforts in the human interest overrules these differences. Hence Catholic teaching seeks to avoid exacerbating the ideological opposition and to focus upon

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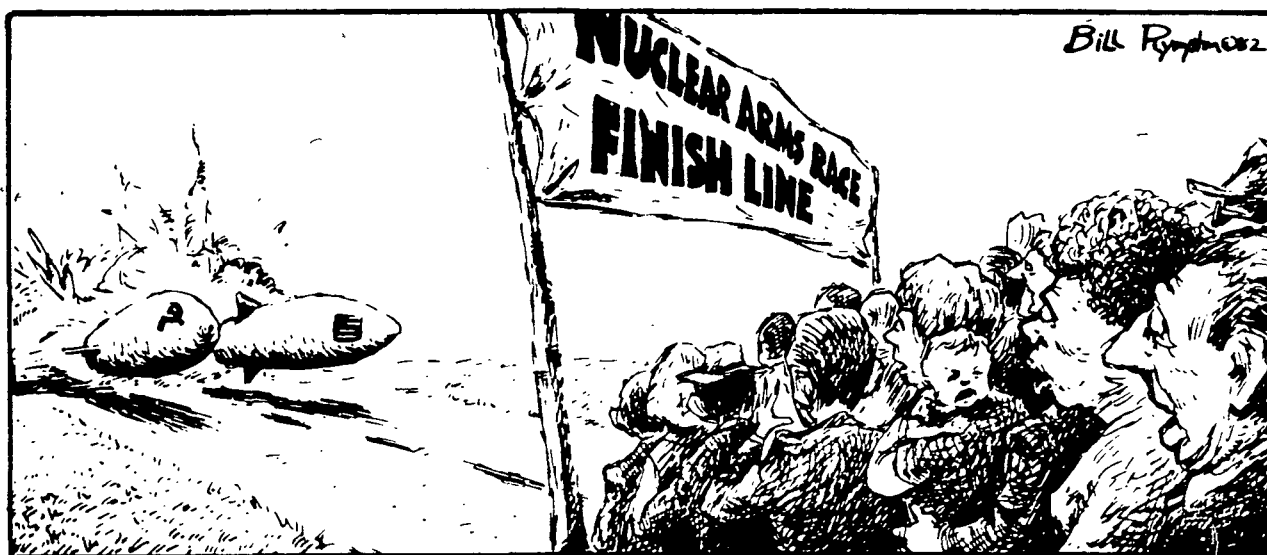
The technology for destroying all of civilization exists today and is constantly being expanded in the arms race. The United States has been one of the leaders in the development of this technology and the bishops criticize the policies which have increased the nuclear threat. However, this criticism must not be taken to imply tolerance of Soviet policies.

This section speaks to the differences between the United States and the Soviet Union with respect to philosophy, ideology, and policy. The bishops state that we "need have no illusions about the Soviet system of repression and the lack of respect in that system for human rights or about Soviet covert operations and pro-revolutionary activities." The bishops urge us not to underestimate the danger to security and freedom which is posed by the Soviet Union, even as we ourselves are striving to live up to all of our own ideals.

The bishops specifically praise the United States for the range of political freedoms which its citizens enjoy. They gratefully affirm freedom of religion, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press: the very freedoms which allow them to write their pastoral letter. Freedoms they would not be able to exercise in Eastern Europe or the Soviet Union.

At the same time, the bishops charge themselves and us with the task of promoting the basic truth that the Soviet people and their leaders are human beings created in the image and likeness of God. We need not deny our differences, but we must act out our Christian commitment to love even our enemies. This love is predicated on a respect for all human life as a God-given gift. The bishops therefore warn us against a "hardness of heart" which can close us to the changes which must be made.

The bishops state very clearly that Soviet behavior has at times been reprehensible. They also emphasize the difficulties involved in overcoming the tensions in the relationship between the two superpowers. However, they do call us to support dialogue and negotiation as a means of making the future different from the past.



Bill Plympton "War Heads"