

1979); B. Brodie, "Development of Nuclear Strategy," *International Security*, 2 (1978) p. 65-83.

73. The relationship of these two levels of policy is the burden of an article by D. Ball, "U.S. Strategic Forces: How Would They Be Used?" *International Security*, 7 (1982-83) p. 31-60.

74. Pastoral Constitution, 81.

75. USCC, "To Live In Christ Jesus," (Washington: 1976) p. 34.

76. Cardinal John Krol, Testimony on Salt II, Origins (1979) p. 197.

77. John Paul II, Message U.N. Special Session, 1982; 3.

78. Same, 8.

79. John Paul II, Address to UNESCO, 21, 1980.

80. John Paul II, letter to International Seminar on the World Implications of a Nuclear Conflict, August 23, 1982; Text in NC News Documentary, August 24, 1982.

81. Particularly helpful was the letter of January 15, 1983, of William Clark, national security adviser, to Cardinal Bernardin. Clark stated: "For moral, political and military reasons, the United States does not target the Soviet civilian population as such. There is no deliberately opaque meaning conveyed in the last two words. We do not threaten the existence of Soviet civilization by threatening Soviet cities. Rather, we hold at risk the war-making capability of the Soviet Union—its armed forces, and the industrial capacity to sustain war. It would be irresponsible for us to issue policy statements which might suggest to the Soviets that it would be to their advantage to establish privileged sanctuaries within heavily populated areas, thus inducing them to locate much of their war-fighting capability within those urban sanctuaries." A reaffirmation of the administration's policy is also found in Secretary Weinberger's Annual Report to Congress (Casper Weinberger, Annual Report to Congress, February 1, 1983, p. 55): "The Reagan Administration's policy is that under no circumstances may such weapons be used deliberately for the purpose of destroying populations." Also the letter of Weinberger to Bishop O'Connor of February 9, 1983, has a similar statement.

82. S. Zuckerman, "Nuclear Illusion and Reality," (N.Y.: 1982); D. Ball, cited, p. 36; T. Powers, "Choosing A Strategy for World War III," *The Atlantic Monthly* (November 1982) p. 82-110.

83. Cf. the comments in Pontifical Academy of Sciences "Statement on the Consequences of the Use of Nuclear Weapons," cited above.

84. Several experts in strategic theory would place both the MX missile and Pershing II missiles in this category.

85. In each of the successive drafts of this letter we have tried to state a central moral imperative: that the arms race should be stopped and disarmament begun. The implementation of this imperative is open to a wide variety of approaches. Hence we have chosen our own language in this paragraph, not wanting either to be identified with one specific political initiative or to have our words used against specific political measures.

86. Cf. President Reagan's speech to the National Press Club (November 18, 1981) and address at Eureka College (May 9, 1982). Department of State, "Current Policy" 346 and 387.

87. John Paul II, Homily at Coventry Cathedral, 2; Origins, 12 (1982), p. 55.

88. The two treaties are the Threshold Tests Ban Treaty signed July 3, 1974, and the Treaty on Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes (P.N.E.) signed May 13, 1976.

89. John Paul II, Message to U.N. Special Session 1982, 8.

90. Weinberger's letter to Bishop O'Connor specifies actions taken on command-and-control facilities designed to reduce the chance of unauthorized firing of nuclear weapons.

91. Same, 9. Cf. U.S. Catholic Conference, At issue 2: "Arms Export Policies—Ethical Choices," (Washington: 1978) for suggestions about controlling the conventional arms trade.

92. The International Security Act of 1976 provides for such human rights review.

93. John Paul II, Address to the United Nations General Assembly, Origins, 9 (1979), p. 268.

94. John Paul II, Homily at Coventry Cathedral, cited, p. 55.

95. Pastoral Constitution 78.

96. G. Sharp, "The Politics of Nonviolent Action," (Boston: 1973); R. Fisher and W. Ury, "Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement Without Giving In" (Boston: 1981).

97. John Paul II, World Day of Peace Message 1982, 7, cited; p. 476.

98. "To Establish the United States Academy of Peace: Report of the Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution," (Washington: 1981) p. 119-120.

99. U.S. Catholic Conference, "Statement on Registration and Conscripton for Military Service" (Wash-

ington: 1980); cf. also "Human Life in Our Day," cited, p. 42-45.

100. Paul VI, "The Development of Peoples" (1966), 76.

101. Cf. V. Yzermans, ed., "Major Addresses of Pius XII," two vols., (St. Paul: 1961) and J. Gremillion, "The Gospel of Peace and Justice," cited.

102. Cf. John XXIII, "Peace on Earth" (1963) esp. 80-145.

103. A sampling of the policy problems and possibilities posed by interdependence can be found in: R.O. Keohane and J.S. Nye, Jr., "Power and Interdependence" (Boston: 1977); S. Hoffmann, "Primacy or World Order" (N.Y.: 1978); The Overseas Development Council, *The U.S. and World Development 1979; 1980; 1982*, (Washington, D.C.).

104. John XXIII, "Peace on Earth," 137.

105. This has particularly been the case in the two U.N. Special Sessions on Disarmament, 1979, 1982.

106. U.S. Catholic Conference, "Marxist Communism" (Washington: 1980) p. 19.

107. The debate on U.S.-Soviet relations is extensive; recent examples of it are found in: A. Ulan, "U.S.-Soviet Relations: Unhappy Coexistence: America and The World, 1978," *Foreign Affairs* 57 (1979) p. 556-571; W.G. Hyland, "U.S.-Soviet Relations: The Long Road Back: America and The World, 1981," *Foreign Affairs* 60 (1982) p. 525-550; R. Legvold, "Containment Without Confrontation," *Foreign Policy*, 40 (1980) p. 74-98; S. Hoffmann, "Muscle and Brains," *Foreign Policy* 37 (1979-80) p. 3-27; P. Hassner, "Moscow and the Western Alliance," *Problems of Communism*, 30 (1981) p. 37-54; S. Blaker, "The Harsh Decade: Soviet Policies in the 1980s," *Foreign Affairs* 59 (1981) p. 999-1020; G. Kennan, "The Nuclear Delusion: Soviet-American Relations in the Atomic Age" (N.Y.: 1982); N. Podhoretz, "The Present Danger" (N.Y.: 1980); P. Nitze, "Strategy in the 1980s," *Foreign Affairs* 59 (1980) p. 82-101; R. Strode and C. Gray, "The Imperial Dimension of Soviet Military Power," *Problems of Communism* 30 (1981) p. 1-15; International Institute for Strategic Studies, "Prospects of Soviet Power in the 1980s," Parts I and II; Adelphi Papers, 151 and 152; (London: 1979); S.S. Kaplan, ed., "Diplomacy of Power: Soviet Armed Forces as a Political Instrument" (Washington: 1981); R. Barnett, "The Giants: Russia and America" (N.Y.: 1977); M. McGwire, "Soviet Military Requirements," *The Brookings Institute* (Washington: 1982); R. Tucker, "The Purposes of American Power," *Foreign Affairs* 59 (1980-81) p. 241-274; A. Geyer, "The Idea of Disarmament: Rethinking the Unthinkable" (Washington: 1982). For a review of Soviet Adherence to treaties cf.: *The SALT Syndrome Charges and Facts: Analysis of an 'Anti-Salt Documentary'*, Report prepared by U.S. government agencies (State, Defense, CIA, ACDA and NSC). Reprinted in *The Defense Monitor*, Vol. 10; No. 8a. Center for Defense Information.

108. John Paul II, World Day of Peace Message 1983, 7.

109. John Paul II, "The Redeemer of Man," 16, Origins, 8 (1980) p. 635.

110. The phrase and its description are found in R.S. McNamara, report to the Board of Governors of the World Bank 1978; cf. also 1979; 1980 (Washington, D.C.).

111. John Paul II, Homily at Yankee Stadium, 4 Origins, 9 (1979) p. 311.

112. Paul VI, Address to the General Assembly of the United Nations (1965), 2.

113. Pastoral Constitution, 81.

114. Cf. Hoffman, cited; "Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues, Common Security" (N.Y.: 1982).

115. For an analysis of the policy problems of reallocating resources, cf. Bruce M. Russett, "The Prisoners of Insecurity," (San Francisco: 1983). Cf. "Common Security," cited; Russett, cited; U.N. Report on Disarmament and Development (N.Y.: 1982); United Nations, "The Relationship Between Disarmament and Development: A Summary," Fact Sheet 21; (N.Y.: 1982).

116. John Paul II, "The Redeemer of Man," 21, cited; p. 641. Much of the following reflects the content of A. Dulles, "A Church To Believe In: Discipleship and the Dynamics of Freedom," (N.Y.: 1982) ch. 1.

117. John Paul II, World Day of Peace Message 1982, 4, cited; p. 475.

118. Paul VI, World Day of Peace Message 1976.

119. Pastoral Constitution, 79.

120. John Paul II, Address to Scientists and Scholars, 3, cited; p. 621.

121. Same, 3.

122. Pastoral Constitution, 75.

123. John Paul II, Address at Hiroshima, 2; Origins, 10 (1981) p. 620.

124. Pastoral Constitution, 75.

125. "Human Life in Our Day," cited, p. 41.

126. John XXIII, "Peace on Earth" (1963), 137.

127. Paul VI, Address to the General Assembly of the United Nations (1965), 2.

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