

boy Samuel Zemurray, operating his company almost singlehandedly and with a code of ethics typical of the early twentieth century, has little in common with the great multinationals of the 1980s—the international banks and IBMs run by men in white shirts and gray flannels. As a matter of fact, the interests of MNCs and the U.S. Government frequently diverge, especially when it comes to interventions of the Guatemalan type. The actions of MNCs, it seems to me, are far more sophisticated than those of United Fruit in 1954.

A second problem involves my own perception of the current debate on U.S. policy toward Central America. We North Americans proceed from the belief that it is the United States which decides the future of Central America; the area's own political debates and economic fluctuations are treated as secondary. These books reinforce that view. Although both discuss political issues and events in Guatemala, neither provides the detail or research on these comparable to their analyses of U.S. foreign policy. Neither of them explores fully the different actors and points of view of supporters and opponents of the Guatemalan democrats in 1954.

Both books, finally, duck the primary questions—as does the current debate on Central America: What should be the role of the United States in the area? Should the U.S. leave the region to what appears to be its own destruction, perhaps retreating into isolationism? As long as the U.S. remains concerned about Central America, we are, of course, involved. As long as we have any dealings with Guatemala (or Nicaragua or El Salvador), we must deal with the fact that these are governments that violate our ethics and sensibilities by fostering political repression and economic deprivation.

The U.S. was wrong to intervene as it did in Guatemala in 1954. Its action encouraged terrorism and instability in that country and continued a U.S. policy that culminated in the jungles of Southeast Asia. On the other hand, we cannot assume that, but for our intervention, the progressive Guatemalan government would have secured economic prosperity and democracy for its citizens. Witness the Bolivian land revolution of the same period, in which land was seized and successfully redistributed, foreign copper mines nationalized, and all without foreign intervention. Yet Bolivia suffered twenty years of economic and political anarchy quite similar to Guatemala's.

The crucial questions for Central America are not the ones for which U.S. policy alone will decide the answers. They involve the limits imposed on Central America's

economic and political life by nature and by history as well as by a world power that will continue to guard its Caribbean belly with policies that are more defensive than rational. WV

**NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT:
KEY STATEMENTS OF POPES,
BISHOPS, COUNCILS
AND CHURCHES**

edited by Robert Heyer

(Paulist Press; 278 pp.; \$7.95 [paper])

**THE PURSUIT OF A JUST
SOCIAL ORDER**

by J. Brian Benestad

(Ethics and Public Policy Center [Washington, D.C.]; xiv + 206 pp; \$12.00 \$7.00)

David Paul Rebovich

It has been more than a decade since Garry Wills bemoaned the "bare ruined choirs" of the American Catholic Church. For Wills, Vatican II "let out the dirty little secret. . . that the church changes." Though change was deemed necessary to overcome obfuscation and to encourage a vigorous and meaningful Catholicism, the progressivism and populism of Vatican II often had the effect in America of encouraging unconscious and sometimes irreverent applications of theology to social and political issues. Rather than revitalizing and enlightening its members, the American Church frequently confused and alienated them.

According to Robert Heyer, however, Wills's elegy for American Catholicism was premature. Some of his criticisms were overdrawn; others were taken to heart by committed Catholics who recognized that the Church had a responsibility for addressing the problems of the modern world from its own perspective. Heyer's book contains twenty papal statements, twenty-eight statements by North American Catholic bishops, and nineteen ecumenical statements on war and armaments.

In a brief foreword, Heyer admits that since World War II there has been significant change as well as continuity in the Catholic teaching on war and peace. He suggests that the evolution of Roman Catholic teaching on war and armaments has been inspired not by renegade bishops, radical theologians, or confused communicants, but by the Holy See. Popes John XXIII, Paul VI, and John Paul II all enunciated positions on nuclear war and created frameworks for discussion and analysis within which American bishops have de-

veloped their views and announced them.

Nuclear Disarmament's appearance could not have been better timed, coinciding as it does with the drafting of the pastoral letter on nuclear war by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. The bishops have endeavored to make clear that their letter is a collective and concerted effort to apply Catholic teachings to what the Vatican proclaims "the greatest moral issue humanity has ever faced." Their action, says Heyer, is justified by the teaching of Pope Paul VI: "It is up to the Christian communities to analyze with objectivity the situation which is proper to their own country."

Heyer argues correctly and convincingly that today's choirs are not "bare ruined" but ring with energetic Catholic choruses encouraged by Rome to join in the effort of preparing the moral and intellectual atmosphere in which political choices are made.

J. Brian Benestad, on the other hand, would warn us against generalizing from this example or concluding that the American bishops' policy statements contain comprehensive or accurate renderings of Catholic teachings. He argues pointedly that if one searches their pronouncements on public issues from 1966 to 1980, one will find little in the way of sophisticated, measured applications of Catholic social and political principles. Without disputing the notion that the Church is in need of revitalization, Benestad's analysis of this range of statements reinforces Wills's contention that "the best things in the church. . . are hidden or disowned."

Benestad does not doubt the sincerity of the bishops' belief in their mission to affect the social and political order. It is their reliance on "specific policy statements for the guidance of citizens and policy-makers" that troubles him. He questions the appropriateness—and, in many cases, the very substance—of these statements, criticizing them for failing "to communicate the fullness of Catholic social teaching as contained in papal social encyclicals and the documents of the Second Vatican Council." In his view, the bishops' statements often serve to compromise and trivialize the Church's role in temporal affairs. That role, Benestad suggests, is clearly set forth in the writings of Augustine and Aquinas, the works of modern theologians like Maritain and Rahner, and in the teachings of popes from Leo XIII to John Paul II.

The Church can address the political order in three ways: through evangelization, "the proclamation of the life and teachings of Jesus Christ"; through Catholic social teachings, which offer "an education in po-

litical and social principles"; and through policy statements, "an application of Catholic teaching to particular issues." Recent popes have insisted that "the Church makes its best contribution to the political order through. . . evangelization and education in Catholic teaching." The popes have not rejected policy statements but have clarified the conditions they must satisfy if they are to constitute an appropriate and meaningful Catholic contribution to political life: Policy statements should educate rather than simply dictate, and they should be clearly rooted in Catholic social and political principles which emphasize that the quality of the public order depends ultimately on the virtue of its citizens.

While the American bishops may be commended for recognizing the social responsibility of the Church and for identifying a number of injustices, many of their policy statements, Benestad argues, fail to satisfy the above criteria. In statements on human rights, world hunger, the draft, the economy, national health insurance, and arms control, the bishops have "aimed at persuading people to adopt a particular policy rather than elaborating general principles which would inspire people to choose policies in light of their faith."

Benestad calls into question the bishops' competence to analyze complicated social, political, and economic questions. He suggests *they* might benefit, and serve the Church better, if the Catholic laity was encouraged to participate in their discussions of secular issues. This, in turn, would enhance the spiritual and political education of all Catholics and invigorate the Catholic community.

Benestad detects a certain liberal bias in the bishops' selection of issues and recommendations, which he attributes partly to their reliance on a politically undiversified staff untrained in theology. The bishops have demonstrated great concern for the protection of human rights and the equitable distribution of goods, and theologically they are justified in doing so. But in many of their policy statements on these matters they have not emphasized adequately the Church's teachings on man's duties and the importance of character and personal virtue in achieving social and political justice. Thus they have conveyed only a limited aspect of Catholic social and political thought, and this, says Benestad, is too high a price to pay for capturing the public's attention or being considered relevant.

The Pursuit of a Just Social Order undoubtedly will cause controversy, not only because it criticizes specific policy state-

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ments, but because it would seem to call into question the very involvement of the bishops in social and political matters. However, Benestad's counsel of restraint is not aimed at silencing the bishops but at encouraging them to consider social and political problems in a more comprehensively and explicitly Catholic perspective. On these terms, his analysis of the bishops' failings is keen and persuasive. WV

NON-ALIGNMENT: ORIGINS, GROWTH AND POTENTIAL FOR WORLD PEACE

by Rikhi Jaipal

(Allied Publishers [New Delhi]; 214 pp.: \$9.00)

Ralph Buultjens

The Non-Aligned Movement is a unique and little-understood phenomenon in international affairs. From a meeting of twenty-five nations of the Third World in 1961, it now consists of 101 nations representing more than half of the global population. While its impact and achievements can be and are debated, it is an extraordinary structural success—a creative effort that provides some international organizational coherence for the recently decolonized part of the world.

In that sense, it is a horizontal and voluntary replacement of the vertical and compulsory order of colonial empires. The structure of empire reflected the world political condition from about 1500 to 1950.

In the same way, the Non-Aligned Movement reflects one part of the political condition of our planet today. It may also be the harbinger of a future world order in which Third World nations will have a more formidable role.

If they are to grow in importance and mature in their capacities, movements need both a sense of their history and a progressive refinement of their vision. In the case of the Non-Aligned Movement this has been singularly absent. During the past twenty-three years there have been many political statements, a number of official documents, and some analyses, but no effective attempt to develop a comprehensive historico-vision or an updated definition of the movement's potential.

Now, in an exceptionally well-crafted effort, Rikhi Jaipal fills this need. Although presented as a single volume, Jaipal's book is, in fact, five separate works skillfully articulated into the story of the Non-Aligned Movement. The book is a chronological and thematic history, a political evaluation, an analysis of diplomatic modalities, an intellectual and philosophic vision, and a projection of potentials. Each facet deals with a critical element, and Jaipal's conceptual approach makes possible an understanding of the integration that undergirds the movement as a whole. Each facet deserves a word of comment.

As chronological history, Jaipal's book faithfully documents the physical growth of the movement, the six major summit conferences of heads of governments from Belgrade in 1961 to Havana in 1979, and the other notable bench marks as the movement

proceeded to its seventh summit in New Delhi this past March. What is more important here is the focus on theme—from the early concerns with decolonization, through periods when the abatement of cold war tensions was a major preoccupation, to more recent economic issues. As the non-aligned consciousness unfolds, we watch the development of the principal features of international politics in our time.

As a political evaluation, the book is outstanding. It gives us an analysis both of the strengths and weaknesses of the movement and of the variety of responses and approaches to global problems and to relationships with Western and Soviet power blocs. Non-alignment, implies Jaipal, has moved from attempts to mediate between power blocs to a role primarily protective of Third World interests. There is a sense of loss in this evolution, perhaps an inevitable progression, but one to be regretted. Maybe, under the guidance of the current chairman, Indira Gandhi, some of this mediating function can be recaptured. It is much needed.

The description of diplomatic modalities contained in this work helps to clarify the abstractions of conference diplomacy. While it is the least interesting portion of the book, dealing with technicalities rather than substance and personalities, it is also essential. A careful reading makes for an awareness that great decisions in international affairs are shaped as much by the apparent minutiae of diplomacy as by the great initiatives of policy.

As a statement of philosophic vision, Jaipal's work subsumes two streams of thought. At one level he discusses the expectations of the great visionaries of the early days of non-alignment. The ideas of Nehru, U Nu, Tito, Nkrumah, and others are evaluated and explained against the background of their times. Underlying this exposition is Jaipal's own vision: "In a world that remains polarized between two great powers and ideologies, the non-aligned still have the unfinished task of acting as a bridge of understanding between the two, of preventing a world war and of promoting peaceful co-existence." And he warns of the dangers in the non-aligned not respecting their own non-alignment.

Finally, in Part III, Jaipal provides us with an elegant essay on the potentials of non-alignment. Reading it, one is struck by the possibilities that remain. As the United Nations fades into political impotence, can the Non-Aligned Movement provide the framework that once was lodged in the U.N.? Jaipal suggests a number of alternative strategies, any one of which will enhance



"Things have been going so well that I'm afraid I've been reduced to robbing the comfortably well off to give to the relatively underprivileged...."