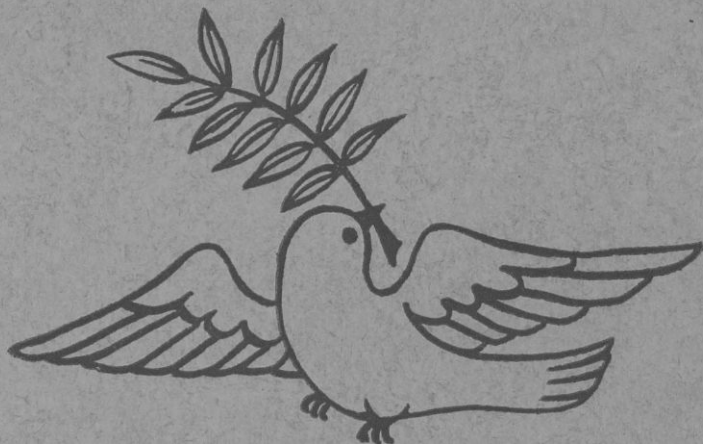


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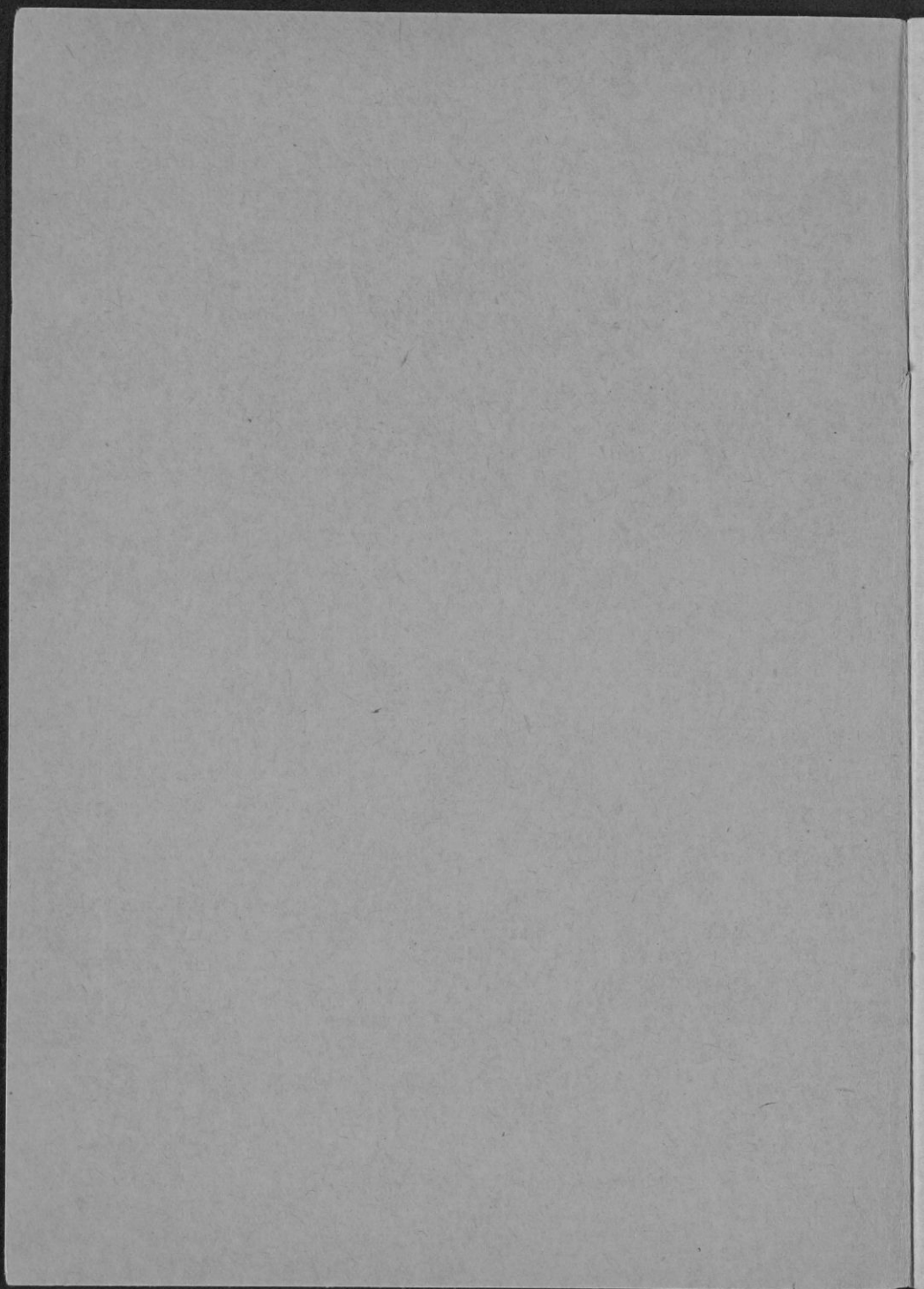
1943

Bouscaren T. L.
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The Foundations...
ADJ 8962

The Foundations of Peace



T. L. Bouscaren S. J.
The Catholic Hour



THE POPE'S FIVE POINTS FOR PERMANENT PEACE

BY

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Four addresses delivered in the nationwide Catholic Hour (produced by the National Council of Catholic Men, in cooperation with the National Broadcasting Company), on November 7, 14, 21, and 28, 1943.

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National Council of Catholic Men
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Printed and distributed by Our Sunday Visitor
Huntington, Indiana



Nihil Obstat:

REV. T. E. DILLON

Censor Librorum

Imprimatur:

✠ JOHN FRANCIS NOLL, D.D.

Bishop of Fort Wayne

FOUNDATION OF PEACE—THE MORAL LAW

Address delivered on November 7, 1943

Now that the greatest war in other Versailles? And a third history is more than four years World War? What is the basis of old and our country has been in it permanent peace?

for nearly two years, the road to Among the many answers to this victory seems hard and long. The last question there is one which is goal is nearer; slowly but relentlessly the hands of the allied nations unique in its appeal to common sense and reason rather than to are closing upon the prize—decisive victory. But there is something beyond victory of arms. mere national feeling or to passion and self-interest. It is unique also Every man whose mind has not been twisted by false dogmas—such as that which nourishes the nightmare of permanent world revolution—every unspoiled human heart cherishes quite another dream and hope, the hope of permanent peace. As victory dawns, the world, weary of war, disillusioned with false promises of security, is asking one question: "What of the peace?" Is peace, this time, to be secured permanently or just for another twenty years? The first World War was fought to "end war," "to make the world safe for democracy"; yet actually it started a period of anxiety, distrust, revenge, mounting hatreds, dictatorship, aggression, and finally total war. This time, after victory has been won again, have we any assurance of better results? Will we have an-

The Pope's program is not very different from others which have become familiar to us. It includes at least implicitly the "Four Freedoms" and the Eight Points of the Atlantic Charter. It includes substantially all of the Seven Points of the Recent "Declaration on World Peace", which was released on October 7th—an identical statement of principles by leading representatives of religious groups in the United States, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish. The plan of the Pope is not alone in its appeal for human rights and human liberty; but it is unique in its insistence that right and liberty have but one foundation, and that is the law of God. The Moral Order

—that is the foundation of peace! *false principles must be banished*

Here is a summary of the Five Points taken from the address of 1940. (I quote, not the exact words of the Pontiff, but an accurate summary):

1. For permanent peace, an indispensable condition is *triumph over hate*. The systems and practices between nations which nourish hate must be abandoned; and in the new order which is to follow victory *brotherly love* must be the basis of international relations.

2. *Distrust* between the nations of the world must be conquered: and that can be done only by a return to justice and truth and *fair dealing* between nations. International treaties must be justly and sincerely made, and honestly kept; in case of need they should be revised by mutual agreement, but never simply repudiated by one party or overridden by brute military force.

3. There are *two false principles* which must be abandoned. They are, first, that *utility is a basis of right*; second, that *might makes right*. Both these principles are false. Neither temporal advantage to be derived from an action, nor the physical power to impose the action in spite of the resistance of a weaker nation, can make unjust action right. Both *these*

from international dealings. The basis of right conduct between nations is the same as the rule of right conduct between men; it is *natural morality*, the natural law of God, elevated and sweetened by the gentle law of the Gospel of Christ. That must be the rule which regulates international conduct.

4. *Economic rivalry*, which has so often resulted in conflicts between nations, *must be tempered by a due regard for justice*. God made the resources of the earth for all men: and it is fair that all should have reasonable access to them, so that each nation can provide for its citizens decent means of earning a livelihood.

5. *Cold egoism or selfishness cannot be the rule* which governs national policy. The fact must be recognized that all peoples of the earth constitute one family, intended by the Creator to live together in peace. *Solidarity and not isolation, cooperation and not exploitation, must be the rule* governing intercourse between nations."

These points are definite, clear, straightforward statements of just what the common man instinctively knows to be true. They are very easy for an American to accept. We know that hate between nations eventually leads to war. We know

that the consistent violation of treaties—the habit of regarding them as “scraps of paper”—makes peace and concord among nations impossible. We know that economic rivalry can be carried to such a point that eventual war between the “have” and the “have not” nations becomes inevitable. We know that might does not make right; that no race or nation can claim supremacy over the rest of the world; that oppression and persecution of minorities causes unrest and eventually leads to war. We know that the mad rush of nations to arm themselves in time of peace is as sure a sign of war as the drawing of a gun was a sign of a fight between men on the old frontier. For four years the Holy Father has been telling the world what every honest thinking person knows to be true. And yet we are in danger of forgetting these truths just at the time when we need to apply them.

That is why the Pope’s Five Points deserve study now. During these November talks we will explain them as well as we can. But many listeners will undoubtedly want to know more about them. And so I am very glad to announce that a thorough explanation of the Pope’s Five Points for Permanent Peace will very soon be available in

English. *A Christian World Peace Plan: A Study of the Peace Statements of Pius XII*—that is the title. The book is published under the auspices of the Pope’s Peace Committee. It explains the principles which underlie the Five Points: moral principles, principles of economics, principles of international law. And those are the principles by which you and I must judge the various proposals that are being made for the regulation of the post-war world.

The position of the Pope as revealed by the first few points of his program is just plain fair dealing. The key to the whole program is this: a new international order, even though it be prepared with wisdom and prudence, according to the shrewdest political, economic, and juridical principles, will offer no guarantee of justice and stability unless it is based on the moral law. Deviations from the moral law are the cause of unrest and war. *Hate*, raised to a principle of national action instead of the brotherly love which the law of God commands in accordance with man’s nature; *distrust*, arising from infidelity to the pledged word; *false principles*, which make physical force or mere utility the basis of right—these are the evils which have caused turmoil in the world.

And there is but one road to peace—the road of the Ten Commandments.

I quote from the Pope's message of 1941: "Such a new order, which all the peoples desire to see brought into being after the trials and the ruins of this war, must be founded on the immovable and unshakable rock, the moral law, which the Creator Himself has manifested by means of the natural order, and which He has engraved with indelible characters on the hearts of men; that moral law whose observance must be inculcated and fostered by the public opinion of all nations . . . with such unanimity of voice and with such energy that no one may dare to call into doubt or weaken its binding force."

There is a temptation to accept the words of the Holy Father as applying only to our enemies. Indeed we know well enough the official propaganda which, in certain countries, uses lying as an avowed instrument of policy, and have as a motive of action. We know that historically certain governments have openly disavowed treaties as "scraps of paper," and even made treaties of non-aggression as a smoke-screen behind which to conceal preparations for war. We know which governments have taken the lead in adopting, from the philoso-

phy of Nietzsche, the mythical cult of violence, the doctrine that regeneration comes from steel, fire, and blood—the myth of "super-men," of a race destined to rule by force over other races and other men.

The Holy Father unmistakably stigmatizes our enemies wherever they have departed from the moral law. But we must remember that the principles he has outlined apply also to ourselves. We too are subject to the natural law; and its principles must guide and govern us as victors in the present war, if we are to build an international order which will guarantee peace and justice.

According to Pius XII responsibility for the war is laid squarely at the door, not of departure from democracy, but of departure from Christ. He leaves no room for the illusion that the world can pin its faith to the bare name or to the empty forms of "democracy." Democracy and human freedom are blessings from God; but they will not stand without the foundation which supports them. The Pope is conspicuously in agreement with the founders of our government, who justified their Declaration of Independence by appealing in the very first line of the Preamble to "the laws of Nature and of Nature's

God," and who stated the true foundation of human rights and just government: We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created"—note the word—"created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights . . . that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men." Human rights derive from the Creator, not from the government, nor from any particular form of government; and governments, of whatever form, have for their purpose and duty, not to create these rights, but to secure and protect them.

Right is right and wrong is wrong, not merely in relation to "democracy" or "freedom," but in relation to God; and the law of God is the same for all nations. Apart from God and His infinitely wise law of order, neither democracy nor freedom has any meaning. To follow them apart from God is to stalk the will-o-the-wisp.

Both in war and in victory our slogan must be, not merely "democracy," nor merely "freedom," but democracy and freedom *under God*. We need to remember the words of

that great American who, during another war, expressed the hope "that this nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

The fundamental platform which underlies the Pope's plans for peace is in strict accord with the finest and soundest tradition of American government. But to maintain that tradition at this critical time there is need of something more than mere vocal enthusiasm for democracy or freedom. There is need of a citizenship in which sound education and sound public morality have kept alive the belief in God. For it is His law and none other that can preserve human liberty everywhere. God grant that there be no departure from these principles when we sit as victors at the peace table. God grant that the sincere purpose of the Allied Nations there may be, not to exact revenge, nor to destroy the nations and peoples that we have conquered, but to establish a new international order based on justice and the moral law.



DISARMAMENT: TOUCHSTONE OF THE WILL TO PEACE

Address delivered on November 14, 1943

Last Sunday we spoke of the Moral Order, which, according to Pope Pius XII (and according to common sense) is the essential foundation of peace. But he has not confined himself to mere general statement of moral principles. With unerring sagacity he has put his finger on the causes that have disturbed the peace, and he has pointed out the indispensable remedies. Among the root causes of war—particularly of this second World War—have been the myth of force, borrowed from the false philosophy of Nietzsche and others, and the cult of lying carried to the point of making it an instrument of national policy. The remedies are the substitution of reason for force, and of good faith for perfidy. Now the substitution of reason for force means, eventually, disarmament. That is our subject today. The new book, *A Christian World Peace Plan*, about to be published under the auspices of the Pope's Peace Committee, has some very interesting chapters on this subject—chapters that are both realistic and helpful, because they represent the views of Pius XII.

In his Christmas Message of 1941 (*4th point*) the Pope lays down as a basic necessity of a new international order the exclusion of total war and of the mad rush for armaments: "It is essential to proceed with sincerity and honesty to a progressive and adequate limitation of armaments . . . The disproportion between the exaggerated armaments of the powerful nations and the limited armaments of the weaker ones is a menace to harmony and peace . . . and demands that an ample and proportionate limit be placed upon the production and possession of offensive weapons." In his message of 1939, he said: "The nations must be freed from the heavy servitude of the race for armaments and from the danger that material force, instead of serving to protect rights, may become their tyrannical violator. Conclusions of peace which should fail to give fundamental importance to disarmament, mutually accepted, organic, and progressive both in letter and in spirit, and which should fail to carry out this disarmament faithfully, would sooner or later re-

veal their inconsistency and lack of vitality." It is interesting to note that the recent Seven Point Declaration on World Peace, a statement of principles released on October 7, by leading representatives of the principal religious groups in the United States, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish, contains the same proposal for the "drastic limitation and continuing control of armaments."

The Pontiff's view of disarmament is certainly not that of a dreamy idealist aloof from the world. He does not suppose that it is an easy job—just a question of writing a nice formula, signing the papers, and then going home to live in blissful security forever after. No; the limitation of armaments, and then progressive disarmament among the nations of the world—not merely among the vanquished, but among the victors themselves—the substitution of reason for force in international relations, this is the knottiest problem connected with making the peace and keeping it. Disarmament is the touchstone of the will to peace. It is not easy, but it is essential. The work is slow and arduous, and will have to be gradual; but until it is done "sincerely and honestly" we shall not have peace in the world. That is the

message of the Pope on armaments. Let us look at it a little more closely.

The right of self-defense is a natural right, and is beyond all argument. The Pope begins by recognizing this. I quote from the message of 1940: "The Moral law does not exclude the opportune and legitimate use of force to protect peaceful rights when they are violently attacked, or to obtain reparation for their violation." Therefore, when I speak of disarmament, I do not mean that it can be applied immediately. If ever there was a perfect example of self-defense in the life of a nation it was when this country of ours rose as one man to gird itself for battle after the premeditated but unforeseen attack upon us at Pearl Harbor. At this moment, with our country still in the throes of self-defense against murderous aggression, there can be no thought of disarmament. We must go on making arms and using them until we have achieved that victory which is the first step toward peace. But after victory, the problem of disarmament must be met.

There is an easy pessimism which would sweep this whole serious problem into the discard with the cynical remark: "Oh, that has been

tried before!" Yes, disarmament has been tried before. The Pope speaks sorrowfully of "the painful remembrance of similar efforts doomed to failure in the past" (1940, point 4). Every Pope from Leo XIII at the dawn of the twentieth century has urged disarmament, praised the meagre efforts made to promote it, warned the nations that the solution of this problem is the key to keeping the peace. The public opinion of the world has recognized this. The limitation of armaments was, in principle, provided for in the treaties of peace after the last war. And afterward—too long afterward—well meant but futile efforts were made at the Disarmament Conference of 1932. There were tremendous difficulties in the way: political handicaps arising from the political differences of that time (power politics); juridical difficulties, because in spite of a network of treaties, there was no sufficient guarantee of genuine international security (paper treaties); and finally there were technical difficulties in abundance. It is a fact of history that the effort to secure adequate limitation of armaments has failed; and it is true that the difficulties which frustrated the effort still exist. But are we therefore to abandon all effort and fall back with the despair

characteristic of the suicide—"It's no use"? The road to any great human achievement is strewn with failures. How many had tried, and failed, to peer into the majestic distances before Galileo made his telescope? How many had tried, and failed, to discover the new world before Columbus sailed into the grey West and found it? How many had tried, and failed, to conquer the sky before Santos-Dumont and Curtis and the Wrights did it? When failure is accepted as an argument against further effort, human progress will come to a stop.

Pius XII is not that kind of a leader. Listen to his ringing challenge (*Message of 1941, 4th point*): "We are well aware of the tremendous difficulties to be overcome and the almost superhuman strength and good will which are required on all sides if the task we have outlined is to be brought to a successful conclusion. But this work is so essential for a lasting peace that nothing should prevent responsible statesmen from undertaking it and cooperating in it with abundant good will; so that, by bearing in mind the advantages to be gained in the future, they will be able to triumph over the painful remembrance of similar efforts doomed to failure in the past, and may not be daunted by the knowledge of the

gigantic strength required for the accomplishment of their task."

The argument of the Pope is simple. He says in effect: This task must be done: therefore it can be done. The absolute necessity of disarmament is proved by very cogent reasons. First, the race for armaments imposes a heavy servitude which destroys the prosperity of nations. For example, the tremendous sacrifices we are making to keep our armaments at top production are accepted now, during war, because they are an absolute necessity. But does any one imagine that we will or can continue to make the same sacrifices after victory is won? To demand this would be to inflict a deep wound on our internal peace-time economy. Secondly, exaggerated armaments, even though at first intended for defense, too easily lead to aggression and war. This is a matter of common experience, and every page of recent history proves it.

The limitation of armaments is not a purely technical problem; it is above all a moral problem. The first step in its solution is to remove the causes that lead to war. There was a time when cities were surrounded with strongly manned battlements, and even private residences were surrounded by a moat

and protected with towers and a drawbridge. Why? Because the entire countryside was teeming with armed brigands and outlaws, from whom violence might be expected at any moment. Now we no longer close the gates of our cities or lift a drawbridge to isolate ourselves from the world, because the progress of civilized government has been sufficient to assure the urban population that there are no enemies or bands of robbers outside waiting to pounce upon them. The gates are disarmed because there is no fear of aggression.

Carry this illustration into the international field. There, unfortunately, we have not yet provided the protection which can take the place of armored self-defense. There are two essential steps which must be taken before disarmament: First, we must reduce the causes of disagreement by justice and sincerity in international dealings; secondly, we must cooperate in building juridical institutions which, without destroying the sovereignty of the different nations, will unite them for the purpose of international security against aggression. The plans for disarmament in the Conference of 1932 failed precisely because the international community of that time did not offer the nations any effective

tive guarantee against aggression. At least some procedure of arbitration, some system of control against the ever-present danger of disarmament among nations, is an absolute necessity.

We call ourselves a peace-loving people, and I hope we are right. But the test of our genuine love of peace will be found, not in talking about it, nor wishing for it, but in taking the means which are necessary to secure it. We must be willing to labor long and patiently, not in isolation, nor in hegemony of power among the victorious nations, but in cooperation and accord with all nations of the human family, to eliminate the causes of war and to build an international order which gives sufficient guarantees of security. Only then, as a last step in a long and gradual process, can we go on to the "mutual and progressive" reduction of armaments.

It is a long-range plan; but it must be faced now. Hitler has openly avowed the philosophy of force — "rugged individualism" among the nations—and our other chief enemy, Japan, is not far behind in its practice. To avert that moral leprosy from our own land was one of the motives which drove

us into this war. But when we hear seriously advanced the proposals that the United States and Great Britain must prepare to "police the world for the next hundred years," which I suppose means to rule the world by force—when one hears such proposals one wonders whether we may not be in danger ourselves of becoming infected with the false philosophy which worships physical force. It is possible that we might crush Hitler by military power and then succumb to the immoral plague of pride and violence which has set the world ablaze.

This parable may be to the point. A maniac infected with virulent leprosy ran amuck in a peaceful village, threatening to enter the homes by force and infect the inhabitants. A strong man went out to meet him, conquered him after a heroic struggle, but in doing so contacted his disease. And they wrote for the conqueror this epitaph: "He grappled with leprosy—and came home a leper." It is important to win this war by military might; but it is not enough! Still more important is our duty to preserve in victory the principles which we went out to defend.

THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

Address delivered on November 21, 1943

Last Sunday we spoke of the problem of disarmament. We showed that disarmament can come only as the result of a long progress; it is the last necessary step on the road to peace. The first steps are greater fidelity to moral principles and, upon that basis, the building up of international cooperation to the point where it will provide better means of security than reliance on exaggerated armaments. But this raises another question. Has not the entire system of international law proved a failure? And if so, what can be expected of it in the future? These are the questions which we must try to answer to-day.

Practically, international law means certain obligations between nations which are usually embodied in treaties. No other equal period of the world's history ever produced so many treaties as did the twenty-year period from 1919 to 1939. There were treaties, pacts, and ententes of all kinds, and between nearly every combination of nations: treaties for economic cooperation, treaties of friendship, treaties of non-aggression, treaties of mutual assistance. These various agreements were not entirely

lacking in the qualities of sincerity and good will. The peoples for whom they were made, the statesmen who negotiated them, and the governments who executed them, surely had some sincere will to preserve and promote peace. And yet their efforts failed. In spite of the mass of treaties, only a short period of unstable equilibrium separated the First World War from the Second.

What was the matter? The study of these treaties to-day—treaties which were intended to keep peace alive—is very much the study of something from which life has departed. It is not pleasant. But, like an autopsy, it may be instructive by revealing the causes of death. We may study the past to get our bearings for the future.

Experts in international law point out some technical reasons for the failure of these treaties. First, there were too many of them. The more they were multiplied, the less seemed to be the importance attached to them. Treaties are after all intended to be seeds of cooperation between peoples. But when the soil is so barren and the climate so arid that not a single seed can sprout, it is to no purpose to

scatter quantities of seed upon the ground. When the international climate is so unfavorable that there is little chance for any treaty to bear the fruit of peace, nothing is gained by having a great number. Multiplicity of treaties is not a sign of progress in international dealings. Moreover, some of the treaties were too sweeping in their expressions, as for instance when they purported to fix the relations between two countries "forever." It is far wiser to make agreements for a definite period so as to test the workability of the proposed relationship, and then to revise and renew them by mutual consent. A nation can scarcely bind itself forever. The scope of some of the treaties was excessive, as when they purported to establish "perpetual friendship" between the parties, or undertook to change radically the channels of international trade which had long ago been fixed by natural circumstances. One of the gravest mistakes was the effort to combine treaties of peace with pacts for future cooperation, as was done after the last war when the Covenant of the League of Nations was inserted into the Treaty of Versailles. A treaty of peace after victory is usually not an expression of mutual free consent on both sides. Substantially, it is imposed

by the victors on the vanquished; whereas mutual cooperation is a function of established peace, and demands genuine and free accord. It is better to impose just peace terms first, and then, by showing a true spirit of justice, fair dealing, and charity toward the new governments of the conquered countries, to pave the way for voluntary cooperation.

Well, these are some of the technical difficulties which have impaired the efficiency of treaties. But the root cause of their failure was far deeper. It was the whole political atmosphere of the time, and particularly the moral atmosphere, the lack of virile, controlling moral principles behind the formulas of international agreements. Power politics remained in the saddle; treaties were used chiefly as tools of political interests, and so the will to peace which they expressed remained a dead letter.

One of the clearest signs of this lack of moral sense in international dealings was the frequent recourse to so called treaties of non-aggression, particularly in the years just before the outbreak of World War II. That one people should be free from unprovoked aggression by another is a natural right. It is not a matter for positive agreement, but is dictated by common decency

and the natural law. In a different climate of international morality it would not have been thought necessary or appropriate to make explicit agreements on such a matter. In private life two gentlemen do not sign formal contracts not to assault each other. That guarantee is already implicit in the nature of their position. Between peace-loving citizens the bare suggestion of such an agreement would be an offense to the person to whom it was made. To regard such an agreement as adding anything to natural morality is to admit that one does not understand the obligations which are implied in living in a civilized society.

Our country was not guilty, as certain others were, of signing non-aggression pacts whose very sincerity was seriously doubtful. But we did have a part in a famous treaty which in another way illustrates a defect in international moral maturity. I refer to the Kellogg-Briand Pact, which was signed in 1928 in Paris, and by which the signing powers, which included all the principal nations, agreed to "outlaw war" morally, just as society outlaws crime.

Well, the first difficulty is that, however deplorable the recourse to war may be, it may become necessary, as it did in our own case af-

ter Pearl Harbor, to fight a just war in self-defense. But even if the scope of the Kellogg-Briand Pact be limited, as it must be, to wars of aggression, there was something decidedly lacking in its provisions, and that was that it adopted no adequate means to carry out its purpose. It is all very well to talk of "outlawing war"; but that noble purpose is not accomplished by the mere adoption of a formula. It is an achievement which represents moral advance, and moral advances are not made without sacrifice and long preparation. There is one obvious first step toward eliminating war, and that is to agree upon a more civilized way of settling international disputes. That means compulsory arbitration. But compulsory arbitration was excluded from the pact. No procedure, no machinery for implementing it, was even foreseen, and much less was any provided; and consequently the lofty purposes which the treaty professed have not been realized.

Something similar must be said of the Covenant of the League of Nations. It expressed lofty purposes without making adequate provisions for attaining them. The signers, in the preamble, proposed to "establish international relations on a foundation of justice and hon-

or", to "observe rigorously the prescriptions of international law", to "respect scrupulously all the provisions of treaties." These are high and worthy ideals; God forbid that we should ever abandon them. But it is not enough to propose these high ideals; it is necessary to provide sincerely and concretely procedures which make their realization possible, which make the engagements obligatory and not merely optional. A nation which pledges itself to attain a specified end must be prepared to accept whatever is an indispensable condition for its attainment.

Pope Pius XII in his Christmas Messages from 1939 to 1941 insists upon three fundamental steps which are necessary if international law is to become an effective means of establishing peace and order in the world. The first is that all nations must recognize the moral basis which underlies the norm *pacta sunt servanda*, treaties must be kept. A treaty is morally binding and must be observed, not merely because it has been signed and sealed, not merely because it is customary to observe treaties, not merely because it is advantageous, but because it is just; and the natural law of God imperatively commands that justice be done, by injuring no one and giving to every

one his due. Once more we have a clear designation of the foundation of all order, the moral law. The disease which has sapped the vitality of international treaties is juridical Positivism, which seeks to divorce the positive provisions of law from natural morality.

The second and third of the recommendations of Pius XII are contained in his Message of 1941 (*4th point*) where he said: "To procure the rebirth of mutual trust certain institutions must be established which will merit the respect of all and which will dedicate themselves to the noble task of guaranteeing the sincere observance of treaties, and of promoting, in accordance with the principles of law and equity, their necessary correction and revision." The Pope recommends the *opportune revision* of treaties when necessary; and that this revision be undertaken by *juridical institutions* which shall be set up to administer international law.

And so we are brought once more face to face with the central problem of peace—international cooperation instead of international domination. Yes, this is the central problem; this is the point upon which the pressure of public opinion must be concentrated. In our talk last Sunday, we saw it in connection with disarmament.

Every one admits, because it is so evident from reason and experience, that honest mutual disarmament is necessary for permanent peace. But disarmament is impossible until protection against aggression has been provided by international cooperation. To-day we have met the same point again from another angle. The failure of international law has been the failure of treaties. The first remedy, of course, is to recognize the moral foundation upon which the obligation of treaties must rest; we must abandon the folly of juridical Positivism which can find no other basis for international obligations than the will of the State which makes the treaty. If the national will can create an obligation alone, the national will can dissolve it alone, and there is an end to stability in international dealings. The moral law, universally recognized, is the one secure foundation of international law and of peace. But the moral sense must operate through juridical instruments, and therefore we see once more the necessity for what the Holy Father calls juridical institutions, which shall have the sincere support and confidence of the nations of the world, and shall have the power to forestall and settle controversies and so to avert the disaster of a third World War. The

necessity of juridical institutions is recognized also in the Seven Point Declaration on World Peace which was recently issued by leaders of the principal religious groups in the United States, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish. The Fifth Point of that Declaration is: "International institutions to maintain peace with justice must be organized."

Some opponents of this world cooperation call themselves "realists", because they see difficulties in the way of its accomplishment. Pope Pius XII also sees the difficulties. The difficulties *are* realities; they form part of the picture, but only part of it. Difficulties in the way of a great achievement are realities which one must look at in order to overcome and destroy them. But the goal and purpose of a great achievement are also realities, of another kind, upon which one must keep one's attention if one would make any moral progress. The Pope and many others of all faiths who, with him, recommend sincere world cooperation, are truer realists than those who oppose these plans; because they see the whole of reality, not only the difficulties, but also the glorious and possible achievement which is permanent peace. Next Sunday we will speak of this same subject from a broader point of view.

THE REALISM OF PIUS XII

Address delivered on November 28, 1943

At the close of our talk last Sunday we reached the conclusion that in order to secure permanent peace it is absolutely necessary that the nations of the world cooperate with each other on the basis of friendship and helpfulness in some sort of world organization. The mere legal formalism of treaties has failed for two reasons: first, because the moral basis of obligation has not been sufficiently recognized, and secondly because of the lack of juridical institutions capable of implementing the common will to peace. Such juridical institutions, operating not only according to law but also according to equity and natural justice, represent the cardinal point of the Pope's Peace Program. Upon this cardinal point we must have a greater preponderance of opinion. There must be no hesitancy *this time* about the cooperation of the United States in a world order based on the moral law.

Surely it is the will of every nation and of every right-thinking person that out of the chaos of bloodshed and crime and suffering of this war—out of the *disorder* which is convulsing the world—

there shall come at last peace and happiness and the restoration of *order*. Now order in a living thing means organic functioning; and that depends on the nature of the organism. Hence those who plan or build a world order must be realistic in the sense that they must take account of the realities of human nature as it is in the living stream of history, and must build accordingly. Is the Pope's view of a world order sufficiently realistic, sufficiently in touch with facts? It is highly significant that on this very point of world cooperation, the leaders of the principal religious groups in the United States on October 7th released a statement—the Seven Point Declaration on World Peace—which is exactly in accord with the view so often expressed by Pius XII. A view so universally accepted is certainly not visionary. I propose to show that, especially on this point of international cooperation, the views of Pius XII spring from the most thorough and true knowledge of what human nature is and what are its attainable destinies in the world. His plans are based on the most complete realism.

In the fifth point of his message of 1940, the Pontiff said: "The spirit of cold egoism among the nations must be supplanted by a sincere juridical and economic solidarity and a fraternal collaboration according to the precepts of the divine law, among peoples assured of their autonomy and independence." *Solidarity*—there is the central thought; solidarity in the economic field, in the juridical field, solidarity expressing itself in "fraternal collaboration according to the precepts of the divine law." Is this realism? It is, because it takes into account all of reality; not only the failures of the past, but the opportunities of the present, the nature of man, the purpose for which he exists, and the resources with which the Creator has endowed him for its attainment. The experience of yesterday, the resources of today, contain the germs of the triumphs of tomorrow.

In the economic field, the realities which the Pope has condensed in a few succinct general principles are explained and developed clearly in the up-to-date commentary on the Five Peace Points, which I have mentioned before, *A Christian World Peace Plan*, about to be published under the auspices of the Pope's Peace Committee. Is there solidarity among the nations

in the economic field? Not yet, completely. But there are very encouraging signs, not only of a recognition of the need of solidarity, but of initial steps toward it. This was definitely pledged by the United Nations in the Atlantic Charter, which declared: "They will endeavor with due respect for existing obligations to further the enjoyment by all States, great and small, victor and vanquished, of access on equal terms to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity." That is exactly the proposal which Pius XII had already made in 1939 (*point 4*) and in 1940 (*point 4*); and he immediately, and very gracefully, recognized its acceptance by the two great wealthy powers, the United States and Great Britain. He said in his Message of 1941. "It is for us a source of great consolation to see admitted the necessity of a participation by all in the natural riches of the earth, even on the part of those nations which in the fulfillment of this principle belong to the category of 'givers' and not of 'receivers'".

The solidarity of which there are some signs in the economic field must extend also to the juridical field. And here again the principle has already been widely recognized, and a beginning has been made. Is

it "realism" to close this entire horizon of progress by seeing only the fact that the League of Nations was a partial failure? Is it "realism" to present the issue for and against juridical institutions as one powerful newspaper consistently represents it, namely as a choice between the American flag on the one hand and on the other a patchwork flag made up of every nationality from Ceylon to Kamchatka?

That is an absurd travesty of the real issue. It is not realism, because it is not the truth. A blatant propaganda constantly represents international cooperation as if it meant the complete surrender of national sovereignty. It does not. It means merely the juridical recognition of a fact which should be beyond doubt in the mind of any thinking person, namely, that man is by nature a social being: social not only in the sense that individuals naturally tend to form families (domestic societies), that families and individuals naturally tend to form States (civil societies), but also that States naturally tend to form real *societies* of States for mutual cooperation and helpfulness. Individuals, when they become citizens of a State, do not surrender their natural rights. It is true they accept certain limitations upon individual freedom of action,

limitations dictated by the common good. There are those who object even to these reasonable limitations. They object to all social legislation and contend for the "rugged individualism" which does as it pleases regardless of others, fare. Isolation based on selfishness and regardless of the common well is nothing other than "rugged individualism" in the international field; and thank God, nearly all thinking men are now convinced that it will not work.

In principle, the juridical institutions which the Pope pleads for as the practical expression of solidarity among nations, have been approved by many high authorities of all faiths. All of them realize that the plans will have to be worked out gradually, sincerely, and with the aid of experience, profiting by the successes as well as the failures of past efforts in the same direction. But Pius XII lays down the surest guide for such efforts in the future when he says that they must consist in "fraternal cooperation according to the precepts of the divine law." This brings us to the moral basis of solidarity.

Christian ethics finds the moral basis of solidarity in the nature of man as a social being, because that nature having been made by God is an indication of the will of God. The full realization of this

natural tendency toward international association has been delayed by the natural barriers which until now have impeded communications between one country and another. But now that oceans can be physically traversed in a few hours and communications can encircle the world with the speed of light, isolation has become an absurdity. The time is ripe for the human race to take a long step forward toward a fuller realization of its social nature; for in the mind and intention of its Creator it is not a series of discordant units in perpetual conflict with each other, but an organism whose parts are coordinated for harmonious functioning for the good of humanity as a whole.

That is the Christian ethic. Other ideologies have their so called norms of morality. "For us," declared Lenin in 1920, speaking for Communism, "morality is subordinated to the interests of the proletarian class struggle." And a modern English prophet of Socialism recently declared with all the pompous solemnity of an Oracle of Delphi that "unless this war is followed by a universal Socialist revolution, nothing will be gained by victory." On the other hand Nazism, with its insane obsession with race, declares that "the vigor of the race and purity of blood must be preserved by every possible

means; whatever conduces to this end is *ipso facto* honorable and licit"; and consequently, for the Nazis, "the primary source and supreme rule of all juridical order is the racial instinct." Communism and Naziism! On the one hand the nightmare of perpetual class struggle, on the other the delusion of racial domination. Too long has it been assumed that we have to choose between these two monstrosities. We will not choose between them. Nor will we compromise with either of them; for that would be to imperil and impair the solidarity which we seek to establish. There is such a thing as truth; there is a moral law written by the Creator in the hearts of men, indicated in man's rational and social nature: and there is no other basis adequate to support a world order.

The realism of Pius XII therefore includes in its sweeping vision economic, juridical, and moral realities. But it is inspired also by another fact of a still higher order. To get his point of view on this supreme and controlling fact, we may go back to the date of his election as Supreme Pontiff. Certain details impressed me because I happened to be in Rome at that time. His name, Pacelli, includes the Italian word *pace*, peace. For his coat of arms he chose a dove

bearing an olive branch. Before he could finish the writing of his first message, the Encyclical *Summi Pontificatus*, total war had burst upon the world through Danzig and Poland. Yet, in that first message, Pius XII dedicated himself, his Pontificate, his teaching, his sufferings, to the spread of the Kingdom of Christ the Prince of Peace.

The vision which Pius XII saw then and which he sees today may be described in a few words. The entire human race lost its divine inheritance in the long ago—the “liberty of the children of God.” Then came a day, which we call Christmas, when a Prince sent from heaven came to deliver them and to lead them out of the valley of death—a Prince divinely beautiful, whose wisdom, charm, and heroic courage make Him invincible. He alone can reconquer the lost heritage and put men in possession of it. Under Him all humanity will recapture its God-given dignity. The brotherhood of man, the fatherhood of God, will be realized, because that Leader is Jesus Christ, true God, yet perfect man. Humanity finds in Him the ideal of perfection. All that men have ever dreamed of greatness, virtue, holiness is in Him; all that heaven has ever radiated upon earth of light and grace and beauty. Victory and

redemption with Him are certain. But without Him, humanity is disrupted.

Born of a common father, Adam, living in the same world, for a common destiny, humanity cannot but feel that it should be one immense family, united in spirit and in action. And in spite of its scattered forces, the antagonisms of conflicting interests, jealousies, hatreds, wars, it carries in its heart regret for its lost unity. Unity is a lost heritage. Is it lost forever? Is there a human heart whose *love* can gather together the scattered fragments of the human race, weld them as members into an organic body and send his own life-blood pulsing through it to make it live? Yes, there is such a human heart, but there is only one—it is the heart of the new Adam, the Heart of Christ the King.

That is the vision that has glowed in the heart of Pius XII from the day of his election as Pope, through the anxiety of his virtual imprisonment by the Nazis, until now. And it is a vision of reality because the incarnation of the Son of God is a fact.

Friends, our brief talks on the Catholic Hour are finished. But let me make a last request. When you think of world order, and of the solidarity and cooperation

among men which it requires, do His charity and love, and in no not leave out of your consideration other way, that solidarity among this last great important fact; be- nations and peace on earth can cause it is in Christ and through come to men.

THE PURPOSE OF THE CATHOLIC HOUR

(Extract from the address of the late Patrick Cardinal Hayes at the inaugural program of the Catholic Hour in the studio of the National Broadcasting Company, New York City, March 2, 1930.)

Our congratulations and our gratitude are extended to the National Council of Catholic Men and its officials, and to all who, by their financial support, have made it possible to use this offer of the National Broadcasting Company. The heavy expense of managing and financing a weekly program, its musical numbers, its speakers, the subsequent answering of inquiries, must be met. . . .

This radio hour is for all the people of the United States. To our fellow-citizens, in this word of dedication, we wish to express a cordial greeting and, indeed, congratulations. For this radio hour is one of service to America, which certainly will listen in interestedly, and even sympathetically, I am sure, to the voice of the ancient Church with its historic background of all the centuries of the Christian era, and with its own notable contribution to the discovery, exploration, foundation and growth of our glorious country. . . .

Thus to voice before a vast public the Catholic Church is no light task. Our prayers will be with those who have that task in hand. We feel certain that it will have both the good will and the good wishes of the great majority of our countrymen. Surely, there is no true lover of our Country who does not eagerly hope for a less worldly, a less material, and a more spiritual standard among our people.

With good will, with kindness and with Christ-like sympathy for all, this work is inaugurated. So may it continue. So may it be fulfilled. This word of dedication voices, therefore, the hope that this radio hour may serve to make known, to explain with the charity of Christ, our faith, which we love even as we love Christ Himself. May it serve to make better understood that faith as it really is—a light revealing the pathway to heaven: a strength, and a power divine through Christ; pardoning our sins, elevating, consecrating our common every-day duties and joys, bringing not only justice but gladness and peace to our searching and questioning hearts.

86 CATHOLIC HOUR STATIONS

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