

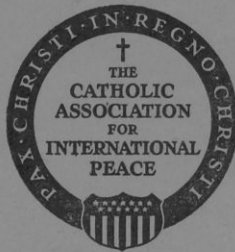
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A Peace Agenda for the United Nations

A Report of the Post-War World Committee

U.S. Peace



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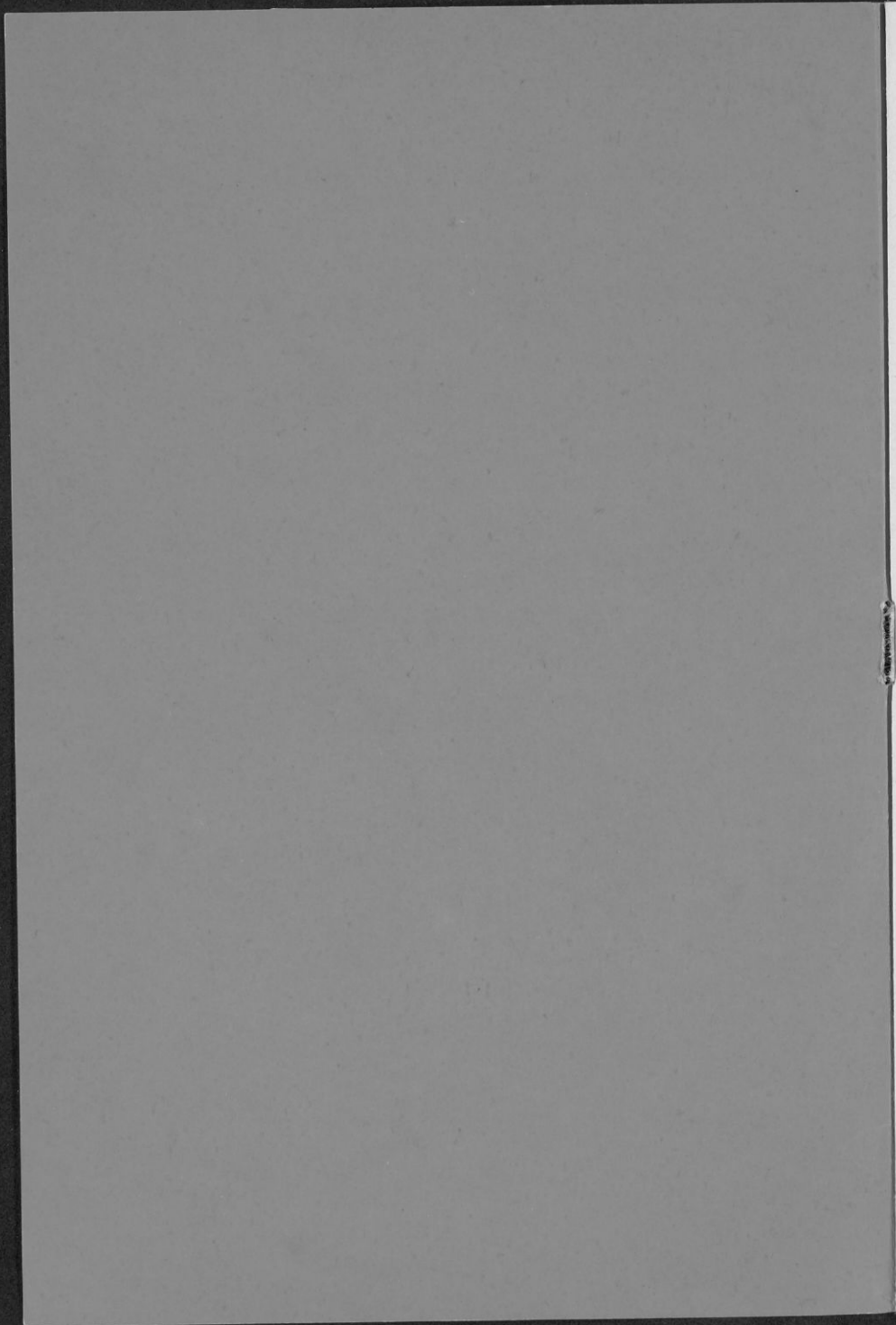
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THIS is a Report of the Post-War World Committee of the Catholic Association for International Peace, and is issued as a Study from that Committee. It is an attempted application of the Papal Peace Program. The Report was presented and discussed at the regional meeting of the organization in Washington, April 26, 1943, and at several smaller meetings. The Committee cooperated in the final form of the Report and it was presented to the Executive Council which ordered it published. As the process indicates, this Report is not a statement from the whole Association. The footnotes and appendices are not to be construed as part of the Report.

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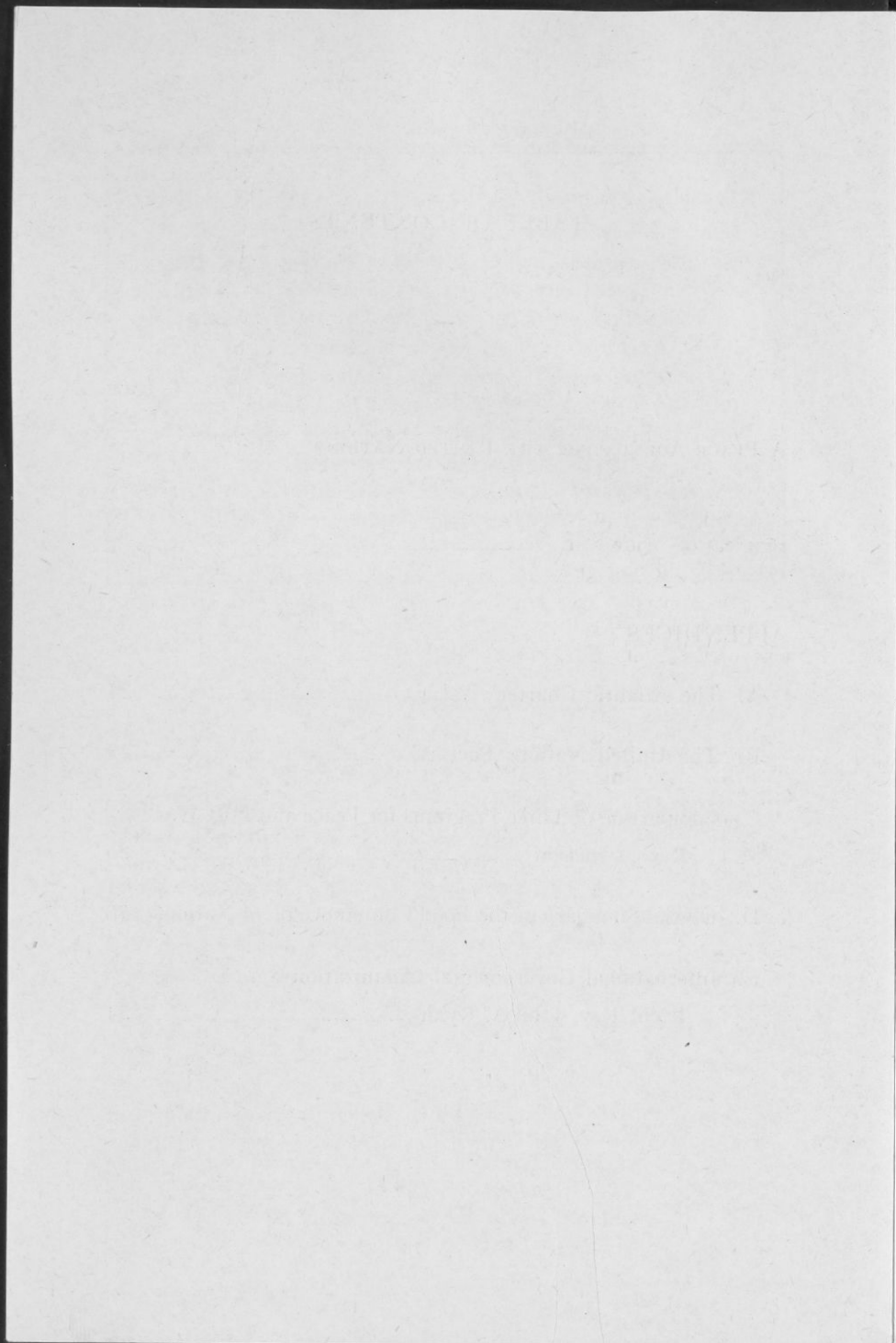
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A Peace Agenda for the United Nations

I

Begin World Organization Now

World organization is necessary to effect justice, to prevent a third world war and to secure the general welfare of the world.

After the last war, the nations created a governmental organization and a certain economic organization of the world. Those organizations, however, were all but improvised after the war was over; they did not grow out of events and agreements during the war. That is one reason why they failed.

This time we need not wait. In the United Nations there is hope of the countries coming together now.

II

A United Nations Post-War Council

Some things the United Nations have already done together. They are fighting the war; they have jointly agreed on the Atlantic Charter; they have declared jointly that they fight "to defend life, liberty, independence and religious freedom and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands."¹ Even Russia, traditional enemy of religious freedom, signed this declaration. Here is a beginning—but only a beginning.

The United Nations do not yet make their aims concrete; they do not tell how they will organize to gain them. They have, it is true, said they would talk about ways to try the war-guilty and to store up goods against starvation and nakedness. They are taking first steps in the planning of a general post-war food program, which in turn will lead logically into a general economic

¹ For texts of Atlantic Charter and United Nations Declaration, and for a comparison of these agreements with the Papal Peace Program and with previous reports of the C. A. I. P. Committees, see Appendices A, B and C.

program.² In the undisclosed talks of Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden with Mr. Roosevelt presumably lie the seeds of wider co-operation as to peace aims. The many bilateral agreements and combined war agencies, too, offer possibilities for development into instruments of general co-operation. However, as yet no specific general action has emerged from any of these proposals or possibilities.

We recommend the speedy formation of a United Nations Post-War Council to plan and, while permanent organizations are being created, to guide the post-war world in so far as governments should do so and to plan also necessary governmental co-operation with individuals and private organizations.

III

All Nations Possible Participating

Not enough peoples, however, are represented in the United Nations for purposes of the peace. Occupied countries which have no governments abroad are not included. Occupied countries with "Free Governments" in conflict with the enslaved governments at home are left out. Countries which have broken with the Axis but have not declared war have no place. Neutral countries which ship only to the Allies in war are left out.

All these countries should be in any permanent international organizations that are created after the war. Many of them have hung to the dying League of Nations and belong to the still active International Labor Organization. During the twenties and thirties many of them furnished able leadership for world justice and peace.

Some of the neutral countries are, of course, suspect. If they join a United Nations Post-War Council, they will be known as such and do little harm; yet by joining a United Nations Post-War Council they will show where their hearts lie.

The United Nations Post-War Council should be made as inclusive as possible.

² For an official summary of the United Nations Food Conference, see Appendix D.

IV

Background of Facts and Problems

A. A United Nations Post-War Council will confront certain basic facts in our generation of change and tragedy:

1. The earth has become rapidly a neighborhood in our own time; and yet there are world wars.

Production has increased enormously; and yet save in time of war there is vast unemployment.

2. Western Europe has lost its former dominance and several of its colonies are in rebellion.

The United States, Russia and Japan have risen to great power.

3. The old epoch of capitalism and nationalism buttressed by a vague secularism, the older Protestantism, the older Judaism and individualist Catholics has proved a failure and is dying.

Totalitarian Capitalism and Totalitarian Communism, founded in religions of nationality and race or in atheism, seek world allegiance.

Moved by the crisis; by a vague or even unconscious religion of personal dignity, of human brotherhood and of allegiance to God; by a Protestantism which is abandoning its older individualism and nationalism and seeks to become "ecumenical" (*i. e.*, world-wide); by a Judaism which is extending its own good code to others, and by a Catholic centering of all things in Christ—the countries that have not gone Communist or Nazi-Fascist have been trying, if insufficiently, to put into the nation and into work and ownership responsibility for national and world good.

World organization is necessary to strengthen and clarify this last fluctuating, uncertain and still timid element in world life.

B. A United Nations Post-War Council will have to deal with other more detailed facts or possibilities:

1. The war has caused unimaginable devastation.

2. The United States may stay nationalist or turn imperialist, either in isolation or as a member of a world organization.

3. A declining Western Europe may put its empires first and world peace second and try to do so in partial partnership with an imperialist United States.

4. Russia may propagandize for Communism abroad or may become nationalistic.

5. Germany may merely bide its time until it can begin aggressions again.

6. Japan may do likewise.

7. China may remain unstable.

Stating these facts and possibilities makes it clear that the problems are too great to be solved at once. Only a beginning is possible. Indispensable to the beginning is the creation or strengthening of organizations that in course of time can solve the problems.

V

United States Membership in World Organization Crucial

What must not occur is for the United States to refuse to join a world organization. That would be as calamitous as if our States had refused in 1787 to form one country because the South treasured chattel slavery.

The wrongs abroad must, indeed, be ended, and the United States must not enter a world organization as an imperialist and devouring nation. But in any case, the United Nations must create world organizations that can, however slowly, "form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility [which is now world tranquility], provide for the common defense [which is the defense of each by all], promote the general welfare [which is doing Social Justice] and secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity."

The United States must belong; without the richest and the geographically central country of the earth there can be no world organization.

Even the delay in getting the United Nations at work is a danger. For thus the United States continues to be the great question mark. Other countries wonder whether we shall live up to the responsibilities of our wealth and situation when the war ends. We failed after the last war. Our uncertainty tempts the world—Russia to seek Communist friends everywhere and strong boun-

daries against the rest of Europe; Axis Europe to fear its European conquerors; the Slav States between Germany and Russia to seek a coalition against these two giants; Western Continental Europe to fall back upon its empires and planned alliances; England to hope in its empire, a divided Europe and United States friendship; Latin America to remain undecided about the world crisis; China to languish in its instability; and Japan to battle to the death.

World War III smells in the wind while World War II is still being waged.

We recommend that the Congress of the United States declare the promise of membership in a world organization³ to be undertaken and planned by a United Nations Post-War Council.

VI

World Organization Means More Than Governmental Organization

World organization for justice, peace and well-being does not mean governmental organization alone. It means a variety of world organizations—governmental, economic, cultural and religious.

We recommend that a United Nations Post-War Council bear such organizations in mind in its plans, call them to help in its work and leave to them the work that they can do.

VII

War Relief Should Be Co-operative

Misery will enfold Europe and Asia when the war ends. The United Nations are planning to deal with this tragedy.

The United States, Latin America, the British Dominions and the United Kingdom will have to furnish much of the supplies for relief and much of the personnel to administer the relief.

However, we recommend that the United Nations undertake

³ Several resolutions to this effect have already been introduced in Congress, notably the Burton-Ball-Hatch-Hill Resolution and the Fullbright Resolution.

the task jointly, because local persons and organizations in the distressed areas will have to do much of the dispensing, and the relief will have to be fitted into local social legislation and comprise not only soup lines but the furnishing of local work.

As to relief supervisors, we recommend that they be as far as possible persons whose origin, religion, language and tradition are like those of the people with whom they work, that they be carefully selected and trained, and that they be persons dedicated to peace and a better world.

We recommend that the United Nations use private charitable organizations and rely on them greatly.

VIII

Democratically Guided Economic Rehabilitation

For the rebuilding of devastated cities and industrial plants, for the transition to peace-time production and for the guidance of investment, production and trade in the post-war world we recommend joint action by the United Nations Post-War Council and the International Labor Organization, the latter to be supplemented by farmer organizations.

The fundamental religious principle of economic life is that God gave the earth and its goods to all mankind. The second is that Social Justice obligates men to use their work and ownership for that purpose. The necessary method of doing so is to organize in every market around work and ownership in whole industries and federations of industries so as to make, with whatever governmental assistance is necessary, production ample and distribution wide. This applies to the world market as well as to a nation, region and locality.

We suggest to the joint conference of the United Nations Post-War Council and International Labor Organization the following steps:

1. Setting up a United Nations financial agency for investment.
2. Development of construction, production and trading agencies to supply the major needs of peoples.

3. Representation of labor unions and business organizations in all of these agencies and of farmer organizations in agencies handling farm products.

The reasons are these:

1. Traditional business acting alone will demand such profits and will so overproduce as to fail each country and the world; thereafter a nationalistic refuge will be sought in tariffs, imperialism, subsidies and juggling of currencies, and finally in Totalitarianism and in war.

2. If governments alone hold the powers of these agencies the world will accept the Totalitarian plan of life.

All world economic problems, including labor-protection, migration and currencies, should be guided in this manner.

A system of federated and democratically organized Industrial Councils to guide economic life should be encouraged in every country. The United States should take the lead in forming such a system and encouraging it elsewhere. Upon such councils acting nationally and in a world federation rests ultimately the hope of ending unemployment and poverty—a permanent cause of war.

IX

Use the Social Services of the League of Nations

The social services of the League of Nations are in the main intact and should be brought into close co-operation with a United Nations Peace Council.

Among these services are those of the Health Organization of the League, the Advisory Committee on Social Questions dealing with traffic in women and children and with child welfare, and the organs dealing with the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs.

X

Punishment of the War Guilty

We recommend that the United Nations go through with its purpose of developing a sure and satisfactory way to punish the

war-guilty and the engineers of the war's cruelties not only as a punitive measure but as a means of preventing a wave of private assassination and rioting. A method of punishment, however, is the least of the requirements in the avoidance of violence.

The problems are many and many of them center in Europe.

XI

A Sub-Committee on European Internal Law and Order

We recommend that the United Nations set up a special sub-committee on internal European relations which will be predominantly European in membership but which, because of European divisions, will include the United States and one or more Latin American countries.

The longer such a sub-committee remains unformed, the less hope there will be of the right results, even though the near-sighted will be leading the near-sighted since the sub-committee will probably be guided by representatives (a) of the epoch which has already failed and is dying, (b) of those who are trying, even if confusedly, to change the dying era into something right, (c) perhaps of Communism, and (d) perhaps of semi-Fascism.

The following immediate tasks will confront the sub-committee:

1. To help right governments come to power in the occupied countries of Europe.

The first aim should be to help governments which represent the second trend above. Sometimes, however, Communists or semi-Fascists or representatives of the old regime will be all that are available or can be helped to power. Sometimes, too, better governments than can be suggested by a United Nations Council will spring up at home. The United Nations will have great powers, if they can work together, in the selection of post-war governments. Armies of occupation that march in or air-fleets that bring new or old governments to the European capitals and drop leaflets or threaten with bombs will be able to set up rela-

tively permanent governments which may give the tone to all Europe.

The utmost care must be exercised in this task; yet the work must be done.

2. To decide on the treatment of Italy, Rumania and Hungary and above all of Germany.

The United Nations should prepare to go through with the promise to disarm these countries and punish the war-guilty. The Ethics Committee of the Catholic Association for International Peace in its statement on "Retributive Justice After the War" declares that the most responsible culprits in Germany, Italy and Japan should receive by judgment of the United Nations International Authority the extreme penalty of death; "for the minor culprits . . . imprisonment, banishment and other milder penalties would probably be sufficient to safeguard the international common good."⁴ The secondary leaders will remain and for a long time will be a problem to those countries, to Europe and to the world. Some way to prevent their doing great harm should be on the agenda of the sub-committee.

It would be, however, a mistake either in knowledge or judgment or a sign of vengeance for the United Nations to refrain from declaring soon that the rank and file of the Axis peoples and the interned and the persecuted are not to be treated as pariahs. These should be all brought into the common life of Europe and of the world.

The Axis peoples must, indeed, undergo a general conversion as we must ourselves; but their very defeat will induce conversion. They must lend their resources and work to the reconstruction of Europe and the world, as we all must. But they belong to Europe and to the world and should be so assured.

⁴ See "Retributive Justice After the War," a statement by the C. A. I. P. Ethics Committee in *Transition From War to Peace*, C. A. I. P., Washington. Dr. Karl F. Herzfeld, a member of the Post-War World Committee, differs with the proposals given here: He believes that in the absence of recognized international law imposing death penalties for political crimes like aggression, the death penalty should be invoked for the crime of murder, which would incriminate every officer or civil servant who has ordered the unjust killing of civilians (excluding soldiers in the firing squads). He advocates the inclusion in the constitution of a new world organization of an article imposing the death penalty on those responsible for the declaration and conduct of a war of aggression.

XII

To Prevent Intra-European War

The above, however, are relatively minor problems in Europe. There is a great and central problem—some say a hopeless one—of a new European order, a relatively united Europe.

We recommend that the European sub-committee of a United Nations Post-War Council take up this problem in the light of commitments secured from the whole United Nations to help Europe keep the peace inside Europe, establish justice and promote its general welfare.

Granting such commitments, we suggest that the sub-committee plan methods for:

1. Disarming the European Axis countries.
2. Their temporary supervision.
3. Setting up a mediation body or a court of equity to settle disputes in Europe.
4. Securing agreement of all European countries to throw all their forces, military and economic, against any European country, or countries, which attacks another.
5. Establishment of a European air-police.

XIII

To Care for Boundary, Minority and Migration Problems

If the European sub-committee can agree on methods of European security, it can with some hope draw the boundaries of the European countries and develop methods of protecting the language, education, religion and political and economic rights of minorities; for these problems go back largely to Europe's insecurity from war.

The sub-committee might also agree on one or more East or West European federations and on methods of returning the exiles to their homes or of transferring blocks of minorities or of settling peoples abroad.

XIV

United Nations Aid Necessary for European Security

What makes it so hard for modern Europe to unite on anything is precisely the chief cause of its wars. Other conditions have existed all along but basic are the facts that Western Europe has empires and access to the oceans in war-time while Central and Eastern Europe lack both.

The problems arising from these facts must be settled by the United Nations as a whole. Europe alone will not solve them.

The African colonies we suggest placing under the intermediate trusteeship of a United Europe and the rest of the colonies under the direct trusteeship of the United Nations as a whole. For both we suggest an improved system of mandates. The purposes of such mandates and trusteeship should be the bringing of the colonial peoples into the life of the world and the prevention of discriminations against access to their resources and trade. The principles of the trusteeship and the mandates should be agreed to by the United Nations.

If successfully administered, this partial internationalizing of colonies, which allows for variety in local administration, should end the European and Asiatic race for economic and military empires and the exploitation and retardation of colonial peoples.

As for the security of Europe against its own wars, we suggest, as a minimum, an agreement of all the United Nations—the United States especially—not to ship to any European country or countries that a united Europe declares to be an aggressor, and to ship to all the rest which are joined against the aggressor. This will allow also gradual demilitarization of individual countries.

We suggest a kind of supervisory power over Europe resting in the United Nations as a whole.

If Europe is so hopelessly divided that it can voluntarily do nothing together, the United Nations should bring pressure upon it. If that fails the United Nations in their world organization should go ahead with the tasks just the same, shoulder the burden and as time goes on try to get a degree of unity in Europe.

XV

The United Nations and the Problem of Communism

To the east of the body of Europe lies Russia, now Communist. Throughout Europe are groups on fire for Communism. These may, even without the direct stimulus from Russia, which has recently been ended by the dissolution of the Third International, undertake Communist revolutions when the war ends; the Axis peoples, unless the United Nations convince them otherwise, may do so merely in fear of the treatment they may receive from the western conquerors or under the drive of poverty and internal collapse. On the other hand, Russia may take a large slice of eastern Europe or encourage Communist revolutions by subterfuge throughout Europe or do both. These possibilities constitute a threat to any unification of Europe and the world and are rooted in the failure to establish a system of international security and justice.

Russia and the other United Nations cannot come together too soon to handle this set of problems. They should do so in the spirit of seeking to make work and ownership and national life serve the common good, in the spirit of seeking to abandon the economics and politics, the religious errors and indifference of the recent centuries, and without Nazi-Fascist Totalitarianism.

This is a world-wide problem. The mutual suspicions have long been a bar to plans for peace. The United Nations as a whole should initiate the discussions.

Russia should not reestablish its tie with the Communist parties of the world. In exchange for guarantees of peace by the United Nations, Russia should abandon its claims to territorial aggrandizement—claims that are in the spirit of the older power-politics.

XVI

The Rights of Man: Blueprints and Practice

A world organization and its European subsidiary, if one can be established, will have to protect the rights of man. Our era

began with religious wars and persecution. The Totalitarian effort to create a new epoch not only persecutes people for religion, and suppresses religion or constricts it, but the Capitalist form of Totalitarianism persecutes people for reasons of "race", specifically the Jews, and all those not of the chosen group, for example, German persecution of Poles, etc.

Both these forms of persecution and suppression are criminal. To oppose only one form blurs the issue of human freedom and brotherhood and undermines the hope of a better world.

The later stages of the now dying epoch preserved human freedom to a not too unsatisfactory degree. That degree of freedom must be kept and extended, even to drawing up an international bill of rights and providing a way to correct violations of it wherever they occur.

We recommend that the United Nations form a special committee on human rights and means of their protection.

One point requires emphasis. That is the right of free non-governmental associations to handle matters that they can care for apart from government and to co-operate with government in work which the government does in their fields. This right goes close to the heart of the crisis of our time. Without it, there is only government, and the individual is a kind of slave regardless of legal affirmation of rights. Actual governmental co-operation with private organizations in the work of relief and actual co-operation upon economic life between the United Nations Post-War Council and the International Labor Organization would be worth more than a dozen formal reaffirmations of the Rights of Man.

XVII

Recommendations to the United Nations on the Far East

When the war ends, the Japanese will probably go their ancient way of changing governments by *hara-kiri* and assassination; little can be done from outside at that moment. The Asiatic problem, however, goes deeper than the mere change of Japanese governments.

In the Far East there are the Catholic Philippines, freed from colonial status by the United States. There are the colonies or protectorates of Western Europe, of which India, at least, should have self-government. There are the western peoples of Australia and New Zealand tenuously in the British Empire. There are also China, Japan, Korea, Manchuria and Eastern Russia. Japan controls Korea and Manchuria.

The Far East attained an ancient civilization outside of the Catholic and western tradition. In meeting a retrograde western world—retrograde morally however industrially advanced—Japan has become predatory and exclusive, China has become unstable and all southern Asia has become dependent and is now restive in its dependency.

Confining Japan to her former empire may be expected from this war. But that will not meet Japan's need to feed her people nor China's instability nor Russia's drive to the east.

Any effective regional organization of the Far East is impossible now.

To help the Far East in a way that will keep its own greatness intact is the work of world organization—economic, governmental, social, cultural and religious. In all phases of world organization Far Eastern representation must be included.

We recommend that the proposal, earlier advanced, regarding cooperation between a United Nations Post-War Council and the International Labor Organization give special attention to the Far East; that the United Nations form a special Far Eastern Committee, on which China and India should be represented, to report a Far Eastern program; and that Far Eastern technical representation be included on all the social services of the world organization.

XVIII

Powers and Form of Permanent World Organization

A world organization is necessary on all counts. It is necessary to keep Europe from periodically exploding. It is necessary

to help the Far East get on its feet. It is necessary to get the world neighborhood to work together for world welfare.

Whether the United Nations should remodel the League of Nations or seem to start over again is not in itself important, whatever the psychological advantages either method may offer in different countries. What is important is a world organization that will have powers to pass laws, try cases, mediate disputes and enforce decisions⁵ for the protection of human freedom, the guidance of international economic life, the regulation of international political relations and the prevention of wars everywhere.

The form is important but secondary. No great controversy should be encouraged over any moderately satisfactory form of world organization; for the controversy might kill the organization.

We recommend that a special committee of the United Nations draw up a form of world organization.

XIX

The Mission of the Americas to the World Community

The Americas have a lofty mission in the organization of the world community. Our continents stand in the oceans between Europe and the Far East. Our discovery and colonization began the move to unite the world.

In spite of four chief languages, Spanish, Portuguese, French and English, the Americas are one in that we are hopeful, new world peoples and Christian. Whatever closer bonds we may be able to forge among ourselves will be of immense value. But we have the special mission to help Europe and the world to unity, to justice and to peace in Christ.⁶

In one matter the Americas can be of special help. The tradition of international law is strong in the Americas.

The Inter-American Juridical Commission has recently drawn

⁵ See Appendix E—"International Governmental Organization," by Right Rev. John A. Ryan, for a discussion of an international police force. See Appendices on World Organization in *America's Peace Aims* (C. A. I. P.) for further discussion.

⁶ See Statement of the Inter-American Seminar on Social Studies in *Catholic Action*, October, 1942.

up a reaffirmation of some of the basic principles of international law for general adoption by the American governments.⁷

We recommend that the United Nations Post-War Council request the Inter-American Juridical Commission to present a draft of a complete statement of basic principles of International Law for incorporation into the constitution of the world organization.

XX

World Freedom and Brotherhood Impossible Without Organization

The United States and the world must be prepared for imperfect world organizations doing imperfect work and perhaps failing.

At the risk of over-simplification the reason is this. The world can produce and distribute so much that unless it organizes to do so justly, there is mass unemployment and mass poverty. The world is so closely a neighborhood that unless it organizes to live as a neighborhood there are wars. But the recent centuries have overemphasized individual and national worth and underemphasized interdependence. That is so poor a preparation either for an organized economic life or for governments working together that whole countries, and some persons in nearly all countries, have taken refuge and will do so in a Totalitarian interdependence that all but denies, when it does not completely deny, the essential dignity and worth of every man and every people.

In this situation world governmental and economic organizations are the more necessary to break and harness the wild horses of the older capitalism and nationalism and the new Totalitarianism.

There will remain, nevertheless, within the framework of international organization, the problem of whether the peoples of the democracies will give up that distortion of freedom which makes men and nations unfree (and not brothers), and the problem of whether the Totalitarian peoples will give up that distortion of

⁷ See Ethics Committee Statement on "Reaffirmation of Fundamental Principles of International Law," Appendix C in *Transition From War to Peace*.

brotherhood which makes men and nations not brothers (and slaves). For an organization tends to express the spirit of its members.

XXI

World Education to Correct World Errors

The usual answer is to urge education in the social sciences of economics, government, sociology, history, and the like. But what standards, what values, what code of morality in social relations, what purpose in life are the social sciences to adopt as their guide? What is right in the relations of man to man and country to country? What is wrong? A social science, like an airplane, can be used for right purposes or wrong purposes.

It may be, however, that there is enough agreement on some of the right standards to justify the recommendation that the United Nations set up an independent board on the social sciences to develop a code of principles and practices in education based on the balanced truth of man's dignity and interdependence. Their basic principles they should correlate with those of the Inter-American Juridical Committee.

Any such board will be the confused representative of our confused and even wrong-headed generation; but it will serve a purpose. The basis of choice for its membership should be men competent in the social sciences who hold to both the dignity and interdependence of men and peoples. Since only the members of the religions hold not too confusedly to these notions, the board should be in the religious tradition. Certainly Catholics should be represented in good number.

Such a board not only will have to assist the Axis peoples to revamp their education; it will have to assist the democracies.

XXII

Cooperation of Religions on Teaching Man's Dignity and Interdependence

Hammered by this world crisis, leaders among Protestants are seeing the twofold truth of the dignity and the interdependence,

that is, the brotherhood of all men, and are even searching for an ecumenical, that is, a universal, Catholic church, to express that dignity and interdependence. Jewish leaders are preaching that their code, limited once to one people, applies to all mankind. Catholics have to go through no revolution of belief; our revolution is one of coming to understand and practice fully the Faith we have always held, and this revolution we are now trying to undergo.

We recommend, therefore, that Jews, Protestants and Catholics work together closely in developing programs, principles and action to help stem the flood of misery which is upon us, and turn it back so that a civilization can be created which will accord with man's great dignity and the brotherhood of his interdependence.

XXIII

Opportunity for the Mission of the Church

Christ and His Church are the true teachers and exemplars of civilization. It was "in the fullness of time" when the whole known western world was united and at peace, that Christ came to die for us and found His Church so as to continue His life and His death for our salvation hereafter and here.

Our generation may be another fullness of time that will allow Him and His Church to reach all of mankind. If the world-neighborhood can organize for some justice, some peace and a measure of the general good, an unparalleled opportunity will be at hand in our own time.

After the war, there will be great need in Europe for priests and Sisters and lay teachers; and perhaps many from the United States will go there. There will be need, as there is now, for priests, Sisters and laymen to go from the United States to Latin America. The missions to Africa and Asia must be continued. The Church here in the United States must be maintained and developed.

Just as the United States is the key country in world economic life and governmental relations, so the Catholics of the United

States will, as a group, be the key Catholics of the world for a long time to come.

XXIV

Recommendations to Americans and to Catholics of the United States

Neither Americans as a whole nor the Catholics of the United States are as yet prepared for their responsibilities.

As to Americans as a whole we recommend:

1. Campaigns of education to show the obligations of our wealth, geographical position and spirit for the creation of a right world.

2. Vigilance against every group that would play either on mistakes and wrongs done abroad or on our own prejudices to prevent our entrance into a world organization or to have us enter it only to dominate the world, and the mass of Americans, for the wealth and power of the few.

3. Education in the fundamental principles and the methods of a right civilization.

As to Catholics we recommend:

1. Entrusting papers and magazines to editors who know Catholic principles of national and world economic and governmental life.

2. Revision of the courses in our schools so that the social sciences—of which religion is the first—will be taught also as vehicles of a right civilization; for example, the teaching of economics as the science of how democratically organized industries can, along with government, secure full production and a good living for everyone.

3. A great strengthening of the lay organizations, working with and under the bishops and parish priests, so as to train people in the principles and spirit of a Christian civilization.

4. Broadening the religious life of the people so that it will be lived not only for personal salvation but for a right civilization on earth and the eternal salvation of all mankind.

APPENDIX A**The Atlantic Charter**

The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

FIRST, Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other.

SECOND, They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

THIRD, They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

FOURTH, They will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

FIFTH, They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing for all improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security.

SIXTH, After the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

SEVENTH, Such a peace would enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.

EIGHTH, They believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reason, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea, or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
WINSTON S. CHURCHILL.

Dated August 14, 1941.

APPENDIX B**The United Nations Pact**

Representatives of the twenty-six Allied nations then at war with Germany, Italy and Japan met in Washington on January 1, 1942, and signed the following declaration:

"A joint declaration by the United States, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Soviet Union, China, the Netherlands, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Luxemburg, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Poland, South Africa and Yugoslavia.

"The Governments' signatory hereto,

"Having subscribed to a common program of purposes and principles embodied in the joint declaration of the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, dated August 14, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter.

"Being convinced that complete victory over their enemies is essential to defend life, liberty, independence and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands,

"And that they are now engaged in a common struggle against savage, brutal forces seeking to subjugate the world, declare:

"1. Each Government pledges itself to employ its full resources, military or economic, against those members of the Tripartite Pact and its adherents with which such a Government is at war.

"2. Each Government pledges itself to co-operate with the Governments signatory hereto, and not to make a separate armistice or peace with the enemies.

"The foregoing declaration may be adhered to by other nations which are or which may be rendering material assistance and contributions in the struggle for victory over Hitlerism."

APPENDIX C

Comparison of Three Programs for Peace and Post-War Reconstruction

1. *The 8-Point Atlantic Charter*, signed on August 14, 1941, by Churchill and Roosevelt (supplemented by the Declaration of the United Nations, January 2, 1942, and Letter of President Roosevelt to Archbishop Mooney, Chairman of Administrative Board, N. C. W. C., December 24, 1941.)*
2. *The 5-Point Papal Peace Program* of Christmas, 1939 (supplemented by the Allocutions of Christmas, 1940 and 1941, the 1941 Pentecost Message, and Pope Benedict XV's August 1, 1917, Letter).*
3. *America's Peace Aims* and *The World Society*—Committee Reports issued by the C. A. I. P. in 1941.*

	ATLANTIC CHARTER	THE POPE'S PEACE PROGRAM	C. A. I. P. REPORTS AMERICA'S PEACE AIMS THE WORLD SOCIETY
<p>I. A New Era</p>	<p>"A better future for the world." (Intro.)</p>	<p>"A new order" based on observance of the moral law. (Christmas, 1940, 1941; Pentecost, 1941.)</p>	<p>U. S. and Inter-American responsibility for a United Europe and a united world. (Section 1, app. A, B, D, America's Peace Aims, Ch. 5, <i>The World Society</i>.)</p>
<p>II. Human Rights</p>	<p>Destruction of tyranny—freedom from fear. (Art. 6.) Life, liberty, independence and religious freedom, human rights and justice everywhere. (United Nations, January 2, 1942.)</p>	<p>No persecution of religion and of the Church. (Christmas, 1941.) Real needs and just demands of peoples and ethnic minorities to be met in peaceful way, if necessary, by revision of treaties. (Christmas, 1939.) No place for oppression of cultural and linguistic characteristics; for economic restrictions; for limitation of natural fertility. (Christmas, 1941.)</p>	<p>Rights of man. (Page 13, app. C, America's Peace Aims.) International Bill of Rights, Minorities Treaties. (W. S. 40.)</p>

APPENDIX C (Continued)

ATLANTIC CHARTER	THE POPE'S PEACE PROGRAM	C. A. I. P. REPORTS AMERICA'S PEACE AIMS THE WORLD SOCIETY
<p>III. National Integrity</p> <p>No aggrandizement—territorial or other. (Art. 1.) No territorial changes, save as people concerned desire. (Art. 2.) Self-government and self-determination of form of government. (Art. 3.)</p>	<p>Right to national life and independence. (Christmas, 1939.) Reparation where rights have been infringed. (Christmas, 1939.) No violation of freedom, integrity, and security of other states. (Christmas, 1941.)</p>	<p>International bill of rights. (App. C, America's Peace Aims.) National autonomy. (Page 12, America's Peace Aims.) Protection of colonies and correction of colonial situations. (Pages 14, 19, America's Peace Aims.) Satisfaction of legitimate national aspirations. (W. S., Ch. VI.) International control over colonial areas. (W. S., Ch. VI.)</p>
<p>IV. Economic Justice</p> <p>Access of all, on equal terms, to trade and raw materials qualified by "respect for existing obligations." (The London inter-allied agreement with U. S. support, sets up a plan of post-war economic rehabilitation.) (Art. 4.) Economic collaboration for labor standards, economic advancement and social security. (Art. 5.) The means of living in safety with boundaries—freedom from want. (Art. 6.)</p>	<p>Real needs and just demands of nations and peoples must be met, if necessary by revision of treaties. (Christmas, 1939.) Arrangements to give all states means to insure proper standards of living for their citizens. (Christmas, 1940.) Economic solidarity. (Christmas, 1940.) Domestic reform. (Pentecost, 1941.) Rights of Migration. (Pentecost, 1941.) No hoarding of economic resources; access of all nations thereto. (Christmas, 1941.) (See also Pope Pius XI's Quadragesimo Anno.)</p>	<p>European and world economic organization (of free organizations of employers, labor, farmers, and of government) to guide production and business, including migration and undeveloped areas, and to handle post-war rehabilitation and unemployment, poverty, economic causes of war. (Pages 13, 19, app. D, America's Peace Aims.) (The World Society, pages 25, 28.)</p>

APPENDIX C (Continued)

ATLANTIC CHARTER	THE POPES' PEACE PROGRAM	C. A. I. P. REPORTS AMERICA'S PEACE AIMS THE WORLD SOCIETY
<p>V. International Organization</p> <p>"A wider and permanent system of general security." (Art. 8.)</p>	<p>Juridical institutions to guarantee treaties and revise them as needed; perhaps some special form of European organization. (Christmas, 1939; 1941.)</p> <p>Juridical solidarity, fraternal collaboration. (Christmas, 1940.)</p> <p>Arbitration, sanctions, world court. (Pope Benedict XV, August 1, 1917.)</p>	<p>A European and a world governmental organization to maintain peace, administer justice, and work with economic organization. (Page 14, app. E; page 20, app. J; America's Peace Aims.)</p> <p>Regional governments to enforce peace and assist in rehabilitation. (W. S., Ch. V.)</p>
<p>VI. Disarmament</p> <p>Disarmament of aggressor nations, pending success of V (above) and then reduction of armaments. Abandonment of force. (Art. 8.)</p>	<p>"Mutually agreed, organic, progressive disarmament," spiritual and material (Christmas, 1939; 1941.)</p> <p>Moral force of right substituted for material force of arms. (Benedict XV.)</p> <p>Simultaneous and reciprocal diminution without impairing force needed to maintain public order. (Benedict XV.)</p>	<p>European air police and joint use of European military and economic power against European aggressor. (Page 14, app. E, America's Peace Aims.)</p> <p>World-wide boycott of aggressor or country aiding aggressor. (Page 20, app. I, America's Peace Aims.)</p> <p>Gradual reduction of arms and abolition of conscription. (Page 20, America's Peace Aims.)</p> <p>Reduction of and internationalization of world air forces; economic sanctions. (W. S., Ch. V.)</p> <p>Universal and immediate armaments limitation. (W. S., p. 46.)</p>

APPENDIX C (Continued)

	ATLANTIC CHARTER	THE POPES' PEACE PROGRAM	C. A. I. P. REPORTS AMERICA'S PEACE AIMS THE WORLD SOCIETY
VII. The Freedom of the Seas	(Art. 7.)	Community of seas to be established by rules following recognition of supremacy of right. (Benedict XV.)	Importance of freedom of the seas as issue. (Pages 11, 16, America's Peace Aims.) (Advantages to countries having access to oceans must be balanced by establishment of all other points here outlined.)
VIII. Spirit of Religion	Abandonment of the use of force for "spiritual reasons." (Art. 8.) "The establishment of an international order in which the spirit of Christ shall rule the hearts of men and of nations." (Roosevelt to Archbishop Mooney, December 24, 1941.) Defense of religious freedom (United Nations.)	Development of sense of responsibility among people and governments for world justice and world charity. (Christmas, 1939.) No place for persecution of religion and of church in order founded on moral principles. (Christmas, 1941.)	Special responsibility of Catholic Americans to save "both souls and civilization." (Page 21, app. A, America's Peace Aims.) Responsibility for world justice and charity. (Pages 15, 20, app. F., America's Peace Aims.) Responsibility requiring "highest moral principles, greatest abundance of charity." (W. S., Ch. VI.) Rights of Man (A's. P. A., p. 13, app. C.)

* All documents obtainable from the Catholic Association for International Peace, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington 5, D. C.

APPENDIX D**Official Summary of the Food Conference of 44 Nations**

Following is the text of a summary of the results of the United Nations Food Conference as prepared by the parley's secretary general:

The conference met to consider the goal of freedom from want in relations to food and agriculture. In its resolutions and its reports, the conference has recognized that freedom from want means a secure, adequate and suitable supply of food for every man.

All men on earth are consumers of food. More than two-thirds of them are also producers of it. These two aspects of gaining subsistence from the soil cannot be separated. Men cannot eat more and healthier foods unless these foods can be obtained from the land or the sea in sufficient quantities. If more and better food is to be available for all people, producers must know what they are called upon to do. They must equally be assured that their labors will earn them an adequate livelihood.

The work of the conference emphasized the fundamental interdependence of the consumer and the producer. It recognized that the food policy and the agricultural policy of the nations must be considered together: It recommended that a permanent body should be established to deal with the varied problems of food and agriculture not in isolation but together.

The work of the conference also showed that the types of food most generally required to improve people's diets and health are in many cases those produced by methods of farming best calculated to maintain the productivity of the soil and to increase and make more stable the returns to agricultural producers. In short, better nutrition means better farming.

FREEDOM FROM HUNGER

The conference declared that the goal of freedom from want can be reached. It did not, however, seek to conceal the fact that it will be first necessary to win freedom from hunger. In the immediate future, the first duty of the United Nations will be to win complete victory in arms; as their armies liberate territories from tyranny their goal will be to bring food for the starving. The need to reach freedom from hunger before seeking freedom from want was understood and resolutions were adopted on this subject. These covered both the planning of agricultural production and the adoption of measures to prevent violent fluctuations in prices resulting from the shortages of the transition period.

Many delegates informed the conference about the state of health in their respective countries. It was made clear that there was a close connection between many prevalent diseases and deficiency in diets. The important part played by malnutrition in maintaining child mortality rates at a high level was also established.

It was apparent that in all countries there are large sections of the

population who do not get adequate and suitable food for health; in many countries the majority of the people are in this situation.

The conference has not attempted to lay down ideal standards of nutrition for all peoples. It has recognized that, while the ultimate objectives must be a world in which all people are fed in full accordance with the requirements of good health, it will be necessary as a practical measure to concentrate on intermediate goals which can be progressively raised as conditions improve. These intermediate goals must differ from region to region according to climate, taste, social habits and other circumstances. These goals are therefore primarily a matter for individual governments to determine.

MORE AND BETTER FOOD

One of the most important recommendations of the conference is that the governments represented should declare to their own people and to one another their intention to secure more and better food for the people. Various measures which might be taken for this purpose were discussed. These included education, special provision for particular classes of the population, and the improvement of the quality of food available.

The conference recognized that a great increase would be needed in the production of food if progress was to be made toward freedom from want. Section II discussed how this increase could be brought about. It was recognized, however, that to a varying extent in different countries and at different times there would be insufficient food of kinds required for health. It might therefore be necessary to take measures to see that special groups of the population, such as young children and pregnant women, who most needed these foods, obtained at least their minimum requirements, even if this means reducing the supplies for the rest of the population below what they would otherwise consume.

In Section II, the conference considered how agricultural production could be increased and adapted to yield the supplies most needed by consumers. It began its work with the assumption, which was confirmed by the conclusions of Section I, that more production was needed if the people of the world were to have sufficient food for adequate nutrition and that both new and existing production would have to be adjusted to secure more of those "protective" foods which are most necessary for good health.

CALL TO DEVASTATED AREAS

Before discussing methods by which these changes could be brought about, the section examined the short-term position immediately after the liberation of occupied territories. It was generally agreed that this period will be one of shortage, the exact incidence and extent of these shortages being governed by the circumstances in which various territories are liberated from the enemy. During this period the first call will be to reach freedom from hunger in areas devastated by the war.

Until these lands themselves are able to produce a harvest, the most urgent demand will be for cereals and other foods which maintain human energy and satisfy hunger.

The conference agreed that while shortages lasted there should be co-ordinated action by governments both to secure increased production and to prevent speculative and violent fluctuations in prices.

The conditions of shortage existing at the end of hostilities will be exceptional and it should not be too long before the production of the basic energy foods is sufficiently restored to provide for freedom from hunger. When that state is reached it will be necessary to increase wherever possible the emphasis on production of foods containing first-class protein and other protective qualities necessary to good health, according to the standards considered by Section I of the conference.

There is danger that the heavy demand for energy foods which will arise from the immediate period of shortage may lead, as the shortages are overcome, to overproduction of these foods unless governments act with foresight in guiding producers to alter their production programs in accordance with the long-term requirements. The actual programs must be drawn up to suit the particular circumstances of each country, but the conference agreed upon broad general principles which should serve as a guide in making these programs in all countries.

These principles cover not only the adjustment of production to fit the long-term requirements of a better diet but also improvements in the general efficiency of production. The conference also recommended certain particular measures of more general application for carrying them out.

FOR NEW AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

In addition, the conference recommended measures for new agricultural development. It was the opinion of the conference that some parts of the world which at present are unproductive could be brought into agricultural production if the appropriate measures were applied. At the same time, it was recognized that, in some areas of rich potentialities, development is impeded by overcrowding of farmers on the land. While something can be done to increase the productivity of these areas by improving methods of farming, by drainage and similar measures, it was recognized that in some cases the development of industry to provide employment for agricultural populations or emigration to other areas were the only measures likely to offer any significant contribution to a solution of the problem.

The conference recognized that it is useless to produce food unless men and nations have means to acquire it for consumption. Freedom from want cannot be achieved unless there is a balanced and world-wide expansion of economic activity.

The deliberations of the conference in Section III, which was set up to investigate the improvement of distribution, clearly showed that consumers would not be in a position to buy the food they needed, and producers of

food could not be assured of adequate returns, unless progress was made through national and international action to raise the general level of employment in all countries. Moreover, as discussions in Section I emphasized, poverty is the first cause of malnutrition and hunger.

The work of Section III established the close interdependence between the level of employment in all countries, the character and extent of industrial development, the management of currencies, the direction of national and international investment, and the policy adopted by the nations toward foreign trade.

The conference was not invited to conduct a detailed investigation into policies which should be adopted by the governments of the world in order to promote an expansion of economic activity; but it declared that freedom from want of food could not be fully achieved without such an expansion and urgently recommended to the governments and authorities represented to take action individually, and in concert in order to secure this objective.

PROVIDES AGAINST INFLATION

Having drawn attention to the fundamental importance, in the approach to freedom from want of food, of policies to expand and quicken economic activity, the conference discussed the place and functions which might be given, within the framework of such policies, to international arrangements for the control of basic staple foodstuffs entering international trade. There was agreement that the objects of any such arrangements must be to eliminate excessive short-term movements in the prices of food and agricultural commodities, to mitigate general inflationary or deflationary movements and to facilitate adjustments in production which may be necessary to prevent economic dislocation.

The conference agreed that any such arrangements should include the effective representation of consumers as well as producers. It was not possible for the conference, in the time available, to discuss future international commodity arrangements in detail. Discussion in Section III was directed to general questions of principle affecting the operation of such arrangements as might later be made. The two questions to which most attention was paid were—

(A) The place which buffer stocks should occupy in these arrangements, and

(B) How far it would be necessary to achieve the desired objectives to include within the general arrangements agreements for the regulation of production.

The conference agreed that further international discussion of these questions ought to take place with a view to the formulation of broad principles to govern the formulation and operation of future commodity arrangements.

There was general agreement that, whatever the nature of the arrangements eventually made for individual commodities, machinery would be needed for co-ordinating their operations in the light of the broad principles to be agreed upon.

PERMANENT ORGANIZATION SEEN

It became clear at a comparatively early stage of the conference that there was general agreement that the nations represented at the conference should establish a permanent organization in the field of food and agriculture. It was also generally agreed that this organization should act as a center of information and advice on both agricultural and nutrition questions and that it should maintain a service of international statistics.

The conference did not, however, attempt to lay down in detail what the scope and functions of such an organization should be or its relationship to other national or international bodies. It was agreed that these questions would have to be worked out in detail between representatives of the participating governments. Accordingly, the conference recommended the establishment in Washington of an interim commission, one of the functions of which would be to draw up for submission to governments and authorities represented a detailed plan for the permanent organization.

The United Nations conference on food and agriculture has shown that the governments and authorities represented are agreed upon the necessity of their taking action individually and in concert to achieve freedom from want of food. The reports and recommendations of the conference indicate further agreement on the methods to be followed. The conference has accordingly recommended that the governments and authorities represented should recognize their obligation to their own people and to one another to raise the levels of nutrition and the standards of living of their citizens, to improve the efficiency of agricultural production and to co-operate one with another for the achievement of these ends. The conference resolved that the interim commission to be established in Washington should prepare such a declaration or agreements in this sense for the consideration of governments and authorities represented.

APPENDIX E

International Governmental Organization¹

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The various declarations of Pope Pius XII on a just peace have deservedly won unanimous approval from men of good will. On the question of an international organization to make such a peace secure, he has not spoken so frequently, indeed, but he has made known his convictions with

¹ Paper delivered at the Washington Meeting, Catholic Association for International Peace, Evening Session, April 26, 1943, National Catholic School of Social Service.

sufficient clarity and positiveness. In his discourse to the Minister of Haiti, November 10, 1939, the Holy Father advocated:

a stable, fruitful international organization such as is desired by men of good will, an organization which, respecting the rights of God, will be able to assure the reciprocal independence of nations big and small, to impose fidelity to agreements loyally agreed upon, and to safeguard the sound liberty and dignity of the human person in each one's efforts towards the prosperity of all. . . .

In the last of the Five Conditions for Peace laid down in his Christmas Message of 1939, His Holiness called for:

the establishment of juridical institutions which serve to guarantee the loyal and faithful fulfilment of terms [of peace] and, in case of recognized need, to revise and correct them, . . .

In *Summi Pontificatus* (p. 29, N. C. W. C. edition):

. . . The human race is bound together by reciprocal ties, moral and juridical, into a great commonwealth directed to the good of all nations and ruled by special laws which protect its unity and promote its prosperity.

As we all know, Pius XII was not the first Pontiff to urge the formation of an international political society. In this place it will be sufficient to cite the forthright statement of Pope Benedict XV, on Pentecost Sunday, 1920:

All states should put aside mutual suspicion and unite in one sole society or rather family of peoples, both to guarantee their own independence and to safeguard order in the civil concert of the peoples.

Unfortunately a large and very vocal, if not very influential, section of their spiritual children have failed actively to support these clear pronouncements of these two great Pontiffs. Addressing the delegates to the Sixth International Peace Congress, at the Hague, in August, 1938, the Rev. A. Muller, S.J., of Antwerp, declared:

The existence of an international society is in accord with God's design as a result of man's natural sociability. It is for human wisdom to organize that society. Immense efforts have been directed to this end and Catholic public opinion has unfortunately not taken its proper share.

Although Father Muller was thinking mainly of European Catholics, his words could have been applied with equal appropriateness to the Catholics of the United States. In a little pamphlet published a few months ago, a Catholic professor in Stanford University, Kurt F. Reinhardt, published the following sentences:

So far as the Catholics of North America are concerned, the majority of their number were found in the vanguard of isolationism and on the side of those who opposed any and all attempts to re-establish international law on the basis of collective security, guaranteed by an international covenant of a Commonwealth of Nations. National selfishness was as much in evidence among Catholics as among other groups, and among the Catholics of the United States of America the peace efforts of the Papacy were further hampered by an un-Christian provincialism of mind which refused to recognize the moral, political, and economic interdependence of the modern world in general and of the Catholic world in particular, a provincialism which preached aloofness from the affairs of Europe and renounced all responsibility for anything that happened beyond our national and oceanic boundaries.²

It will be noticed that both Father Muller and Professor Reinhardt attribute this deplorable attitude to the majority of Catholics. Probably they were thinking not of the whole body of Catholics but only of those who were articulate on the subject. In that case, probably both writers reported the facts correctly. It is certainly true that the majority, even the *great* majority of those American Catholics who gave public expression to their views at any period since the end of World War I, were isolationists. In order to avoid any insidious implications let me point out that the proportion of our Catholic population taking the isolationist position was apparently no greater than the similarly misguided proportion of the American people as a whole.

So much for history before Pearl Harbor. If we can rely upon the Gallup polls and the newspapers, a very considerable majority of the American people now desire their country to co-operate with the other nations in setting up and maintaining an international political organization to preserve world peace and to promote the common good of all the nations. As members of an intelligent Catholic peace society, we are all, I assume, delighted that our coreligionists in the United States seem to have undergone the same conversion as the majority of their fellow citizens, and we hope that they will actively support all reasonable efforts to bring about adequate international political co-operation.

None of you, I assume, is ignorant of the fact that an enormous number of plans have been excogitated by individuals and groups for a world organization; many of you have read and studied more than one of these plans, and some of you have probably chosen one that seems to you the best. Let me hasten to assure you that I do not intend to present a comprehensive review or comparison of these programs, nor indeed any adequate evaluation of any of them. Whatever references I make to any of these documents will be incidental and subsidiary.

Concerning the general nature and scope of a desirable and feasible world

² *The Commonwealth of Nations and the Papacy*, Kurt F. Reinhardt. The Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee. 10 cents.

organization, I repeat here three propositions which I put into an address something more than a year ago.

First, an international organization is absolutely necessary;

Second, it will need more comprehensive scope and power than was possessed by the League of Nations, but it cannot have all the authority of a unitary, all-inclusive, super-state;

Third, it will require all the individual states to give up a considerable degree of national sovereignty.

The first of these propositions we all accept. The second and third, we are willing, I trust, to approve in principle. Concerning them I make only one observation. It was a calamity for political science and the reign of the moral law, when the concept of sovereignty was invented by Jean Bodin, and later expanded by Thomas Hobbes, Jean Jacques Rousseau and John Austin. Sovereignty is not a Catholic conception; we prefer the term, authority. The concept and term, sovereignty, have done immeasurable harm by spreading the heresy that states are above the moral law and by fostering a sort of jingoistic idolatry of the term sovereignty itself. The prevalence of this idolatry among our people is and will continue to be a serious obstacle to rational consideration of proposals for political world organization.

Two things I shall not attempt to do in this address: I shall neither analyze the main programs that have been published for world organization nor attempt to discuss all the implications of any plan. Instead, I shall endeavor to present the bare essentials of an international political organization, with perhaps two or three references to subsidiary problems.

It seems to me that an effective international body will have to comprise three elements or organs: a world court, an international police force and a legislative-administrative council. As to the formation, establishment and composition of the international body, I assume that for some time after the end of the war it will consist of the United Nations, with such additions of other states as seem desirable. In the course of time, the United Nations, thus constituted, may decide to create a new world organization, with a new name, to take over permanently the functions that they have been performing in the transition years, and perhaps to add other functions; but this contingency is so remote and uncertain that its present consideration would involve unfruitful cerebration and waste of time.

Taking up, in the order given above, the three essential elements of a world organization, I note that the judiciary is the one that makes the greatest appeal and raises the smallest objection. In large part this is due to the fact that two such bodies have been in existence for many years and have operated with considerable success. These are the Courts of Arbitration and of International Justice, set up at the Hague, in 1899 and 1922, and the Permanent Court of International Justice, established in connection

with the League of Nations. More than one President of the United States desired our country to take membership in the latter institution, familiarly known as the World Court. These efforts finally failed, when the Senate, in 1935, by a very few votes refused to ratify the proposal. In their campaign to bring about that result, our isolationists reached a new low in political ignorance and partisan trickery. And in that disedifying performance our Catholic isolationists were not among the least conspicuous.

The international court should be empowered to adjudicate all disputes, without exception either as to nation or as to subject matter. No state should have the power to reserve or withdraw from the jurisdiction of the court any matter, on the ground or pretext that it is "political" or "nonjusticiable." That question should be decided by the court, not by one of the interested parties. If the Court should find itself unable to render a final decision, owing to the absence of adequate law covering the case, the obvious remedy is appeal to the international legislature. This is only one of many situations which show that an international organization needs a law making body, as well as a court. The legislature should make laws formally, even though the world court, like all other courts, would do a good deal of that sort of thing informally, indirectly and implicitly.

Undoubtedly the most difficult situations confronting the court will be those involving aggression, or alleged aggression. In such cases it is obvious that no member of the court who happens to be a citizen of any of the interested states should participate. This provision would disarm one hoary objection of our isolationists: "Would you want to see our claims and grievances adjudicated by a court of eleven men of whom only one was an American?"

The second arm or element of an international organization is the one that provokes the greatest amount of objection, skepticism and flippancy. "What! do you think American fathers and mothers will ever consent to have their sons act as policemen to put down insurrections or petty wars in the Balkans, in China or in Uganda?" "Do you really expect the Congress of the United States to undertake the policing of the seven seas and all the continents?" The legal profession has a saying that "hard cases make bad law." In the situation that we are now considering, extreme illustrations present a picture that is essentially false. In the first place, the international or supranational police force, the military and naval enforcers of international law, would comprise more than Americans. It would be composed of the nationals of many lands. Rebels against its authority would find themselves opposing not merely one or two nationalities against which they might bear ancient grudges, but the representatives of many countries with which they had never had a quarrel. In the second place, the most serious cause of international friction, namely, aggression by one state against another, could be prevented by other sanctions than guns, bombs, and torpedoes. Economic embargoes and boycotts and the effective threat thereof could be so organized and operated as to render acts of aggression extremely rare. In the third place, the picture of "our boys"

policing the jungles of Malaya, the mountains of Montenegro or the desert places of Africa, is technologically out of date. Most of the preventive policing would be performed by the battleship and the airplane bomber, rather than the soldier's rifle or the patrolman's night stick.

At any rate, the alternatives to a supranational police force is a third world conflict, possibly deferred for a few futile years by puffing pacificism and reliance upon Kellogg Pacts and other verbal weapons. International organization, including supranational force, may fail but it is the only method or instrument that offers a gleam of hope for international peace.

An administrative-legislative organ. The resolution introduced into the United States Senate by Messrs. Ball, Hatch, Burton and Hill, March 16, 1943, does not explicitly mention such an institution. It recommends that the United Nations form an organization to "establish procedures and machinery for peaceful settlement of disputes," and to set up "a military force" to suppress attempts at military aggression. It further advises that the organization thus set up should "provide machinery for its modification" and for "additional specific and limited functions." The latter phrases could, indeed, be construed so as to call for administrative and legislative powers. But the reserve and caution exhibited by the resolution in this respect are a testimony to the hesitation with which practical men approach the question of an international legislature.

Nevertheless, a legislative organ is indispensable. If the nations are to collaborate to prevent wars and to promote in other ways their common welfare, they will require some rules to define the methods and extent of their co-operation. The existing structure of international law is obviously insufficient for this purpose. The assumption that a world court might take the place of a legislative body, through decisions rendered and precedents created in particular cases, may be forthwith dismissed as impracticable and undesirable. As we are all aware, the great body of rules known as the English Common Law was created in precisely that way, but for various reasons that ancient method could not be profitably adapted to the modern international scene.

How much law making power should be entrusted to the international legislature? Obviously not enough to usurp any of the domestic functions of the national parliaments. In other words, the world legislature should deal only with those matters that affect more than one nation, the relations between one and another and their common welfare. Of course, this would require the co-operating states to surrender some degrees of the pagan thing called sovereignty. So be it. The alternative is the persistence of nationalism and international anarchy; also international hatred, dissension and war. Calm consideration of the terrible price which the world would pay for a continuation of these conditions, compels the conclusion that effective international co-operation deserves to be given a fair trial. It has never yet had such a trial.

Of the many questions implied in an international legislature, only three will here be noticed. First, whether all the existing states, including do-

minions and colonies, should be fully accredited members. I do not know, nor do I think that the question can be intelligently answered now. I have already pointed out that the forthcoming world organization will not be created in one act of parturition, "full blown from the head of Jove," as was the League of Nations, but that it will develop out of the existing United Nations. Therefore, the question of accredited membership may and must be left to their decision. Second, whether all the members of the international organization shall have equal voting power, one nation, one vote. My inclination is to answer this question in the negative, and I expect that such will be the determination reached by the United Nations. Here I submit, for what it is worth, the formula of representation recently offered by Governor Stassen, of Minnesota:

The key governmental device power is this single-house parliament. Representation and voting power in this single-house parliament could be based upon a formula which would take into consideration (a) the numbers of the literate population of the respective nations, (b) the amount of the contribution of the respective members to the expenses of the joint government and (c) the resources of the member nations.

Third, whether decisions of the international legislative body should require unanimity or be valid by a majority vote. To this question my answer is that unanimity would be utterly unworkable. I am inclined to favor the requirement of two-thirds majority as striking a happy and practicable medium between unanimity and a bare majority.

Many of the students and groups that have devoted time and thought to the subject, are of the opinion that the post war organization should not be global but regional and continental: for example, Western Hemisphere Group, the Soviet Socialist Republics, a Confederation of Europe and a Far Eastern Association. All very good, and all probably desirable, but we must not forget the absolute necessity of one over-all, universal organization. Regional federations, whether covering continents, ethnic groups, or long established political groupings, are extremely important, but there remains always the possibility of inter-group conflicts. The only adequate instrument for preventing and resolving these differences is a world organization.

Therefore, we come back always and ultimately to a completely international league, or council, or government, which shall comprise three organs: Juridical, police, and administrative-legislative. Anyone who shies away from this conclusion is unrealistic and implicitly avows his willingness to contemplate the high probability of World War III.

THE Catholic Association for International Peace is a membership organization. Its object is to further, in accord with the teachings of the Church, the "Peace of Christ in the Kingdom of Christ," through the preparation and distribution of studies applying Christian teaching to international life.

It was organized in a series of meetings during 1926 and 1927—the first held just following the Eucharistic Congress in Chicago, the second held in Cleveland that fall to form an organizing committee, and the third in Easter week, 1927, in Washington, when the permanent organization was established.

The Association works through the preparation of committee reports. Following careful preparation, these are discussed both publicly and privately in order to secure able revision. They are then published by the organization. Questions involving moral judgments are submitted to the Committee on Ethics.

The Association solicits especially the membership and co-operation of those whose experience and studies are such that they can take part in the preparation of Committee reports.

A junior branch of the Association was composed of students in International Relations Clubs in more than a hundred Catholic colleges and in Catholic clubs of secular universities. The separate clubs were united in geographical federations known as Catholic Student Peace Federations and received the co-operation and assistance of the parent organization. These Student Peace Federations have formed the nucleus of the more recently organized International Relations Commission of the National Federation of Catholic College Students, in relation to which the Catholic Association for International Peace stands in an advisory and consultative capacity.

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