

# THE POPE SPEAKS ON PEACE

## Excerpts from Papal Pronouncements

### 1944—1948

Compiled by  
THOMAS P. NEILL, Ph.D.



THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION FOR  
INTERNATIONAL PEACE

1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.  
Washington, D. C.

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## P R E F A C E

**B**Y now everyone realizes poignantly that cessation of war does not automatically bring peace. V-E day and V-J day, therefore, did not relieve Pope Pius XII of his duty of guiding the world toward the goal of true peace. His messages on the subject continued to be as frequent and as imploring in the years after the war as they had been before. The purpose of this pamphlet is to furnish the reader, in concise form, the theme of papal messages on peace since 1944, when the C.A.I.P. published its last *Papal Peace Mosaic*.

The reader of these excerpts is urged to go from them to the full text—which, in most cases, can be found in the *Catholic Mind*—for in no case can a selection present the judicious reasoning and the many fruitful observations to be found in the full message. The following selections, however, do indicate the consistency with which the Pope has presented his basic peace points, as the history of the last four years shows how correct his observations have been and how tragic it is that they have not been followed. These selections show that the Holy Father is still concerned with the threefold peace of which he spoke in the first days of the war: peace of conscience, social peace, and international peace. And they indicate how he considers these three aspects of peace so intertwined that no one of them can be perfectly realized alone.

One note in the papal peace messages has been increasingly stressed since V-E day: a note of sadness and of concern that the prospects of a peaceful world have grown dimmer instead of brighter. More frequently than even during the war, the Pope has told Catholics and all men of good will that heroic action is required of them if Christian principles of peace are to be realized in the foreseeable future. He has made it increasingly clear that peace is not pacifism, that it can be achieved only by virile action and by prayer. "In the day of battle," he said in his Christmas message of 1947, "your place is in the vanguard, fighting at the front. The timid and those afraid to come out in the open are very close to becoming deserters and traitors."

Grateful acknowledgment is made for permission to use the translations of the *National Catholic Welfare Conference News Service* and the *Catholic Mind* in compiling the following selections from the Pope's messages of 1944 through 1948.

Thomas P. Neill

## **Radio Address on the Fifth Anniversary of the Outbreak of War in Europe, September 1, 1944**

. . . Clarity of vision, devotion, courage, inventive genius, and the sense of brotherly love in all upright and honest men will determine the measure and extent to which Christian thought will succeed in maintaining and supporting the gigantic work of restoration in social, economic and international life through a plan that does not conflict with the religious and moral content of Christian civilization.

Accordingly, to all our sons and daughters throughout the vast world, as also to those who, while not belonging to the Church, feel themselves united with us in this hour of perhaps irrevocable decisions. We address an urgent appeal to weigh the extraordinary gravity of the moment and to consider that, above all beyond all such cooperation with other diverse ideological tendencies and social forces as may perhaps be suggested by purely contingent motives, fidelity to the heritage of Christian civilization and its strenuous defense against atheist and anti-Christian tendencies is never the keystone which can be sacrificed for any transitory advantage or for any shifting combination.

. . . After bitter years of want, restrictions and especially of anxious uncertainty, men expect, at the end of the war, a far-reaching and definite betterment of these unfortunate conditions.

The promises of statesmen, the many plans and proposals of experts and specialists have given rise in the victims of an unhealthy economic and social order to illusory hopes of a complete re-birth of the world and to an over-enthusiastic expectation of a millenium of universal happiness.

Such a disposition offers fertile ground for propaganda of the most radical programs, disposes men's minds to a very understandable but unreasonable and unjustified impatience, which looks for nothing from organic reforms and puts all its hopes in upheavals and violence.

Confronted with these extreme tendencies, the Christian who meditates seriously on the needs and misfortunes of his time, remains faithful, in his choice of remedies, to those standards which experience, right reason, and Christian social ethics indicate as the fundamentals of all just reforms.

. . . The Christian conscience cannot admit as a just social order which either denies in principle or renders impossible or nugatory in practice, the natural right to property whether over consumptive goods or the means of production.



But neither can it accept those systems which recognize the right to private property according to a completely false concept of it and which are therefore opposed to a true and healthy social order.

Accordingly where, for instance, "Capitalism" is based on such false concepts and arrogates to itself an unlimited right over property, without any subordination to the common good, the Church has condemned it as contrary to the natural law.

In fact, We see the ever increasing ranks of the workers frequently confronted with this excessive concentration of economic goods which, often hidden under anonymous titles, are successfully withdrawn from contributing, as they should, to the social order and place the worker in a situation where it is virtually impossible for him effectively to acquire private property of his own.

We see the small and medium holdings diminish and lose their value in human society, and constrained to join in a conflict ever more difficult and without hope of success.

On the one side, We see immense riches dominating public and private economic life and often even civil life; on the other, the countless number of those who, deprived of every direct or indirect security of their own livelihood, take no further interest in the true and higher values of the spirit, abandon their aspiration to genuine freedom, and throw themselves at the feet of any political party, slaves to whoever promises them in some way bread and security; and experience shows of what tyranny, under such circumstances, human nature is capable even in our times.

In defending, therefore, the principle of private property, the Church pursues a high ethico-social purpose. She does not intend to defend absolutely and simply the present state of affairs, as if she saw in it the expression of God's will, nor to defend as a matter of principle the rich and the plutocrat against the poor and the indigent. Far from it! Right from the beginning she has been the defender of the oppressed against the tyranny of the powerful, and has always sponsored the just claims of all classes of workers against every injustice. But the Church aims rather at securing that the institution of private property be such as it should be according to the designs of God's wisdom and the dispositions of nature; an element of social order, a necessary pre-supposition to human initiative, and incentive to work to the advantage of life's purpose here and hereafter, and hence of the liberty and the dignity of man, created in the likeness of God, Who, from the beginning, assigned him for his benefit domination over material things.

. . . The social and economic policy of the future, the controlling power of the State, of local bodies, of professional institutions can-

not permanently secure their end, which is the genuine productivity of social life and the normal returns on national economy, except by respecting and safeguarding the vital function of private property in its personal and social values. When the distribution of property is an obstacle to this end—which is not necessarily nor always an outcome of the extension of private inheritance—the State may, in the public interest, intervene by regulating its use or even, if it cannot equitably meet the situation in any other way, by decreeing the expropriation of property, giving a suitable indemnity.

For the same purpose small and medium holdings in agriculture, in the arts and trades, in commerce and industry should be guaranteed and promoted; cooperative unions should ensure for them the advantages of big business; where big business even today shows itself more productive, there should be given the possibility of tempering the labor contract with a contract of co-ownership (Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*).

### **Christmas Radio Message to the World, December 24, 1944**

. . . A strange paradox this: a war whose bitterness bids fair to reach the limits of paroxysm, and a notable progress in aspirations and proposals for a solid and lasting peace! While one may well discuss the worth, the feasibility, the efficacy of various proposals, and suspend judgment about them it is for all that plainly evident that this movement has begun.

Moreover—this is perhaps the most important point—beneath the sinister lightning of the war that encompasses them, in the blazing heat of the furnace that imprisons them, the peoples have awakened as it were from a heavy sleep. They have taken a new attitude toward the State and toward those who govern—they ask questions, they criticize, and they distrust.

Taught by bitter experience, they are more aggressive in opposing the concentration of power in dictatorships that cannot be censured or touched, and in calling for a system of government more in keeping with the dignity and liberty of the citizens. These uneasy multitudes, stirred by the war to their innermost depths, are today firmly convinced—at first perhaps in a vague and confused way but already unyieldingly—that had there been the possibility of censuring and correcting the actions of public authority, the world would not have been dragged into the vortex of a disastrous war, and that to avoid the repetition of such a catastrophe in the future we must vest efficient guarantees in the people themselves.

. . . We are anxious, beloved sons and daughters, to take the oc-

casation of Christmastide to point out along what lines a democracy befitting human dignity can secure happy results in harmony with the law of nature and with the designs of God as manifested in Revelation. Indeed we are deeply convinced of the supreme importance of this problem for the peaceful progress of mankind.

We also realize the exalted claims that this form of government makes on the moral maturity of the individual citizen. That maturity he can never hope to attain fully and securely if the light from the cave of Bethlehem does not illumine the dark path along which the peoples are going forward through the stormy present toward a future in which they hope they will be more serene.

How far will the representatives and pioneers of democracy be inspired in their deliberations by the conviction that the absolute order of beings and purposes, of which We have repeatedly spoken, comprises also, as a moral necessity and the crown of social development, the unity of mankind and of the family of peoples?

On the recognition of this principle hangs the future peace of the world. No world reform, no peace guarantee can abstract from it without being weakened and without being untrue to itself.

If, on the other hand, this same moral necessity were to find its realization in a society of peoples who have succeeded in eliminating the structural defects and shortcomings of former systems, then the majesty of that order would regulate and inspire equally the deliberations of that society and the use of its instruments of sanction.

For this reason, too, one understands why the authority of such a society must be real and effective over the member States, in such wise, however, that each of them retains an equal right to its own sovereignty. Only thus will the spirit of sane democracy be able to pervade the vast and thorny ground of foreign relations.

There lies on all States and peoples, moreover, the duty of doing everything to ban wars of aggression, once and for all time, as legitimate solutions of international disputes and as a means of realizing national aspirations. That duty brooks no delay, no procrastination, no hesitation, no subterfuge.

Many attempts in this direction have been seen in the past. They all failed. And they will all fail always, until the saner section of mankind has the firm determination, the holy obstinacy, like an obligation in conscience, to fulfill this mission which past ages have not undertaken with sufficient gravity and resolution.

If a generation has ever had to appreciate in the depths of its conscience the call: "War on war," it is certainly the present generation.

It has passed through an ocean of blood and tears wider and

deeper than mankind had ever before encountered. It has lived through indescribable atrocities so intensely that the recollection of their horrors must remain stamped in its memory and even in the deepest recesses of its soul as the picture of a hell against which anyone who cherishes a sense of humanity desires more than anything else to close the door forever.

From the decisions already published by international commissions one may draw the conclusion that an essential point in any future international arrangement will be the formation of an organization for the maintenance of peace. This organization will be vested by common consent with supreme authority and with power to smother in its germinal stage any threat of isolated or collective aggression.

No one can hail this development with greater joy than he who has long upheld the principle that the idea of war as an apt and proportionate means of solving international conflicts is now out of date.

. . . The peace settlement which is to be strengthened and stabilized by mutual guarantees and, whenever necessary, by economic sanctions and even by armed intervention, must not give definite countenance to any injustice. It must not imply the derogation of a single right of any nation, to that nation's detriment, whether it be victor, vanquished, or neutral. It must not impose a perpetual, but only a temporary burden on any nation in reparation of war damage.

That a people, to whose government—or perhaps even partially to themselves—the responsibility for the war is attributed, should have to undergo for a time the rigors of security measures until the violently broken bonds of mutual trust are gradually welded together again, is quite understandable from a human point of view, and in all probability will be inevitable in practice.

Nevertheless even these peoples must have a well-founded hope—commensurate with their effective collaboration in the work of reconstruction—of being able to regain association with other states in the great community of nations, on a basis of equality and of identical rights.

To deny them that hope would be the reverse of far-seeing wisdom. It would be to assume the grave responsibility of barring the way to a general liberation of mankind from all the disastrous material, moral and political consequences of the gigantic cataclysm which has shaken the poor human family to its very foundations, but at the same time, has shown it the road to new goals.

. . . Hatred and the impossibility of mutual understanding between peoples who have fought against each other have given rise

to a mist too dense to let us hope that the hour has already come when there will be light to see clearly the tragic panorama on either side.

But one thing we know. The moment will come, perhaps sooner than people think, when both sides will realize that, all things considered, there is only one way of getting out of the meshes in which war and hate have wrapped the world—the genuine recognition of human solidarity, a truth too long forgotten. This solidarity is not partial—limited to some peoples, but universal—embracing all. It is founded on the intimate connection of their mutual and equal destinies and rights.

Certainly one thinks of disarming justice in its dealings with those who have exploited the war situation in order to commit real and proved crimes against the common law. For them supposed military necessity could at most have offered a pretext but never a justification.

But if justice should presume to judge and punish not merely individuals but even whole communities, who could fail to see in such a procedure a violation of the norms which guide every human trial?

At this time when peoples find themselves confronted with duties such as they never met before in the course of their history, they feel deeply in their tortured hearts the impatient and almost instinctive desire to take the reins of destiny in their own hands with more independence than heretofore. Thus they hope to find it easier to defend themselves from periodic invasions of violence which, like boiling lava torrents, spare nothing that they hold sacred and dear.

Thank God, one may believe the time has passed when the claim that moral and gospel principles should guide the life of States and peoples was disdainfully thrust aside as unreal.

The events of these war years have amply confuted the scorners of those principles in a harder way than one could ever have imagined.

Their disdain for these alleged unrealities has resulted in these stark realities: brutality, iniquity, destruction, annihilation.

If the future is to belong to democracy, an essential part in that achievement will have to be given to the religion of Christ and to the Church. She is the mouthpiece of our Redeemer and the institution which carried on His mission of saving men. She teaches and defends supernatural truths and communicates to men the supernatural helps of grace in order to actuate the divinely established order of beings and ends which is the ultimate foundation and directive norm of every democracy.

By her very existence the Church rises before the world as a

shining beacon to remind it constantly of that divine order. Her history reflects clearly her providential mission. The struggles, forced on her by abuse of power, which she has had to sustain in defense of the liberty given her by God, were at the same time struggles for man's true liberty.

The Church has the mission to announce to the world, which is looking for better and more perfect forms of democracy, the highest and most needed message: the dignity of man, the call to be sons of God. It is the powerful cry, which resounds from the manger of Bethlehem to the furthest confines of the earth at a time when that dignity is tragically low.

### **Lenten Discourse Delivered from the Loggia of St. Peter's Basilica, March 18, 1945**

. . . The reconciliation of peoples will only be able to guarantee stability if it is carried out faithfully and with magnanimity. We cannot even suppose that, after so many sorrowful events, there is anyone who might give in to the temptation of profiting by the present situation of affairs to turn the organization of peace to his own advantage against the dictates of justice. He, in fact, would be for the moment in a position indeed to present himself as a benefactor of humanity, but later history, which judges in the light of higher principles and vaster experience, will classify him not among those who have contributed to redeem the world from oppression and violence, but rather among the deceivers who, in a grave and decisive hour, have betrayed the expectations of peoples on whom indescribable suffering has conferred a new title to respect for their inviolable rights. Let us not forget that before God "for Whom every heart is open and to Whom every will speaks (Votive Mass of the Holy Ghost), hearts hold no darkness nor wills secrets. Teacher and Sovereign Lord, He holds in His Hands and can move at will, the spirit of the men who believe they have in theirs the destinies of the world; He can cause the birth, the sprouting and the blossoming of thoughts and sentiments that will inspire a peace corresponding to His designs and to the hopes of men of good will.

### **Radio Address on V-E Day, May 9, 1945**

. . . The war has created on all sides chaotic ruin, both material and moral, such as mankind has never known in the entire course of human history. The task of this hour is to rebuild the world.

As the first element of this restoration, We long to see, after so

long a period of waiting, the prompt and speedy return, in so far as circumstances permit, of the prisoners, of the interned, combatants and civilians, to their homes and to their wives, children and the noble works of peace.

To all them We say: Let not your energy flag nor your courage fail; dedicate yourselves ardently to the work of reconstruction, sustained by a strong faith in Divine Providence. Apply yourselves to labor, each one at his post, resolute and determined, with a heart animated by a generous, indestructible love of one's fellowman.

It is difficult, certainly, but it is also a holy undertaking that awaits you in repairing the immediate and disastrous consequences of the war. We refer to the decay of public order, misery and hunger, the relaxing and brutalizing of customs and usages, the lack of discipline among the youth.

By so doing, little by little, you will prepare for your cities and your villages, for your provinces and your fatherlands, a lot more acceptable and renewed vigor to your blood.

With the threat of death lying in wait driven from the earth, from the sea and from the sky, the lives of men, creatures of God, and that which remains to them of their private and common possession henceforth assured by the laying down of arms, men can now set free their minds and spirits to the building of the peace.

If we limit ourselves to consideration of Europe, we find ourselves face to face now with gigantic problems and difficulties which we must overcome if we wish to plan the war to a true peace, the only one that can be lasting.

Peace, indeed, cannot flower and prosper except in an atmosphere of secure justice and perfect fidelity, joined with reciprocal trust, mutual understanding and benevolence.

The war has aroused everywhere discord, suspicion and hatred. If, therefore, the world wishes to regain peace, it is necessary that falsehood and rancor should vanish and in their stead that sovereign truth and charity should reign.

Above all, however, in our daily prayers, we should beseech God constantly to fulfill His promise made by the mouth of the Prophet Ezekiel:

And I will give them one heart, and will put a new spirit in their bowels; and I will take away the stoney heart out of their flesh; that they may walk in my commandments, and keep my judgments, and do them; and that they may be my people, and I may be their God.

May the Lord God deign to create this new spirit, His spirit, in peoples, and particularly in the hearts of those to whom He has entrusted the responsibility of establishing the future peace.

Then and only then will the reborn world avoid the return of the thunderous scourge of war and there will reign a true, stable and universal brotherhood, and that peace guaranteed by Christ even on earth to those who are willing to believe and trust in His law of love.

### **Address to the College of Cardinals, June 2, 1945**

. . . A hard lesson surely, that of these past years! God grant at least that it may have been understood and be profitable to other nations!

“Receive instruction, you that judge the earth!” (*Psalms* 2, 10.)

That is the most ardent wish of all who sincerely love mankind. For mankind, now the victim of an impious process of exhaustion, of cynical disregard for the life and rights of men, has but one aspiration: to lead a tranquil and pacific life in dignity and honest toil. And to this purpose it hopes that an end will be put to that insolence with which the family and the domestic hearth have been abused and profaned during the war years.

For that insolence cries to heaven and has evolved into one of the gravest perils not only for religion and morality but also for harmonious relations between men. It has, above all, created those mobs of dispossessed, disillusioned, disappointed and hopeless men who are going to swell the ranks of revolution and disorder, in the pay of a tyranny no less despotic than those for whose overthrow men planned.

The nations, and notably the medium and small nations, claim the right to take their destinies into their own hands. They can be led to assume, with their full and willing consent, in the interest of common progress, obligations which will modify their sovereign rights.

But after having sustained their share—their large share—of suffering in order to overthrow a system of brutal violence, they are entitled to refuse to accept a new political or cultural system which is decisively rejected by the great majority of their people. They maintain, and with reason, that the primary task of the peace-framers is to put an end to the criminal war game and to safeguard vital rights and mutual obligations as between the great and small, powerful and weak.

Deep in their hearts the peoples feel that their rule would be



discredited if they did not succeed in supplanting the mad folly of the rule of violence by the victory of the right.

The thought of a new peace organization is inspired—nobody could doubt it—by the most sincere and loyal good will. The whole of mankind follows the progress of this noble enterprise with anxious interest. What a bitter disillusionment it would be if it were to fail, if so many years of suffering and self-sacrifice were to be made in vain, by permitting again to prevail that spirit of oppression from which the world hoped to see itself at last freed once and for all!

### **Christmas Radio Message to the World, December 24, 1945**

. . . Never perhaps from the beginning of the world have statesmen found themselves faced with a task so gigantic and complex, because of the number, gravity and difficulty of the problems to be solved, so important for its effects in extent and in depth for good or for evil, as that of now restoring order, peace and prosperity to mankind after thirty years of world war, economic crises and incalculable destitution.

Exalted, formidable is the responsibility of those who set themselves to bring such a gigantic undertaking to a successful conclusion. It is not Our intention to discuss the practical solutions that they may be able to apply to such thorny problems. We believe, however, that it belongs to Our office, in continuation of Our previous Christmas messages during the war, to indicate the fundamental moral prerequisites of a true and lasting peace; We shall reduce these to three short considerations:

(1) The present hour calls imperiously for collaboration, goodwill, reciprocal confidence in all peoples. Motives of hate, vengeance, rivalry, antagonism, unfair and dishonest competition must be kept out of political and economic debates and decisions. "Who can say," We may add, in the words of Sacred Scripture (*Proverbs*, xx: 9-10), "my heart is clean, I am pure from sin? Diverse weights and diverse measure both are abominable before God." Anyone, then, who exacts the expiation of crime through the just punishment of criminals because of their misdeeds should take good care not to do himself what he denounces in others as misdeeds or crime. One who seeks reparations should base his claim on moral principles, respect for those inviolable natural rights which remain valid even for those who have surrendered unconditionally to the victor. One who asks for security in the future should not forget that its only true guarantee lies in one's own internal force—that is, in safeguarding the family, children, labor, in fraternal charity, the outlawing of all hate, all persecu-

tion, all unjust vexation of honest citizens, in loyal concord between State and State, between people and people.

(2) To secure this, men must everywhere forego the artificial creation, through the power of wealth, or arbitrary censorship, one-sided judgments and false assertions, of a so-called public opinion which sways the ideas and will of the electorate like reeds shaken by the wind. Let due heed be paid to the true and overwhelming majority of men, made up of those who live honestly and peacefully by their own labor in their own family circle, and who desire to do the will of God. In their eyes, disputes for more advantageous frontiers and the scramble for the treasure of the earth, even if not of necessity and *a priori* unjust in themselves, are at least always a dangerous venture which cannot be entered on without the risk of causing an accumulation of death and ruins. The vast majority of good fathers and mothers of families want to protect and safeguard the future of their own children against the pretensions of every policy of brute force, against the arbitrary totalitarianism of the powerful state.

(3) The force of the totalitarian state. The whole surface of the globe, reddened with the bloodshed in these terrible years, cries aloud the tyranny of such a state.

The fabric of peace would rest on a tottering and ever-threatening base if an end were not put to such totalitarianism, which lowers man to the state of a mere pawn in the game of politics, a cipher in economic calculations. With a stroke of the pen it changes the frontiers of states; by a peremptory decision it deprives a people of economy—always part of its life as a nation—of its natural outlets; with ill-concealed cruelty it, too, drives millions of men hundreds of thousands of families, in the most squalid misery, from their homes and lands, tears them out by the roots and wrenches them from a civilization and culture which they had striven for generations to develop.

. . . In the face of this accepted state of affairs, there remains but one solution, a return to God and to the order established by Him.

The more the veil is lifted from the origin and increase of those forces which brought about the war, the clearer it becomes that they were the heirs, the bearers and continuers of errors of which the essential element was the neglect, overthrow, denial and contempt of Christian thought and principles.

If, then, the root of the evil lies here, there is but one remedy: to go back to the order fixed by God also in relations between states and peoples; to go back to a real Christianity within the state and among states. And let it not be said that this is not realism in

politics. Experience should have taught all that the policy guided by eternal truths and the laws of God is the most real and tangible of policies. Realistic politicians who think otherwise pile up only ruins.

### **Radio Broadcast on the World Food Crisis, April 4, 1946**

With Our heart in the grip of deep anguish, We speed a cry of appeal today to the conscience of the world, to the sense of responsibility of the leaders in political and economic life, to the people's spirit of human sympathy and mutual charity, to all who have eyes to see and ears to hear, to all who are able to rise above conflicting opinions, to impose silence on the rancor begotten by the war, and have left their minds and hearts open to the holy voice of human brotherhood.

And in particular We appeal to all those who, united with Us in the Christian faith, and fed on the doctrine and the law of Christ, can see in this appeal to their brotherly spirit the touchstone of a sincere and intense love of God. Poor humanity, just emerged from the river of blood through which it passed in the years of war, is mounting, in search of peace, a path ever rougher, ever steeper, ever more beset with brambles.

At its every step arise new hindrances and obstacles, the seriousness of which very few suspected in the first flush of hard-won victory. While statesmen, in their deliberations, often beset with difficulties, are trying to remove or at least smooth out the inevitable discrepancy of opinions and interests, lo, behind them rises the threatening spectre of famine. As the experts bend over their statistics and the columns of figures slowly lengthen out under their eyes, they see forced on them the insistent and bitter certainty that the sinister shadow of famine rests on at least a quarter of the entire population of the globe.

. . . The human race is threatened by famine. And famine, of itself, is the cause of incalculable unrest in the midst of which the future peace, as yet only in germ, would run the risk of being suffocated before being born. And yet how necessary is peace for every people of this earth! In the face of this common peril there is no room for thoughts of vendetta or reprisal, for lust of power or domination, nor for any desire of isolation or of a victor's privileges.

. . . During the war years death passed forward and backward along the lines of battle and penetrated deeply into each land, striking down innumerable victims among the combatants and the civilian populations.

It is time that we bar its way now that we see it getting ready to spread incomparably vaster carnage than that produced by the fire of arms. We must not allow it to engrave on millions of tombs of innocent children the tragic words of accusation: "The little ones have asked for bread, and there was none to break it unto them" (*Lamentations* 4, 4).

Hearken all of you individuals and peoples who have the means in one way or another to come to the aid of your brothers, hearken to the prophet's exhortation: "Deal they bread to the hungry" (*Isaias* 58, 7).

But fix your gaze on the grand vision: it is not only the earth's hungry who at this moment hold out to you their suppliant hands. Christ Himself asks you for the bread of which His poor are in want. Every mouthful of food which you give to them is given to Him. Every mouthful which you refuse them is refused to Him.

### **Allocution to the College of Cardinals, June 1, 1946**

. . . The more the cards heap up on the international conference tables, the greater become the difficulties and hindrances to the achievement of solutions that are morally justifiable. How premature, not to say illusory, appears today the hope that all men of responsibility without exception, in view of the lessons taught them in the bloody school of war, would show themselves really animated by a deep horror of all the ideas of despotism, of every attempt at the forcible domination of other peoples.

It is by an upright and equitable attitude toward the weak that the strong show a sincere abandonment of an imperialistic, domineering spirit and a genuine adherence to the principles of justice, but as long as a more or less veiled threat of recourse to violence or to political or economic pressure smothers the voice of right, one must admit frankly that the first sure and decisive step toward a just peace has not yet been taken.

. . . There is no reason, however, why We should allow ourselves to become frightened or dejected or fail to take a comprehensive view of the entire situation. Therefore We shall never tire of telling Our children, and as many as agree with them, to have confidence. Do not become downhearted. You are many, many more than the appearances seem to indicate, even though others by their bravado and arrogance aim to create a false impression of the strength of their ranks. You are strong, and stronger than your adversaries, because your intimate convictions (it is they that count the most) are true, sincere, substantial, founded on eternal principles, and not on false

ideas, on erroneous systems, on fallacious maxims, on momentary impressions or opportunism. God is with you.

. . . It is a point of capital importance in this hour that Catholics, and all who admit and adore a personal God and observe His decalogue, do not permit themselves to be frightened by anything in the world, but rather that they appreciate their proper strength.

Let them therefore realize how much they and they alone can really and efficaciously contribute to the work of reconstruction, and that it will never reach a happy conclusion if it is not based on right, on order and liberty—on liberty, We wish to emphasize, to reach out to what is true and good, liberty such as will be in harmony with the well being of every people in particular and of the whole great family of peoples. Such liberty the Church has ever proclaimed, guarded and defended.

### **Christmas Radio Message to the World, December 24, 1946**

Was there ever in the history of the human race, in the history of the Church, a Christmas feast and the dawn of a new year in which men felt more keenly and showed more clearly than today the yearning to see the contrast disappear between the message of peace from Bethlehem and the internal and external unrest of a world which so often abandons the straight path of truth and justice?

Humanity has barely come from the horrors of a cruel war, the results of which fill her still with anguish; and she now gazes with amazement on the yawning abyss between the hopes of yesterday and the realizations of today, an abyss which the most persistent efforts can bridge over only with difficulty, because man, who is capable of destruction, is not always himself capable of reconstruction.

. . . It was indeed to be feared, considering the ruinous and confused condition in which the cruel conflict left the world, that the path from the end of the war to the conclusion of the peace would be long and painful. But at present we are witnessing its continuation without being able to foresee—despite some notable progress at last made—how or when it will be terminated; and this indefinite prolonging of an abnormal state of instability and uncertainty is the clear symptom of an evil which constitutes the sad characteristic of our age.

Men were witnesses of prodigious activity in all the fields of military power, formidable in its precision and extent of preparation and organization, lightning-like in the speed and improvisation with

which it was continuously adapting itself to circumstances and needs; now they see the elaboration and the drawing up of peace taking place with great slowness and amid divergencies not yet overcome in determining aims and methods.

When for the first time the Atlantic Charter was announced, the whole world listened; at last one could breathe freely. But what remains of that message and its provisions?

Even in some of those States which, either through free choice or under the aegis of other greater powers, love to appear to the world of today as the standard bearers of new and true progress, the "Four Freedoms," recently hailed with enthusiasm by many, now seem only a shadow or a counterfeit of what was in the mind and intentions of the most loyal of their promulgators.

We most willingly recognize the untiring efforts of outstanding statesmen who for a year or so, in a series of almost uninterrupted and toilsome conferences, have labored to bring about what honest men the world over ardently long for and desire.

But, alas, differences of opinion, mutual distrust and suspicion, the doubtful value, in fact and in justice, of not a few decisions already taken or still to be taken, have made uncertain and fragile the strength and vitality of compromises and solutions based on force or political prestige, which leave deep down in many hearts disillusion and discontent.

Instead of advancing toward a real peace, people in vast territories of the globe and in large sections especially of Europe are in a state of constant unrest from which there could arise sooner or later the flames of new conflicts.

When one sees and ponders all this, one is profoundly impressed with the gravity of the present hour and feels the need of calling on the rulers of the nations, in whose hands lies the destiny of the world and on whose deliberations depend the success and progress or the failure of the peace, and asking them to consider three points:

(1) The first condition, in order to fulfill the expectations of the nations, to lessen and gradually to remove the internal disturbances from which they suffer, to remove the dangerous international tensions, is that all your energies and all your good will be directed to putting an end to the present intolerable state of incertitude and to hasten, as soon as possible, the coming of a definite peace among all States—and that notwithstanding difficulties which no calm consideration can fail to recognize.

. . . A speedy and complete conclusion of peace is of real and lively interest to all those who know that only a prompt return to normal economic, juridical and spiritual relations among nations

can save the world from incalculable shocks and disorders which would only help the dark forces of evil.

Therefore, let the year that is now coming to an end be the last year of vain and fruitless expectancy; let the new year see the peace a reality.

(2) The year of fulfillment! This thought leads to the second appeal that every right-minded person makes to the rulers of the nations.

You rightly long to see—and how could it be otherwise?—your names written in letters of gold on the scroll of the benefactors of the human race. The mere thought that one day—even without fault on your part—they may be opprobriously listed among the authors of its ruin, fills you with horror. Apply, then, all the forces of your mind and will to give to your work of peace the seal of the true justice, of farseeing wisdom, of a sincere service to the common interests of the entire human family.

. . . No doubt such a disastrous war, unleashed by an unjust aggression and continued beyond lawful limits when it was clear that it was irreparably lost, could not be terminated simply in a peace which did not include guarantees that similar acts of violence would not be repeated. Nevertheless, all the measures of repression and prevention should keep their character of means and hence remain subordinate to the lofty and ultimate purposes of a true peace which, while providing the necessary guarantees, contemplates the gradual cooperation of conquerors and conquered in the work of reconstruction to the advantage of the entire family of nations and as well of each of its members.

. . . Recently a new factor has arisen to stimulate the desire for peace and the determination to promote it more effectively: the might of new instruments of destruction which modern technique has developed and continues to develop to such an extent that they appear to the terrified eyes of humanity infernal creations. This factor has brought the problem of disarmament into the center of international discussions under completely new aspects, and it provides an incentive that was never felt before; thence springs hope of solving what past generations have longed for in vain.

Notwithstanding these well-founded motives of hope, in which no one can rejoice more than the Church, it seems that, in the present state of affairs, one must expect with great probability that the future peace treaties will only be an "opus imperfectum." Many of those who write them will recognize in them the result of compromises between the policies and claims of differing political powers rather than the expression of their own personal ideas based on the

true and just concepts of right and equity, of human feeling and prudence.

(3) This leads naturally to the third appeal addressed to the rulers of the nations:

If you wish to give more than a superficial stability and duration to your labors for the new order and a peace that will not fail; if you wish to prevent its being violated sooner or later due to its own harshness, to the practical difficulties of putting it into effect, to its inherent defects and shortcomings, to the omissions and insufficiencies perhaps inevitable today, to its real or imagined effects in the future which cannot be calculated at the moment; then take care to leave open the way for amendments—according to a clearly determined procedure—as soon as the majority of peoples, the voice of reason and of equity, show that these amendments are opportune and desirable or even called for.

. . . If one wishes to return to the great principles of justice that lead to peace, one must go to Bethlehem. One must recall the example and the doctrine of Him Who from the cradle to the cross knew no higher mission than that of fulfilling the will of the Heavenly Father, rescuing the world from the darkness of error and mire of sin where it lay pitifully. It must be brought to acknowledge its subjection to the majesty of the Divine Law as its norm of right thinking and its measure of wholesome and conscientious conduct.

. . . We cannot end this our Christmas message without recalling the suffering and the needs arising from the serious food situation and health conditions of the nations tried by the war.

. . . Bread—in the literal sense of the word—is needed by entire populations, who because of its lack are becoming weak, worn out, enervated, the prey of diseases and pains, and dangerously aroused by the dull goal of hopeless rancor and deep seated social rebellion.

Such is the tremendous danger that darkens the dawn of the new year, a danger so much more serious because, from some symptoms which reveal uncertainty and weariness the magnanimous work of human solidarity seems on the verge of deteriorating even before a remedy can be applied to the ills which it was designed to relieve.

It is but human that they upon whom fortune is smiling should be inclined to keep aloof and forget the wretchedness of others. Closing their eyes and their hearts to the misfortunes of a neighbor who is unknown and far away, they think they can justify in their own consciences the isolationism and disinterestedness in the necessities of others; their personal needs consume funds that the



practice of charity would have laid aside; and their means of relief fail to provide that assistance for which charity to the neighbor would have destined them.

Therefore, We say once more to all who can lend a helping hand: let not your zeal grow cold; let your help be ever more available and generous! Away with all greedy selfishness, all mean doubts, all all bitterness, all indifference, all rancor.

### **Address to the College of Cardinals on the Feast of St. Eugene, June 2, 1947**

. . . The wounds caused by the war have not yet been healed; indeed, some of them have rather been deepened and inflamed.

Was there ever before so much talk of universal security which should have been the fruit of victory? But where is it to be found? Have feelings of uncertainty and the fear of war vanished or, at any rate, have they diminished? If things are considered as they really are, it must be admitted that it is not possible, even with the best of good will, to establish immediately that security for which the human race so ardently longs.

Then, in that case, let not those postwar and peace methods be employed which have nothing to do with punishing the criminals of the war but which create bitter disillusionment, especially among those who had no responsibility for the past regimes under which they themselves were persecuted and oppressed.

How, indeed, does one help in establishing universal security by heaping up on its very foundations mighty ruins—not only material ones but the ruins of living beings? How can a Europe feel safe whose members are a prey to despair and to discouragement, the dark and dismal forces of disintegration which the revolutionaries of tomorrow will easily exploit, just as those of yesterday did?

We well know, indeed, the extent and gravity of the unspeakable horrors with which the defeated system covered the face of Europe; nor do we wish to lessen the enormity of its guilt. But how is it possible for the victorious nations, in their turn, to adopt or tolerate the methods of hate and violence on which that system lived and thrived, or how can they use the weapons which aroused their righteous indignation when employed in the hands of others? What sensible man would ever seek a guarantee for his own safety and security in the ruin and misery of his neighbor?

Therefore, once again, We desire to exhort and to warn the nations: security, as far as it may be realized here below, cannot

have any other solid foundation than the physical and moral well-being of a nation, based internally on right public order and externally on normal relations with neighboring states. At present, it is still possible to renew such normal relations, even after the second world war. May the rulers of the states not let slip this opportunity; it may be—God forbid—the last opportunity.

Considering the sad reality of the numerous and disastrous conflicts which so painfully afflict the world of today and bar the path of peace, it would be equally wrong to shut one's eyes so as not to see, or to hold one's arms so as not to act, alleging as an excuse that nothing more can be done.

Nothing more can be done? At the very moment when Christians can oppose to vacillating and uncertain principles that fearless courage which is not the mere joyous exuberance of a sanguine nature, but a manifest proof of a supernatural force nourished by the theological virtues of Faith, Hope and Charity?

By means of this force a mighty breath of pure air will sweep over the world, dissipating the atmosphere of panic and pessimism which threatens to poison it; eyes, sealed till then, will open to the clear vision of truth and justice. Those in good faith and of good will, who had gone astray, will discover a way out of a situation that has become almost intolerable and advance toward a solution of apparently insurmountable problems.

### **Letter to President Truman, August 26, 1947**

. . . What is proposed is to ensure the foundations of a lasting peace among nations. It were indeed futile to promise long life to any building erected on shifting sands or a cracked and crumbling base. The foundations, we know, of such a peace (the truth finds expression once again in the letter of Your Excellency) can be secure only if they rest on bedrock faith in the one true God, the Creator of all men. It was He who of necessity assigned man's purpose in life. It is from Him, with consequent necessity, that man derives personal imprescriptible rights to pursue that purpose and to be unhindered in the attainment of it. Civic society is also of Divine origin and indicated by nature itself but it is subsequent to man and meant to be a means to defend him and to help him in the legitimate exercise of his God-given rights. Once the state to the exclusion of God makes itself the source of the rights of the human person, man is forthwith reduced to the condition of a slave or a mere civic commodity to be exploited for the selfish aims of a group that happens to have power. The order of God is overturned and

history surely makes it clear to those who wish to read that the inevitable result of the subversion of order between peoples is war. The task then before the friends of peace is clear.

Is Your Excellency oversanguine in hoping to find men throughout the world ready to cooperate for such a worthy enterprise? We think not. Truth has lost none of its power to rally to its cause the most enlightened minds and noblest spirits. Their ardour is fed by the flame of righteous freedom struggling to break through injustice and lying. But those who possess the truth must be conscientious to define it clearly when its foes cleverly distort it; bold to defend it and generous enough to set the course of their lives both national and personal by its dictates. This will require moreover correcting not a few aberrations. Social injustices, racial injustices and religious animosities exist today among men and groups who boast of Christian civilization. And they are a very useful and often effective weapon in the hands of those who are bent on destroying all the good which that civilization has brought to men. It is for all sincere lovers of the great human family to unite in wresting those weapons from hostile hands.

### ***Encyclical *Optatissima Pax*, December 18, 1947***

Venerable Brethren, Greeting and Apostolic Blessing. Peace, longed for so hopefully, which should signify the tranquillity of order and serene liberty, even after the cruel experience of a long war, still hangs in uncertain balance, as everyone must note with sadness and alarm. Moreover, people's hearts and minds are kept in a state of anxious suspense, while in not a few nations—already laid waste by the world-conflict and its sorry aftermath of ruin and distress—the social classes are being incited to mutual hatred as their continuous rioting and agitation plainly threaten to subvert the very foundations of civil society.

With this scene of disaster and misery before Us, Our heart is heavy with the weight of bitter sorrow and We cannot but feel compelled, by reason of the charge of universal fatherhood which God has laid upon Us, not only to entreat the nations one and all to have done with rancor and make peace once more as friends, but also to urge all Our children in Christ to storm heaven with more fervent prayers, never forgetting that all efforts are inadequate and unavailing if God's good pleasure is not first obtained, according to the inspired words of the Psalmist: "unless the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it" (*Ps.* 126, 1).

The crisis is most serious indeed. Remedies must be found, and

found without further delay. On the one hand the economic system of many nations, as a result of fabulous military expenditures and enormous destruction wrought by the war, has been dislocated and weakened to such an extent as to be powerless to meet the problems with which it is faced, and to provide the materials for appropriate constructive enterprise, where work might be available for the unemployed who now must live their lives in forced and fruitless idleness. On the other hand there is no lack of those who, sad to say, embitter and exploit the working man in his distress, following a secret and astute plan, and thus obstruct the heroic efforts which the forces of justice and order are making to rebuild scattered fortunes.

But everyone must come to realize that lost wealth will not be recovered, or present wealth secured, by discord, public tumult, fratricide. This result can be achieved only by working together in harmony, by cooperation, by peaceful labor.

Those who deliberately and rashly plan to incite the masses to tumult, sedition, or infringement of the liberty of others are certainly not helping to relieve the poverty of the people but are rather increasing it by fomenting mutual hatred and disturbing the established order; this can even lead to complete chaos. Factional strife "has been and will be to many nations a greater calamity than war itself, than famine or disease" (*Liv. Hist.* 1, lv. c. 9).

At the same time it is the duty of all to realize that the world crisis is so serious today and so menacing for the future that it is imperative for all, especially the rich, to place the common welfare above their private advantage and profit.

But it must be clearly and constantly borne in mind that the first and most urgent need is to reconcile the hearts of men, to bring them to fraternal agreement and cooperation, so that they may set to work upon plans and projects in keeping with the demands of Christian teaching and needs of the present situation.

### **Christmas Radio Message to the World, December 24, 1947**

. . . When last year on this same occasion We addressed Our Christmas message to the Catholic world, and to all men of good judgment and good will besides, who would have had it in his heart to predict for humanity, tired of war and hungry for peace, what has today become a cruel, undeniable reality?

Christmas bells will still ring in the feast, as from the days of old. But for many closed, embittered and tormented hearts, they ring out in the desert, where they make no living echo any longer.

Now that another postwar year has passed, with its burden of

distress and suffering, of disillusionment and privation, those who have eyes to see and ears to hear cannot but be pained and humiliated by this: Europe and the world—even to distant and tormented China—today are farther from real peace, farther from complete and definite safety, farther from a new order based firmly on agreement and justice, than ever they were before.

The champions of negation and disagreement, with the long line of profiteers in their train, are jubilant at the thought—or the illusion—that their hour is near.

Contrariwise, the friends of peace, the promoters of a lasting reconciliation between the peoples of the world, feel the twinge of anguish in their hearts when they compare the moral and social wealth of Bethlehem's "good tidings" with the misery of a world that has wandered far away from Christ.

. . . The inevitable outcome of such a situation is the splitting of humanity into powerful and rival groups, whose highest law of life and conduct is a basic and invincible mistrust. Here is at once the tragic paradox and the curse of our time.

That is why We would remind you, dear sons and daughters, that we celebrate tomorrow the birth of Him from Whose lips one day escaped the cry: "*Veritas liberabit vos*" (John 8, 32); the truth (which is His teachings) shall make you free. Never, perhaps, has this cry re-echoed so loudly as it does today in a world hungry for peace but forced to groan beneath oppressive yoke of falsehood.

Let all Christendom, too, make answer—to Him who was made flesh that He might be for all "way, truth and life"—in a prayerful plea that the truth may find its way back to the hearts of the rulers of nations, whose yes or no may determine the fate of the world. And with the truth may there shine out upon the earth no deceptive mirage, but Bethlehem's bright star of peace divine.

Those who were absolutely determined to win the war were ready for any sacrifice, even death. Those who sincerely wish to win the peace must be ready for sacrifices just as generous, since nothing is more difficult for convulsed and embittered human nature than to forego reprisals and lay aside its unforgiving rancor.

The injustice and cruelty committed by those who unleashed the second world war aroused waves of righteous indignation, but served, alas, at the same time, to develop the seeds of a natural inclination for revenge.

The saner portion of mankind—even among nations chiefly involved in the conflict—unanimously denounced the excesses and atrocities which a political system, falling into moral nihilism, not only practiced during the war which it provoked, but even dared to

justify in theory. Facts and documents recently came to light have only served to confirm that those who sponsored and worked out this system are mainly responsible for the world's misery today.

Men of the postwar period could have easily confronted this degeneracy with their own moral superiority; unfortunately, in not a few instances, they have let slip a golden opportunity. It must be admitted that the history of the world during the days and weeks and months immediately following the war was very far from being one of unmixed glory.

The punishment justly meted out to the chief culprits could have inspired Dante's pen with scenes for the *Inferno*, but the great poet would have shrunk from depicting the reprisals wrought upon the innocent.

Forced migrations and compulsory hard labor followed later, defying the most elementary laws of humanity as well as the letter and the spirit of the rights of nations. Who, then, could be surprised that the sense of justice which had been rightly shocked at the sight of such deeds perpetrated by one side should also react similarly when it sees others commit them?

Who can measure what further moral domestic and social distress, what harm to the cultural and economic stability of Europe—and not alone of Europe—will be caused by the compulsory and indiscriminate displacement of peoples, what sorrow at present, what anguish for the future? Only a broader vision, a wiser and more judicious policy on the part of those who hold the fate of the world in their hands, can provide a tolerable solution for an otherwise insoluble problem.

All honor, then, to those of every nation who shirk no privation or shun no labor to hasten the fulfillment of such a noble enterprise. Let them not be troubled at the contradictions and opposition they will have to meet and which precisely in these days seem to have grown more intense, in stimulating another war of nerves, provoking discord, reducing to naught the efforts of the champions of unity and peace. Let them be confident that the hour is at hand—as We trust and ask in Our prayers—when the King of Peace will grant victory to those who do battle for His cause with a right intention and with the weapons of peace.

The human race, then, will be powerless to emerge from the present crises and desolation and to go forward to a more harmonious future unless it restrain and control the forces of division and discord by means of a sincere spirit of brotherhood uniting all classes, all races and all nations with the one bond of love.

We launch such an appeal to the entire world, today, the Eve

of Christmas, because We see this spirit of brotherhood in danger of being stifled and crushed; because We see selfish appetites getting the better of sound reason, and the cruel tactics of oppression and violence prevailing over loyal understanding and mutual respect, and the utter disregard for any consequent evils to the detriment of the zealous maintenance of public welfare.

The Church, whose maternal heart embraces all nations with equal affection, is following with great anxiety this new development in national and international conflicts.

When faith in God, the Father of all men, begins to grow dim, the spirit of brotherly union also loses its moral foundation and cohesive force; and when the consciousness of a society embracing all men, as wished by God, and which includes reciprocal rights and duties, determined by fixed norms, begins to die out, there arise in its place a morbid hyper-sensitiveness to what divides, a ready propensity to overstate one's rights true or imagined, and a neglect—at times thoughtless, but not for that reason less ruinous—for the essential needs of others.

At this point, the way is open for the struggle of all against all; a battle which knows no other right except that of the strongest.

. . . Over this Christmas a dark cloud is gathering. As the people's anxious yearning for peace grows ever more intense, the inability of their leaders to satisfy it by merely human means is just as apparent. Do not the honest efforts of some to arrive at an equitable peace and the systematic planning of others to prevent its fulfillment bring perchance to mind the picture of a dangerous game of chance of which the stakes are fortune or ruin?

Into the meeting places of men the spirit of evil creeps unnoticed, "the angel of the abyss" (*Apoc.* 9, 11); the enemy of truth, the fomenter of hatred, the denier and destroyer of all sense of brotherhood, believing that his hour is nigh, uses everything at hand to hasten it. Nevertheless, We desire to end Our Christmas message with an irrepressible appeal for hope and confidence.

. . . At the assemblies of statesmen another unseen spirit presided as Sovereign Lord, the Omnipotent God to Whom nothing is secret and Who holds in His hands the thoughts and hearts of men, to bend them as He wills and when He chooses; God, all of Whose inscrutable designs are governed by His paternal love. But to fulfill these designs He wishes to make use of your cooperation. In the day of battle your place is in the vanguard, fighting at the front. The timid and those afraid to come out in the open are very close to becoming deserters and traitors. He is a deserter and a traitor who would give his material support, his services, his talents, aid or vote to parties

and to forces which deny God, which put might in place of right, and threats and terror in place of liberty, which make of lying, opposition and incitement of the masses to revolt so many weapons of their policy, thus rendering national and international peace impossible.

**Address to the Congress of International Exchange,  
March 7, 1948**

None is in a better position than you to appreciate the contrast between the disorder in the field of economic relations—which has reigned in many countries for some time past—and the law, order and harmony that God has imprinted on all creation. The goods of the earth, whose exchange ought to stabilize and maintain economic equilibrium among nations, have become the object of political speculation. This applies not only to material goods, but alas! to man also. He has, in many instances, been reduced to the level of a commodity to be exploited.

Unfortunately, we are often witnesses to the interplay of policy which is nothing more than a race for power and supremacy. Moreover, what remains of economic relations between nations is, strictly speaking, no longer an exchange, the mutual action and reaction of which could do good everywhere. Rather these relations are now limited to a unilateral flow of goods under the impulse of Christian charity, or a more or less disinterested benevolence towards nations in need. Despite noble efforts, we are still far from a normal state of things wherein exchanges of goods between nations is at one and the same time the necessary complement to the respective national economies and a tangible sign of their flourishing condition.

. . . It is not our intention to examine the practical side of these problems or of their solution. We merely wish to draw your attention to the fact that this sharp division of opinion has deeper roots and causes than are detected by simply considering the contemporary scene. Among these causes are, on the one hand, a deplorable want of reflection, that seems satisfied with an easy and superficial empiricism, and on the other, a really fundamental difference of views as to what social economy is or should be, and how man should approach and treat it. It is precisely at this point that Christian principles of social life must be given a hearing—and a decisive one at that—if men wish to be truly Christian and show themselves such in all their activities.

We limit Ourselves to stressing certain fundamental concepts:

(1) *Economic life means social life.* The essential scope of the former—to which individuals are equally bound to help in the dif-



ferent spheres of their activity—is to assure in a stable manner for all members of society the material conditions required for the development of cultural and spiritual life . . . .

(2) *Economic life means social life—the life of human beings.* Hence it cannot be conceived without liberty. This liberty can never be the seductive but deceptive formula of 100 years ago—the purely negative liberty derived from the regulating will of the State. Nor is it the pseudo-liberty of our day—the submission of oneself to the dictate of mighty organizations. Genuine and true liberty can only be that of men who feel themselves bound to the objective goal of social economy and enjoy the right to demand that economies be ordered socially so as to guarantee and protect liberty, rather than restrict even in the least degree the choice of means to that end . . . .

(3) *National economy, being the economy of a people within the unity of the State, is itself a natural unity.* It requires the most harmonious development possible of all means of production within the territory covered by the nation. Accordingly, international economic relations have a function which, although positive and necessary, is only subsidiary . . . .

(4) *Above all, there must be victory over the evil principle of utility as the basis and rule of what is right in economic life.* This means victory over those occasions of conflict which arise from glaring disparities, maintained at times by compulsion, in the world economy. It means victory over the spirit of cold egoism, so as to bring about that sincere solidarity, both juridic and economic, which implies fraternal collaboration, according to the precepts of the divine law, among nations assured of their autonomy and freedom. Faith in Christ and observance of His commandments of love alone can bring about such a salutary victory.

### **Encyclical *Auspicia Quaedam*, May 1, 1948**

. . . Even though the war has ceased in nearly every land, still benign peace has not yet dawned on the minds and hearts of all men; indeed, the sky is still heavy with threatening clouds.

We, on Our part, do not cease to do all in Our power to stave off from the family of nations dangers of threatening disasters; but when human means are unequal to the task, then do We appeal in prayer first of all to God; further, We also exhort all Our children in Christ, throughout the world, to implore, together with Us, in ardent prayer the Divine assistance.

. . . Above all, speak to the Virgin Mother of God and our most tender Mother words of most heartfelt thanks for having obtained,

through her powerful intercession, the long desired termination of that great conflagration, and also for so many other graces obtained from the Most High.

At the same time, implore her, with renewed prayers, that at long last there may shine forth, as a gift from heaven, mutual, fraternal and complete peace among all nations and the longed for harmony among all social classes.

Let there be an end to dissensions that redound to no one's advantage.

Let there be a reconciliation of disputes that often sow the seeds of further misfortunes.

Let international relations, public and private, be fittingly strengthened.

Let religion, the foster-mother of all virtues, enjoy the liberty to which she is entitled.

And let men set about their peaceful work of abundant production for the common welfare—with justice their guide and charity their motive.

### **Address on the Feast of St. Eugene, June 2, 1948**

. . . Among the political problems which still await an adequate solution, it is necessary to say that world peace takes first place. And behold instead, to the profound consternation of all Christendom, the flames of war, which were already smoldering in noble Greece and China's ancient land, have been rekindled in the very places where nearly 2,000 years ago the Divine Message of peace had resounded, ushering in the work of salvation.

The truce, however temporary, announced this very night, must be hailed with a sigh of relief, as a dawn of hope. How could the Christian world look on unconcernedly or in fruitless indignation, as that sacred ground, which everyone approached with reverence most profound, to kiss it with warmest affection, was being trampled by troops of war and bombed from the air? Allow the Holy Places to be completely devastated? Reduce the "great Sepulchre of Christ" to a mass of rubble? God grant that the danger of so terrible a scourge may be finally dispelled.

Since in this fashion the world has been languishing for three years under a strange uneasiness and is wandering along divergent paths, faltering between peace and war, far-seeing and courageous men are searching unceasingly for new avenues that open the way to

safety. Through repeated attempts at reconciliation, that are devoting themselves to set on her feet again a Europe shaken to her very foundations and to make of this source of recurring upheaval a bulwark of peace and the providential champion of a general calm over the whole face of the world.

Hence, though without wanting to involve the Church in the tangle of purely temporal interests, We deemed it opportune to appoint Our special representative to the "Congress of Europe" recently held at The Hague, in order to show the solicitude and to offer the encouragement of this Apostolic See for the union of nations. Neither have We any doubt that Our faithful children will realize that their position is always at the side of those generous souls who are preparing the way for mutual understanding and for the re-establishment of a sincere spirit of peace among nations.

#### **Address of Welcome to the New Ecuadorean Ambassador, Carlos Manuel Larrea, July 13, 1948**

. . . Really, if there is anything characteristic of the hour in which we live it is the scarcity of results, not to say the sterility of efforts made in this post-war period to achieve a solid and final peace guaranteeing to all, even to the weakest, all that which is due to them. It is a path covered with impediments and obstacles which have made useless every diligence, every purely material calculation and every discussion predicated on force.

In reality, the matter stems from one root: the absence of a norm recognized by all as morally binding and equally inviolable, the application of which to concrete problems of peace restrains and paralyzes that swarm of individual and egotistic interests and the disorderly craving for power.

As faith in God and the conviction that nobody can escape the norms of His law conserves still sufficient force to reach the conscience of the individual even in the field of public life, conflicting opinions could be viewed in an atmosphere of moral earnestness and mutual loyalty which would open the path to the desired solutions, even of the most thorny problems. As however, on the other hand, the vivid contact between the earthly and the eternal is lost, negotiations lack this strong moral impulse which in the conflict between interests is indispensable to raise people to that altitude where justice and peace meet happily and fraternally.

The peace treaties, wherein respect of the law of the spirit and of moral action was forgotten or deliberately left out, are deprived of

that inner, obligatory force which is indispensable in achieving desired vitality; for observance of treaties cannot be expected or hoped for if both contracting parties be not profoundly impressed within their souls with a realization of this binding force.

For this reason humanity has to deplore today the ephemeral life of solemn treaties which while being negotiated were greeted as fundamental milestones in the progress of international law and a prudent approach to the future peace.

### **Address to American Pilgrims, September 2, 1948**

Hearing of this large pilgrimage come from across the seas to visit the shrines of Europe on their journey to this center of Christendom, one might be tempted to conclude that, at long last, a genuine and stable peace with its normal consequences had been restored to the world. That is not true. The tragic fact is that millions of human beings who were caught up in the maelstrom of a war which was declared finished more than three years ago are still in this very Europe living in conditions that are inhuman; and war still rages in more than another section of the world, while other millions must suffer under an unwanted tyranny.

To describe these conditions, which weigh so heavily on Our paternal heart, is beside Our purpose here. But shortly, as you know, the Assembly of the United Nations will resume its sessions duly authorized to grapple with problems of world peace and security.

Men of learning and experience, of high character and lofty ideals, fully conscious of their momentous responsibility to civilization and culture, will put forth their best effort to reinsure the family of nations, and, as We fondly hope, not only save it from an unimaginable cataclysm but put it on the road that leads to joy in justice to all, working men and employers alike, to morality in national and individual life that has its only possible basis in religious faith in God.

If ever an assembly of men, gathered at a critical crossroad in history, needed the help of prayer, it is the Assembly of the United Nations.

Hence We ask you, venerable brothers, you, Our cherished sons in the sacred priesthood and you, Our beloved children in Christ Jesus, to pray. Let Our voice carry beyond you to all your fellow Catholics in America; yes, to all Catholics in every country on the face of the earth. And We like to hope that you will be joined by all men of good will.

**Address to the Italian Catholic Action Group,  
September 12, 1948**

. . . "This is the victory that overcomes the world, our faith" (I John, 5, 4). This must be a triple victory:

(1) *It must be a victory over the denial of God, that it may be banished from the world.*

. . . We are witnesses today of formidable changes, more grave, perhaps, in their consequences than the fall of the ancient Roman Empire. Political powers have radically changed, within and among the peoples of the world. Many old dynasties have disappeared one after the other; dictators, who dreamed of dominating the world for a millennium, have been overthrown; while continents are in decline or in ascendancy; the social order is undergoing profound transformations. But one institution remains steadfast, always unchanging in itself, yet always new and adapted to the realities of each age: the Church of Christ, with the strength of the truth and grace of which she is the depositary, messenger and dispenser, with the steadfastness of faith and constancy of her children . . .

(2) *The victory must be a victory over matter, in order to reconcile it with the spirit.*

Our age is often called the age of technology. With the progress of the natural sciences, technology, the aim of which is to apply and use the forces of nature, is, with swift and unconstrainable motion, wholly intent upon conquering space and time and on making its conquests in every field increasingly powerful. It is no wonder, then, that technology too often dazzles the mind, especially of youth, which, entirely overcome by its fascination runs the danger of losing the sight and the sense of what is spiritual, supersensible and interior, of what is religious, supernatural and eternal.

And yet, it is precisely the men of the century of technology who have more need than ever before of the protective and steadying forces of religion. Take fire as an example. Restrained and guided, it is a good, an indispensable help to men. But once out of control, it carries death and destruction, in annihilating flame, through city and countryside. The same is true of technology. A gift of God by its very nature, today's ultra-powerful technology becomes, in the hands of violent men of parties ruling with the brutality of force, of omnipotent and oppressor states, a terrible instrument of injustice, slavery and cruelty. And in modern warfare it intensifies to an intolerable degree the sufferings and torments of the populations. On the other hand, restrained and directed by a society which fears God, which obeys His precepts and esteems spiritual, moral and

eternal things incomparably more than the material, technology can bring us those blessings for which it was ordained according to the Creator's design . . . .

(3) *It must be a victory over social miseries, that they may be overcome with the force of justice and love.*

The social question, beloved sons, is undoubtedly an economic question also, but even more than that it is a question which concerns the ordered regulation of human society. And, in its deepest sense, it is a moral and, therefore, a religious question. As such it may be summed up thus: Have men—from the individual to the people, and right through to the community of peoples—the moral strength to create such public conditions that in the life of society there will not be any individuals nor any peoples who are merely objects, that is to say, deprived of all right and exposed to exploitation by others, but all instead, will be subjects, that is, having a legitimate share in the formation of the social order, and able, according to their art or profession, to live happily and tranquilly with sufficient means of support, protected effectively against the violences of an egoistic economy, in freedom defined by the general welfare, and with full human dignity, each respecting his neighbor as he respects himself?

### **Address to Delegates of the Second International Congress of the European Union of Federalists, November 12, 1948**

. . . That the establishment of a European union imposes serious difficulties no one denies. At first sight, one might be able to assert that there is a need, in order to make such a union psychologically attractive to all the peoples of Europe, for a certain period of time in which to allow the events of the last war to recede from their memories. There is, however, no time to lose. If anyone desires this union to achieve its ends, if he wishes it to serve usefully the cause of freedom and European peace, the cause of intercontinental economic and political concord, it is high time that it be brought into being. Some people are even asking themselves if it is not already too late.

Why, then, demand that the memories of the war be first dimmed by a long passage of time when, quite on the contrary, their still sadly felt effects are an incentive for the peoples of Europe to lay aside once and for all their egotistically nationalistic preoccupations, the source of so many jealousies and hates, and are also an incentive for them to provide for their legitimate defense against all policies of open or masked violence?

There is one point which cannot be stressed too much: the abuse of a post-war political superiority for the purpose of eliminating an

economic competitor. Nothing could succeed better in irremediably poisoning the work of reconciliation and mutual understanding.

The great nations of the continent, with their long histories full of memories of glory and power, are also capable of preventing the formation of a European union, inclined as they are to measure themselves heedlessly on the scale of their own pasts rather than in accordance with present realities and future prospects. That is exactly why one must wait for them to learn to set aside their former grandeur before they will adhere to a higher political and economic unity. They will be all the more inclined to do this if they are not pushed by an exaggerated concern for uniformity into a forced levelling; for respect for the cultural characteristics of each of these nations will promote, by means of their harmonious variety, the easier establishment of a more stable union.

Whatever their value may be, all these considerations and many others give way in interest and importance to one question, the fundamental question which is inevitably posed in the matter of European reconstruction and from which We have no right to turn Our attention.

No one, We believe, can refuse to subscribe to the statement that a united Europe, in order to keep its balance and to settle disputes within its own continent—not to speak of its influence on the security of world peace—must rest on an unshakable moral basis. Where can such a basis be found? Let history answer; there was a time when Europe formed in its unity a compact whole and, with all its weaknesses and in spite of human failings, this was its source of strength; because of this union it accomplished great things. Now the soul of that unity was religion which deeply permeated the whole of society with the Christian faith.

Once culture detached itself from religion, that unity disintegrated. As time went on, spreading like an oil stain, slowly but continuously, irreligion penetrated more and more into the public life, and it is to this development more than anything else that this continent owes its disruption, illness and unrest.

If, then, Europe desires to cure itself, must it not reestablish the bond between religion and civilization?

. . . It remains for Us, then, to ask whence will come the most pressing appeal for the unity of Europe? It will come from men who sincerely love peace, from men of order and calmness, from men who at least in their intentions and desires have not yet been "uprooted" and who find in an honest and happy family life the primary object of their thoughts and joy. They are the ones who will carry upon their shoulders the edifice of a united Europe. So long as people

continue to close their ears to their appeal, nothing lasting will be done, nothing that will be equal to the present crisis.

### **Christmas Radio Message to the World, December 24, 1948**

. . . Any clear-sighted person who has the moral strength and courage to look truth squarely in the face, even if it be painful and humiliating, must fully recognize that this year of 1948, which dawned full of high and well-founded expectations, appears now at its close to have arrived at one of those crucial points, where the path previously disclosed pleasant vistas seems to poise instead on the brink of a precipice, where pitfalls and dangers fill good and generous people with increasing anxiety.

Nevertheless, or rather for this very reason, beloved sons and daughters, while faint-heartedness begins to overcome the minds even of the courageous, and doubts assail the most enlightened and determined men, we feel ourselves more than obliged to answer the divine command: "Confirma fratres tous."

. . . A convinced Christian cannot confine himself within an easy and egotistical "isolationism," when he witnesses the needs and the misery of his brothers; when pleas for help come to him from those in economic distress; when he knows the aspirations of the working classes for more normal and just conditions of life; when he is aware of the abuses of an economic system which puts money above social obligations; when he is not ignorant of the aberrations of an intransigent nationalism which denies or spurns the common bonds linking the separate nations together, and imposes on each one of them many and varied duties toward the great family of nations.

The Catholic doctrine on the state and civil society has always been based on the principle that in keeping with the will of God, the nations form together a community with a common aim and common duties. Even when the proclamation of this principle and its practical consequences gave rise to violent reactions, the Church denied her assent to the erroneous concept of an absolutely autonomous sovereignty divested of all social obligations.

The Catholic Christian, persuaded that every man is his neighbor and that every nation is a member, with equal rights, of the family of nations, cooperated wholeheartedly in those generous efforts whose beginnings might be meager and which frequently encounter strong opposition and obstacles, but which aim at saving individual states from the narrowness of a self-centered mentality. This latter attitude of mind has been largely responsible for the conflicts of the past, and unless finally overcome or at least held in check, would



lead to new conflagrations that might mean death to human civilization.

Since the cessation of hostilities, men have never been so obsessed as today by the nightmare of another war and by anxiety for the peace. They alternate between two extremes. Some adopt the ancient motto, not completely false, but which is easily misunderstood and has often been misused: *Si vis pacem para bellum*; If you desire peace prepare for war. Others think to find safety in the formula: Peace at all costs!

Both parties want peace while both endanger it; on the one side by arousing distrust, on the other by promoting a security which can prepare the way for aggression. Thus both, without wishing it, compromise the cause of peace at the very time when the human race, crushed under the weight of armaments and in agony at the prospect of fresh and even worse conflicts, shudders at the thought of a future catastrophe. Hence we should like to point out briefly the characteristics of a real Christian will for peace.

(1) The Christian will for peace comes from God. He is the "God of peace" (Rom. xv. 33); He has created the world to be an abode of peace; He has given His commandment of peace, that "tranquility in order" of which St. Augustine speaks.

The Christian will for peace has its weapons, too. But its principal arms are those of prayer and love; constant prayer to the Father in heaven, Father of us all; brotherly love among all men and all nations, since all are sons of the same Father who is in heaven; love, which, with patience, always succeeds in being disposed and ready to achieve understanding and agreement with everyone.

These two arms have their source in God, and when they are lacking, where people know how to wield only material weapons, there can be no real will for peace. For purely material armament necessarily awakens distrust, and creates what amounts to a climate of war. Who, then, can fail to see how important it is for the nations to preserve and strengthen the Christian way of life, and how grave is their responsibility in the selection and supervision of those to whom they entrust the immediate control of armaments?

(2) The Christian will for peace is easily identified. Obedient to the divine precept of peace, it will never turn a question of national prestige or honor into an argument for war or even for a threat of war. It is very careful to avoid recourse to the force of arms in the defense of rights which, however, legitimate, do not offset the risk of kindling a blaze with all its tremendous spiritual and material consequences.

Here, likewise, the responsibility of the nations is perfectly clear

with respect to the paramount problems of the education of youth and the moulding of public opinion, which modern methods and instruments render so sensitive and changeable today in every department of a nation's life. But this influence must be carefully exerted to support the common interest of all states in the defense of peace. Every violator of the law should be banished in disgrace to solitary confinement by civil society, as a disturber of the peace. May the United Nations organization become the full and faultless expression of this international solidarity for peace, erasing from its institutions and its statutes every vestige of its origin which was of necessity a solidarity in war.

(3) The Christian will for peace is practical and realistic. Its immediate aim is to remove, or at least to mitigate, the causes of tension which aggravate the danger of war morally and materially. These causes are, among others, chiefly the comparative scantiness of national territory and the want of raw materials. So instead of sending foodstuffs, at enormous expense, to refugee groups, crowded into the best place available, why not facilitate the emigration and immigration of families, directing them to countries where they will find more readily the food they need? . . . .

(4) The genuine Christian will for peace means strength, not weakness or weary resignation. It is completely one with the will for peace of Eternal and Almighty God. Every war of aggression against these goods which the divine plan for peace obliges men unconditionally to respect and guarantee and accordingly to protect and defend, is a sin, a crime, an outrage against the majesty of God, the Creator and Ordainer of the world.

A people threatened with an unjust aggression, or already its victim, may not remain passively indifferent, if it would think and act as befits a Christian. All the more does the solidarity of the family of nations forbid others to behave as mere spectators, in an attitude of apathetic neutrality. Who will ever measure the harm already caused in the past by such indifference to war of aggression, which is quite alien to the Christian instinct? How much more keenly has it brought home to the "great" and especially to the "small," the sense of their insecurity? Has it brought any advantage in recompense? On the contrary, it has only reassured and encouraged the authors and fomentors of aggression, while it obliges the several peoples, left to themselves, to increase their armaments indefinitely.

. . . One thing, however, is certain: The commandment of peace is a matter of divine law. Its purpose is the protection of the goods of humanity, inasmuch as they are gifts of the Creator. Among these

goods some are of such importance for society, that it is perfectly lawful to defend them against unjust aggression. Their defense is even an obligation for the nations as a whole, who have a duty not to abandon a nation that is attacked.

The certainty that this duty will not go unfulfilled will serve to discourage the aggressor and thus war will be avoided or, if the worst should come, its sufferings will at least be lessened.

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### STUDY CLUB OUTLINE

1. What is the Church's attitude on private property? (pp. 4-6.)
2. Discuss the attributes of a democracy in harmony with the law of nature. (pp. 6-10.)
3. What is meant by true liberty? (p. 17.)
4. Discuss the relation of the following to the establishment and maintenance of a just peace: faith in God, truth, human rights, mutual trust and understanding, security, civil society, international organization, prayer. (See especially pp. 9-14, 17, 19, 22, 24, 25.)
5. What are the fundamental concepts of social economy? (pp. 28-29.)
6. Is the formation of a European Union important? (pp. 31, 34-35.)
7. What are the characteristics of the Christian will for peace? (pp. 37-39.)

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**T**HE 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 following the Eucharistic Congress in Chicago, the second in Cleveland that fall to form an organizing committee, and the third during 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.

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