# THE DEFENSES OF PEACE

Parsons, Wilfind

# **CATHOLIC HOUR** Rev. Wilfrid Parsons, S.J.



# The Defenses of Peace

A series of four addresses entitled, THE DEFENSE OF PEACE, delivered on the Catholic Hour from November 9, 1947 through November 30, 1947, produced by the National Council of Catholic Men in cooperation with the National Broadcasting Company.

#### BY

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#### WHERE DOES PEACE BEGIN?

#### Address given on the Catholic Hour on November 9, 1947

In his opening address to the General Assembly of the United Nations two months ago, Secretary of State Marshall pronounced these solemn words: "The situation we face today may be summarized by the statement that two years after the end of the war the fruits of peace and victory are still beyond our grasp. Men look anxiously toward the future, wondering whether a new and more terrible conflict will engulf them . . . In place of peace, liberty, and economic security, we find menace, repression, and dire want."

All those who were in Europe this past summer, as I was, found ample reason to confirm the truth of Mr. Marshall's grave words. Two years ago, when the war in Europe came to an end. people in France and Italy, and Germany. looking even in around themselves at their world in ruins, said to themselves: "Of course things are bad now. The armies and the air forces of both sides laid waste our fields and left our factories in rubble, our cattle, our poultry, and our sheep slaughtered, our machines in pieces. But let us wait. We are suffering now, and no wonder. It was the war. But in two years everything will be all right. Peace will have come, and with it prosperity, and everything will be all right again."

This is the way people in Western and Central Europe felt -two years ago. Two years have passed, and what do we behold? Instead of security, there is the ever-present specter of collapse-inevitable and irretrievable collapse. Instead of prosperity, there is more hunger and cold than there was during the war itself. Instead of peace, there is the fear of war, next year, next month. This, my friends, I can assure you, is the solemn and undeniable truth. That Europe from which we in America drew our Christian civilization, and from which, after all, nearly all of us came in our forebears, that Europe is trembling on the brink of dissolution. The same, in other ways and other circumstances, is true of Asia and of Africa. Only North and South America can look to the future with any reassurance. Vet North and South America know from the experience of the past thirty-three vears that what takes place in Rome and Paris and London and Prague—yes, and in Moscow will very shortly affect the lives of the men and women, and of the boys and girls, who live in New York and St. Louis and Denver and San Francisco.

I tried during the past summer, with hesitation and almost with shame, to give some people in Europe an idea of how we live in the United States. I could draw a picture of happy towns and cities which have never lived in fear of invasion, and have never experienced invasion. I had to speak of homes which have never come under clouds of enemy-and friendly-bombing planes. It was indecent of Americans, who lost ten or twenty pounds in two months on a European regime, to mention a menu in an American hotel or even an American home. But. try as I could. I could not conceal the fact that we in America have an invincible confidence, a happy serenity, a relative abundance, which makes the unthinking envious, and makes the thoughtful wonder how the Americans could have achieved it.

I was perfectly aware that even at this height of our material prosperity there are many millions in the United States who lack proper nourishment because their income is insufficient. that these same millions will suffer from cold this winter as much as the freezing poor of Europe, that their clothes will be just as threadbare, their future as insecure. And I knew also that this poverty will be exploited by those who see in it an argument to throw in the face of American democracy. But I also knew that it is still possible for us in this country to remedy all this by social justice. And I still wondered how social justice could be brought to the suffering millions of Europe.

Europe is sick. There is no doubt about that. So is Asia and so is that Africa that has come under the influence of Europe and Asia. What we in America are most concerned about is this: What causes that sickness? If it is a sickness incurable and unto death. then we can only say that we are on the threshold of one of those incalculable revolutions that portend the end of a civilization. If it is a sickness that can be cured. and if a healthy peace can be restored, then we Americans have upon us the imperious necessity of diagnosing it before it is too late. It is true, of course, that hunger and cold and want are great sufferings in themselves,

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but they are rather symptoms of an illness than the underlying illness itself. It is true that in the cold political war now raging between East and West, the freezing hands of fear. fear of a shooting war, are closing around the throat of Western Europe. But neither is that the underlving sickness. It is true also that many Europeans are paralyzed by the thought that they may be forced to give up their freedom to avert worse ills, or even obsessed by the insane idea that it would be better to yield their freedom freely. But once again, while we now approach the true cause of Europe's sickness, we have not yet reached it.

Where, then, does it lie?

Two years ago, Premier Atlee of Great Britain spoke these striking words: "Since wars," he said, "begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed." The sickness of Europe, with which nearly all nations, including our own, are infected, is a sickness of the soul. It was a fever of the mind that made war break out on the fair face of Europe, and that fever, God help us, has not yet abated. If anything, it is more severe than it ever was.

for there are those in every nation who find it to their nefarious interest to inflame it to even more disastrous degrees.

This is a tragedy indeed. It is a tragedy which, like all true tragedies, could have been avoided. Will another like it be avoided? Will Europe, the home of our own civilization with all that Rome means for eternal truth. with all that Paris means for eternal beauty, with all that a dozen great cities mean for the eternal traditions of art and music and sculpture and architecture, of happiness and holiness and heroism, will all that Europe, home of learning and of freedom, be fouled and ruined in the sweat and blood and dirt of another war?

"Wars begin in the minds of men." Our present Holy Father in his Christmas message of December, 1944, spoke these eloquent words: "If ever a generation has 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 souls, 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."

It is not necessary to make the Pope's words stronger for Americans. We have only to ask our fighting men of land and sea and air to have from them a heartfelt echo of what he said. But all Europe is caught in a web of hate and fear and suspicion from which the unfortunate victims seem to be unable to extricate themselves. Wars begin in the minds of men. It is in the minds of men that the defences of peace are broken down, and it is in their minds that those defences must be built once more.

Oh, I know well that this winter we shall have to export to those countries food and fuel to keep the famished and the frozen from lapsing into an abyss of despairing anger and blind revolt. All of us know well what such a catastrophe would mean to us in wasted wealth and new-spilled blood. We all know well that our material exports may mean the difference between war and peace, between destruction and prosperity, between suffering and happiness—for all of us.

But material exports will not be enough. There are spiritual exports also that America can, if she will, send to a Europe that is also cold and starving in her soul. Peace will begin, where wars begin, in the minds of men. There are surpluses of soul that we must share with our brethren overseas if the true defences of a true peace are to be built.

What is this spiritual cargo that we must ship abroad?

First of all, America is hopeful, she is brimming with hope. From her very first days in this expansive land she has had the hopefulness of a young person who is bursting with health. She still has that hope, and she has enough to share with all the world. Those who are cold and hungry and tired find it hard to bear their sufferings when they see no hope ahead. Give a suffering man but some confidence that better days are sure to come, lift aside the veil to let him see the light on the dawning horizon, and he can bear his torments with fortitude and patience. Hope is the unseen cargo in every ship that carries food and fuel to Europe.

But America has more than that to give. America has freedom: she has freedom such as no other country in the world possesses. Some countries in the world are groaning under the yoke of foreign military powers. Some are the slaves of militant minorities in their own midst. Some of them have freedom in. name, but they are afraid to use it, for fear of losing what they conceive to be security. All of them are tempted by a great temptation: their minds are assaulted by the suggestion, repeated day after day, that they should prepare themselves, as has been well said, for "the eventual acceptance of the idea of giving up freedom." (Russell Porter, New York Times, October 19, 1947). All the supplies that America will send to Europe, every bushel of grain, every ton of coal, every package of medicine, all of it will bear on it the imprint of a message that somewhere there is a free people that has not yet lost its love of liberty. That is why frantic voices have been raised against it. That is why, along with all the grain and the coal and the rest, there must go in all the cargo ships the message and the promise of freedom: the message that when freedom is lost, all is lost; the promise that when the human soul finds itself again, it will find itself the master of its destiny, the captain of its freedom.

All this America must send to Europe, and still it is not the last or the greatest of our spiritual exports. There is an even more precious treasure of which we have a surplus. It is love of our fellow-man. There is in the heart of the American no hate for any nation on the face of the globe. His friendliness may be derided by the cynical as simpleminded; but then, thank God, he is also simple-hearted. He hates only the double-crosser. This simpleness of heart, this unwillingness to harbor hatred: this is a precious heritage of Christianity. This is the last great spiritual export which, please God, America will send along with its food and fuel. We send it with a prayer that when the bodies of the weak are strengthened with bread their minds may be fortified for peace, that when their homes are warmed by coal their hearts may be kindled with love, that hope and freedom and love may banish forever the sickness of fear, of slavery and of hate.

## GOVERNMENTS ARE NOT ENOUGH?

Address given on the Catholic Hour on November 16, 1947

In my address last week on this Catholic Hour I pointed out that fear and hate, want and slavery more than ever loom up as menacing the civilization of the Western World, and I also said that when we ship food and fuel to the Old World, America must include the spiritual cargo of hope and love, liberty and justice. It is in the minds of men that we must meet the menace of war, lest there be a universal conflagration of despairing anger and blind revolt.

The war had not yet ended when generous-minded men in nearly every country began simultaneously to feel and to proclaim that there must be set up a machinery of peace which would include all nations-victors and vanquished and neutrals. At Dumbarton Oaks at first and later at San Francisco. these same men from fifty nations wrestled long and hard with the writing of a Charter which would express the age-old ideal, inherited from the very origins of Christianity, of a community of peoples that would settle their natural differences in a peaceful manner.

The society of peoples thus set up, in imitation of the thirteen colonies which called themselves the United States, gave itself the name of the United Nations. It started from the conviction, as Pope Pius XII said at the time, that "the idea of war as an apt and proportionate means of solving international conflicts is now out of date." and the Pope also reminded us that this principle had long been upheld by the Holy See.\* "No one can wish success to this undertaking ... with greater enthusiasm," he added, speaking of himself, "then he who has conscientiously striven to make the Christian and religious mentality reject modern war, with its monstrous means of conducting hostilities." These words of the Pope were spoken before the atomic bombs fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. How much more meaning did they have after those dire events! I can say with certainty that there is nobody in Europe, friend or foe, who does not live in almost hourly

<sup>\*</sup>All quotations, unless otherwise stated, are from the Christmas Message of December 24, 1944.

fear of the atomic bomb—or rather, of several thousand atomic bombs.

More clearly than many others, the Pope saw that with the advance of science. war had become an absurdity. That is why he publicly placed such hopes in the United Nations. More clearly than any other public man, perhaps, he saw what might happen if the minds of men were finally conquered by hate and fear. Their lands might be overrun by hostile and friendly armies, their domestic peace and order might be undermined by insidious treachery, their breakfast tables might be bare and their dinner tables not much better, but if their minds remained unconquered, freedom and hope were not irretrievably lost. But if the minds of men were to be invaded by hate and fear, and finally occupied by despair, then the Pope foresaw that apathy would bring collapse, collapse would engender revolt, and revolt. would inevitably give birth to tyranny, as it nearly always has.

Let us go back in memory three years. At that time, in the autumn of 1944, the most savage war in Europe's history was verging to its inevitable close. It was during that year that those generous-minded men dreamed a dream, imagined an ideal, of a world at peace. It was to be a world (do you remember?) in which nations would settle their differences in the same way that individuals settle theirs—by common agreement first, and if that fails, by arbitration; and failing that, by determination of a court.

So the United Nations was established, with all its many organs of peaceful discussion. During their first year, all these organs together held 1911 meetings. Most of these meetings, of course, were not reported by the press, and most of them went off in peace. But of those which were reported, what kind of a picture did we receive? Day after day, spread on the front pages of the press, we saw a shameful record of bitter bickering. Crisis seemed to follow crisis in dizzy succession. Great nations hurled insults at each other for all the world to hear. and the world wondered with sinking heart what had become of the fair dreams of three short years ago. The little people of everywhere asked themselves if all this meant that armies and fleets of bombers would soon be on the move once more. Had an

instrument for peaceful settlement been sadly transformed into only another way to war? Does bringing tne nations around a common council table only result in making them hate each other the more? If that is so, men asked themselves, where is the hope that wars can be avoided?

And yet-perhaps things are not as black as they seem. Perhaps a war of words can become a substitute for shooting Perhaps the very fact wars. that all this is done in the open, and not in secret diplomacy, may be the safeguard that human nature needs. Who knows? It is. after all, the failures in private negotiation that come up for open debate at the United Na-Dozens of international tions. disputes are settled peaceably for every one that is debated in the open. And yet the fact is that there have been failures to agree. the fact is that desperate public conflicts have taken place.

How can we explain it?

The explanation is in the Charter of one of the specialized agencies of the United Nations itself. The Organization for educational, scientific and cultural cooperation which we commonly call UNESCO has in its Preamble these words: "A peace based exclusively upon the po-

litical arrangements of nations would not be a peace which would secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and . . . a peace must therefore be founded. if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind." These words of UNESCO are an echo of what was said by the Pope in 1944: "The moment will come," he warned us, "perhaps sooner than people think. when both sides will realize that . . . 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."

"The political and economic arrangements" of the governments of the nations are not enough. This the United Nations itself proclaims, and the Holy Father agrees. By common consent, they look beyond the official representatives of governments to the people themselves. They look to what the Pope rightly called "the intimate connection of the mutual and equal destinies and rights" of the peoples. The solidarity which results from this intimate connection the Holy Father called "a moral necessity and the crown of social evolution: the unity of mankind and the family of peoples." He told us that the peace of the world hangs on the recognition of this principle, and he concluded in ringing tones: "No world reform, no peace guarantee, can abstract from it without being weakened and without being untrue to itself."

The foreign ministers and the delegates, pushed by the urgency of impending chaos, face each other across a green baize-table. and wrangle over formulas. Back home, in a dozen countries, anxious families huddle around bare dinner tables in freezing homes. and whisper words of fear and even despair. The generals and the admirals meet in secret to plan new ways of defence against new ways of destruction. All over the world, in many regions of the globe, men and women are still wondering when their blasted houses will be put together again. Governments in sixteen capitals of Europe are making and re-making plans to put the Marshall Plan into successful operation; and governments in nine other capitals are plotting to make that same Plan a failure.

The little people in twenty-five capitals in Europe, and a thousand towns and villages, are also making plans, their own plans:

how to get enough bread and soup for supper, how to make an old dress, a worn-out suit, last another six months, how to make an income that has barely risen at all meet prices that have risen four and five times over, and still are rising like a menacing flood. Committees and commissions are drafting more treaties of peace and new frontiers for Germany and Austria. In a dozen ramshackle old concentration camps in Germany and Austria, hundreds of thousands of unfortunate human beings whom we designate by the mocking name of Displaced Persons-workers and intellectuals, many Christians and the pitiful remnant of Jews-are hoping against hope that somewhere, some day, they may begin life again in liberty and some small measure of prosperity.

Governments are not enough. "The political and economic arrangements of nations" are not enough. No "world reform," no "peace guarantee" is enough. The Pope told us all that three years ago; the United Nations itself admits it. Yet there is in the heart of this America of ours a great compassion for the suffering and bewildered world outside its boundaries. Most of us in some way or another are cousins to that dislocated world, and its problems, its disagreements, it failures, are always in some way echoed over here. It can truly be said in all honesty and humility that we in America have what the Holy Father calls "a genuine recognition of human solidarity." We have expressed that solidarity in the billions of dollars in goods we have sent to other nations in some form of relief since the ending of the war.

But are dollars the only way we can express our spiritual affinity with the rest of mankind? Oh, I know well that there are those in Europe who say that Americans think the dollar is the answer to every problem. I have also heard the story of the French peasant who was told that the Marshall Plan was only another American scheme to enslave him. "I would rather," he said, "be the slave of a dollar than of a soviet." But whether the dollar enslaves or whether it liberates, it still is not enough. That great compassion for the bewildered world that exists in the heart of America is not to be expressed by the dollar sign alone. Neither is it any mere sentimentality. It has behind it a deep and abiding truth.

The truth has perhaps been best expressed in our generation by Pope Pius XII. In almost every address he has made since he became Pope in 1939, Pius XII has repeated over and over his conviction of that spiritual value which he usually calls "the unity of mankind." I think that the American people more than any other are conscious, supremely conscious, of this unity. Under the Providence of God. it may well be that America, which took to itself the oppressed of all the nations, and made an incomparable unity of them, may be destined to go back to the homelands of its immigrants and give them back the lesson of the unity which it has learned and practiced.

#### UNDERSTANDING EACH OTHER

#### Address given on the Catholic Hour on November 23, 1947

On Thanksgiving Day, next in Thursday. Catholics the United States will join together to contribute and collect food for the War Relief Services of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, for distribution in Europe to the nations that are still unable to help themselves because of the war. This is in line with the work of the Citizens Food Committee, which will expect this year to reach every family of the United States for the same noble purpose. They will, with joyous generosity, add all this to the collections made by the Friendship Train in its recent triumphant progress across the countrv.

Some day soon, all these gifts of food right out of the homes of the common people of America will find their way into the homes of the common people abroad who need them desperately. They were sent with a great hope that when famine is appeased and bodies are warmed again, the freezing hands of fear will unloose their clutch around the throat of Europe, and the spark of hope will begin again to glow with a great flame. With hope will come again a love of liberty, and with liberty perhaps unity, and then at last peace.

It is a strang thing, is it not, that little things like a can of beans or a pair of woolen stockings or a package of cigarettes. even when multiplied a million times—things meant to care for ailing and suffering bodies—can mean so much for men's souls as well. But the reason is clear. The want and the waste which these material things are intended to overcome are themselves the result of a sickness of the soul. We shall supply that want, we shall repair that waste, and when we do that we shall have enlightened the minds of many millions of children who have never had the time to learn that charity exists in the world: we shall have heartened the souls of older people who have had the time-too much time-to forget it.

Let me repeat. It is in the minds of men that the defences of peace will be constructed. In their minds—yes, and in their hearts as well. But hearts are blind and need to be illumined by the flash of understanding, lest they be perverse and wilful; and minds are sterile by themselves unless they transmit to hearts, along with the flashing light of understanding, a spark that will make those hearts take fire and glow again with enthusiasm and confidence.

Materialistic America! America that worships the dollar! How we have maligned ourselves when we say that this is all the truth. Our Congress is debating a stop-gap plan to ferry food and fuel and clothes, and seeds for next year's crop, to Europe before the first of January. It is also considering a long-range plan designed to help Europe help itself. But all this will be paid for by dozens of little sacrifices in every family in America. and those families will do it, not grudgingly but happily, knowing that they have stowed away with all the cans of food that invisible-but oh, so nourishing!cargo of the soul. America is engaged once more on a great offensive, an offensive this time spread over the vast uncharted spaces of the souls and hearts of men, an offensive greater and more decisive than it has ever undertaken before, for once again it takes the soldier's calculated risk, but a risk that involves the incalculable secrets of the souls of men.

Have we the right and the duty to take the risk? Sometimes we wish that we could break the barrier of the future. and having broken it, discover whether what we choose to do today, is, as we hoped, the best thing we could have done, and if it was not, then find out what was the best. But that barrier is impenetrable. God does not give us prophets any more. All we can do today is with whatever courage and insight we have been granted, to go ahead on the road that is before us, to open up any gate that may present itself, and enter in and follow on. on many roads and through many gates perhaps, and over many obstacles, until we reach our goal, which is peace and understanding among all men.

It is true that once before in our history the whole of civilization went down in ruins, and was built up again. In what we call the Dark Ages the structure once raised by Imperial Rome went down before the onrush of barbarians from the North, and what had then been called civilization was a desolate ruin. Well, say the pessimists, maybe that will happen again. Maybe we better let it happen quickly and have it over with, for did not the Church in a couple of centuries fashion a civilization more brilliant and more happy than the one which was lost? May it not be the destiny of the Church to do that same thing again?

Maybe it will, and if another such collapse takes place again. I have no doubt it will. But we must not forget that the barbarians of the Dark Ages brought with them no new doctrines, no new ideologies, to corrupt the Roman civilization from within. They sent ahead no fifth column to open the city's gates to the invader and hand over its inhabitants already enslaved by new errors. We must not forget. either, that when the flood of invaders did come, Europe was ready: it had unity, it had a single religion, it had a mind of its own. It was unarmed only physically.

Today we have plenty of arms and plenty of men who know how to use them. What else have we? The new invasion of materialism and atheism has its fifth column already ahead of it in the city, already convinced of the truth of the invader's cause. The defenders of the city are themselves divided in their minds; they stand before the invaders of their souls with broken weapons in their hands; their faith is insecure and so their hope is weak. The tragedy of Europe, the tragedy of all the world, is that the world is not ready. It does not have the answers to the new crisis that is facing it, because it threw away the answers, or forgot them, or remembers them only dimly. It meets its adversarv more than half convinced of the truth of what he says, and so it cannot refute the error that he speaks. It has disarmed itself before the most dreadful threat that has ever faced it. It has no mind of its own. It is armed, but only physically.

Europe has its hands outstretched—for the necessities of life. But Europe is also listening—listening for a word, just one word from America. Europe knows that governments are not enough, armies and fleets are not enough. It is in the minds of men that wars begin and it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed. The word that Europe has been waiting for us to speak is that she must return to her origins or she will perish. If America does not speak that word, then there is no other nation dare speak it. France and Italy and Belgium and Britain have been waiting for us to speak that word; yes, and we may also be sure that the imprisoned Slavs in Eastern Europe, behind the Iron Curtain and under the hard crust of minority governments, are also straining anxious ears to hear that wo.d, however, dimly, from America.

That word, that message, when it comes from us, will sav: "We are well aware that your plight is not only economic. We would not have you believe that when we have helped you to have your factories humming again, and your fields green under waving corn, we will think that you have solved your problem. We want you to know that we value human liberty above tractors and textiles and turbines. We want you to know that there is still one great country, with a hundred and thirty millions of people in it, that still holds high the ideas of brotherhood under God, our Father, of faithfulness and loyalty and tenderness and pity, and that you need not lose those either, for we are with you."

If all the world were to be darkened by despotic power and

live as slaves, hopelessly, under tyranny, and if in one small corner of the earth there still survived a tiny remnant that preserved the memory and the practice of Christian liberty and virtue, you may be sure that the rumor of this miracle would some day creep around the globe. and into men's incredulous cold hearts would enter the first faint gleam of hope. It would not be long before that tiny hope had ripened into courage, into a determination of men to return to their origins, which are from God and Christ and the Holy Spirit: and courage and determination, along with faith and hope and love, would once again, as they did before, bring freedom and happiness and prosperity.

And so our message would continue: "Those values which would bring redemption to humanity even if they started from only a tiny remnant, they have not disappeared or gone underground. A great Republic of the West still cherishes them. It does not come to enslave, as the slave drivers have insisted; it comes to liberate. It does not come for economic domination. as the would-be dominators have claimed; it comes to help. It does not come as a stranger or an enemy; it comes as a brother. It only wants to see peace and understanding come back to a world that has almost forgotten their names or what they mean. The only politics it hopes to play with the food it brings is the politics of peace. The only propaganda it hopes to spread is the propaganda of freedom. The only conquest it hopes to make is the conquest of your hearts."

In a Western world that has too long got used to the idea that catastrophe is inevitable, words such as these would be a reminder of the truth that the human soul is unconquerable. In a Western world that has been reluctantly preparing itself to barter liberty for what it has come to imagine might be security, words such as these would be a reminder that it was built on the idea, preached long ago by St. Augustine, that peace is based on order, that order is based on law, and that law is based on justice. If there is any truth in the democratic idea that we cherish as Americans, it is that peace, law, order and justice are the inseparable companions of liberty.

And one last word-for America itself. We are about to engage on the most stupendous effort for the restoration of peace that the world has ever known. We have rightly seen that the first step in that restoration is to halt the economic disintegration of Western Europe. We have resolved to take that step, courageously and generously. But we must also see that the economic effort is only the first step. We must not forget the spiritual cargo that goes with food and fuel, the message of the redemption of the soul.

#### THE CHURCH SHOWS THE WAY

Address given on the Catholic Hour on November 30, 1947

In the three addresses I have given on this Catholic Hour, I have said that peace will begin in the minds of men, that governments are not enough for this, that the first step to the restoration of peace will be understanding—understanding by America of the problems of the world, understanding by other nations of the intentions of America. There still remains one step to take. It still remains to examine that understanding in all its parts and see what it really means.

We are faced with a bitter problem; in the solving of that problem we are faced with fallacies that make solution difficult; we are faced with dangers before solution is found; we will come to face the goal of the solution; we are faced with the necessity of making plans for the solution. Problem, fallacies, dangers, goal and plans—let us take them one after the other and see the inwardness of their meaning.

The *problem* that faces us is nothing less than repairing the broken peace of the world. But what is peace? Does it mean merely that men shall stop killing each other? A cold political war, a war of nerves, can be almost as bad as a shooting war. It is not peace. What, then, is peace? Peace starts with understanding There is no peace under a cloud of suspicion that can quickly precipitate and become a storm of hatred. Peace can only come through understanding.

As things are now, we profess to find prospective enemies an unsolvable puzzle in a riddle hidden in an enigma. That we and our intentions are not understood by them and many oth ers is clearer every day. But even worse, nations that should understand each other by every rule of self-preservation, they, too, find their minds clouded by misunderstanding of each other. Nav. the fundamental verities that ought to be the mainspring of common action for the common good, these are forgotten, misunderstood, distorted. Yet those verities are simple enough; there is a God in heaven, man is a child of God. men therefore are brothers to each other. Strike religion out of the relations between man and man, between nation and nation, and you have left only bared fangs and tearing claws. Men become suspicious strangers, then fighting foes. Nations become competing rivals, then snarling enemies. This is our problem: how to bring even the simplest truths of religion back into our human and international relations.

But when we move forward to grapple with this problem, almost at once stumble over fallacies that, if we do not see them in time, will trip us, throw us down, and cripple us permanently. · Is it possible to have peace in this present world of ours? Is it possible for nations to understand each other? A deadly whisper has gone around the world. War is inevitable, runs the whisper, why try to stop it? Russia is on the move. Communism is the wave of the future, you cannot stop it. Yet here, too, is a forgetfulness of a truth that is fundamental to religion. Man is not an automaton. His will is The actions of neither free. men nor nations are ruled by blind forces. Men are punished or rewarded for their free choices. Each event that comes to pass in society is the result of a multiple number of free choices by its members. Society is not governed by blind irrationality. War is not inevitable, unless men freely will the things that bring it on, unless they freely neglect to do the things that might prevent a conflict.

But even if we recognize this truth and act upon it, there is still another fallacy to trip us up on our way to peace and understanding. What things shall we do to hinder conflict? What things must we not neglect to do if there is to be no war? America is already giving one part of the answer: see that the bodies of impoverished Europe are fed and warmed, so that they will not be enervated by weakness and suffering, but may be strong enough to work their own way to well-being once more. But if we think that food and fuel are enough, we are once again forgetting a fundamental verity of religion: "Man does not live by bread alone" (Matthew 4:4). diabolical temptation Only a could assert the opposite. If, after bodies are strong again, they use their strength only to start killing each other off again, the food and fuel we shall have contributed will only be a weapon of war. "Man does not live by bread alone," said our Lord when He was tempted by the devil, "but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God." God's word must speak in all the gifts America makes, or they will be only dust and ashes.

Now, after we struggle out of the tangle of fallacy in our search for peace, we suddenly find ourselves faced with danger. It is, in fact a two-fold danger. If we step off to one side of the path, there is Communism, an unknown abyss yawning to engulf us. Down there is slavery and atheism and hopelessness, where men are chained to earth and never look up to heaven. Down there is a voice that repeats without ceasing the monotonous words: "There is no heaven. There is no heaven. There is no heaven. Heaven is the opium of the masses." Do we who believe have to be told that where there is no heaven, there is only hell? Do we have to be told that where there is no heaven, the only destiny of men is to be damned? Heaven is not an excuse invented by the wealthy to keep the poor in subjection, on the promise of a better life to come. Heaven is a reward for wealthy and poor alike for loving justice on this earth. Hell is the punishment for denying that there is a heaven.

But if we escape the yawning abyss of atheistic Communism. and in horror veer over sharply to the other side, we may still find ourselves in danger of clambering up the steep and perilous cliffs of dictatorship. It has been the sad fate of several nations that in reaction against Communism they have in panic fled to another totalitarianism, another dictatorship, in which another truth of religion-the dignity of the human person—is invariably denied or crushed. Out of this religious truth, Pope Pius XII, in his Christmas Message of 1944. already quoted by me several times, drew the human lesson that democracy is our soundest guarantee of peace. He told us that "the uneasy multitudes. stirred by the war to their innermost depths, are today firmly convinced . . . 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."

So the Pope has never believed that dictatorship or any form of totalitarianism respects the essential dignity of the human person or is an effective antidote to Communism. "Two rights," he said, "which democracies guarantee to their citizens . . . are that they shall have full freedom to set forth their own views of the duties and sacrifices imposed on them, and that they will not be compelled to obey without being heard." Communism and dictatorship are the two dangers which threaten the democratic idea from either side.

Then, as this new Pilgrim's Progress of mankind threads its way out of fallacy and between dangers, it looks ahead and sees at last the goal, shimmering in the light beyond. Up there ahead lies a world that is at peace. Men do not look with suspicion at each other: they do not hurl insults at each other; they do not have their swords always at the draw. looking for provocation. Men are conscious that they are brothers to each other, wherever they are; they rejoice at their brothers' prosperity; they are always ready to offer and accept mutual assistance. Their homes are safe from death out of the sky: their persons are immune from unjust deportation and imprisonment; their children grow up in happy confidence and not in terror. They earn their living without the daily fear of a recurring economic collapse; their industries are devoted to the production of the machines of peace and not of the engines of war; they have a living faith in justice and fair dealing with each other; they look to old age without having to mourn the death of their young ones slaughtered on the battlefield in the flower of their lives.

An impossible ideal, you say? A fantastic picture? A will-ofthe-wisp and not a solid city seated on a hill? You are right, if all men are by nature prone to live their lives in hatred and suspicion, or if the men of good will are to be forever thwarted and the men of bad will forever to have their way. The Founder of Christianity did not believe that that is true. It was not an impossible ideal our Lord set before us when He said: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, and with thy whole soul and with thy whole mind. This is the greatest and the first commandment. And the second is like unto this: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" (Matthew 22:37-39). It is not an impossible task, for upon the fulfillment of each of those two commandments He laid the whole immortal destiny of man, upon the violation of either of them He laid his most terrible condemnation.

"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." This is the goal of the Pilgrim's Progress of mankind, this is the heart of the peace which mankind must have or perish, this is the place of rest, where mankind can lie down at last, with all past hatred, fear and suspicion nothing but a tragic memory.

This is the goal to which warweary and fear-ridden humanity is painfully making its way. To reach that goal, humanity must map its plans. It is true, of course, that the details of those plans will be sketched in by the statesmen of the nations. It is true that in also carrying through those plans, there will be many weary nights and days of anxiety and of misunderstanding. It is true that there will be those who, out of fear or of illwill, can and perhaps will throw obstacles in the way. But one thing is clear: war will never be the solution of any of the problems that plague humanity to-

day. War will only bring new and more terrible problems in its wake. That is the first and most important of the lessons preached to us by Pope Pius XII: that we must make war against war. And second is like to this. The overwhelming majority of the nations, as the debates at the United Nations show every day. are truly united in a single will and conviction: that not a thing shall be left undone, not a method left untried, not a road unexplored, that a peaceful solution may be found for our problems. And let that overwhelming majority of nations find its own agreement first in everything: and then perhaps the other nations that are held in captivity may little by little hear the good news, and come out for freedom instead of slavery, concord instead of strife, prosperity instead of abject destitution. The object lesson set by the free nations will be an all-powerful one if they return to even the simplest truths of religion: that there is a God in heaven, that every man is a child of God, that therefore all men are brothers.

#### THE PURPOSE OF THE CATHOLIC HOUR

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

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

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

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

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

### 113 CATHOLIC HOUR STATIONS

#### In 41 States, the District of Columbia, and Hawaii

Alabama			
	Mobile	WALA	1410 kc
	Montgomery		
Arizona	Phoenix		1240 kc
	Phoenix	KTAR	02U KC
	Sattord		1450 kc
	Tucson Yuma	KVOA	1290 kc
	Yuma	KYUM	
California	Fresno	KWI	580 kc
Gamonia	Los Angeles	KFI	580 kc 640 kc 1340 kc
	Sacramento	KCRA	1340 kc
	San Francisco	KPO	680 kc
6.1 . I			
	Denver		850 kc
Connecticut	Hartford	WTIC*	1090 kc
District of Columbia	Washington	WRC	980 kc
Florida	Jacksonville	WIAX	930 kc
1.01100	Miami	WIOD	610 kc
	Pensacola	WCOA	1370 kc
	Tampa	WFLA	
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Georgia	Atlanta		750 kc
	Augusta Savannah	WSAV	1230 kc 1340 kc
Idaho	Boise	KIDO	1380 kc
Illinois	Chicago	14/14 4 0	670 kc
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Indiana	Elkhart	WTRC	
	Fort Wayne	WGL	1450 kc
	Indianapolis Terre Haute	WIRE	1430 kc
	Terre Haute	WBOW	1230 kc
Kansas	Hutchinson	KWRW	1450 kc
Kunsus	Wichita	KANS	1240 kc
Kentucky	Louisville	WAVE*	970 kc
Louisiana	Lafayette	KV0I	
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	Monroe		1000 1
		KNUE	1230 KC
	New Orleans	WSMB	1230 kc
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### 113 CATHOLIC HOUR STATIONS

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Nebraska	North Platte	KODY
	Omaha	WOW 590 kc
Nevada	Reno	KOH 630 kc
New Hampshire	Manchester	
New Moxico	Albuquerque	
New York	Buffalo	WBEN 930 kc
	New York	WNBC 660 kc
	Schenectady	WGY 810 kc
North Carolina	Charlotte	WSOC1240 kc
	Raleigh	WPTF 680 kc
	Winston-Salem	WSJS 600 kc
New Delete	<b>D</b>	
North Dakota	Bismark	KFYR 550 kc
	Fargo	
Ohio	Cleveland	WTAM1100 kc
	Lima	WLOK1240 kc
	Toledo	WSPD1340 kc
Oklahoma	Oklahama City	WKY 930 kc
Okidrioma	Oklahoma City Tulsa	WKY 930 kc KV001170 kc
Oregon	Medford	KMED1440 kc
	Portland	KGW* 620 kc
Pennsylvania	Allentown	
i chilisyit dilid	Altoona	
	Erie	WERC1230 kc
	Johnstown	WJAC1400 kc
	Lewistown	
	Philadelphia	KYW1060 kc
	Pittsburgh	KDKA1020 kc
	Reading	WRAW1340 kc
	Wilkes-Barre	WBRE1340 kc
	Williamsport	WRAK1400 kc
Rhode Island	Providence	WJAR 920 kc
South Carolina		WTMA1250 kc
	Columbia	
	Greenville	1350 KC
South Dakota	Sioux Falls	KSOO-KELO1140-1230 kc
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I ennessee	Kingsport	WKPT1400 kc
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	14051141116	
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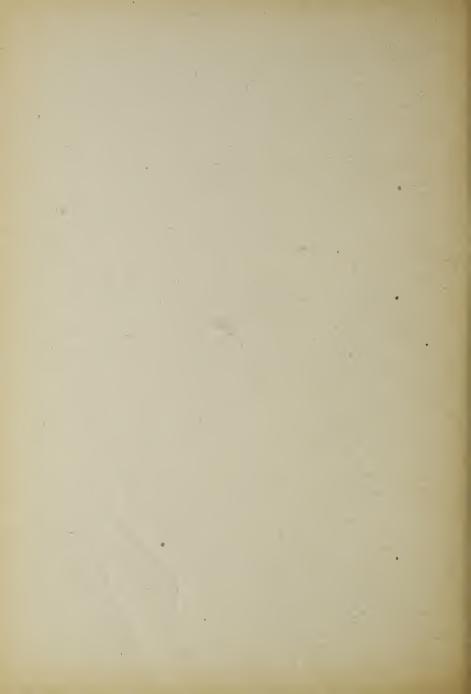
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