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Toward An Integrated World Policy

A JOINT REPORT



THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION FOR
INTERNATIONAL PEACE

1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

1950

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This is a report of the following Committees, or Subcommittees thereof, of the Catholic Association for International Peace: Ethics, Inter-American, World Order, Juridical Institutions, Economic Life, Asia, Dependent Areas. A worksheet on the subjects covered in this report was discussed at the Annual Conference of the Association, April, 1949. The various sections were redrafted on the basis of these discussions by the respective Committee Chairman. The report was then submitted to the full membership of the interested Committees and Subcommittees for their co-operation in its final form. The report was submitted to the Executive Council, which ordered it printed as a publication of the above Committees. As the process indicates, the report is not a statement from the whole Association.

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

OVER four years have passed since the Great War ended. The world situation still contains elements of tragedy.

Certain facts stand out as of prime importance. These include the following:

1. The world has passed through an era which has embodied far too much of the evils of individualism, nationalism, imperialism and secularism. Separately and by regions and internationally, the peoples are trying to create, are compelled to create, new institutions and develop new habits of thought and practice. Sometimes they reach for something far better than the old, sometimes for something far worse, and sometimes they act with faltering convictions about the old and bad or the new and worse or the new and better.

2. Even more than when the war ended, this is physically "one world", and it is wealthier in present productive capacity.

3. Yet there exists unequal resources, abilities and means of communication in the various parts of our one world.

4. Over the world hangs the fear of the atomic bombs as the nations fail to agree on a way to control them and prevent their use.

5. There stands a great conflict: the Cold War, supposedly one between East and West, but inaccurately so named, since China, in chaos, and all Asia are part of the conflict. In the conflict are these additional elements:

- a. The long decline of a once dominant and nationalistic Europe, hastened by two world wars and a world depression; and Europe's effort now to unite.

- b. The expansionist drive of the Soviet Union, nationalistic, imperialist, communist, and anti-religious and completely convinced of the kind of world it wants.

- c. The great wealth and power of the United States: the use of its wealth and power to save as much of Europe as possible, and its indecision and the indecision of the other democracies about the kind of Europe and world desired.

- d. The hesitancy of the United States to adopt a consistent policy toward the Far East and China.

6. Peace treaties with Germany, Austria, and Japan have not yet been written.

7. A growing sense of solidarity is developing within the American continent.

8. A United Nations organization, the potentialities of which have not been fully realized, remains. The effort must continue to use its Assembly, Councils and Specialized Agencies and the voluntary organizations for the prevention of war and the molding of a good new world.

A war must be prevented. The effects of war are tragically great. Another war would probably be an atomic and biological war.

There is imperative need of an integrated foreign policy of the United States, and as many of the United Nations as will agree—a policy not concerned with only one or other country or area but a cohesive world policy directed toward peace based on respect for human rights and concern for the common good.

UNITED EUROPE ¹

The conflict between the Western Powers and the Soviet Union meets face to face in Germany, most of all at Berlin. That this is so is symbolic. Berlin has long been the center of conflicts, typifying as it did nationalism and wars, capitalism and a rising imperialism, a regimented state and a refusal of its dominant religion to question the crimes and shortcomings of political and economic life.

The Soviet Union has delayed reasonable peace treaties in Germany and Austria in order to weaken Western Europe, prevent a democratic unification of Germany and a united Europe and keep Germany, Europe and the world in turmoil. The Soviet wants to control as much of Germany and Austria as it can and extend communism as far west as it can. Symbolically again, a fast hold was kept in Berlin by the airplane that most makes the physical world one. Certainly every effort, short of war, should be made to keep the Soviet Union as far to the east as possible.

The principle of the common good demands that Germany and Austria be so organized and integrated into a United Europe and a United Nations that their peoples may be able to contribute their resources and abilities to the general welfare and may in turn receive their due share of the benefits of an ordered world. This requires the concerted efforts of the nations to assist in the

¹ Report of the World Order Committee.

adjustment of the problems in Germany, such as the unique problem of the million of expellees. A Germany newly ordered, that is also part of a European and world order, would be the best assurance that warlike elements would not emerge from Germany to afford a threat to world peace.

There remains the rest of Western Europe, Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union herself, the United States and the rest of the world. There is also the question of the Soviet Union in relation to the incorporation of at least Germany and Austria into a United Europe.

The USSR is a menace. The fact remains, however, that both World Wars began in a disunited Europe without reference to the Soviet Union as a menace. A United Europe, or its closest possible approximation, is necessary for world peace. The United Nations needs a strong and large regional organization of Europe.

A United Europe, even if it means a United Europe without the Slav States and Rumania, or even without Hungary and Eastern Germany and Austria is necessary. Spain and Portugal should be brought in. They are part of Europe, they are necessary to the success of a European Union.

The Marshall Plan offers the first substantial hope of bringing about a degree of economic and political unity. The great difficulty lies, however, in the leadership the USSR gives her satellites in the East against direct use of the Marshall Plan in that area. Possibly more success can be achieved in the Eastern countries by the United Nations European Economic Commission because the mutual economic dependence of eastern and western Europe is thus retained without undue embarrassment to the Soviet Union. With Western European economic recovery, or at least its great improvement, Eastern Europe will have to turn more and more sooner or later, both for purchase and sale to the non-Russian world and in particular to Western Europe.

There is no doubt that the Marshall Plan, as well as the threat of the USSR, has stimulated the attempts in Western Europe for group-organization in both the economic and political fields. This is evidenced by the Benelux agreements, by the initiative of the Marshall Plan countries in the formation of the Organization of European Economic Cooperation, and by the recently established customs union between France and Italy. This latter fact, the Benelux agreement and the possibilities of gradual extension to other countries and their unification, is of great significance.

On the political side, the signing of the Charter of the Council of Europe by ten Western European countries, and the start made

at Strasbourg to implement it, is a most hopeful and sensible recognition of Europe's need to unite.

The North Atlantic Treaty is another salutary step which can help hasten unification. This measure is based on the realization of the mutual dependence of the Atlantic states in matters of security and of their mutual interests which require cooperative efforts to protect and further.

The United State's acceptance of this treaty is recognition of the dangers of separation of the New World from Europe,—of the danger to the Americas, to Europe and to the world.

The United States should back the beginning of political co-operation marked in the Council of Europe and, since it has some direct responsibility in the matter, should support the entry of at least Western Germany and Austria into this Council. Thus movements for both economic cooperation and political organization will be on their way. Centuries of European nationalism, coupled with the unequal reliance on overseas empires, will make any close unity a matter of growth within a United Nations and a world which is not at war.

Without centering too much of the world problem within Western Europe, Western Europe is still a key spot for the world, and its unity as far east as possible is essential.

Eastern Europe, except for Yugoslavia, is so solidly controlled by the Soviet Union and, including Yugoslavia, is so far along the road to the Russian type of Communism, with its repression of human rights, that little can be expected of it now. The influence of economic needs, domestic resistance, and outside news and the impact of consolidated world opinion against the violations of human rights in those areas probably can only be slow and gradual in having salutary effects.

There is, however, this added consideration. Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and a large but not predominant part of Rumania and Yugoslavia are made up of Roman Catholics of either the western or eastern rites. There are also minority Protestants—Calvinists, Unitarians, Lutherans and Evangelicals. This gives these countries an advantage over Russia which, when the revolution began, had a religious tradition wholly Orthodox and either wholly subservient to the State or withdrawn from social responsibilities. It explains also why the governments of these countries are persecuting these churches. There is hope that, because of their religious background, the Russian satellites probably will not stay enslaved.

However, in police states, opposition is extraordinarily difficult

—to Americans unimaginably so. No one can predict when the enjoyment of freedom, human rights and measure of human welfare can be achieved in those countries. The United States should cooperate in every way possible with the United Nations and to try all peaceful means to hasten this day. Moral support, at least, of the right thinking people in these countries should not be withheld by the countries whose institutions are based on the realization of the dignity of man and human rights. The question is not one of domestic or international jurisdiction but of life or death, of peace or the absence of peace. In these circumstances the effects of the conduct of the USSR and the satellite countries are not restricted within their borders and free nations cannot do other than concern themselves with the fate of the people therein. In particular the Baltic states should again become independent nations.

A United Europe inside the United Nations is a necessity even if East Germany, Baltics, Austria, Hungary, the Balkans, Czechoslovakia, and Poland do not belong at the beginning. The natural attractions of the rest of a United Europe and world should serve in part as a basis for them to enter later.

THE MIDDLE EAST ²

The Arab States, Turkey and Palestine, stand in a somewhat separate group, partly because of oil, because of Palestine, and partly because of their location.

Palestine's position is a key one, as it lies in the center of the Mediterranean area. Jews were encouraged for more than a generation to move to a strip of land along the coast of Palestine and to possess their own government. They did this and have now formed their own state, Israel in Palestine, despite opposition from and conflict with their Arab neighbors, but with international sanction of the United Nations of which Israel is now a member.

However, the Jews and the Arabs occupy Jerusalem and other land that is holy—holy not only to themselves and to the world as the Promised Land, and to their Moslem neighbors because of its mosques, but holy to the entire West and to Christians everywhere, as the land in which our Redeemer lived, suffered and died to accomplish His saving mission for all the peoples of the world.

This is the reason for the necessity of the United Nations decision to give a special juridical status, under U. N. control, to Jerusalem and its surroundings and to require Israel and the Arabs to give protection and free access to all the holy places.

² Report of the World Order Committee.

In order to do justice and to aid ensuring peace with her Arab neighbors in this key spot of the world, Israel, moreover, should be constrained to permit repatriation of Arab refugees displaced from their homes in Palestine by the conflict which accompanied birth of the state of Israel.

Israel, Turkey, and the Arab States, which are on the main high-ways of the world, should be kept out of the Soviet ring. They should rule themselves; they should work together.

The United States should help further these aims through continued support of the United Nations economic and social programs for this area, implementation of its "bold new program" of technical assistance to the Middle East, and through the just development of its oil interests.

THE FAR EAST ³

The global problems of recovery and peace require solution in Asia as well as in Europe and the Middle East. No government or nation or association of nations can neglect or disregard the interests of an area which possesses half of the world's population, vast potentialities of resources known and unknown, and a globally strategic geographical position. They must promote relations with this area which will help develop the national security and stability necessary for the best interests of these peoples and the world.

China, by reason of location and population, stands at the center of the Far Eastern problem. A United States policy which abandons China to communism while it aids Western Europe in withstanding the same menace is neither reasonable nor consistent.

Neither charges of corruption in the Chinese government nor debates about native brands of communism absolve the United States from defending and promoting the common good in China. The United States should make a sincere gesture to promote the welfare of the Chinese people and give moral support to their resistance against communist domination in order to safeguard our Pacific shores and preserve our traditional friendship of fifty years with the Chinese people. Our failure to give such support led many Chinese to submit to communism.

The development of some form of Far Eastern regional organization within the framework of the United Nations should be encouraged by the United States. Such an organization should be used to help hasten the unification of Korea and the development

³ Report of the Subcommittee on Asia. See Appendix A for later statement by the Subcommittee on Asia.

of sound practices of cooperation by Japan, democratically ordered under a just and reasonable peace treaty.

The Soviet Union and native communists have exploited the conflict between a dying colonial imperialism and the emergence of legitimate aspirations for self-government among Far Eastern peoples, thereby creating a threat to world harmony and peace. United States policy should defend the rights of dependent peoples of the Far East in their efforts toward self-government and should also guard against the dangers of economic domination of dependent territories by American financial and industrial interests.

DEPENDENT TERRITORIES ⁴

Many of the Far Eastern countries were colonies until recently. Some have become autonomous only with great difficulty and as a by-product of the decline of Europe and two World Wars.

Other colonies remain. The greatest colonial areas now are in Africa, the Pacific Islands and the West Indies. The United Nations requires regular reports on conditions in these territories whether or not they are administered under trusteeship. The United States should continue to make full reports to the U. N. regarding its own dependencies and to support the work of the UN Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly. It should, in its own practice, correct faulty conditions in its own dependencies and advance even more their economic, social and cultural life and their political status.

The U. S. dependent territory problems lie mainly in the Pacific Islands that were taken over from Japan. There are two major problems here. One is their military status in relation to the U. N. and world peace. The other is the condition of the native peoples. These problems should be envisaged in terms of the general welfare and human rights of the persons involved.

INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS ⁵

In addition to our necessary interest in Europe, better relations among the Americas, far from being neglected, should be fostered and implemented. The simple fact is that should another war strike Europe, the American continent may become, for a time, the refuge of Western civilization and Catholicism.

In any event, Americans of all America have a joint mission

⁴ Report of the Subcommittee on Dependent Areas.

⁵ Report of the Inter-American Committee.

of their own in the world. The mission is to advance and evolve the humanism that derives from Christianity and is actually the latent dynamism of the social life of the Americas. This mission becomes the more urgent today because the Americas are New World peoples who have had thus far the protection of the Oceans from the worst ravages of modern wars.

Not enough is built upon this basic fact. Our government and the people of the U. S. should concern themselves still more than they do with these great potentialities. The Catholic group in the U. S. has a greater responsibility because of the greater ease with which they can associate with the majority of South Americans.

One obstacle to united effort is the latent resentment against the United States which is widespread among Latin Americans. All means possible should be used to remedy this situation.⁶

A regional organization of the twenty-one American republics has been set up within the framework of the United Nations. The door has been left open for Canada to join. The organization provides a means for greater economic cooperation and development among the Americas. In addition it includes an agreement for consultation in the event that a member nation is attacked by another state, whether American or non-American.

This Organization of American States is of enormous importance. The full development of its potentialities for the economic, social and political well-being of its members should be supported by the United States.

EAST — WEST

One must return finally to the East-West conflict. The east is symbolized by the USSR, the West by the U. S. The USSR is communist, imperialistic, anti-religious, dictatorial in its rule of its satellite countries and perfectly clear in what it wants. The U. S. is a post-capitalist country which does not yet know where it is going. It is anti-imperialistic, vaguely secularist and vaguely religious; it is against war, at last willing and eager to cooperate with all countries, not dictatorial either at home or abroad. The lines of a consistent foreign policy are only now beginning to emerge.

The Soviet has her East European satellites and now has extended her ruling influence to China and from there is seeking to penetrate throughout the entire East. The rest of the world stands with the U. S., because the U. S. is strong and its policy is good if sometimes uncertain.

⁶ See Appendix B for suggestions.

The Soviet is acting partly as a measure of self-protection based on unfounded fears. That it is acting as an imperialist in the old Russian tradition seems also true. However, granting Soviet motives of self-protection and imperialism, the strongest element now is its Communism.

Communism appeals because after the centuries of extreme emphasis upon the individual, who was to battle everyone else without proper regard for law, organization or sense of decency, it proclaims the supremacy of the "general welfare". This is an appealing idea to these masses of people who have been impoverished and subjected by individualism; it is appealing to others whom individualism and secularism have spiritually impoverished. It takes time for such people to realize that the real general welfare, the welfare of all, must preserve the individual.

The Soviet degrades the individual. On the other hand, the West does not sufficiently realize that individuals, private organizations and governments must work for the general welfare even as they protect individual rights.

The East oppresses the individual. The West does not believe strongly enough that the individual must act for the general welfare; but it does believe so fragmentarily, as it holds to personal dignity.

The issue in the East is to secure personal dignity. The issue in the West is to secure the general welfare.

ECONOMIC LIFE ⁷

In the East-West cold war, the issue will be decided, short of war, by whether or not the West will use its wealth and ability for the general welfare and whether it will do so without sacrificing personal dignity. This issue embraces the whole range of problems, but in practice, it is the central issue. This issue includes the Marshall Plan but goes far beyond. It includes Point 4 of President Truman's inaugural address, a program of technical and financial assistance for under-developed areas, but it is not directed solely to these regions. This principle must be applied at all times by all countries both internally and on a world-wide scale to insure social justice.

The general welfare is misunderstood by many. It refers to the welfare of a real community composed of individuals with a recognition of their human dignity and is not a mere abstraction or collective in which the individual and groups lose their personal worth. The general welfare does not mean an abundance of material goods

⁷ Report of the Subcommittee on Economic Life.

for every individual, but the opportunity to satisfy human needs both material and non-material. It is difficult to determine how this general welfare is to be effectuated, but it must be worked out with boldness and foresight. In some cases it will mean a drastic and radical change from the principles and practices of the recent centuries and yet it is not the totalitarian denial of personal rights, human dignity and freedom.

The will to do right and the organization and legislation to do right are not enough. There are the physical resources of a country or region, there is the technical know-how, there is the ratio of factors of production to population, there is the quality of economic institutions, there is the willingness to invest—all these must be considered. For example, if Europe is divided, Western Europe will need more grain from outside. If Latin America lags behind in industrial production or in the development of farm lands, then there will be fewer goods for the rest of the world. If the Yangtze, the Mississippi, the Amazon, or the Nile are not harnessed, then the peoples of the earth will experience a depletion of economic resources. If investment capital goes on strike for a 7 to 20 per cent return, then the whole program will bog down.

To administer a program of world reconstruction following this principle, every government needs a sound and broad economic base. If it lacks such a base it will tend toward totalitarianism. To achieve this broad economic base, authority should stem upwards. It should be encouraged, not imposed from above. One means of achieving this end would be to include those groups that are close to the people, such as labor unions, farmer and other occupational organizations, and consumer cooperatives. Within these groups, organization should be both horizontal and vertical: i.e. groups from local industries should consult among themselves and with local management associations. These, in turn, should be represented at production levels where area differences can be ironed out by means of joint conferences of labor and management. Only in this way can the principle of subsidiarity be observed.

Economic life today demands cooperation not only at production levels, but also at national and at international levels. The Marshall Plan and Truman's Point 4 are good means of international economic cooperation, but these programs do not automatically preserve the recipient country from economic domination. For example, the United States may encourage foreign investment, then protect it, then begin protecting high profits; and the result would be economic and political domination. United Nations agencies, such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

and the International Labor Office, and cooperating associations, such as international consumer cooperatives, should be utilized to prevent pressure or domination from governmental or business groups.

Added to the difficulties of developing a just and workable world economic order is the fear of another depression in the United States. If this happens, immeasurable harm will ensue to all nations, not only because of the acute economic want it will bring, but also because it will encourage the expansion of Communism and Russian domination. To prevent economic collapse and build a world based on social justice require the reform of economic institutions based on knowledge and application of positive Christian economic principles. Such reform of the economic and social order according to the principles of Christian social justice as expressed in Pope Pius XI's Encyclical *Reconstruction of the Social Order* is necessary to prevent the spread of Communism.

Economic reform of the rest of the world is necessary to prevent the further spread of the imperialist Communism of the Soviet. The Soviet is playing a shifting and shifty game. The U. S. policy, once one of confiding in the trustworthiness of the Soviet, has now gone to another extreme. This seems to have been necessary. But as the Communist revolution fails to eventuate, particularly in central and western Europe, it is to be expected that the Soviet will again shift her policy. Not that it will have given up the idea of Communist expansion under Russian control but that it will bide time waiting for the economic collapse of the rest of the world.

Political and military "containment" of the Soviet and her satellites is not wrong. But in the economic field, more than the Marshall Plan and the consequent economic and political cooperation of Western Europe is necessary. A fundamental economic change is required.

THE UNITED NATIONS ⁸

The organization of the United Nations was and is the greatest step forward in the effort to maintain national security and international peace through international cooperation. So far as it is or can be effective the United Nations as well as its Specialized Agencies should be given every support.

It must be recognized, however, that while it has achieved considerable success in the field of health, education, culture, economics, etc., the United Nations has not been and cannot be successful in solving the problems of Great Power aggression.

⁸ Report of the Subcommittee on Juridical Institutions.

The provisions of the Charter relating to the maintenance of international peace and security and the vesting of primary responsibility therefore in the Security Council have not worked out and will continue not to work out to the disadvantage of such aggressive nations.

By reason of the veto power possessed by each of the five permanent members of the Security Council—the so-called Great Powers—which was insisted upon at the San Francisco Conference by the United States as well as by the Soviet Union, any of these Powers with aggressive intentions is and will be able to exercise this veto power to prevent the United Nations as such from taking effective action to prevent or to overcome such aggression. Whether any aggression be direct, as by way of armed attack, or indirect, as by way of an engineered coup or civil war, the veto is sufficient to prevent the imposition of any sanctions by the United Nations.

This veto power has, therefore, resulted in the seeking of other means by the Western Democracies to provide adequate protection against aggression or armed attack. The Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, the Rio Pact, the Brussels Pact and the North Atlantic Pact are all, in part at least, based upon the inability of the Security Council alone under the present Charter to maintain international peace and security.

The veto power, however, is not likely to be eliminated. The nations possessing it will not consent to the elimination of it without other changes. To do so would be to establish the system of voting used in the General Assembly in which the five smallest, least populous and least powerful states can offset the votes of these five Powers.

Something more than the mere elimination of the veto is essential. The development of the United Nations into an effective organization for the maintenance of international peace and security means the amendment of the Charter to provide for expressly limited but adequate legislative, judicial and executive authority to compel submission of all international justifiable disputes to adjudication by law and to maintain international peace and security.

The more effective organization of the world for peace within the United Nations by use of the amendment processes provided in the Charter could be undertaken with the participation of the Soviet Union therein if possible but without that nation if necessary.

Pending the achievement of these aims all the potentialities and capacities of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies should be explored and made use of toward the elimination of violence in the settlement of international disputes. The organization of

groups of nations, geographically or otherwise related, as contemplated by Article 51 of the Charter, and the development of economic and political unions of such groups may well help to establish a more basic world community interest and feeling which will aid in the achievement of the necessary amendments referred to.

In the state of the world it is hardly possible to reduce armaments. And with Soviet obduracy toward real international supervision and control of the facilities for the development of explosive atomic energy, it does not appear wise to prevent the construction of catastrophic weapons.

Under these circumstances, revision of the U. N. is the more necessary so that the non-Russian world will save more of its resources for peace and the general advancement of mankind. It means waiting for the Soviet and her satellites to move out of their present menacing position through the example and effectiveness of the rest of the world.

A SPIRITUAL REVOLUTION ⁹

Basically what is required is a rallying of all men of good will who will bring about a spiritual change in the world. This spiritual change requires recognition of the fact that all men are subject to the requirements of human rights and the common good. As a man is a person who can find his perfection only in society he has responsibility for that kind of society which will contribute to his welfare.

This society implies recognition of a common good to be achieved. All common good can be achieved only by some type of joint action at various levels—local, national, international. At each of these levels joint action requires for its proper functioning some type of organization and appropriate institutions.

The present state of the world points to the fact that there exists a universal good which is common to all mankind. For its achievement joint action is necessary. The achievement of this end is a collective responsibility. The problem facing us is to decide what type of joint action and ensuing organization and institutions are necessary toward the achievement of this common good.

But our action must not stop at the level of the natural order. Spiritual changes which came over Christians at the beginning of the modern era in fact created the era. Those changes seem to have been conditioned by great social failures, but they caused still

⁹ Report of the Ethics Committee.

worse failures. The changes occurred among Catholics when they began to act as if they were lone individuals and had few social obligations beyond family life and were little conscious of the obligations to others implicit in the Communion of Saints and the Mystical Body of Christ. Many Catholics even left the Church and formed doctrines that made the lone individual central in thinking, emotions and practices. A fair reading of history seems to make it clear that retrograde Catholics, Protestants, and Catholics and Protestants who fell still further away into Deist and Darwinian individualism are chiefly responsible for the revolutions, capitalism,¹⁰ nationalism and wars of our time.

The world until the last thirty years did hold on to a certain respect for the individual which was not completely nullified by the then current denial, or under-emphasis, of obligations of individuals to one another, of group to group, of individuals and groups to the country, and of obligations of all three to the world. This was so much to the good and this tradition forms the best elements in what is called democracy. At least, democracy does not have Siberias and crematories. Democracy has allowed a measure of freedom to move into an era that will add brotherhood to the dignity and worth of man and, upon this two-fold idea and practice, build institutions to express, protect, and promote both human dignity and social obligations.

Something of a spiritual change is coming over this generation. More Catholics are realizing the depth and breadth of the Faith. More Protestants are turning away from the individualist elements of their economic ethics and the nationalist and separatist elements of their denominations. There is doubt that the Marshall Plan and the conditions of its success will run fast enough to meet the needs and dangers of our time. So too there is doubt of the needed speed of a spiritual revolution. But it is the first requirement.

¹⁰ System in which owners of capital dominate economic life for their own purposes.

PART II ¹¹

As the CAIP Joint Committee report, *Toward An Integrated World Policy*, goes to press, the international situation in its details is rapidly changing. However, there appears to be nothing in the report which should be withdrawn. But at this time certain points should be given special development and certain current facts should be highlighted.

1. The report emphasizes Europe-wide organization, both governmentally and economically. France and Germany are now leading in a proposal for an approach to a Europe-wide handling of coal and steel. National conflicts in these industries have served in the past to keep European countries nationalistic and have induced wars. If the proposal succeeds, it will strengthen the unity of Europe without which world peace seems impossible. Britain seems determined to stay out of the agreement. British refusal to join would be very harmful but perhaps not fatal. Both for the success of the coal-steel agreement and to undermine the arguments of intransigent Socialists in England, strong labor union representation should be included in the controlling agency of coal and steel.

British opposition appears not so much a Socialist opposition, as a fear that being tied to continental European economy will break British standards of wages and profits and interfere with her relations to her Dominions. Differences in wages and profits exist, also, among the countries on the continent. Perhaps an insurance system could take care of British-Continental and Intra-Continental differences.

Proposed close cooperation on farm products among German and French farm organizations is an heartening sign of further advances in the European unity which is ever-more urgently imperative. ;

2. The absence of Soviet Russia from the U. N. Security Council (because the U. N. has not admitted Communist China in place of Nationalist China) has allowed the U. N. Security Council to take the necessary action in the Korean affair. This situation has crystalized the unity of the non-Communist world and has made clearer one method and the urgent necessity of providing the United Nations with an international police force. This does not modify the underlying need of a change in the veto held by five "great powers"

¹¹ Statement of the Ethics and World Order Committees, August, 1950.

over decisions of the Security Council. The Security Council must be re-made. The anomaly of the U. N. Security Council is clear now. The need for fuller use of the Assembly seems also clear.

3. Because of the crisis in the United Nations and the world, the countries not controlled by Russia should be prepared to work out the most effective method of continuing the United Nations if the USSR and her satellites ever decide to leave it. If this happens, the Security Council would become, in effect, a defense organization against Communist aggression and a means of settling disputes only among the countries the Soviet does not rule. It would also more easily allow the needed reorganization of the Security Council and the Assembly. The United Nations would retain, much as they are, all the rest of its functions and organs—the Trusteeship Council, the Economic and Social Council and the Specialized Agencies.

4. The Korean situation emphasizes the need of the close U. S.-Far East cooperation. A Pacific Pact should supplement the United Nations in the Pacific just as the Atlantic Pact supplements the U. N. in the European-North American area and the Organization of American States supplements the U. N. in the Americas. Strengthening the U. N. in Southeast Asia, through its direct work and through a regional organization, is more necessary now than when the report was prepared.

5. The terrifying advances of imperialistic, totalitarian and anti-religious Communism throw into clearer light the ambiguity of the Western conception of life. Western people are Christians but do not make Christian brotherhood a central point in their thinking and practice. The selfishness and greed of the individual in economic life and the selfishness and greed of the nation in world governmental life still rule in spite of the strenuous efforts to change—and with some success—into a combined free and brotherly economy and a combined free and brotherly international life.

There is no thought of discounting the gains made during the last twenty years in the United States, exemplar now of the West. But the harsh facts remain. Our dominant educational system is non-religious. Our economic life still boasts of "free enterprise" but not of both brotherhood and freedom. Our government wanted our veto in the United Nations. At the same time we believe in Christianity and at least a fifth of us are Catholics; we proclaim the need of labor-management-farmer-government cooperation to get a good living for everybody; and our government, once isolationist, is eager to work with every other government with which it is possible to work. Perhaps our greatest ambiguity lies in our treatment

of Negroes and our affirmation of their rights. These examples in the United States could be multiplied in other countries of the West—examples of both good and bad.

Since the report was prepared, the conflict of a slave East and a still flabby West has grown worse. Besides opposing the slave East, the flabby West has to change itself.

The emphasis in *Toward An Integrated World Policy* upon working for the common good, the general welfare, is central to the victory of the West. The West, by its historical capitalism, secularism, colonialism, imperialism, its grab-what-you-can-grab, has brought us to the present pass from which we are trying to escape. The West is now changing.

6. As we change, as we begin to live more and more by the Christian religion and morals that we profess, we not only advance ourselves, but are in a better position to work with and assist others. We need not flounder, we need not be apologetic when our actions are based soundly on immutable principles. We will then be fortified with a lasting and invaluable strength, the voice of truth. In making our policies known to the peoples of the world we must make known also the truths upon which they are based. The importance of this was stressed by the Holy Father in a letter to President Truman in 1947, "Truth has lost none of its power to rally to its cause the most enlightened minds and noblest spirits. Their ardor 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." First we must acknowledge truth, then act by it and expound it.

APPENDIX A

U. S. Obligation in China and the Far East

Statement of the CAIP Subcommittee on Asia issued November 1949

The CAIP Subcommittee on Asia, aware of the fact that the U. S. Department of State is seeking a reasonable solution of the China problem and is reviewing its whole Far Eastern policy through the appointment of Mr. Philip Jessup and his panel of consultants, wishes to urge the following measures for serious consideration.

ON RECOGNIZING COMMUNIST CHINA

The United States for its own good must not recognize the communist regime in China. To do so would flout international morality, violate historical concepts of international law and the Charter of the United Nations, abandon our traditional open door policy, and our commitments to China, condemn the Chinese people to degrading subjugation, jeopardize the welfare and security of the United States, and increase the threat to the peace of the world.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE FAR EAST

The responsibility of the United States is to our own citizens, to the peoples of the Far East, and to the conscience of the world. Our only genuine hope of peaceful relations between our various peoples lies in the principles of right and justice. It is not enough merely to state these principles. We must implement them intelligently, courageously and with perseverance.

We have three alternatives, of which the first two are unacceptable. We can go to war against the communist aggressor in China; we can withdraw to strict isolationism; or we can assert our rights as human beings in a world community, of which China is an integral part.

We have already lost much of our self-respect, endangered our friendship with the people of China, and diminished our position of leadership in China through failure to support and maintain our long-standing obligations.

What shall we do about the rest of Asia?

TOWARD A SOLUTION IN THE FAR EAST

Solution of the Far Eastern debacle should come about as the product of common action by the United Nations.

The United States should take the leadership in seeking this common solution by vigorous efforts to use all appropriate agencies.

If we fail to do so or if we neglect our responsibility and opportunity, no other nation can effectively exercise the necessary leadership.

If we fail to take intelligent action we commit ourselves to blind improvisation.

We can put off decision temporarily, but if we continue to shirk the issue, the countries of the Far East sooner or later will be used as tools to the injury of the world community, instead of being allowed to grow into their full stature as members of that community.

SOLUTION

The problems which plague the Far East lie deeper than governmental inefficiency, political corruption or land tenure. They are basically continental poverty, underdevelopment of resources and general backwardness in a modern world. Their solution must be sought through informed cooperation of the United Nations with the peoples concerned.

Neither the people of China working alone nor any combination of Far Eastern peoples working unaided can be expected to arrive at an adequate or equitable solution.

It is possible and in accordance with Chinese sovereignty within the framework of the United Nations for the Nationalist Government of China to call upon the Assembly now in session to send a commission of inquiry to China to report on the current situation, including economic needs. This should be done right away.

Further United Nations action might require creation of an international commission with supervisory authority for the temporary administration of the whole of China and the establishment of international agencies of control until such time as the Chinese people can reassume control of their own affairs and regain their due status among the peoples of the world.

In the meantime, until the United Nations has undertaken adequate measures to prevent further deterioration of the present situation in China, to settle the Chinese-Russian dispute and to provide a long-range solution which will satisfy China and the world, it is to be noted that the obligation of the United States and

other signatories to the Nine Power Pact are still binding and present more than reasonable opportunity for concerted action to prevent the current impasse from developing into a more acute crisis.

A concomitant step should be regional consultation and mutual agreement of common interests among the peoples of the Far East.

If the West goes to the East not solely for its own interests but equally for the welfare of the East and the benefit of all peoples everywhere, we are on the road to a genuine and permanent peace.

APPENDIX B

Latin-American Committee

The following suggestions might be recommended to foster better Inter-American Relations.

(a) On the cultural level:

- (1) We should urge professionally trained workers, especially in the social welfare and teaching fields, to labor in Latin America. The economic situation of Latin Republics makes it imperative that such people be given North American financial aid.
- (2) By reason of the dire need of priests and nuns, south of the Rio Grande, North American religious communities should be asked to continue to make sacrifices and enlarge their efforts in order to send some of their members to Latin American lands.
- (3) We should supply cheap editions of books, pamphlets, and brochures requested by the respective countries. We could likewise send library and laboratory equipment.
- (4) Colleges and universities of North America should facilitate in every way necessary the coming of Latin American teachers, future teachers, and students, in general, not with the intent to export our methods but to give the opportunity of seeing them at work.
- (5) Interest in Latin America should be promoted among North Americans, especially in the schools at all levels, by the introduction of objective courses on the history, literature, and culture of Latin America.

(b) On the economic level:

- (1) We should apply the Point IV program of the Truman Inaugural Address, especially to Latin America, whereby American capital and technical efficiency will be put at the disposal of the Latin American communities, in order that they may exploit successfully their agricultural and industrial resources. Such projects must not be constructed so that they will result in an imperialistic intervention in Latin American economy but they should rather be opportunities whereby our southern neighbors can help themselves. The Rockefeller enterprises seem to be examples of what is desired. This kind of aid respects the dignity and independence of both parties and is mutually beneficial.

Catholics of the U. S. should do their utmost to arouse interest in Latin America and to cooperate generously and cordially with the Catholic organizations at work in Latin America, such as: National Catholic Action groups, the Inter-American Catholic Social Action Confederation, Inter-American Catholic Educational Association, and Pax Romana.

Americans should associate themselves with Latin American endeavors to promote a healthy social philosophy of labor unions. The new anti-communist Inter-American Confederation of Labor is highly recommended.

APPENDIX C

THE U. S. AND THE NORTH ATLANTIC PACT

*World Order Committee and the Juridical Institutions
Sub-Committee, Issued May 1949*

The North Atlantic regional pact for joint defense of the United States, Canada and Western Europe seems necessary. It is consistent with the U. N. and may fill gaps in the U. N. It should, in fact, have been entered into in some form years ago to fit long-standing realities of the North Atlantic countries. Accompanied by the present swift but difficult steps toward European economic and political unity—themselves magnificent—the Pact has already had good effects.

These committees urge its speedy ratification.

The present inadequacies of the U. N. to maintain international

peace and security due to the veto in the Security Council, require other means of adequate protection against aggression or armed attack. The North Atlantic Pact is a necessary step forward in this direction.

The North Atlantic Pact is consistent with the U. N. in that the U. N. provides for regional pacts, and for collective self-defense. Some have contended that a regional pact violates the idea of a world organization. The U. N. Charter itself takes no such position, and the American states, even before the U. N. was formed, took steps to form a far closer regional agreement than that of the regional North Atlantic Pact. In fact there should be no contradiction of a world organization with regional organizations any more than with national governments. All three are needed and have to work together.

Others object that the Pact is a threat of aggression against Russia or, at least, that Russia will so consider it. Anyone who knows American, Canadian and West European opinion could scarcely construe the Pact as anything but defensive. Now that the countries of this region are determined to work together in the pursuits of peace, their Atlantic Pact, although not yet in effect, has already had a salutary effect on the Soviet.

A change in the Soviet is necessary to save the U. N. Every pressure of peaceful opposition to any Soviet aggression, every practicable move for world and regional peaceful cooperation, inclusive of Russia if she will enter or apart from her if she refuses, and such joint agreements on regional military defense as the Organization of American States or the North Atlantic Pact needed to wake up the Soviet to her dangerous policy, should be used.

The Atlantic Pact can, therefore, be a means of saving the U. N.

We entered a pact in the U. N. for the defense of every country and we entered a pact for the joint defense of the Western hemisphere in the Organization of American States to solidify a similar decision that we made alone, a century and a quarter ago, to defend the Americas from Western European aggression. However, in the North Atlantic old prejudices make some of us hesitate.

Yet for the last 50 years, our own well being, the well-being of Europe, the prevention of two world wars and prevention of the Depression of 1929 largely depended upon Europe, Canada and the U. S. working together. In the Marshall Plan, in the drive for a United Europe, in the continued use of the U. N., and now in the Atlantic Pact, we are catching up somewhat with the facts.

The Atlantic Pact is only one part of a general plan. It is an essential part. The great hope is that through the success of these

other methods there will never be need to use military action to defend Europe, Canada and the U. S. Meanwhile, in adopting the Atlantic Pact, let us employ and strengthen the U. N. and hasten the union of Europe.

APPENDIX D

STATEMENT ON POINT IV

*Statement of the N. C. W. C., Social Action Department,
Issued April 1950*

A broad program for the development of underdeveloped areas as a direct benefit to the people of those areas was advanced by the President in his inaugural Address, January 20, 1949. The purpose of this program is to make available to peoples in underdeveloped areas "the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspiration for a better life. . . ."

The Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference supports this idea which in effect recognizes the dignity and worth of the human person, a principle upon which our own country was founded.

Such a program will redound not only to the benefit of the peoples immediately concerned but of all peoples as it is an effective means of making more of the goods of the world available to more of the peoples of the world, and thereby an effective step toward establishing international peace.

The program of technical assistance to underdeveloped areas ought to be carried out as much as is practicable through agencies of the United Nations and the Organization of American States, as well as through bilateral arrangements. The United States itself through arrangements made directly with the countries involved in this program should take a great deal of initiative. The need for assisting the underdeveloped areas is so important that all nations in a position to contribute to the success of the program should do so to the fullest possible extent. Arrangements made between the United States (or other countries) and underdeveloped areas should be coordinated with the projects of the United Nations, other international organizations, and other individual nations.

Sound administration of this program of technical assistance is of the utmost importance. The desire for quick tangible results must not overrule the motivating reason for the program—to create conditions under which man may live in dignity as a human person.

Only in this way can the program attain any measure of real success. We recommend that in the legislation establishing a program of assistance there be provisions in explicit language specifically requiring due respect for the religious, cultural and moral standards and customs of the individuals and groups in the underdeveloped areas.

A sympathetic and appreciative understanding of the peoples concerned, of their traditions and cultures, is essential for making surveys, or recommendations or developing specific projects of programs. Such a conviction ought to be required on the part of the personnel who staff the program and should be held as essential as any other technical competence.

The kind of education offered in connection with economic development must also be considered from the cultural, spiritual and religious standpoint; belief in the family as the primary institution of society, in the dignity of labor and the immeasurable worth of the human person needs to be made very clear. The essentially religious foundations and dependence on the goodness of God implicit in the whole program must be maintained.

Any effort to introduce immoral practices, such as artificial birth-control, will be more disastrous to the success of the program, than the economic and social havoc which would result from efforts to introduce highly industrial procedures in these areas whose immediate technical needs are most elementary.

The participation of private organizations and capital, both foreign and local, should be encouraged to insure a balanced and responsible program. The plan to have an Advisory Board, "widely representative of private groups interested in the program," to consult and advise on policy is a praiseworthy step in this direction. The mutual opportunities which this program affords to displaced persons and expellees in those areas needing energetic manpower should be emphasized.

APPENDIX E

FOR U. S. RATIFICATION OF THE CONVENTION ON GENOCIDE

*Statement of the Juridical Institution Sub-Committee,
Issued January 1950*

The Juridical Institutions Sub-committee of the Catholic Association for International Peace has supported the work of the United

Nations, from its beginning, and the participation of the United States, in the drafting of a convention on the prevent and punishment of the crime of genocide.

As this work has now been completed and the convention has been adopted by the United Nations General Assembly, we urge its ratification by the United States Government.

The importance and necessity for such a convention is emphasized by the examples of the crime of genocide which we have witnessed in our own time. A start—as effective a start as possible—must be made to prevent further perpetration of this crime. The way has been indicated by the United Nations in adopting the convention on genocide. It is imperative that those nations which recognize the heinousness of acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such, do their part by adhering to this covenant which outlaws such acts.

The position which the United States holds in world affairs today, and in particular our belief in the good and right, obliges us to take whatever steps we can in defense of humanity. This occasion to ratify a convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide is an unique opportunity for us to act upon the principles by which we claim to live.

APPENDIX F

ON THE U. N. DRAFT COVENANT ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Excerpts from Statement of the Ethics Committee and the Subcommittee on Juridical Institutions, Issued March 1950

In presenting our statement on the U. N. Draft Covenant on Human Rights we assume the following truths:

Every human being has been endowed by his Creator with certain fundamental, inalienable rights. They are part of his nature. They are to enable him to fulfill his purpose in this life, which is to attain eternal happiness with God in the next.

It is for this reason only that man has these rights and the corresponding duties which include respecting the equal rights of others.

The function of the State as to these rights is to respect, protect and secure man's free exercise of them. There are also certain rights which are derived not directly but indirectly from God as corollary to the inalienable rights themselves. These

rights also must be respected and protected in order that man may be free to enjoy his inalienable rights.

The member-nations of the United Nations went a long way toward recognizing these principles in adopting "as a common standard for all" the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We can but urge the nations to realize more fully the truth of these principles in each additional step aimed at making the Declaration effective in the lives of all peoples.

The Draft Covenant on Human Rights which the U. N. Commission on Human Rights has under consideration, is the first attempt to translate the principles of the Declaration into law. Because the Covenant is ultimately intended to be binding in law for those nations which ratify it, every effort is being made to arrive at the most sufficiently exact language to avoid ambiguity and subsequent misinterpretations. The greatest care must be taken that legislation peculiar to certain states not be translated in this document which it is hoped will serve all men.

Preamble

We recommend that a reference to the source of human rights be made in the Preamble of the Covenant. As the terms "inherent dignity" and "inalienable rights," implying a Superior Being, are included in the Preamble of the Declaration of Human Rights, it is to be expected that the Covenant will be at least this explicit. The mere reference, in the proposed Preamble of the Covenant, of "bearing in mind the general principles proclaimed in the U. N. Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights" does not seem adequate for a document which is to have the meaning that the Covenant should, i. e. as a law which will have effect in the lives of many people, as a definite step forward in the progress toward universal and adequate recognition of the rights of man every where. . . .

The explicit recognition of God in a political or legal document cannot be truly interpreted as a violation of the strictest interpretation of the practice of separation of Church and State. And this is particularly true of a document concerned with the essence of man—his spiritual and bodily well-being. For it is not conceivable that a State would be "compromising" its position to admit that which is Caesar's and that which is God's. If the State does not claim itself to be the sources of man's rights, admitting their rightful source does not weaken but will strengthen its force as an effective instrument of, for and by the people.

Right to Life

It may not be necessary to call special attention to the preciousness of the right to life. It does seem necessary, in view of the "modern mind," to stress the fact that this right to life is precious and sacred from the moment of conception. The greatest care must be taken in the phrasing of Article 5 to avoid any possibility that it be interpreted to condone abortion under any conditions. . . .

Bodily Integrity

The right to bodily integrity is as basic to man as is the right to life itself. This does not exclude the possibility of surgery and even medical and scientific experimentation under certain conditions. It does exclude sterilization and castration as a means of punishment for or a deterrent to crime and to avoid the procreation of mentally or physically deficient persons. . . .

Family

The fundamental quality of the family which is recognized in Article 16 of the Declaration is so important to all phases of life that it should not be overlooked in this Covenant. The family is an entity which has its existence, as the individual has his, an entity without which neither the individual may obtain his perfect good, nor the community which is an ensemble of families, nor the State, which is an ensemble of communities. It would seem proper then to include in the present Covenant on Human Rights an article safeguarding the rights of the family, within which the individual is brought forth, nurtured physically and spiritually and develops into a responsible citizen of the state, and which is "the fundamental group unit of society." . . .

In particular the prior rights of parents to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children should not be omitted. Article 16 of the Covenant proposes to safeguard the right of the individual to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. Would this right not be more adequately safeguarded if the prior right of the parents to direct the formation of their children's thought and religion through education were also explicitly protected herein? This is a natural and necessary correlative of the right to beget children, for in fact, education is the prolonging of procreation.

Just as parents have the right and duty to see to the physical well-being of their children so they have the right and duty to see to the intellectual and spiritual well-being of their children. The

right of the parents is not absolute. It is only when parents cannot or will not assume their responsibilities to their children that the State, as custodian of the common welfare, can step in to insure the right of the child as an individual. . . .

We recommend also that under present conditions implementation be according to the American-British proposal. We feel, however, that the provision on the right to present petitions should be changed to include at least the non-governmental international organizations which have consultative status with the Economic and Social Council.

Economic and Social Rights

. . . We do not feel that there should be any delay in drafting a Covenant or separate covenants on the economic and social rights. If during the forthcoming meeting of the Commission on Human Rights there is not sufficient time to adequately consider such articles, this task should be undertaken at the next meeting of the Commission.

THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE is a membership organization. Its object is to further, in accord with the teachings of the Church, the "Peace of Christ in the Kingdom of Christ," through the preparation and distribution of studies applying Christian teaching to international life.

It was organized in a series of meetings during 1926 and 1927—the first 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.

Many of the reports contain study outlines to facilitate personal use and for Study Clubs in universities, colleges, and lay organizations.

Annual and regional conferences are held.

The committees of the Association since the beginning of the war have placed emphasis on studies for post-war international organization and action.

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

GENERAL MEMBERSHIP

The organization invites the membership of all Catholic persons interested in international affairs.

Members are entitled to all publications of the Association. The membership dues are:

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