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# THE CHURCH, FASCISM AND PEACE

by

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and

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## FOREWORD

This booklet is unique. It is the only one in existence which was written by the combined efforts of the members of the Hierarchy of one entire Their Excellencies, the Most Rev. Aloisius state J. Muench, D.D., Bishop of Fargo, North Dakota, and the Most Rev. Vincent J. Ryan, D.D., Bishop of Bismarck, North Dakota, present in this book a group of eleven radio addresses which were given over a hookup of the North Central Broadcasting System during the lenten season of 1944. The radio talks, sponsored by the North Dakota State Council of the Knights of Columbus, received a generous response from the listening audience. Because of the numerous requests for copies, it was decided to print the addresses under one cover and make the booklet available to a wider reading public.

The topics and problems discussed in the booklet are timely. The Most Reverend Authors have presented facts to clarify the position of the Church and to remove current misrepresentations. The devastating rapier of reason is employed to attack and analyse phoney peace plans. While the booklet contains two distinct radio series, they are integrated by the same basic principles for peace. The matter is presented in a style simple, yet cogent; instructive, yet interesting and readable.

Members of the State Council of the Knights of Columbus are deeply grateful to Their Excellencies for their gracious permission to print these radio addresses. They pledge the members of the Order to full cooperation in the suggestions and wishes of their Bishops so that the principles so well expressed in the pages which follow may be accepted by an ever increasing number.

Palm Sunday Rev. Wm. F. Garvin, State Chaplain April 2, 1944 Knights of Columbus

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword		50
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### PART I

The Catholic Church and Fascism Most Rev. Aloisius J. Muench, D.D.

Chapter	1.	The Common Man Under Fire	7
Chapter	2.	Double Talk from Split Tongues1	3
Chapter	3.	Master, Be a Servant1	9
Chapter	4.	Black is Not White	25
Chapter	5.	Wanted: Rich Men	32

#### PART II

What Must We Do For Peace?

Most Rev. Vincent J. Ryan, D.D.

Chapter	1.	Brotherhood or Chaos	39
Chapter	2.	Tomorrow's World	47
Chapter	3.	The Earth is Holy	.55
Chapter	4.	Citizens of Tomorrow	.63
Chapter	5.	At the Crossroads	72
Chapter	6.	Christ and His Church	.80

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# THE COMMON MAN UNDER FIRE

At the height of the slavery controversy in our country a pro-slavery Senator called the Declaration of Independence "a self-evident lie." In the Declaration it had been solemnly proclaimed as "a self-evident truth" that all men are created equal.

From the earliest days of Christianity on, it has been the consistent teaching of the Catholic Church that all men are created equal. If they are not equal in physical or intellectual capacity, they all are equal in value. They are all invested with human dignity, no matter what other distinctions might be made as to race or nationality, culture or social standing.

Two doctrines, chiefly, furnish the foundation for the Catholic Church's teaching on the equality of man.

The first doctrine is that, in the words of the Holy Bible, all men are created in the image of God. There are no exceptions. Made in the likeness of God all men are His children. God is their Father, and all are brothers of equal value in His sight. In this doctrine is found the real reason for the Fatherhood of God and for the brotherhood of men.

The second doctrine is that all men are equal because all are redeemed by the precious blood of Christ. Again, there are no exceptions. Through His blood all are made His brothers. The Savior declared that we all are brothers: "But all you are brothers"; <sup>(1)</sup> and brothers of Himself, as St. Paul taught the Romans, "that he might be the first-

<sup>(1)</sup> Matthew 23, 8

born amongst many brethren." <sup>(2)</sup> Setting aside every difference of race, language, and interest, the Divine Master taught His brethren to lift up their eyes to heaven, and say: "Our Father who art in heaven." <sup>(3)</sup>

This is not merely pious, sentimental teaching. It conveys ideas of the greatest practical importance. The spiritual equality which this teaching proclaimed became the seed of political equality. The principle of the equal value of human beings in the spiritual order was made a first principle in the political order. That momentous document which ushered in the American Republic, the Delaration of Independence, enshrined that principle in our national life.

Though old in its concept, this principle of the equal value of man as a human being is ever new. Today it is at the bottom of the gigantic conflict that has brought the clash of arms to every part of the world. Everywhere the common man is under fire. His rights as a human being are at stake. There are those who deny these rights because they deny the basic teaching on which these rights are based—all are created equal, all are brethren in Christ.

Fascism denies man these inherent, natural rights. Under its system of government, be its form what it will—Mussolini's Fascism, Hitler's Naziism, or Stalin's Communism—man has only such rights as the state will accord him. Fascism does not recognize the American constitutional rights of man to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>(2)</sup> Romans 8, 29

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>(3)</sup> Matthew 6, 9

happiness." In a fascistic system of government, man disappears as an individual; he is but a tiny unit in the collective enterprise of the absolutistic state; he is but a cog in the totalitarian machine; he is but an animal, an insignificant ant, in the anthill of the fascistic state. Natural rights are denied, and natural freedoms are demolished.

Fascism is consistent in its further assertions that there are supermen and master races among the various peoples of the earth, and that to them has come the task of subjecting, or even exterminating, races and nations of an inferior status.

Because of such false teaching, the Catholic Church always has been, and always will be, the deadly foe of Fascism. Never will she compromise her teaching on the high dignity of man. Fascism has recognized that, and consequently does not cease to attack the Church, the Vatican, or the Pope with every possible means at its powerful command. It uses half-truths; it uses lies. Its smear bucket is always ready at hand to paint its labels of falsehood in order to tag them on the Church.

Those who know the doctrine of the Catholic Church are not deceived. They will agree with the writer in *Time* in its issue of August 16, 1942: "No matter what critics say, it is scarcely deniable that the Church Apostolic, through the encyclicals and other papal pronouncements, has been fighting against totalitarianism more knowingly, devoutly, and authoritatively, and for a longer time, than any other organized power."

In truth, the social encyclicals from the days of Pope Leo XIII down to the present Pope Pius XII, reveal to what extent the Catholic Church is the friend of the common man, and therefore a friend of his rights and freedoms. At every turn she defends his rights—his right to decent work conditions, his right to reasonable hours of work, his right to collective bargaining, his right to a just family wage, his right to own a home, land or some other kind of productive property, his right, in brief, to security, prosperity, and happiness. What today are generally accepted as the rights of the common man in every sound social program were proclaimed more than fifty years ago in the celebrated encyclical of Leo XIII, On The Condition of Workingmen, and have been restated time and time again by his successors in office.

Students of social theory and social practice know where the sympathies of the Catholic Church lie with regard to the basic rights and fundamental freedoms of the common man. By their furious attacks on the Church, Fascists have revealed only too clearly that they do not like the Church's attitude in this matter.

The Church's doctrine on the nobility of man as a child of God and as a brother in Christ constitutes the basis, also, for her attitude of sympathy toward persecuted and exploited races, oppressed national minorities, and defenseless small nations.

It is a great wrong to oppress, persecute, and kill people on account of their race. Anti-Semitism is full of iniquity. With Pius XI we Christians will exclaim: "In spirit we are all Semites." Without reservation we condemn the un-Christian attacks on Jews, and rather join hands with Pius XII in his work of charity, giving aid to the tens of thousands of non-Aryans who are exiles from their home-land, have lost all they once possessed, and today are in dire distress. Christian charity allows no distinctions because of race; it embraces all men in its universal law of love. There is but "one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in us all." <sup>(4)</sup> The unity of the human race is a cardinal dogma of the Catholic Faith. Catholicism rejects as false the naziistic "myth of blood and race" with its pernicious theories of *Herrenvolk* and master races. Pius XI unreservedly condemned the worship of race as idolatry.

There is no justification whatsoever for the exploitation of races, no matter what their color or their level of culture. Toward less favored races the more abundantly gifted races have an obligation of justice and charity. Speaking on the subject of colonies Pius XI pointedly remarked: "It is evident that a colonizing country's first aim must be to civilize, that is, to allow colonies to share in the benefits of civilization. What are colonies for, if they are not meant to educate races less civilized? .... If nations do not colonize in order to spread civilization, then they are open to the accusation that they found colonies in order to exploit them." (5) These are uncompromising words, and demonstrate clearly what the Church's attitude is with regard to poor, uncivilized races.

Nor can human rights be denied national minorities. They have a right to their distinctive characteristics—to their language, their usages, their customs, their folkways. In all her missionary work of nineteen hundred years, the Catholic Church has followed that policy. The sad history

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>(4)</sup> Ephesians 4, 6

<sup>(5)</sup> Pius XI, Principles of Peace, 1294.

of recent times has tragically shown that this is not the policy of absolutistic states.

The defense of the rights of small nations has also been the concern of the Papacy. Small nations equally with big and powerful nations have the right to life, to economic development, and to access to the resources of the earth. In his memorable Christmas message of 1939. Pius XII said: "The will of one nation to live must never mean the sentence of death passed upon another." (6)

Catholicism will always be the unvielding foe of Fascism wherever and whenever it lays desecrating hands on the inherent rights of man-sacred above all to the common man.

Today the common man is again under fire. His rights are in danger; his freedoms are jeopardized. Why? Because there are those who tell us his origin is not of God, but of an animal. The theory of the animalistic evolution of man is doing more to destroy the rights and freedoms of man than all the bombs and shells that are fired by fascistic armies.

Let it be affirmed again as clearly and as strongly as we know how: "Man is created, not in the image of an animal, but in the image of God. He is a child of God, and a brother in Christ." In this affirmation rests our hope for making a reality of the great ideal expressed by the immortal Lincoln: "I say in relation to the principles that all men are created equal, let it be as nearly reached as we can. If we cannot give freedom to every creature, let us do nothing that will impose slavery upon any other creature." (7)

<sup>(6)</sup> 

Pius XII, 1497, ibid. Fortune, February, 1944, p. 155 (7)

# DOUBLE TALK FROM SPLIT TONGUES

Up to June, 1941, when Hitler made war on Stalin, the two were partners in their common crime of aggression. In 1939 both had invaded helpless, defenseless Poland. They sealed their criminal pact of partnership with the blood of innocent people. Hitler himself said so in his famous telegram to Stalin in 1939: "Our friendship is sealed with blood."

There were no split tongues then, and there was no double talk. Lovers of democracy everywhere were agreed that both Naziism and Communism were Fascism in its worst form - two branches of the same poisonous tree of tyrannical dictatorship. Our own President had assured us: "The Soviet Union is a dictatorship as cruel and as absolute as any other dictatorship on the face of the earth." That sentiment was echoed and reechoed by writers in newspapers, weekly periodicals, and monthly magazines; it was given expression by books in bookstalls and libraries as well as by pictures on the screen; it was voiced in most vigorous language from lecture platforms and by commentators over the radio. Do you remember all that?

Do you remember, too, that in that same fatal year of 1939 the Foreign Secretary of Russia, Comrade Molotoff, said to the Foreign Secretary of Germany, Herr v. Ribbentrop: "Fascism is only a matter of taste?"

Split tongues used no double talk then that Fascism was anti-democratic, and Communism was not. Men who had any ideas at all about democracy were sure at that time that both Fascism and Communism were two phases of the same system of

#### 14 THE CHURCH, FASCISM AND PEACE

totalitarianism, and that, consequently, both were foes of democracy.

In truth, they are foes of democracy. Their governments are not governments by, for, and through the people. They are governments by a small clique of Nazis on the one hand and by a small clique of Communists on the other. There is but one political party; all others are suppressed, and their leaders sent to concentration camps or into the jails of Siberia. Lenin, the founder of Russian Communism, was once asked by a foreign correspondent whether under his system of government political parties were allowed in Russia. "Yes," he answered, "the Communist Party in power, and all the other parties in jail." Is that democracy? Americans know the answer.

They know the answer, too, when they learn that under these anti-democratic dictatorships there are only one school, one press, one police, one army. Dissent in major principles and policies is not allowed. There is no freedom of speech, no freedom of assembly, no freedom of organization, except such as may be allowed by the dictators in control. Is that democracy? And is it democracy to deny freedom of religion? In Hitler's Germany, religion, while tolerated, is rendered most difficult to practice, and in Stalin's Russia it is entirely suppressed, except for the limited and precarious existence that has been now given to the Russian Orthodox Church. All other religious bodies are still denied religious freedom.

Recently the Rev. Dr. W. O. Lewis, General Secretary of the Baptist World Alliance, speaking to a Student Planning Conference on the World Mission of the Church declared that, while the Soviet Union has for some time permitted groups to gather for worship, there has been no inclination on the part of Soviet officialdom to sanction evangelistic activity. Reports that Bibles are being printed in Russia are incorrect, he said, and books of religious content have not been published in Russia since the early twenties.

Split tongues that define democracy now in one way and now in another are not serving the cause of democracy by their double talk. Such talk is neither honest nor sincere. Democracy is not served by sham words; it is definitely hurt by any talk that has not truth for a foundation.

The fact is there is basically no difference between Communism, Fascism, and Naziism. The three agree in their one-party totalitarian government. "They believe in the suppression of the free ballot. They believe in the supremacy of the state not only in political matters but in education, science, art, literature, religion, and every field of human endeavor. They believe in the suppression of all opposition, and by any means. They want those who disagree with them to be shot or to be thrown into concentration camps." (1) "There is little difference between the three," the scholarly and distinguished head of the Diocese of Bismark, Bishop Ryan, wrote in his most recent issue of Dakota Catholic Action: "each denies human rights, freedom of speech and freedom of the press. Each lodges all power in the hands of a dictator. Such a concept of the state is absolutely contrary to the teaching of the Catholic Church." (2)

So it is in truth. Catholicism can not make

<sup>(1)</sup> The New York Times, Feb. 11, 1944

<sup>(2)</sup> Ryan, Bishop Vincent J., March 1, 1944

common cause with Fascism—whether it is blackshirted, red-shirted, or brown-shirted. The color of the shirt makes no difference; what matters is what it covers, and in each case it covers a dictatorship that is abhorrent to Catholicism.

Catholicism is a friend of true democracy because it believes in and defends the natural and inalienable rights of man. These give life to democracy's chief characteristic—the participation of the people in their government. Is the Catholic Church unsympathetic to this idea of democracy? Not at all.

Let us listen to her most brilliant scholar, Saint Thomas Aquinas. Writing about the middle of the thirteenth century when Catholicism enjoyed its greatest bloom, he declared that the best form of government is one in which the people participate through the election of those who will govern them. <sup>(3)</sup> For such participation by the people he adduces the authority of the Scriptures as evidence. Moses asked the people when he led them out of Egypt, to select from among themselves wise and understanding men to help him in the work of government. <sup>(4)</sup> It was government with consent of the people.

The doctrine of Aquinas was in accord with the elective system of government of his day. The historical records of the Middle Ages show forth instance after instance of government derived from the consent of the governed. "Thus in his *Chronicle*, under date of 1199, Matthew Paris gives a reported conversation of Archbishop Hubert explaining why he had proposed John Lackland as king to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>(3)</sup> Thomas, Summa Theologica I-II, q. 105. a. 1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>(4)</sup> Deut. 1, 13

barons and to the people assembled for his coronation, and why he had preceded his proposal by saying: 'None has succession to this kingdom, unless, after invoking the grace of the Holy Spirit, he be unanimously elected by the whole of the kingdom.'" <sup>(5)</sup> Note, this was said more than seven hundred years ago.

The king or ruler was a law-giver only by virtue of his being chosen and accepted by the people. Another instance. In 1158 the Archbishop of Milan is reported as having said to Frederick Barbarossa: "Know that all the right of the people in the making of the laws has been granted to you." As far back as 827, in the days of the Carolingian Empire, the chronicles record that only by consent of all had ordinances of the ruler been added to the basic law, the Salic Law, and, hence, they are "no longer to be called capitularies (ordinances) but only law and indeed to be held as law." (6) Thus it was in German, English, French, and Italian lands. There was more of democracy in those days. in the sense of government derived from the consent of the governed, than is generally known.

Finally, it is pertinent to recall that it was a Cardinal of the Catholic Church, Cardinal Langton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who headed the barons when they appeared before King John of England, compelling him to underwrite the rights and liberties formulated in perhaps the most famous and most influential public document among English speaking people—the Magna Charta. This was in 1215. This celebrated document is admitted by all to be the foundation of all that modern democracies hold to be precious and sacred.

 <sup>(5)</sup> Jarret, O. P., Social Theories of the Middle Ages p. 120
(6) ibid. p. 20

#### THE CHURCH, FASCISM AND PEACE

Did Catholicism depart from this teaching? Let's look once more at the historical record. When the autocratic king of England, James I, asserted for himself divine rights to justify his absolutistic rule, the eminent Jesuit scholar, St. Robert Bellarmine, championed the divine rights of the people; so, too, did his eminent Spanish colleague, also a Jesuit, Francis Suarez. By royal edict the latter's books were solemnly and publicly burned. This all happened at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Their defense of the principles of democracy found its way into the writings of the English social philosophers of that period, particularly, John Locke, who in turn influenced Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence.

Fascism in its different colored garb has raised "totalitarianism to the dignity of a new religion." <sup>(7)</sup> To this new religion the Catholic Church is definitely opposed. The sympathetic attitude of the Catholic Church toward democracy is sufficiently evidenced by the little known, but highly important, encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on *Christian Democracy*, issued in 1901, as well as by the friendly attitude toward democratic nations, such as Switzerland and France in Europe, and toward our own United States.

We conclude with the famous phrase of Leo XIII: "If democracy is Christian it will do a great deal of good to the world." But the democracy must be a true democracy, that is, government by the people to the exclusion of one party, one class. or one clique; and it must be Christian, that is, it must affirm Christian principles on which to base sane national and international policies.

(7) The New York Times, Feb. 4, 1944

# MASTER, BE A SERVANT

The first article in the creed of Fascism was stated by Mussolini as follows: "Nothing against the state, nothing above the state, nothing outside the state." Whatever the color of their shirts. the dictators of our day have placed this article at the head of their fascistic creed. Discarding its role as a servant, the fascistic state makes itself the master of all. It is a new declaration of independence-this time, not in favor of the rights and liberties of man, but in favor of an all-wise. all-powerful state. To this overlord state we sav: "Master, be a servant. You have usurped your throne; you have taken a scepter to which you have no right; you have placed a crown upon your head that belongs to the people. Go back to the place assigned to you by God, and be a servant."

The principles of social ethics of Catholicism definitely affirm that the state's function is that of a servant. We do not mean to say thereby that the state is in a condition of servitude. We mean to say that the state has been established by men to serve them in the pursuit of their earthly and heavenly happiness.

This service of the state to men is twofold: first, it is a service of protecting its members in the exercise of their human rights; and secondly, it is a service of promoting their prosperity and happiness.

The state's first duty is to protect the rights of its citizens. These are basically the rights to life, property, and security; the rights to work, family life, and religion. Unless man is free to exercise these rights, he will not be able to discharge the duties laid on him by the Creator. For, rights are means by which men are enabled to fulfill their duties toward themselves, toward others, and toward God. The state may not absorb nor abolish these rights. If it does so, it oversteps its bounds; it gets to be a tyranny.

That all is simple teaching, and so clear and obvious that it needs no further explanation.

And yet, there has arisen a school of thought which boldly asserts that man has no natural, inherent, and inalienable rights. Whatever rights he has, come from the state. Such teaching is not exactly new. It goes back to the seventeenth century. Concerned with bolstering up the absolutistic rule of the Stuarts in England, Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) held that whatever the state decrees is just, and therefore right. There are no rights except from the state.

This idea of state absolutism, like the seed of a weed, was carried to other countries, Germany and France particularly. It grew, flowered, and bore fruit. Today state absolutism is flesh and blood of all systems of Fascism, whether red, black, or brown. Pius XI condemned it in these words: "Almost everywhere it is said that everything belongs to the state; that is, the totalitarian state, as it is called; nothing without the state, everything for the state. This error is so evident that it is astonishing that men, otherwise serious and talented, say it, and teach it to the masses." <sup>(1)</sup> Interested in the well-being of youth this same Pontiff said in his encyclical letter, in which he

(1) Pius XI, Principles of Peace, 1297

condemned Italian Fascism, that an idea of a state which without exception, makes the rising generation, from its tenderest years up to adult life, the exclusive possession of the state can not be reconciled by a Catholic either with Catholic doctrine or with the natural rights of the family. <sup>(2)</sup>

If all rulers of nations had seen these dangerous trends of Fascism, as did Pius XI, and if they had just as fearlessly condemned them and taken action against them with the powers these rulers possessed, such as he did not possess, the world would have been spared the bloody tragedy in which all peoples everywhere are today playing an unwanted part.

The state's second duty is to promote the wellbeing of its members through the pursuit of the common good. The promotion of the common good is the state's first law, Benedict XV declared at the close of the First World War.<sup>(3)</sup> All its governmental enactments, all its administrative measures, all its legislation must be directed toward the promotion of the common good. For the achievement of this purpose equal opportunities must be given to all, whether rich or poor, whether high or low, in no matter what station of life. Those in control of the state must constantly be on their guard not to favor special interests, or special groups, or special organizations. Lobbying, pressure politics, or class legislation is harmful to the common good.

Where abuses occur the state has not only the right but also the duty to intervene. Leo XIII ex-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>(2)</sup> Pius XI, ibid. 1052

<sup>(3)</sup> Benedict XV, ibid. 654

pressed this principle in this way: "If, therefore, any injury has been done to or threatens either the common good or the interest of individual groups, which injury can not in any other way be repaired or prevented, it is necessary for public authority to intervene." (4)

State intervention, however, has its limitations, lest it develop into a fascistic system of government, regulating and regimenting every phase of human life. As late as June. 1941. Pius XII cautioned against an overextension of state power. His words are deserving of attention. He said: "To deduce such extension of power from the care of the common good would be equivalent to overthrowing the very meaning of the word common good, and to falling into the error that the proper scope of man on earth is society, that society is an end in itself, that man has no other life which awaits him beyond the life which is closed here below." (5)

The ideas of Fascism on the state are so false and so contradictory to Catholic social doctrine that repeatedly they have been condemned by the sovereign Pontiffs. No one was more vigorous in condemnation of them than Pope Pius XI. His pontificate saw the tremendous rise of Fascism.

In Italy it has been boldy proclaimed by the Minister of Justice in the Italian Cabinet, Signor Alfredo Rocco, that "for Fascism society is an end, individuals the means, and its whole life consists in using individuals as instruments for its social ends. Individual rights are recognized only in so far as they are implied in the rights of the state."

<sup>(4)</sup> 

Leo XIII, ibid. 148 Pius XII, ibid. 1685 (5)

Such doctrine met with the explicit condemnation of Pius XI who in his Christmas allocution of 1926 said—note eighteen years ago: "We again see an idea of state making headway which is not a Catholic idea, because it makes the state an end unto itself and citizens mere means to that end, absorbing and monopolizing everything." His words of warning against the menace of the false idea of Fascism on the state went unheeded. What did the statesmen of nations do about it? Nothing. They let the world of false ideas drift along. There are still countless people, learned even and educated, who do not see destruction and death in certain ideas. Perhaps they see it now.

As he condemned Italian Fascism, so, too, Pius XI condemned German Fascism, and for the same reason. His encyclical letter "Mit Brennender Sorge," written on the Condition of Religion in Germany, bears testimony to that. The Nazi authorities forbade the distribution and reading of this letter. Dr. Goebbel's propaganda machine howled it down as "political Catholicism." This was not a new charge. It was made against the early Church in days of persecution under the Roman Emperors; it was heard in succeeding centuries; and it is heard again in our day. It is the outcry of despots who want to exercise unlimited power.

The Catholic Church inculcates a high regard for the state. In her doctrine the state is supreme in the temporal domain; she recognizes its authority as coming from God through the channel of the collective body of men in whom earthly power is vested; she inculcates reverence for and obedience to legitimately constituted authority. All

#### 24 THE CHURCH, FASCISM AND PEACE

that has been stated time and time again in papa. pronouncements on this subject.

As clear and as plain as her teaching is on the nature and the function of the state, no less clear and plain is her teaching on the limitations of the powers of the state. She reminds those exercising these powers that the state is not a master but a servant. Men have formed the state in order to be served, not mastered, by it, both for the protection of their rights and the promotion of their well-being. To the state, therefore, that has arrogated to itself a dominion that it does not rightfully possess free men cry out: "Master, be a servant."

The Catholic Church supports men in this demand. She does not make it her concern to tell them what form of government they should choose. That is their affair. Throughout her long history of centuries she has lived in peaceful relationship with every kind of form of government—monarchies and republics, aristocracies and democracies.

The rights of men, however, are sacred to her. These she will defend, as she has always defended them. Such defense has made her the object of cruel attack by despotic powers—by the tyrannical, absolutistic, fascistic powers of our day.

The cult of the state has been on the rise. Will the state be master or servant? That is the critical question. If the firm answer of peoples everywhere will be: "Master, be a servant," rights and freedoms will be safe; if not, civilization will be pushed into the black abyss of ruin.

# BLACK IS NOT WHITE

That Fascism has hurled a challenge at the supremacy of the moral law needs hardly to be demonstrated. The rejection of the moral law is inherent in its system. Fascistic dictatorship can not tolerate the moral law, and still be a dictatorship. The moral law irritates, restrains, and curbs the dictator; its supremacy stands in his way, and, therefore, he kicks it aside. The absolutism of Fascism is so absolute that it will refuse submission to the one thing that is absolute—moral law; this law is as absolute as God from Whom it proceeds. Sin, and vice, and crime, the moral law calls black, and nothing that Fascism's dictators say will ever make them white. Black is not white.

Red-shirted Fascism has openly and boldly proclaimed its rejection of the moral law. Lenin, the founder of atheistic Communism in Russia, has given us an instance. Contemptuously he characterized truth "as a middle-class virtue." All the deceitful, lying tricks of Communism's propaganda have their source in this pernicious principle. Truth is not held in honor, and consequently the solemnly pledged word, given in agreements, pacts, or treaties, is cast aside as soon as it no longer serves the interests of the state.

For illustration let us see what happened within recent memory. The Soviet Union signed with Poland\_the Kellogg Pact, renouncing war as an instrument of national policy on February 9, 1929; a Non-Aggression Pact on July 25, 1932; the Convention for the Definition of the Aggression, July 3, 1933; the Polish-Soviet Protocol extending the Pact of Non-Aggression until December, 1945; the Joint Communique issued by the Governments of Poland and the United Socialist Soviet Republics (U.S.S.R.) on Polish-Soviet relations. All these treaties and agreements have been broken by the Soviet Union. They were more than broken. In direct violation of them, before the present war was a month old. the Red armies fell upon helpless Poland from the East, while it lay prostrate under the iron heel of Hitler's armies. The events of September, 1939. are still so fresh in our memories that they need not be recounted. Finland, too, had earlier become the tragic victim of Russia's broken word. This small nation had relied too much on the good, oldfashioned middle-class virtue-truth-in its relations with its unscrupulous neighbor.

Today the principles of the Atlantic Charter lie shattered on the bloody soil of Eastern Europe. There is great anxiety in both Washington and London over the aggressive, unilateral action of Moscow. There is one refreshing sign. Courageous voices are being heard in increasing volume in our country because of a policy of appeasement that is bringing the principles of the Atlantic Charter and of the Declaration of Moscow and Teheran into greatest peril.

Black-shirted Fascism showed hardly less regard for the pledged word. Mussolini signed the Lateran Treaty with the Vatican in February, 1929. It guaranteed freedom of religion for the youth of Italy. Mussolini broke these promises. Catholic clubs were closed, their libraries, furnishings, and office equipment confiscated, and it was forbidden to reopen them. This occasioned a protest by Pius XI in his famous letter Non Abbiamo Bisogno of June 29, 1931. Knowing that its publication would be prevented by the fascist police, he had the official Italian text carried abroad by special messengers to be printed there together with authenticated translations.

"In this encyclical Pius XI openly condemns the fascist theory of the state as an end of the individual, deplores the ill-treatment of Catholic youth organization, and defends it from the charge of seeking to engage in politics; he recognizes the distressful position of the faithful forced to take the fascist oath, and declares authoritatively that such an oath can be tolerated only on condition that each individual in taking it shall do so with the intent of reserving the rights of God and of conscience—a reservation that must be openly expressed if necessity arises, to remove any ambiguity of profession of faith and of respect of Catholic morality." <sup>(1)</sup>

The Italian Fascist Government, also, wantonly broke its Treaty made with Abyssinia in 1928. The aggression is too well known to need rehearsing. Asserting his right under Article 24 of the Lateran Treaty to make his moral and spiritual protest heard, Pius XI, in his address of August 27, 1935, expressed his mind in clear and explicit words on this unjust war. It was by far more than was done by the Great Powers of the League of Nations who took great care to exclude all moral implications.

After his successful campaign Mussolini ordered the illumination of Rome to celebrate the victory; the Vatican was the only dark spot in Rome. He ordered the ringing of all bells in Italy at 3:15 p.m.,

<sup>(1)</sup> Sturzo, Luigi, Church and State, p. 491, New York, 1939

the date of the conquest; the bells of St. Peter were silent. Pius XI rebuked the fascist press for having made it appear that he endorsed the conquest. When Mussolini sought to have the Pope crown Victor Emmanuel Emperor of Abyssinia, the Holy Father refused. He would not and could not call black, white.

Brown-shirted Fascism followed the same path of broken pledges. Like Lenin, Hitler glorified the lie. "The bigger the lie." he wrote in Mein Kampf. "the more readily will it be believed." The ink was scarcely dry on the document of the Concordat, made with the Vatican in 1933, when it was broken. Hitler changed the meaning of the agreement. Pius XI charged, evaded its provisions, and emptied its terms of all significance. Of this the Roman Pontiff said in his encyclical. Mit Brennender Sorge: "We have done everything to defend the sanctity of a word solemnly pledged, to protect the inviolability of obligations freely undertaken, against theories and practices which, if officially approved, must destroy all confidence and render valueless any word that might also be pledged in the future." <sup>(2)</sup>

Spoken in 1937 these were prophetic words. There came Munich, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Holland, Belgium, France—one broken pledge after another.

Worse things came. They had to come. Men who reject the reign of the moral law in one thing will have no scruples about observing it in another. Nothing will be held sacred, neither the life of individuals or of nations, nor their property, nor their other God-given rights. What happened in

(2) Pius XI, Principles of Peace, 1169

the Reign of Terror in the days of the French Revolution was re-enacted in modern dress before our own eyes. Brave men and women who opposed Fascism were sent into exile into Siberia or into concentration camps such as Dachau; they were liquidated in Russia or purged in Germany; their property was taken away, families were torn apart, their members scattered and driven into foreign lands. Unheard of atrocities were committed against racial minorities, against women and children. The barbarism that ensued has chilled the hearts of men with horror throughout the world.

We were shocked that such barbarities could happen in this day and age, which boasts of its culture and civilization. They have happened right before our own eyes. It has always happened when men reject God's law. "They are the natural fruit of a system which lacks all inner restraint," writes Pius XI in his encyclical on Atheistic Communism. He continued: "Tear the very idea of God from the hearts of men, and they are necessarily urged by their passions to the most atrocious barbarity." <sup>(3)</sup>

Defender of God's moral law, Catholicism can never favor nor approve amoral Fascism. Catholicism teaches a doctrine on the moral code that is poles apart from that of Fascism.

First, it teaches that moral principles are derived, not from the economic order, nor from social usages and customs, nor from the state, but from God. The moral law is written by the Finger of God on the tablets of the hearts of men, which

<sup>(3)</sup> Pius XI, ibid. 1215

#### 30 THE CHURCH, FASCISM AND PEACE

the reason of man, not darkened by sin or passion, is able to read. So St. Paul already taught the pagans of Rome. <sup>(4)</sup> The natural, moral law is given to all men, pagan or Christian, Jew or Gentile, as a guide for their moral conduct.

•Second, Catholicism teaches that this moral law is sacred. It is strengthened by God's Ten Commandments. Their dictates were binding on the Jews of old; they are binding on us all in our day. "Thou shalt not commit adultery" is as exacting in our day as it was in days long past. Decent Americans have cause to reflect that a recent flagrant violation of this law met with hardly a hint of disapproval in the public press, all the while that lamenting is heard on every side about the great increase of juvenile delinquency. Wearing the honored garb of a soldier of our armed forces or being the father of quads does not change black into white. Adultery is always black; it can never, never be made white.

Third, Catholicism teaches that moral principles are unchangeable—as unchangeable as the stars in the heavens. They come from the unchangeable God; they are ordinances of His Divine Mind. In a striking statement, having his eye on the amoral and unmoral principles of German Fascism, Pius XI wrote: "God has given His commandments in His capacity as Sovereign. They apply regardless of time and space, country or race. As God's sun shines on all that bear human countenance, so does His law know no privileges nor exceptions. The rulers and the ruled, crowned and uncrowned, high and low, rich and poor, all alike are subject to His law." <sup>(5)</sup> Everybody is subject to the moral law-also the state and those in power in the state, duces and fuehrers, kings, presidents, and prime ministers, generals and admirals, all who rule, and all who are ruled. They can not, under the moral law, make might right, and coerce smaller and weaker nations to do their bidding against their will; they can not, under the moral law, justify their use of unlawful means by asserting that the end is good, because the end never justifies the means; they can not, under the moral law, say, "everybody is doing it," for what the moral law calls black can not be made white by the whim and will of a majority; they can not, under the moral law, call a wrong deed black today, and tomorrow justify it by calling it white. To admit such principles in moral conduct in only one instance justifies from that hour on the crimes that a gangster or an assassin commits, be he an individual or be it the state. On what grounds can terrorism, or barbarities, or atrocities be condemned if men, to suit their pleasure, or their interest, or their gain, make moral standards? If we assert for ourselves the right to set up at pleasure moral norms, why have not Hitler, and Stalin, and Tojo the same right? On what grounds can their atrocious crimes be condemned?

The need of the hour is the reaffirmation of the principles of the moral code and their uncompromising application in every situation of human life. The hopes and prayers of mankind for a just and durable peace depend on it. This is as certain as that black is not white.

<sup>(5)</sup> Pius XI, Principles of Peace, 1173

# WANTED-RICH MEN

Fascism recognizes Catholicism as its arch foe. Attacks of fascistic powers make that evident. Friends do not attack friends.

In its whole ideology Catholicism is opposed to Fascism. The basic ideas of Catholicism on the dignity of the human person with its consequent natural rights and freedoms, on the principle of equality as the essence of true democracy, on the service role of the state as opposed to master domination, on the supremecy of the moral law with its checks against dictators, and on the sanctity of religion with its rich resources of spiritual as against material values—these ideas of Catholicism stand in direct opposition to the ideas of Fascism. In the field of these ideas they can never meet on common ground.

Fascism under Communism in Russia has openly made war on religion. That is known to all the world. Based on materialism and thereby denying the very existence of the spiritual, Communism has refused to allow religion in Russia to live. Religion was not only derided as "the opium of the people" but was officially assaulted by the creation of a government-sponsored and government-financed League of Militant Atheism. *Bezboshnik*—The Godless, was its official publication. Just prior to the war a Museum of Atheism was under construction in Moscow.

Satanical banners against God were unfurled to the winds. Through a diabolically planned program of publications and pictures every attempt was made to tear belief in God out of the hearts of the young. The blasphemies that were heard in speech and seen in cartoons were shocking. A few years ago they were on exhibit in this country. Churches were closed and turned into theaters, museums, or even barracks for soldiers; bishops and priests, indeed the clergy of all denominations, were no longer permitted to hold services; a great number of them were sent into Siberia, confined in concentration camps under horrible living conditions, or simply killed.

The new city of Magnitorsk in the Ural Mountains, with a population of several hundred thousand people, boasts of not having a single church, Orthodox, Catholic, or Protestant. No chaplains accompany the soldiers into battle; millions have died unprepared on their journey into eternity.

To the credit of the Russian people, at heart deeply religious, opposition was shown to these devilish assults on religion. The atheists in power had to relent. Here and there a few churches are now open. It is claimed that about one-third of the urban population, at the least, still goes to church, and about two-thirds of the rural population. Recently a faction of the Russian Orthodox Church was recognized by the Soviet Government, but neither the Catholic nor the Protestant Church. The present Patriarch of the Russian Church is under Stalin's thumb. No one who knows the tricks of deception of the past, played with consummate skill by the top-leaders of Communism in Russia, trusts the few concessions made to religion. American and British statesmen are these days experiencing, to their bitter chagrin, some of these deceitful tricks in the field of politics. The

#### 34 THE CHURCH, FASCISM AND PEACE

patience they have been showing in the appeasement to Stalin is wearing thin.

Pius XI was no appeaser of the Atheistic Communism of Soviet leaders. He issued an encyclical against it in March, 1937. Unhappily the memories of people are short; in the space of these few vears they have forgotten the warnings that the Sovereign Pontiff issued at that time against the menace of Atheistic Communism. And the memories of statesmen, apparently, are short also, otherwise they would have given heed to the Pope's admonition: "Communism is intrinsically wrong, and no one who would save Christian civilization may collaborate with it in any undertaking whatsoever."<sup>(1)</sup> Laughingly statesmen answered in the words of a proverb:"We shall walk with the devil until we have crossed the bridge." But they forget that the devil has the power to clutch throats before men get to the bridge. That is happening today, and men are gasping for breath in fear that Communism will sweep over all Western Europe. Stalin's red star is growing brighter and brighter in the skies of Europe; Hitler's is fading out.

At the height of his power Hitler was no less a foe of religion than Stalin. His methods were different. The Church was allowed to exist, but she was hampered in all her work. Her clergy was told to confine their activities within church walls. Religious organizations were suppressed, particularly those of youth. Religious schools were either closed or were slowly strangled to death by not being permitted to take any new students. If not outlawed, religious publications were prevented

(1) Pius XI, Principles of Peace, 1247

from publishing anything but strictly religious news. Activities in the field of social action in the interest of charity, youth, workingmen, or farmers were prohibited. Atheism was not preached and fostered as in Russia, but the cult of the pagan Teuton gods was revived. Neo-paganism was given every encouragement. Every possible means was employed to de-Christianize the German people. The publications of Naziism in discussing religious matters continued to use Christian terms but gave them a meaning absolutely out of harmony with Christian tradition. It was heresy in a streamlined form.

In his celebrated encyclical "Mit Brennender Sorge," to which reference has been made a number of times. Pius XI described in detail this diabolical perversion of Christian truth. Because of such cunning deception there were those who said that there is no religious persecution in Germany. This is the Pope's answer: "We shall call things by their real names. In Germany there is indeed a religious persecution. It is said, and it has been said for some time past, that this is not true. We know. on the contrary, that there is a terrible persecution; only a few times previously has there been a persecution so terrible, so fearful, so grievous, and so lamentable in its far-reaching consequences. This is a persecution in which neither brutality, nor violence, nor the deceits of cunning have been lacking." (2)

Against these assaults of Fascism under Naziism the Church has stood firm. The German Bishops together with their clergy, under the leader-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>(2)</sup> Pius XI, ibid. 1278

ship of Cardinal Faulhaber, have not relented, even in these days of war, to assert the sacred rights of man and of God in matters religious. As a result, in the words of a Swedish observer, Mr. Fredborg, the prestige of the Church has grown tremendously. Once more the blood of martyrs becomes the seed of Christians.

To stem the black, raging waters of irreligion and paganism these grave times need men in whose hearts belief in God is a strong and living conviction. Lip-service to religion is totally inadequate. Men are wanted who are rich in the belief, love, and service of God.

Let us face facts honestly. In our own country, with all its reverence for religion, millions of persons, young and old, are spiritually poor. In religious matters they are illiterates. They know little about God. less about His Divine Son, and practically nothing about the Church He founded for the salvation of their souls. Indifference toward God, and, in consequence, toward religion is appalling. When, according to a poll taken last year, twenty per cent no longer have any religious belief, when fifty per cent never pray, when sixty to seventy per cent no longer have any church affiliation, who will say any longer that we still are a religious people? Religion has to go deeper than putting on our coins: In God we trust, or opening the sessions of Congress with prayer, or hearing a pious proclamation from the President on the observance of Thanksgiving Day.

People everywhere want peace—an early and an enduring peace. They shall not have it without religion. Without religion they shall not have God-fearing men, and if the statesmen who will assemble to make the peace have not the fear of God in their hearts, neither shall they have His wisdom. "The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom," say the Scriptures. How can a good peace be made without God's wisdom?

Without religion nations will not have honest statesmen. They will lie, they will say one thing and mean another, they will keep neither promise nor pledge, they will fool by deceitful words, as they have always done, the people who have placed their trust in them.

Without religion people will not have courageous men. It takes great courage to set responsibility to one's country above responsibility to a political party, or to a favorite clique, or to selfish groups, or to greedy pressure groups. Statesmen who recognize that they have a responsibility in conscience to God for the manner in which they use the powers of a political office may not always be popular but in the end they will have been a nation's greatest asset.

Without religion we shall not have reverent men. How shocking the profanities and blasphemies heard on every side. They are a disgrace to our armed forces. We hung our heads in shame when we read recently that General Eisenhower had to issue regulations in this matter because of the scandal our soldiers in England were causing on account of profane and filthy speech. In the Yugoslav armies under General Tito the use of profane and blasphemous words is made a disciplinary offense. How can we expect blessing on our arms if a million times over, each hour of

#### 38 THE CHURCH, FASCISM AND PEACE

the day, God is petitioned to damn them and those who use them? And what a terrible thing it is that men die with a curse instead of a prayer on their lips! Once that reverence for God is lost, all is lost. It is impossible to have reverence for anything less than God.

Wanted—Rich Men, rich in their religious convictions, in honesty, in courage, and in reverence. These are the men that will save the day. No others will. Reason and experience both forbid us to expect that we shall prosper if we exclude the religious principle from our national life. Without God there will be no peace. Unless the Lord builds the structure of peace, they that build shall build in vain.

### Part II

# WHAT MUST WE DO FOR PEACE?

### 1. Brotherhood Or Chaos

A weary world longs for peace. What price would you be willing to pay for peace? What sacrifice are you ready to make to bring a lasting peace to the world? Peace, like victory, depends upon the sacrifice of many.

To blaze a path for peace we are sacrificing the flower of our youth and untold quantities of wealth. What must we on the home front do that all this waste of human life and human resources, and all the blood and tears of this tragic era, be not spent in vain? This is the subject we shall consider in a series of six broadcasts.

Of course, we on the home front must do our part in an all-out effort to hasten the victorious end of the war at the earliest possible date. But we must do more than win a war to bring about peace. A military victory will open the road to peace, but will not of itself bring peace. Many things must be done if the new order that will follow the war is to be a peaceful order; and unless these things be done, the aftermath of war may even be worse than the war itself.

If America is to be a messenger of peace to the world, we must first secure peace and harmony in our own country. The various classes that make up the American people must learn to live and work in harmony. City and country, labor and capital, white and colored, and members of the various races and religions—all must learn to cooperate and work

#### 40 THE CHURCH, FASCISM AND PEACE

together for the common good, if we are to have peace in the nation and peace in the world.

We have just ended another Brotherhood Week. As a slogan for Brotherhood Week the President of the United States coined a magnificent expression— "Brotherhood or Chaos." We are either going to acknowledge the bond of brotherhood that binds us together, or we shall have chaos in the era that will follow the war. In fact, a want of a sense of brotherhood to some extent even now hampers the war effort.

To win the war America needs every ounce of cooperation on the part of all her citizens. The enemies of America would like nothing better than to sow discord in our ranks and ally class against class. In fact, some editors have described a recent pronouncement by a foreign power as an attempt to pit one religious group in America against another. Shall we permit them to do this? Unity and cooperation will be needed also to build after the war the peace we all long for. Those who sow dissension between class and class are the most dangerous fifth columnists. They are saboteurs of both defense and peace.

Brotherhood Week has a special significance this year; for even in the midst of our national crisis and world crisis, many are sowing dissension and hate in the ranks of the American people. There are books, magazines, and even daily papers engaged in sowing the seeds of misunderstanding and even the seeds of hate between class and class, between race and race, between religion and religion.

A new wave of intolerance is on the rise. Unless it is arrested in time, the results will be far more disasterous than the results of the former waves of intolerance which have swept the nation. In view of the world catastrophe, America cannot stand a wave of intolerance either now or in the period that follows the war.

The history of our nation shows that waves of intolerance, like the flu, come periodically in the United States. Like the flu, intolerance is always with us; and like the flu, it breaks out in epidemic form about once in every generation. We have an epidemic of the flu once in every generation; and as the people become immune, the malady dies down. A wave of intolerance also seems to afflict every generation. The ancient lies are dragged out again from the dark chambers, where they slumbered like sleeping germs, and many people will swallow them again. Finally, society becomes immune and the epidemic of intolerance dies out. Many people get the flu but once, and some get it every time • it comes around. So it is with intolerance. Many become immune but some get it every time. Some swallow the hoary lies every time they are passed around. For some it is not even necessary to disguise them in a new dress.

What is the cause of intolerance? Intolerance thrives on ignorance—the ignorance of one class about another class. Many people have prejudices although few are ready to admit them. Many people are victims of inherent prejudice; they are victims of influences that surrounded their cradles. They were brought up on distorted ideas and mistaken notions about their neighbor who belong to another class. These prejudices prevent them from investigating and from knowing their neighbor. People who are prejudiced against a class are prone to believe evil reports about that class. Even people who are not prejudiced are apt to believe evil reports about a class they do not know.

The soil of ignorance and prejudice is a fertile soil in which to sow intolerance. This soil is exploited by the sowers of hate.

Who are the sowers of hate? 1. The "crackpots" who constitute America's lunacy fringe. Lunacy has a special love for hate and destruction. All hate is lunacy. 2. The special interest groups who strive to further their cause and point of view by a smear campaign against those who stand in the way. The chief special interest groups who promote intolerance today are the Communists. They promote dissension to prepare the way for Communism. 3. Individuals who make money out of intolerance. There are publications which flourish on intolerance. They prey upon the prejudices of people and retell the old lies. They promote and foster intolerance and feed upon it. They go out. of circulation when the epidemic is over, or conduct their business on a smaller scale between the intervals of epidemics.

Among the most notorious organs of intolerance today is a certain vicious anti-Catholic monthly. It is carrying on a smear campaign against the Catholic Church under the guise of combating anti-Semitism. The insincerity of the publisher is shown by the fact that he also denounces Jews who participate in organizations for promoting better understanding between Jews and Christians. His latest attempt to embarrass Christians, and especially the Catholic Church, is a proposal that the New Testament be changed on the grounds that it promotes anti-Semitism. It is true, as stated in the New Testament, that a Jewish mob, led by a Jewish highpriest, persuaded a Roman governor to condemn Christ to death. But when Christians recall the work of the Jewish mob and the Jewish highpriest on the first Good Friday, they do not blame the Jews of today; rather they see the sins of men through all time as responsible.

As Monsignor Sheen has well pointed out. Christians are spiritual Semites. The Jewish race is singularly honored by Catholic beliefs and by the things Catholics revere. We Catholics believe that the God-man and the Savior of the world sprang from the Jewish race. His mother, whom we hold in higher reverence than any other human being, was a Jewess. The Apostles and the first Christians were Jews. The Gospel was first preached to the Jews, and Jewish converts to the Faith became the first members of the Church almost everywhere in the Greek and Roman world. With a Jew who has religion, all Christians have much in common-belief in God, belief in the same Ten Commandments, and belief in the Old Testament.

The publisher of this magazine, of course, has no interest in combating anti-Semitism. His communistic connections and the communistic connections of his associates have been traced. Referring to this particular magazine, a Jewish writer in *Forward*, a Jewish daily, states, "The campaign against anti-Semitism is being used by Communists for hidden political purposes, and is really resulting in making the plight of the Jew worse." He does not hesitate to name this particular magazine a front for Communism.

Tolerance is written in the Declaration of In-"Forward", Feb. 22, 1944 dependence and in the Constitution of the United States. Where the Declaration proclaims that "All men are created equal and endowed by the Creator with certain inalienable rights," it proclaims the broad principle of tolerance. The Constitution undertakes to protect the rights of every citizen regardless of his race, color, or creed.

To be effective, however, tolerance must be written not only on the printed page, but also in the hearts of men. Tolerance means a recognition of the rights of our neighbor regardless of race, color, or creed. It is more than this; for tolerance also means that we credit our neighbor with sincerity whenever possible and even when he differs from us. Tolerance does not mean a scrambling of our beliefs and convictions; but rather a sympathy which leads us to respect the honest convictions of our neighbor even when we believe his point of view to be dead wrong.

Every American who loves his country and who loves truth will do his part to check the rising tide of intolerance. Here are a few rules for fighting intolerance:

1. Do not support those who preach hate between class and class, between religion and religion, between race and race, between country and city.

2. Beware of those who condemn a particular class of people. There are good and bad people in every class.

3. Be slow to believe evil reports. The air today is surcharged with false propaganda. About us are the "crackpots," the self-interest groups, and the personal profit groups who thrive on the gospel of hate.

4. Refrain from criticism unless you have

certain knowledge. Refrain from criticism also when you know that your criticism will be harmful and will only fan the flames of hate.

5. Try to know your neighbor. Try to know and understand the class to which you do not belong. Someone has said: "To know all is to love all." To this I would say, "To know all is at least to pity all." If you knew your neighbor better, perhaps you would love him.

Tolerance is not enough. Merely to tolerate your neighbor is not showing very much respect for him. Jesus Christ has commanded us to love our neighbor, to love even our enemies, to do good to those who hate us, and to bless those who calumniate us. No one can claim to be a Christian who does not love his neighbor and who would do wrong even to one who has wronged him. We may not even hate the intolerant. In fact, those afflicted with the vice of intolerance should often be an object of pity, especially those whose intolerance is a result of prejudice which was sown in their minds even in their childhood.

Intolerance does not mean that we tolerate everything. We cannot be expected to tolerate intolerance, dishonesty, crime, and the other things that are injurious to human society. Fair and honest criticism and even denunciation of false systems and systems harmful to society is not a violation of tolerance. Just and honest criticism of persons is also warranted; but let those who speak know what they are talking about and be certain of what they say. Special caution is wise when you speak of a group to which you do not belong.

The basis of tolerance and love for our neighbor is a belief in a common brotherhood. All the human race are of the same family. While we are engaged in a war to protect our nation, the command of our Christian religion forbids us to hate even our enemies in this war. We may inflict just punishment without hatred. We may hate evil. We may hate false philosophies and oppose them; but we may hate no man. Hatred is one of the things Jesus Christ condemned above everything else, and love of all men is the thing He commanded above everything else.

If we are to have peace in America, we must recognize the common bond of brotherhood that exists between the members of all classes, and we must work together in the interest of all. We shall have some mighty problems to solve when the war is over, problems that will demand every ounce of cooperation on the part of all the citizens of the nation.

If we are to have world peace, it must be founded on the recognition of the common brotherhood that exists between the members of all nations. We cannot build a peaceful world on hate and intolerance. In fact, we are at war because the common bond of brotherhood had been forgotten.

The only basis for the brotherhood of man is the Fatherhood of God. Those who reject God reject the basis of brotherhood. Those who teach or hold that man is just another animal, reject the basis of brotherhood; brotherhood is not recognized in the animal kingdom. Christ's doctrine of love rests upon the fact that we are all children of the same Father in heaven, all members of the same human race, and all have intrinsic worth because we have immortal souls made to the image and likeness of God.

# WHAT MUST WE DO FOR PEACE? 2. The World Of Tomorrow

In the sentimental novels of bygone years, the ending was always the same—"They married and lived happily ever after." Multitudes in America today look forward for a similar happy ending to our present world conflict—the war will end, and we shall live happily and peacefully ever after. It is presumed that peace and an era of great abundance, marked by freedom from want and freedom from fear, will follow as a matter of course, once the Axis Powers are defeated. Many fail to realize that both peace and security must be purchased at great sacrifices, and that all are called upon to make these sacrifices.

Unfortunately, this false notion about peace and this false sense of security leads great numbers today to be improvident about tomorrow. This is an era of big incomes for every class. The war has brought about these big incomes. Few seem to realize that we are piling up a debt that must be paid. Large numbers are spending all they earn. No statistics are available on the cashing in of war bonds; nevertheless, there is sufficient evidence to show that many people are cashing in their war bonds and spending the cash. Even children are earning big money, and likely the most of them are spending as fast as they are earning. Too many parents neglect to teach their children saying habits.

Out of the good incomes of today, a very large group are setting aside nothing against the day when war work will cease and unemployment begin. In their blindness, they fail to use the money now in their hands to provide for their future security through the ownership of a home or the ownership of some productive property. They seem to go on the assumption that the good wages will continue indefinitely. Peace and prosperity after the war is taken as a matter of course. Savings would contribute to postwar peace and prosperity, while excess spending brings about price inflation and the upset of the financial structure of the nation. "Let the future take care of itself," seems to be the motto of many. They do not understand that they themselves are helping today to make the future.

A multitude of problems will face the American people as well as the rest of the world after we have achieved a military victory. An all-outeffort for peace at the present moment is as necessary as an all-out effort for war. The two must go hand in hand. The purpose of the war is to prepare the way for peace. Just as victory depends on each one doing his bit for victory, so peace depends on each one doing his bit for peace. We must do our bit for peace now and not wait until the war is ended. We must all learn to do now the things that make for peace and for a better world.

Peace will not come as a matter of course at the end of the war. Great sacrifices must be made for peace, and these sacrifices must be shared by all. For the first time in our history we shall be able to use the word, "trillion" in estimating American dollars. The term "trillion" heretofore has been an astronomical term used to measure the distances between the stars. We shall need the word "trillion" to count lost dollars. The loss of the war will be estimated in trillions. In America we shall count our war debt in the hundreds of billions. All this must be paid and paid by the American people. It is a debt which will rest heavily on the shoulders of all. With such a debt, visions of selfdenial, rather than visions of prosperity, should haunt us.

Businessmen entertain high hopes of bigger and better business after the war. To promote bigger and better business they are studying the needs and stimulating the wants of people. Attractive ads in our magazines picture a rosy era of prosperity to follow the war—an era of more luxurious cars, better rubber, more powerful gasoline, and an unnamed variety of new gadgets and improvements to minister to the comforts of the people.

Businessmen are counting on accumulated savings and accumulated wants to stimulate production and sales to an unheard of high.

After the last war we did, indeed, have increased production and sales; we did have an era of material prosperity. It lasted while the savings lasted, and was continued for several years through credit and installment buying. Then came the crash.

What will follow World War No. 2? After industry, now geared for war production, is adjusted for peace, we may have a period of material prosperity that will overshadow the riotous twenties in its splendor. It would be an error to mistake it for a permanent wave as we did in the twenties. It will last while savings last and until production catches up to the wants of people who have money. When purchasing power and credit are gone, the

#### 50 THE CHURCH, FASCISM AND PEACE

wheels of industry must low down with resultant unemployment and depression. This, of course, could be avoided by better distribution of purchasing power and wise spending of money by the people. Wise spending makes for permanent prosperity.

The stability of society and the happiness of the people would be made more secure if the people were encouraged to invest their savings in homes and in productive property, instead of spending all on consumptive goods. It is also well to remember that a three hundred billion war debt will be an obligation that will rest on every man, woman, and child in the nation.

The great debt and the loss of property and money will not represent the greatest loss of the war. The fabric of human society is being wrenched today to its foundation under the impact of war. Its effects are extending out to the remote corners of the nation. A nation and a world must be rebuilt when the war is ended. This will demand the sacrifices and the cooperation of all the people of the United States. If we are to have peace, man, woman, and child, must be taught to realize their responsibilities.

It is a tragic mistake to hide from the American people the stern realities that will face us in the era following the war. It would be better if they were led to understand that a long period of penance for the whole world awaits us. It would be better if people were only made to realize the sacrifices and labors required of all to bring about peace and security, and to rebuild a world on the right foundations. It is a sad mistake to delude the people with the idea that economic changes, treaties and proclamations about peace for all mankind, will bring peace and abundant prosperity. Far better would it be to make the American people aware that a spiritual regeneration is the condition for lasting peace, for prosperity, and for a reign of justice. Rather than promise abundance, it would be better to warn the American people that a civilization founded on materialism is doomed. If we were to stress the things that all must do to bring about peace, instead of looking upon peace as something that will come as a matter of course, more people might realize their responsibility and make possible a lasting peace and a better order.

Most people take for granted that we shall return to the same pattern of life which was before the war. We shall not return to the same pattern of life. A new order is in the making. A new world is being born. The new order will be marked with great changes in the old fabric of human society. Even the wisest man cannot forecast the pattern of that new order. Let us hope that we shall succeed in saving our precious heritage of human rights, our liberties, and our democratic form of government; otherwise, we shall have won the war and shall have lost the peace. We shall have lost the very thing for which we are today paying such a great price in property and in human life.

A new order is taking shape today. That order will be the result of forces at work this very hour. Whether he knows it or not, each member of the great American family is today weaving the strands in the pattern of tomorrow's world. Your actions, your attitude toward life, your character, your sense of duty to society and to God, and above all else the type of training you are giving your children—all these are helping to determine the pattern of tomorrow's world. Even your inaction and lack of concern will help determine the type of a world in which you will live.

Certain groups are putting forth efforts to determine the design of tomorrow's world. The Communists are busy, and very busy. If they have their way in determining the design, there will be no place for human rights. Shall we leave the design of tomorrow's world to the Communists?

Shall we leave the pattern of the new order in the hands of those who wish to build the world of tomorrow without God? Most of the proposed peace plans find no place for God or for religion. They aim to secure peace solely through economic changes, stipulations, and treaties, without recourse to God, the source of all justice. Although this was the tragic mistake at Versailles in 1918 and 1919, men still persist in repeating it. God and the principles of eternal justice had no place at Versailles where "the high contracting parties" were made the court of last recourse.

If we are to have peace we must remove the causes of war. We are in a war today because man denied the sovereignty of God, and because man blasted the Christian foundations on which our civilization had been built. "No God" is emblazoned on the banners of more than one nation. "No God" is the fundamental dogma of those who led the German nation into war. This dogma, with the denial of the eternal moral law which follows from it, is the source of all their false philosophy which has threatened the freedom and even the existence of our own nation. To overthrow this false philosophy is the reason we are at war.

Despite this, some would use the dogma, "There is no God," as a corner stone in building tomorrow's America. If they have their way, they will lay the foundation for another World War. If they have their way, World War No. 2 will be the second in a series that will flare up until civilization is utterly destroyed.

The President of the United States, on the inception of the war, proclaimed that we were entering the war to restore Christianity to the world, and that the war would be in vain if we did not restore Christianity. In spite of this, most of the peace plans proposed try to build a peace and a new world with God left out. Shall we yield to this? Our civilization is founded on Christian principles, and it will crumble, if the foundation be removed.

Religion must be the foundation of the new order. The four freedoms, beautifully enunciated in the Atlantic Charter, presume a religious foundation. In fact, our belief in the rights of man presumes a belief in God who gave these rights to man. The American Charter of freedom proclaims that the rights of man come from God—"All men are created equal . . . they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights." On no other foundation can we offer a defense of human rights. Belief in God and belief in human rights stand and fall together.

The four freedoms cannot be achieved except by a people who recognize God and see in every man a soul of intrinsic worth. The four freedoms cannot be achieved without a recognition of an eternal moral law. This moral law must be written in the hearts of men. Men must relearn that peace and freedom are purchased and made secure at the price of continuous sacrifice.

In the gospel read last Sunday, the tempter said to Christ, "If thou be the Son of God, command that these stones become loaves of bread." <sup>(1)</sup> The tempter has often tempted mankind with bread and the material things represented by bread. At the basis of war is the worship of material things; and the greatest conflicts in civil society, which pit class against class, are over a division of material things.

And Jesus said to the tempter, "Not by bread alone does man live, but by every word that comes forth from the mouth of God." <sup>(2)</sup> We can never build peace, and we can never build a better world if we are concerned only with material things. Our civilization was founded on spiritual ideas. It was founded by men who believed. It was founded and it grew and developed on the belief that there is something higher than the material. It will endure only as long as we keep spiritual things in the first place.

The first contribution that each man should make for peace and for a better world is to build his character on the lines suggested in the gospel. Peace and happiness in tomorrow's world depend upon the degree in which this ideal is realized.

(1) Matthew 4: 3

(2) Matthew 4: 4

### WHAT MUST WE DO FOR PEACE? 3. The Earth Is Holy

"And God saw all the things He had made and they were very good." <sup>1</sup> These words are found in the last verse of the first chapter of the Holy Bible. The earth is good and the earth is holy because God made it for man's use and enjoyment and because man draws from the earth all the material things necessary for his achievements and for the development of his personality.

His food, his clothing, his shelter, and all the material things he needs are derived from the holy earth. From the earth he derives the materials with which he builds his cities and creates his masterpieces. From the earth comes even his body, which may become the temple of the Holy Ghost, and which returns to mingle with the earth at death. The earth is holy because from its substance the human body will one day rise clothed with immortality.

The earth belongs to God and not to man. "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof, the world and all that dwell therein." <sup>2</sup> Man is but a steward, a trustee, of the things his hands handle. He is a trustee of the earth which God has committed to his keeping. His trusteeship carries a great responsibility. Man has a duty to use the earth justly and honestly, having in mind not only the living, but also posterity. As a trustee, he may not waste and abuse the riches of the earth. He is a servant of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>(1)</sup> Gen. 1: 31

<sup>(2)</sup> Psalm 23: 1

#### 56 THE CHURCH, FASCISM AND PEACE

God. As a faithful servant, each man must have in mind at all times the rights of his fellow servants

The earth is holy and the earth is good, because it provides a superabundance for all living things, and especially for man. Man's stewardship includes responsibility for a just distribution of the riches of the earth. Where there is just distribution, no man is in want.

The earth is holy, but man's stewardship has been exceedingly bad. His common mistake has been his failure to recognize that he is only a trustee and a servant, and that the earth, which was given for the use of all mankind, belongs to God.

Man is inclined to look upon the earth as a storehouse of treasures to be plundered by the first Under the title of absolute ownership, comer. and without regard for the rights of others, he appropriates all he can for himself. In his mad thirst for personal wealth, man has plundered and wasted God's holv earth. He has mined and robbed the soil. He has denuded the forest, with no thought of replacing it. He has robbed and wasted the precious metals stored beneath the earth's crust. He has polluted the streams with his refuse. Some of the streams of North Dakota were beautiful when God made them, but some of God's servants have polluted them with the refuse of the barnvard which could have been used wisely to restore fertility to the soil.

The trustee known as the lumberman, after robbing the forest of its trees, has left behind ugly masses of debris. The trustee known as the miner, after extracting the precious metals, has left the earth scarred and marred with the refuse of the mine. Not only have these robbed the earth to enrich themselves, but they have also left behind them hideous masses of waste that mar the landscape. Even many farmers make unsightly contributions to God's beautiful earth. A neat farmstead is one of the most attractive scenes. Unfortunately, there are not many of them.

Through his wars, man has wrought his greatest deeds of plunder. War has been his greatest sacrilege in his management of God's holy earth. Through his wars, man wastes the vast resources stored for man's use beneath the earth's crust. Through his wars man destroys the cities and the wealth garnered from the earth through the labor and genius of those who preceded him on the planet. The wealth gathered by former generations and the natural resources of the earth belong not only to the living, but also to future generations.

We are in a war today for the professed purpose of protecting God's holy earth. It is, however, well to remember that the unfaithful stewardship of many in all nations of the world is a cause of war. Greed and injustice and the failure of man to recognize his status as a steward make war inevitable.

The farmer is especially blessed through his contacts with the earth. His is one of the most dignified of all vocations. But let the farmer remember that, like the rest of men, he is not an owner in the strict sense, but only a steward of the land he uses during his earthly life. He does not and cannot take his land with him. He takes with him only the character he has ennobled through the right use of the soil committed to his care.

The farmer is a steward in a twofold sense. He is trustee for the rest of mankind as well as God's trustee. He is a steward for the rest of mankind because he raises the food upon which the rest of mankind lives. His is the quasi-public business. To him the rest of society is indebted. They should see that his rights are protected and that he receives a fair return for the benefits he confers upon the rest of human beings in supplying them with food. He has a special duty to use the soil intelligently in the interest of all mankind and for the common good of all. He has a sacred obligation not to rob or mine the soil. He has a duty to promote its productivity for future generations.

It takes brains to be a good farmer. No other line of work requires such a diversity of knowledge. The farmer must know the varied types of soil and the techniques for using them to the best advantage. He must have a certain knowledge of practical chemistry to maintain and restore its fertility. He must know plants and animals. He must also be a mechanic who knows how to build and how to operate and care for machinery. Besides all this, he must have a knowledge of business and marketing.

Special education and study is needed to make a success of farming. For all other occupations, the need for special education is recognized. It is no less needed for operating a farm successfully. We have self-educated farmers, who not only supplement their practical experience with the newest scientific developments, but who even improve their minds by cultural reading. Nevertheless there is need for practical courses in agriculture in all schools attended by farm youth.

The occupation of farming develops a spirit of independence. This is good but often it is carried

too far. It often keeps the farmer from uniting with his fellow farmers and cooperating with them in promoting and protecting their mutual interests.

Agriculture is beset with many problems. The war has hidden most of them. These problems are not insoluble. They could be solved if the farmers would unite and work together. Just as city groups need organizations, so do the farmers need organizations to promote and protect their mutual interests. But these organizations must be controlled from the bottom and not from the top. The farmer group which is controlled from the top is organized in the wrong way and there is danger that the leadership sooner or later will sacrifice the welfare of the group in its own selfish interests.

Farmers make a great mistake in relying on some politician, or law, or mere membership in an organization, to protect and promote their interests. Without active, sustained, and understanding interest by individual farmers, farm organizations will not be successful. Nothing can take the place of sustained, understanding, and active interest on the part of the individual farmer. The farmer must think, plan, and cooperate with his fellow farmers if he is ever going to get out of his difficulties. The local groups should control the policies and determine the leadership of their organization. This is democracy at the grass roots. And unless we have democracy at the grass roots, we have no democracy.

The farmer who owns the soil, in the limited sense God permits ownership, will take care to improve on its fertility. The vocation of farming lacks some of the incentives to greed associated with business enterprises. The cultivation of the fields and daily contacts with nature tend to breed an appreciation of the higher values in life. The farmer who owns and tills his own land is a believer in stable institutions. He believes in democracy and in the principles on which democratic government rest. Farm groups who own and cultivate their own land are the backbone of a stable society and the solid basis of democratic institutions.

The farmer should look upon his farm as a home for himself and for his children, rather than a money making business. Only with this point of view, can we hope for a stable and prosperous agriculture. The farmer should love the holy earth he tills and the animals he rears. He should take just pride in the productivity of his soil and in the high standard of his herds. He should have a suitable house in pleasant and attractive surroundings, equipped with conveniences and labor-saving devises. Many of the conveniences and comforts available in the city should be made available to the farmer. While making a living, he should have the right to use the labor saving devices and conveniences modern science has developed.

While there are glittering things in the city that are not possible on the farm, they are things that a man should not want. In their place the farmer has independence, for he knows no master but God. The farmstead has many things more interesting than the glittering attractions of the city. The farmstead is the world's most intriguing laboratory, the laboratory of growing things. An understanding approach to work in this laboratory has an ennobling effect on the character of the farmer. A right appraisal of the things that have real value will cause the farmer and the farmer's children to resist the lure of the city. Life on the land provides better than life in the city for the spiritual things that should always have first place.

Not only does the farmer provide food for the nation, but he also replenishes its population. No one city in America with a population of one hundred thousand or more, has a birth rate nearly large enough to maintain its population. Every one of these cities would die out were it not for the migration from the countryside. The farm families of America make it possible for us to think of a defense army of ten million. The farm home provides the most wholesome atmosphere for rearing a family. The farm family plan together, work together, play together, and even pray together. In no city group today is this happy condition to be found.

But not all can pursue the vocation of farming even if they desired it. Cities are needed. The city dweller, however, has certain rights to God's good earth, which was made for all mankind. He, too, derives his sustenance and all his wealth from the good earth, for from the great outdors there flows into the city all its material wealth.

The city dweller, too, has a right to ownership of land on which to build a home for himself and for his family. Widespread ownership by city dwellers would, indeed, make for a stable society of freemen. Fortunate would it be if workers in the plant and factory had homes on small plots of land; where they and their families would be provided with the wholesome atmosphere of rural living.

The city dweller also is a trustee of the things

he handles. As a just servant, he, too, is bound to promote just distribution. He, too, must always have in mind the rights of his fellow servants. Neither the farmer nor the city dweller has a right to make God's holy earth unsightly with ugly constructions.

God has given the earth for the support of all mankind. Through countless ages he stored it with almost unlimited treasures. There is a superabundance for all. If misery and want exist on the good earth, it is because of man's greed; it is because man has been unfaithful in his stewardship. It is because people have but sacrificed to the selfishness of greedy individuals, greedy groups, and greedy nations.

A recognition of man's stewardship of the holy earth is the foundation stone of a secure and lasting peace. The world has been catapulted into war because man has been unfaithful. Earth is a kindly earth when used rightly and honestly. The just distribution of its wealth and its resources has been left to man. When he is unfaithful, just punishment follows. When he is faithful, there is peace and prosperity for all.

## WHAT MUST WE DO FOR PEACE? 4. Citizens Of Tomorrow

The children and youth of today will be the active citizens of tomorrow. The future of America and the future of the world is dependent on the type of training given to the children and youth of today. In the homes and schools of America, we are weaving the pattern of tomorrow's world. Peace and the better world for which we all hope, depend in a large measure on the type of training given to children in the homes and the schools of today. What type of training are we giving to the children and youth of this age? This is a most important question. Our hope for peace depends in a great measure on the answer.

Here is the favorable side of the picture. We have homes and schools in America where children are receiving the right training and where children are reared to a sense of duty. We have parents who give their children a right appraisal of life. We have parents who are rearing their children to a sense of responsibility in the face of the world tragedy. We have parents who teach their children their duty to God, to country, and to their fellow man. We have parents who are training their children to be unselfish.

There is abundant evidence today of sacrifice, unselfishness, and seriousness on the part of children. Many children voluntarily give up movies and other things they like, so as to have something to give for a good cause. They are learning and practising unselfishness. The children of America have purchased three hundred million dollars worth of defense bonds and stamps. A sizeable portion of these three hundred million dollars represents sacrifice on the part of children. Everywhere in the nation, children are taking their part in the allout effort. Especially in their earnest prayers for victory and peace and for those in service is the seriousness of many of our young folks revealed today.

This is one picture of young America. There is another picture which is not so promising. The alarming increase in juvenile delinquency provides another picture of young America which indicates all is not well.

The unprecedented increase in juvenile delinquency has been the subject of much editorial comment. It has been discussed even on the floor of Congress. Courts and social welfare groups have had surveys to determine the cause.

The theory that delinquency, both adult and juvenile, is confined largely, or entirely, to a subnormal or abnormal group of people is, of course, in the discard. Criminals are not born; they are made. Poverty has been pointed out as a cause of delinquency. It has been a cause of much delinquency. Grinding poverty is degrading. In the cities large classes have become shiftless over the years under the impact of poverty. Children born in city slums and in rural hovels are handicapped. Crime and shiftlessness are often their inheritance. The rehabilitation of disadvantaged families constitutes a special problem for society.

But juvenile delinquency is confined neither to the subnormal group, nor to the submerged group who have had insufficient incomes. The wave of juvenile delinquency, which is sweeping the nation, affects the rich and the poor. Of course, cases involving the poor are more apt to reach the courts.

Among the causes cited for the unprecedented increase in juvenile delinquency are war hysteria, mothers in industry, lack of recreational facilities, and a shortage of teachers. Now all these are causes, but they are not the fundamental cause. The fundamental cause is lack of proper training. A multitude of children are growing up without a sense of responsibility. The court records are incomplete. The court records are rather a barometer which indicate widespread failures that never reach the attention of the court.

Many children and many adolescents have a wrong appraisal of life. Reared without the proper interpretation of life, they look upon life as a joyride. From the funnies, from the movies, from the printed page, from companions, and even from their parents, they have derived a distorted idea of life.

To many young people the war is a lark. Their brothers and friends and relatives in service, in their way of thinking, have gone on a great adventure from which they will return safe and crowned with glory, to enter into continuous rounds of pleasurable enjoyment. They, too, look forward to the day when they can don an attractive uniform and join in the adventure. In the meantime, many give themselves up to gay living and reckless abandon, believing this is the preparation for the great adventure. They think this is the way to become men and women. The war, too, has provided them with an opportunity to earn money, which they spend as fast as they earn.

In Nazi Germany, youth and even children are

taught to sacrifice for false ideals. Children and youth in Germany are making great sacrifices for a wrong way of life, and they are taking their part in it seriously. Of course, we know that there are also many children of religious parents in Germany today who are showing a spirit of martyrdom in the practice of their religion. They are accepting even greater responsibility, and for right ideals. If children can be taught to make the greatest sacrifices for the Nazi ideal of life, surely, we in America can teach our youth and our children to sacrifice for high ideals—for God and country and for the future of the world.

We should teach the children of today the facts about the past and the future. We should teach them that the failure of man to live rightly and honestly is the cause of war. We should teach them that the denial of God and the rejection of the moral law is the cause of war. We should impress them with the seriousness of the situation that confronts the nation and the world. We should emphasize the part they must play to bring about peace. We should teach them that work and sacrifice and virtuous living, are necessary both for war and for peace.

Children are idealists. They will work for an ideal if the ideal is properly interpreted to them. What our children need today is a proper interpretation of life and an understanding of the serious role they are called upon to play in life.

We need recreational facilities. Recreational facilities keep the child and youth busy and use up time that might be devoted to harmful activities. Wholesome recreation can be made a means for developing character. But something more is needed. If we were to impress our children and our youth with the seriousness of the responsibilities that now rest upon them and the greater responsibilities that will come later, we would achieve something that recreation can never achieve

War hysteria has been assigned as an explanation of the disorders among youth today. If we were creatures without intelligence and will, this would, indeed, be an explanation. But human beings, endowed as they are with intelligence and will, are not subject to the fatal push and pull of things. They can and must adjust themselves to their environment. The proper interpretation of the world tragedy is needed. It should be easy to show the young that the tragedy of the world is a special reason for seriousness. Teach the young that life is serious and life is duty.

The breakdown of the home is the chief cause of juvenile delinquency in the opinion of J. Edgar Hoover, Chief of the FBI. The home, in fact, is chiefly responsible also for the failures in the training of youth that never reach the attention of the courts.

Parents may argue that the social environment outside of the home constitutes danger for their children. This is true, but parents are in a position to control the social environment of their children outside of the home. They can exercise a control that no one else can exercise.

Parents are the divinely commissioned architects of the characters of their children. When they contracted the sacrament of marriage, they received a special grace and a special commission to rear their children in a proper way. No one can ever take their place. The school and other agencies

#### 68 THE CHURCH, FASCISM AND PEACE

of human society may help, but they can never take the place of the father and the mother. What each child is going to be in later life depends on his home and on his parents more than on anything else. When he turns out badly, nearly always it is due to a lack of solicitude, wisdom, or proper love on the part of his parents. Fortunate is the child that has a good home, and God pity the child that has not a good home. A good home is the greatest blessing that any child can have.

The good qualities and the defects in the character of the child most frequently reflects the good qualities and defects in his home and in the characters of his parents. From parents, children usually derive their appraisal of life and their attitudes to wealth, to pleasure, to virtue, and to religion.

Did you ever meet the sophisticated child, the youngster of 12 or 14, who has the tastes and habits of the reckless youth of 18? I have met parents who are fearful over the activities of their precocious youngsters of that age. Whose fault is it? A little self-examination would be profitable for parents who have youngsters in this classification. Perhaps the parents, too, have been looking upon life as a joyride, even though their lives may be overlaid with a thin veneer of religious practices. Perhaps they, too, have been given over to the gay parties, characteristic of the modern world. Perhaps they, too, are readers of improper literature. Perhaps they have neglected to teach their children that life is duty.

The proper training of their children is the chief business in life for both the father and the mother. Nothing will ever compensate for their failure in this important work. Let not the father plead that he is too busy with other things and that the work of training the children is the mother's task. The training of children requires not only the example but also the special interest of the father. It is a work that should not be put aside for anything else.

To be a good father and a good mother requires much thought and study. Parents should study how they can best rear their children. It is more important to do this, than it is to study how to produce greater crops or bigger business.

Many parents who love their children love them unwisely. A false love leads them to train their children in selfishness and without a sense of duty. They give their children their own way when the children have no right to have their way. The lives of many children are wrecked by fond parents who have a false love for them.

Many parents are misled by the false ideas abroad today about the training of children. We are afflicted today with what is called self-expression. Self-expression is good. We shall have ample room for self-expression. But in the modern world we have self-expression run mad.

There are those who advocate complete liberty of choice for the child. They caution parents never to say "no" to the child, lest by so doing, they might stunt a budding genius. Give the child unrestricted freedom of choice, and it is obvious that many of the choices will be wrong.

Obedience should be the first lesson taught. The child should learn early in life that his parents and elders know more than he knows. This lesson should be repeated again and again. Failure to do this breeds a lack of reverence and respect for all au-

#### 70 THE CHURCH, FASCISM AND PEACE

thority and even for the moral law itself. The child should, indeed, be taught self-reliance; but he should also be taught to accept both human and divine authority.

What is needed today in the training of children and youth is discipline. This discipline should be intelligent and gentle, but at the same time firm. It can be exercised while at the same time allowing ample room for self-expression. Perhaps many of my listeners tonight have loving memories of strict parents who also set them good example and to whom they owe a debt that cannot be paid.

Some parents may ask, "How can we exert discipline today? Our children crave the liberties given to other children." When parents are wise, their children will follow not only their commands but even their wishes. I know some homes where there exists no problem of discipline. The children are not going with the crowd. They learned early in life to trust and respect the guidance of their parents and to obey them. Today their habits and tastes are good because of wise parental training. They will be leaders in the world of tomorrow.

Jesus Christ came into this world to teach men how to live. His first lesson was the lesson of obedience. He spent the first thirty years of His life in the silence of the home at Nazareth, preparing for His three years public work. His example emphasizes the importance of the years of preparation in the life of everyone. It is during these years that character is formed and the future made.

Silence hovered over the home of Nazareth as silence hovers over every good home. We are given only one glance into the childhood of Jesus. The curtain lifts only once, and we see the Child at the age of twelve in the temple. A few significant words are spoken and the curtain drops. St. Luke sums up in two sentences the life of the Child and youth at Nazareth—"And He went down with them and came to Nazareth, and was subject to them . . . And Jesus advanced in wisdom and age and grace before God and men." These words tell us what every home should be— a place of silent growth where the child learns obedience and grows in wisdom with the years and in grace before God and men. America needs homes of this kind today more than it needs anything else. They are our chief hope for peace and for a better world.

Luke 2: 31, 32

## WHAT MUST WE DO FOR PEACE? 5. At The Crossroads

This war will bring about great changes in the social and economic structure of our nation. Many old things will go. New patterns will take their place. Many groups and individuals are attempting to determine the pattern of tomorrow's world. We must be prepared for many changes. If common sense prevails, the changes will be in the right direction.

Many old things ought to go. We should not want to keep the pattern just as it was in the era preceding the war. There is a pressing need for an overhaul job. The inherent evils in our system that lead to war should be removed. We must also admit that there were many injustices in the old pattern that ought to be removed.

With the most extreme radicals we can agree that there are injustices in our social and economic system. We disagree, however, with them only in the proposed remedies. The dictator state, whether Communist or Fascist, is not the solution. Our purpose in the war is to prevent either of these forms of tyranny. At all cost human rights and liberty must be preserved.

We must, however, be prepared for great changes. Unless we are prepared for these great changes and unless we spend our efforts to correct the evils in our present system and go along with needed changes, we are apt to get what we do not want. We are apt to find ourselves living in a state that recognizes neither human rights nor liberty. We find ourselves today at one of the turning points of human history. We stand today at the crossroads of history. These critical turning points in history have come before. Those who could have done so, failed to steer the course of change in the right direction. They failed to make the corrections in the social and economic system that would have averted the catastrophe. They failed even to recognize the inevitable approach of change; and in the revolution that followed, they perished.

The upper classes on the eve of the French Revolution, in 1789, could have corrected the abuses which were bringing on that tragic period of bloodshed and destruction. They should have recognized the need for change. As a result of their blindness, they perished. It was the same with those who long ruled in Russia. They failed to recognize the evils in the social and economic system. They tried to keep things as they were. The revolution that followed upset the whole system of which they were a part and carried them to their death.

Great and far-reaching changes are coming, and for them we must be prepared. We may postpone them by our opposition for a time; but they will eventually come and come in the wrong way unless we are prepared to make the corrections that are needed. We must be prepared to steer in the right direction the course of change.

There is need for many changes in our social and economic structure. It is not geared for a just distribution of the wealth produced in the nation. The extremes of wealth and poverty in the United States cannot be defended. People will no longer believe that vast fortunes, running into hundreds of

## 74 THE CHURCH, FASCISM AND PEACE

millions, can be justified, when one-third of the population have an insufficiency for a bare subsistence. The ever recurring depressions, characterized by want in the midst of plenty, is an indictment of something in our system. Multitudes without decent homes with plenty of building material and willing hands to build, multitudes without suitable clothing with plenty of material for clothes and willing hands to fabricate clothes, a superabundance of food and people hungry-such combinations do not make sense. But today when all have good incomes we are apt to forget about such matters. There is sc.nething fundamentally wrong with a distribution system that makes such situations possible. This something needs correction.

Corrections must be made in our social and economic system to protect the farmer. At the present time, under stress of war, the farmer with the rest of the nation, is enjoying material prosperity; but under the operation of the economic rules of the old system, he is faced again with the prospect of raising crops below the cost of production.

The laborer's right to a decent wage, and at least a living wage, has not always been recognized in the past. Perhaps even today there are those who believe that labor should be bought as a chattel on the market at the lowest possible price. But labor today is in control. At least a large section of labor is in control. There is the danger that this control might result in certain sections of labor getting more than its just share of the wealth produced. Through organization, labor is succeeding in getting its rights; but one might question whether organized conflict should be the enduring method whereby labor gets its rights. Labor groups might become so powerful that injustice to the rest of society, including other laborers, might result.

Our economic system today operates on an economy of scarcity. By this is meant that commodities and services are made scarce in order to maintain or raise the price. Manufacturers and processors limit the amount of goods, so as to keep up the price and make greater profits. Organized labor aims to keep up wages, by shortening hours, reducing the output of labor, and limiting the number of apprentices. When carried too far, this puts labor in conflict with the rest of society. It puts one labor group in conflict with another. The farmer, too, in order to secure just prices for the things he raises, attempts to control and limit production, and in some instances, the fruits of the earth are destroved to secure a just price. This, of course, does not make sense when people are hungry.

An economy of scarcity pits each group of society in bitter conflict with every other group. Even family is pitted against family when the economy of scarcity is applied in the limitation of children. John Jones, the merchant, reasons thus: "If I have only one child, I shall have more money to spend on him and also upon myself." If John Brown, who has five children, had imitated John Jones' example, John Jones would sell only one pair of shoes where he now sells five. If all groups and individuals in society were to operate on an economy of scarcity, the advantage one group or one individual seeks to gain would be blotted out by action of the others.

An economy of scarcity is one of the weakest points in our economic system. The advocates of Communism and Fascism have made this defect a subject of mocking jibes. Both the Communist and the Fascist will tell you that they propose to operate on an economy of abundance. But, of course, both sacrifice human rights and liberty.

In the world of tomorrow, we must find some way of operating on an economy of abundance. Some form of cooperation in society must replace the eternal conflict between the various groups. Surely man's ingenuity can devise a new pattern that will secure just distribution and an economy of abundance. Such a plan should be the answer to both the Communist and the Fascist.

I am told that many businessmen recognize that great changes are in the making. I am told that an increasing number of businessmen are beginning to recognize that wealth carries a social responsibility, and that they recognize a more just distribution is necessary for the security of our society and for the maintenance of increased production. If this be true, there is hope for the future of our country.

We must be prepared to go along with the needed changes in order to avoid forms of state Socialism, or even Communism. We want neither of these because they mean the sacrifice of human rights and liberty. Let us hope that those who wield power today will not make the same mistake that people of influence usually made in the past

We need an enlightened leadership, but the average man must take an understanding interest to correct what needs correcting. "Only an informed America is an invincible America"—we hear this slogan daily over the radio. This slogan is true for peace as well as for war—"Only an informed America is an invincible America." It is, indeed, difficult today to disentangle propaganda from truth. Even the meaning of words has been changed. Communists have succeeded, at least in part, in changing the content of the word "fascism," making it mean anti-communism. Even the word "democracy" has lost its original content. The word "democracy" is used today to stand for systems of government where the people have no voice, and where human rights are sacrificed to a dictator or to an all-powerful state. Much effort, indeed, is needed to discern the true from the false. The man, however, with a character grounded on right principles, is the man who will quickly recognize the true and the false.

Too many are indifferent to their responsibilities as citizens. They leave to a few leaders all the thinking and all the planning. The average man is a joiner. He joins a political group, a labor union, or a farm organization, and then relies on the leaders of the group to take care of his interests. To make matters worse, he does not actually select the leaders. Again and again the result has been the same; the leaders sacrifice the welfare of the group to their own selfish purposes.

An intelligent democracy that functions at the grass roots is required to steer the course of change in the right direction. We shall have such democracy only when the people in each community of the nation begin to think and act and elect to political office and as heads of their organizations men who represent their thinking. Unless this can be done, democracy will be on the way out.

God must be the cornerstone of the new order. "Unless the Lord build the house, he labors in vain who builds it. Unless the Lord keep the city, he watcheth in vain who keepeth it." It is folly to talk about human rights unless we recognize that God gave these rights to man—rights that no one, not even the largest majority, nor even the allpowerful state, can take from him. The doctrine of human rights can be defended on no other grounds. Without God there are no human rights.

In the many plans for peace there is much talk about justice for all. It is folly to talk about justice unless we admit an eternal law of right and wrong implanted by God in the human heart. There is no such thing as justice, unless justice be sought in God's eternal law. If God be not the corner stone of the new order in the United States, the prospect for us is the tyranny of the dictator state in some form or other. The all-powerful state must then be the court of first and last appeal.

With God as the cornerstone, the new order should be built on justice and on charity. Justice to every group in human society should be the foundation of tomorrow's America. Just wages, just prices, and just profits, should be our objective.

The purpose of law is to secure justice. But man can and does circumvent the law. While the purpose of law is to achieve justice, laws alone will not bring about justice. The virtue and habit of justice must be implanted in the hearts of men. Laws are futile unless we have a type of education which trains men to live justly.

Charity should find its proper place in the new order. Pius XI calls charity, "the soul of the social order." We have large disadvantaged groups in America that should be the object of charity. Perhaps some of them are in their present condition be-

Quadragesimo Anno p. 44

cause of their own fault. God alone knows the causes in each individual case. But we do know that many of them are in their present condition because of injustice to them or to their forebears. Without charity, they and their families will remain helpless in their present status. They need rehabilitation, and it is in the interest of human society to spend generously for this rehabilitation.

• Our charity must go out to other nations, the victims of unjust aggressions, and even to vanquished nations now our enemies in war. After the war, disease and famine will march across the continents of Europe and Asia. History will present no parallel of the distress that will cover a great portion of the world. Millions are doomed to death from want of food and from malnutrition. Were we to put every ounce of sacrifice into our efforts, we would be able to save only a portion of the starving millions. Nevertheless. Christian charity demands that every effort and every sacrifice be made to save suffering humanity and especially the innocent victims. The period after the war will not be the time for the untilled fields and for an economy of scarcity, when millions will be starving. When so much sorrow and want demand our charity, the period after the war will not be a suitable time for self-seeking, money making, luxurious living, and rounds of pleasure. If we close our eves to the needs of suffering humanity, the curse of God will rest upon us.

We who live today may not hope to see the era of peace for which we all long. We are entering on a long period of penance that will not end with our generation. We must do penance for the sins of our own generation and the sins of past genera-

## 80 THE CHURCH, FASCISM AND PEACE

tions. Riotous and unjust living must be atoned for.

Sufficient for us should it be, if through our efforts the world may start again on the upward grade. This will be our joy and our reward. Unless we face the facts and strive to better human society, especially in our own country, many of this generation will see dreadful days. With the rest of the world we stand today at the crossroads of **h**istory.

## WHAT MUST WE DO FOR PEACE? 6. Christ And His Church

Last Sunday was Passion Sunday. All symbols of joy in Catholic churches are draped with the purple of mourning on Passion Sunday. This is a reminder that on Passion Sunday we enter again into the shadow of the Passion.

The shadow of the Passion fell across the whole life of Jesus Christ. When Simeon, the aged prophet of the Temple, held the Infant in his arms, he foretold the Passion, saying to Mary, His mother, "Behold this child is destined for the fall and for the rise of many in Israel, and for a sign that shall be contradicted; and thy own soul a sword shall pierce." <sup>1</sup>

His journey through life was always toward the hill of Calvary; and in the distance, He Who knows the future, saw the cross. Some ten days before His crucifixion the shadow began to deepen. His enemies were beginning to get busy. This foreshadowing of the Passion is commemorated on Passion Sunday. Passion Sunday begins the prelude to Good Friday.

This is Palm Sunday. Today the Church commemorates again the triumphal entry of Jesus Christ into Jerusalem when the crowd met Him with waving branches of palm and hailed Him as their king. Before the week would end, the same fickle crowd, moved by false rumors, would shout the terrible words: "Away with Him; crucify Him."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>(1)</sup> Luke 2: 34

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>(2)</sup> John 19: 15

Today the Church begins another Holy Week, and the faithful everywhere will pause to commemorate the Passion and death of Christ. During this week the Church calls all to repentance; for it was the sins of men through all time, rather than the crowd around Pilate's hall and on the hill of Calvary, that crucified the Son of God.

Jesus Christ loved the world, and He sorrowed over the sins and follies of men. His message to men was a message of peace. From the mountains of history, the prophet Isaias hailed Him as "the Prince of Peace." <sup>3</sup> Peace the angels sang at His birth, and peace was His last word to His Apostles— "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give to you."<sup>4</sup>

Peace was the first word the Risen Christ spoke to His Apostles—"Peace be to you." <sup>5</sup> This message of peace was for all His followers in the years to come—Peace to all who suffer for justice sake— Peace to the mother sorrowing for her lost son— Peace to the captive in his prison—Peace to the faithful soldier on the battle front—Peace in the midst of a world falling into ruin—Peace which the world can neither give nor take away.

Christ was Eternal Truth. He spoke as no man ever spoke; but most of the people were too busy with their farms and their merchandise to listen. They were not concerned about truth. They did not want to hear anything that would interrupt their pursuit of material things. They despised and rejected Him. They mocked and scourged Him and crowned Him with thorns. They cast a garment of shame about Him and fastened Him to a cross

(5) John 20: 19

<sup>(3)</sup> Isaias 9: 6

<sup>(4)</sup> John 14: 27

and then challenged Him to come down. He did not come down, but changed the garment of shame into a mantle of glory and the cross into a throne from which He rules the ages. Men who accept that cross and what it stands for, find peace. Men who reject it find sorrow and bring sorrow to the world.

Christ founded His Church to carry on His work among men, and to teach the world the way to peace and happiness here and hereafter. He foretold that the world would treat His Church even as it treated Him, saying to His Apostles, "No servant is greater than his master. If they have persecuted Me, they will persecute you also." <sup>6</sup>

The Catholic belief that the Church is the Mystical Body of Christ comes from St. Paul It may be difficult to understand all the implications of this doctrine; but this is clear, the Mystical Body of Christ is subjected to the same indignities that were heaped upon His natural body. In its members it is mocked and scourged and crucified. This is the story of the Church.

There is no country in the world where the Church has not been persecuted. The soil of every land has been sanctified by the blood of her martyrs. In our day she has undergone bitter persecution in Mexico, Russia, Spain, and Germany. Persecution is in progress this very hour.

•Faithful to her mission, the Church has always taught the doctrines committed to her keeping. But just as the teachings of the Master went against the popular notions of His day, so do the teachings of the Church conflict with the fads and fancies of each age. If the Church conformed with

<sup>(6)</sup> John 15: 18

the popular notions of the day, she would not be the Truth; for the popular notions of the day change with the passing of the years while truth is eternally the same.

Again and again subsequent history has proven that the notions of the age were wrong and the Church was right. Seventy-five years ago, Pius IX foresaw the danger of Communism and denounced it. The so-called liberals of his day said the Pope was opposing liberty. History has proven that Pius IX was right not only in condemning Communism, but also in other things he condemned. In 1933, when the Catholic bishops of Bavaria denounced Nazism and forbade Catholics to join the Nazi party, selfstyled liberals in the United States said the German bishops were stifling liberty. Subsequent history shows that the German bishops were right.

In our day, the Church is in conflict with certain popular notions and quack remedies which involved moral issues. Another age will find the Church was right and the popular notions wrong. The Church views everything under the light of eternal truth. To be up to date today is to be out of date tomorrow. Truth is never out of date and never in harmony with the changing fads and fancies of any era.

While the mission of the Catholic Church is the salvation of souls, her contributions to man's material welfare and earthly happiness have been manifold. She it was that lifted up our ancestors when they were savage tribes and forged them into great nations, united in a common faith, under the title of Christendom. She it was who taught our ancestors the arts of civilization. To her we are indebted for our civilization and our culture. From her we receive the doctrine of human rights. It was the Church which gave the world its international law. And if nations are reverting to savagery in our day, it is because they have rejected her teaching.

Her message to the world has always been a message of peace. This is abundantly evident in our day. Pope Pius XI strove for peace. He saw the impending tragedy of the world and did his best to avert it. Well known are his frequent appeals to men and nations to desist from acts that were leading headlong to war. In 1933, he called the world to prayer and spiritual regeneration as a means of avoiding war; but the world did not heed him. Men and nations continued their greedy pursuit of material things in smug content that there would be peace in our time. Had the world listened, the history of the last five years would have been different.

The last word on the lips of Pius XI was the word, "peace." Peace was the word his successor took for his motto; and from the beginning of his pontificate, he has never ceased to work for peace. Surrounded by armed forces, who flaunt justice and trample on every human right. Pius XII has never waivered in his outspoken defense of human rights and justice. He condemned acts of aggression by his fearless words of sympathy to the victims of aggression. His sympathetic messages to nations invaded by the unjust aggressor, were at the same time fearless condemnations of the aggressor. His oft-repeated words on human rights and justice were stinging rebukes to the enemies of liberty. whose armed forces surrounded him. Unarmed, he has defied the power of modern Caesars, who have failed in their attempt to bend his will. Refusing to seek his own safety, he remains at his post, besieged by hostile enemies, to proclaim and defend the truth and to minister to the victims of war. Is it not strange that such a man should be the victims of calumny at the hands of some who profess to be the defenders of democratic government and justice?

The fearless stand of the Church behind the Nazi ring of steel should be a matter of common knowledge. In Germany, the voice which has never ceased to speak for human rights and to denounce Nazi aggression has been the voice of the Catholic bishops of Germany. In Holland and in Belgium, the chief obstacle in the way of Nazi doctrine has been the Catholic bishops and the Catholic priests, of these countries. Scores of Catholic priests from the Netherlands have given their lives in defense of truth and many more are in concentration camps because of their outspoken defense of justice.

Despite her glorious record in defense of truth and justice, the Church today is made a victim of calumny even in our own country. Her enemies are busy here also. For some time a campaign of calumny has been under way. Almost everywhere today the Church is moving in the shadow of her passion. False rumors are afloat to turn the people away from her. False witnesses have appeared again to testify to lies, as they did in Pilate's court; and now as in the court of Pilate, they contradict themselves.

Again and again in her long history, the Church has encountered persecution. Her enemies have triumphed, or seemed to have triumphed, for a time. Again and again they have mocked and scourged her; again and again they have placed upon her head the crown of thorns. A score of times in her history, they have sung her dirge, announcing that her long reign had at last come to a close. In each instance they were disappointed; for each time she moved again in a new and more wonderful resurrection. So it will be in our time if her enemies dispoil her. She will descend again into the catacombs; the temple of civilization which she has reared will crumble; and she will return to nurse back to health bleeding and broken humanity.

Only the faithful few stood by Christ along the road to Calvary and on its summit. As it was with Christ, so is it with His Church. In the days of peace, when splendor surrounds her, crowds gather about her. In days of persecution, the weak fall away; and when the persecution is fierce, only the faithful few remain.

For almost three years great crowds had followed Christ. In these peaceful days, His enemies did not dare lay a hand upon Him. When, under the influence of false rumor, the opposition grew, the crowds deserted Him. Many who hailed Him as their king on the first Palm Sunday, joined the mob that clamored for His death five days later. Only a few faithful ones followed Him to the end.

As Christ walked the road to Calvary carrying His heavy cross, a certain woman, Veronica by name, recognized His Divine countenance beneath the scorn and abuse that had been heaped upon Him. She lifted her veil to wipe away the tears and blood and grime that had gathered on His sacred brow. In the days that lie ahead, we, too, may witness His Mystical Body, the Church, carried again to her Calvary. Veronicas along the way will recognize her holy countenance beneath the derision and abuse that may be heaped upon her, and they will lift the veil to wipe away the stains.

Christ was betrayed and deserted by His own. So has it always been with His Church. When her members are faithful to her sublime teachings, she has nothing to fear from the enemies without. But when an insufficient number of her members fail to live their religion, an age of martyrdom comes and the earth is watered with the blood of martyrs that the faith may bloom again.

The testing time may come in America in our day, as it has already come to members of the Faith in other lands. To the weeping women on the road to Calvary, Christ spoke these words. "Do not weep for Me but weep for yourselves and for your children."<sup>7</sup>

The Church might indeed say to us today, "Do not weep for me but weep for yourselves and for your children." We need not fear for the permanence of the Church, for her Founder said to Peter, the fisherman, whom He made her first visible head: "Thou art Peter and on this rock I will build my Church and the gates of hell shall not prevail against her."<sup>8</sup> The question for us is where shall we stand if the test comes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>(7)</sup> Luke 23: 28

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>(8)</sup> Math 16: 18

