

We the people of the
UNITED NATIONS
determined to save
succeeding generations
from the scourge of war
. . . to reaffirm faith in
fundamental human rights
have resolved to combine
our efforts to accomplish
these aims.

PEACE on EARTH
which all men
of every era
have most eagerly
yearned for, can be
firmly established
only if the order
laid down by God
be fully observed.



World Peace: The New Conversation

Special Report II / on the Pacem in Terris Convocation

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, head of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, called the International Convocation on the Requirements of Peace "a new conversation" when he announced the event as scheduled for New York City in mid-February, 1965. Dr. Hutchins hoped the discussion would be conducted "on a level somewhere between apathy and panic, and this side of the irrelevance of propaganda." He recently commended *Dominicana's* coverage of the Convocation (Spring issue) as "one of the best we have encountered," and joins here with other major participants in reflecting on the historic Convocation. In what light should the New York gathering now be seen and what concrete results have come from it?

In the late afternoon of February 17, sixty chosen "elders" of the world community came to the dais of the United Nations General Assembly Hall. Fully aware of the plight of mankind today, their prevailing mood was a hesitant expectancy. While listening to Vice-President Humphrey challenge the world to strive for a realistic peace, they looked out at an audience of 2200 invited guests, drawn from the academic, political and religious communities. It was the absence of peace, so painfully exposed in the gentle Pope John's Encyclical *Pacem in Terris*, which had brought participants and guests together; an impulse had arisen in conscientious men everywhere to articulate the meaning of the Pope's plea for themselves. Mr. Humphrey spoke of some who would "abandon the United Nations as an imperfect instrument for preserving world peace because they dislike our imperfect world." Those present knew that the terror of nuclear war, the troubled state of Latin America and Asia, and the tremors in body and spirit of vast numbers of our human brotherhood, are merely symptomatic of this imperfection. Today the world cries for peace and yet there is no peace. Instead we live with mistrust and the megaton, with promises made and then broken, and each drains

out a little of man's respect for man. The world figures in the Hall that afternoon knew that world peace is not an abstraction, much less an impossibility. But before he can share it, peace must be born within man's heart. Perhaps it was this common belief which struck the deepest chord among the participants. They realized their task on returning home: to use the highest of human achievements for the supreme goal the world community can seek.

At a distance of ten months, it is the glimpse of this vision which remains with Rhode Island's Senator Claiborne Pell. In retrospect, he told *Dominicana* editors, **"the convocation was a most remarkable gathering. It was both ecumenical and universal in its makeup and yet purposefully secular in its approach. The effect, which I know was apparent to all of us who participated, was to elevate to the highest degree our world concern for the survival of civilization. I know that each of us returned to our respective posts of service and duty illuminated and inspired by the pervasive spirit and intent of Pope John. And each of us therefore has been commissioned to do whatever he can, in our own small ways, to translate the great purpose of Pope John into constructive deeds and actions."**

Role of National and World Communities

To assist local groups, the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions has been developing, since the close of the Convocation, a format for conferences on international cooperation. At one all-day conference held October 23, over fifty civic organizations sent representatives to Center headquarters in Santa Barbara, California, to hear addresses honoring the United Nations' International Cooperation Year (ICY), now drawing to a close. The audience listened to government and professional leaders outline problems the world faces with the scientific revolution of the last decade. The Honorable Theodore Lefevre, former Prime Minister of Belgium and presently in charge of Belgium's economic coordination and scientific development, pointed to the distinction between nationalism and patriotism. The nationalist's slogan—"my country, right or wrong"—differs from that of the patriot. The latter will try to guide his country in directions that benefit all men. In the aftermath of the Convocation many are beginning to see the worth of M. Lefevre's distinction. Dr. Hutchins told us, **"The practical implementation of the principles**

discussed at our Pacem in Terris Convocation will depend upon the development of world opinion in support of a world community. Leaders in all countries now know that we shall have one world or none; but the governments of many countries are still bound by outmoded ideas of nationalism."

Certainly the United Nations' experience of the past decade shows the international community lacking a full realization of the important "principle of interdependence." This conception, of course, cannot emerge at the national level until it is appreciated by the individuals a government represents. Vice-President Humphrey, who had pointed out the difficulties of projecting the vision of a harmonious world society down to the personal level, expressed his opinion to *Dominicana* editors that it is in this area the Convocation will have lasting significance. "The Pacem in Terris Convocation may stand years from now as one of the events which, in the perilous Twentieth Century, helped turn man from his course toward self-destruction toward a common quest for a better life.

"There is no question that, in the months since the convocation, all men—not merely those who participated in the Convocation—are more deeply aware of the perils of our time and the necessity of the never ending search for peace."

Reflecting further, the Vice-President said: "I am reminded each day of the words and actions of the men who came to the Pacem in Terris Convocation. I am sure that others in the world with responsibility for leadership bear similar remembrance. This may seem a small thing. But those who bear the remembrance are custodians of vast national military arsenals. They are the makers of policies which can turn their nations toward peaceful cooperation or toward international antagonisms.

"Nor is there any question that in these months man has come to realize more fully that, living under a nuclear cloud, it is incumbent on all men to preserve life and, inevitably, to perfect it."

This country's search was highlighted by the White House Conference, held at the end of November. Drawing a wide variety of creative thinkers, the conference looked toward new or improved channels for private and official cooperation on national and international levels.

The concept of law as basic to any lasting world peace has come rapidly to the fore since the International Convocation. Within six

months of the Convocation's closing, the Washington Conference On World Peace Through Law assembled three thousand judicial officials, legal experts and observers, from over one hundred countries, for a meeting which culminated Saturday, September 18, with the adoption of a "Declaration of Faith In World Order Under Law" and a "Global Program of Research and Action." The purpose of the Conference was to open channels for the development and communication of legal processes, highlighted there as vital instruments in fostering world harmony. The impact of this meeting on both the legal profession and the public was far-reaching. In conjunction with international celebrations of World Law Day, this meeting focused more attention on the rule of law as the best formal route to peace than has been done before. Chief Justice Earl Warren, in delivering the keynote address of the Law Conference emphasized this point when he said: "Our task at this conference is to move humankind forward along the road of peace . . . for mankind's most practical hope for world peace lies in an orderly world community under the rule of law."

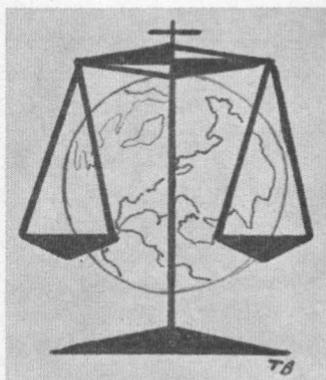
In order to dramatize the meaning of the week-long sessions some of the world's basic legal documents were brought together for the first time. Conferees and visitors viewed the Magna Carta, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen displayed beside one another. This was the first time the 1225 authorized version of the Magna Carta had left Great Britain.

Resolutions were passed here establishing a World Center of Documentation for legal materials, appointing a staff of scholars to prepare a multilingual legal dictionary and another group to collect and publish a World Law Code which will include all generally accepted multilateral treaties.

The Role of Religious Conscience

The author of *Pacem in Terris* took his title of Pontiff seriously; John XXIII was interested in building bridges between men rather than delineating the gap of theological, philosophic and cultural differences already dividing mankind. His was a monumental effort to create a bond of sympathy between "all men of good will," religious believers and atheists alike. The Convocation exemplified this

effort by including as participants three religious leaders, Bishop Guilfoyle of New York, Professor Ramsey of Princeton Theological School and the late Dr. Paul Tillich. Four speakers came from Russia and Poland to present Communist viewpoints to the Convocation. This spirit of dialogue between ideologies has since spread and was particularly evident at the Conference on Peace and Change, held June 18-19 at Georgetown University. Under the auspices of the Forces of Change Discussion Program of Dr. Hutchins' Center, the Fellowship of Reconciliation of Nyack, New York, and the Wash-



ington Peace Center, the assembly was a regional reflection of the Convocation spirit. This meeting was one of a series of one hundred Convocations for Leaders of Religion, which began a month after the February Convocation in New York had dissolved. In six concentrated sessions over two days, men and women influential in the local community's religious life are challenged with the moral and technological implications of our nuclear age. These conferences will continue through 1967 in major American cities. The Fellowship, a national co-sponsor with the Forces of Change group, has a broad Christian backing while the Washington Peace Center is a local agency of the American Friends (Quakers) Service Committee.

The relationship of peace to civil rights for minority groups was highlighted by CORE's James Farmer and Fr. Philip Berrigan, S.S.J.; Robert Theobald and Ben B. Seligman examined the implications of technology—especially cybernation—for the world's future; and socialist Norman Thomas offered his views on the international political situation. The diversity of speakers only served to

focus attention on their common cause: the peaceful solution of trans-national problems.

The sponsoring of the Georgetown Conference by religious organizations points up a new and welcome phenomenon on the secular scene. Inspired by Pope John's attitude toward the world's problems, men of every ethical and religious persuasion are stepping into the middle of economic, social and political arenas to offer a guidance which is finding ready acceptance.

The attention to moral leadership by upright men everywhere came clearly into focus with Pope Paul's visit to the United Nations on the twentieth anniversary of its foundation this past September. It is now known that Mr. C. V. Narasimham, adviser to Secretary-General U Thant, suggested at a preliminary meeting for the Convocation in Racine, Wisconsin, during May, 1964 that Pope Paul be invited to the gathering. Shortly afterward, rumors of a papal visit became rampant. Although the Pope shared the Convocation's ideals and did send a message which was read at the first assembly, he apparently decided to postpone his visit until the anniversary celebration. In this way he acted in full accord with the objectives of the Convocation: his appearance in the General Assembly seven months later served to strengthen the prestige of the United Nations, a need often emphasized in the participants' speeches.

Pope Paul's visit, like his predecessor's letter, lent tangible support to a growing number of Americans, with prominent Catholics among them, who are denouncing war in this nuclear age. Approaching the problem from differing viewpoints, their spokesmen are not unanimous in specific goals but all hoped the Church would speak in strong terms to a world equipped with the capacity to annihilate itself. Those deeply concerned with this possibility saw the Convocation bringing it into clear moral focus. On this point, Dr. H. Stuart Hughes, Professor of History at Harvard, stated to *Dominicana* editors that: **"The great contribution of last February's Convocation on Pacem in Terris was to bring together the most advanced Catholic social thought and the secular movement devoted to the cause of peace. Non-Catholics who opposed nuclear war over a number of years now realized that their efforts were in full harmony with the latest teachings of the Church on international morality. Catholics similarly discovered that Pope John's words had behind them a massive endorsement from men of good will of the**

most varied religious and philosophical orientations. The result was a mutual reinforcement that strengthened the cause of peace everywhere."

Undoubtedly another effect of the Convocation will be heightened interest in the Vatican Council's long awaited Schema 13, "The Church in the Modern World." Part II, Chapter 5, Sections 1 and 2 of this Pastoral Constitution discuss the international community of the peoples and means of fostering peace. Peace is here seen as the work of justice and as the order willed by God for society. This presupposes on the part of man a constant effort at self-domination and of adaption to the changing needs of society. Justice, then, must be nourished by brotherhood. But we are cautioned that in the degree that man is a sinner, the danger of war always threatens, while insofar as he triumphs over sin, he can win the battle against violence. Both in the general principles the Constitution lays down and in the mandate it gives Christians to work for world peace, there are remarkable parallels between the statements of the Council and the Convocation.

While the Constitution does allow definite tasks to world-organizations, it also declares that international order does not depend on such structures alone but on individual respect for justice and for fraternal and reciprocal friendship. If all peoples are to be liberated from abusive dependence, then the foundations of international cooperation on the economic level must be renewed. The Council calls for far-reaching modification of world commerce patterns in favor of the underprivileged nations, and the obstacles of economic, political and ideological ambition are castigated. The Council document holds Christians to cooperate in these steps; action should be organized and, where necessary, implemented in union with the separated brethren. This burden falls especially upon the followers of Christ because the prosperous nations of the world are generally what are known as "Christian" nations.

The Role of Economics

If the speeches at the New York Convocation served to direct world attention toward the work of the Council, this service was not unilateral. One of the two professional economists at the discussions, and one of five women ranked among the sixty participants,

was Barbara Ward (Lady Jackson). Miss Ward has battled continually for a fairer distribution of the world's wealth. Her stature as a major twentieth century thinker is admitted even by those who do not agree with her diagnoses of international economic situations. But in view of the Council's position on aid to the underprivileged, Miss Ward's position requires depth consideration by every Christian. When *Dominicana* asked for a current analysis of the world's economic posture and how this had been affected by the Convocation, Miss Ward said:

"One of the purposes of the Conference on Pacem in Terris was to bring home to the rich, white, post-Christian, ex-imperial peoples of the North Atlantic that they represent a small elite—under 20 per cent—of the world's population and yet enjoy over 70 per cent of the world's income, trade and investment. It must be said that 1965 was a good year in which to make the reminder since the combined national incomes of the wealthy nations has passed the 1,000,000 million dollar mark this year—nearly seven-tenths of the sum being the share of the United States. In fact, the statistics of American wealth now reach almost into the realm of fantasy. By adding some \$30,000 million to its national income in 1964-65, the United States acquired, over and above its earlier income of some \$630,000 millions, the equivalent of the entire national income of the whole of Africa, or 50 per cent of the national income of the whole of Latin America. Thus, in a couple of years, the United States can add, almost casually, to the top of its pyramid of riches, the equivalent of *all* the wealth available to its poorer Latin neighbors to the South.

The abolition of world poverty, Miss Ward believes, is demanded not so much by *love*, as by the *justice* principle in the humanistic, Jewish, and Christian traditions. But for the Christian, these concepts are not mutually exclusive and the imbalance of economic development finds a striking paradigm in the New Testament.

"These disproportions recreate, at the world level, the relationship of Dives and Lazarus.

"Unhappily, the reactions of Dives are also being recreated. One can say that 1965 as a year has seen a decline in any urgency to do anything about the growing gap between rich and poor nations. The proportion of Western wealth devoted to capital assistance is actually declining as the level of aid remains the same and At-

lantic national income soars upwards. Any policies to ease the discrimination against the poor nations' trade have been lost in wrangles about the site for the new United Nations Trade and Development Board. This pause is not, of course, only the fault of the rich. The war over Kashmir between Pakistan and India, two of the most aided nations in the world, has understandably lessened peoples' fervor. But it is also being used as an excuse to put international economic cooperation at the bottom of the agenda.

"Yet Lazarus is just as hungry, just as homeless, just as sick



and unemployed. He still sits at the gate. He still requires, on a world scale, the assistance—in institutional change, in capital grants, in new trade policies—without which poverty remains a dead morass at the base of society, destroying those who live in it, and corrupting the conscience of those who take notice of it. At no time has a Christian witness, based on principle and compassion, been more needed to ensure that the wealthy West is 'not weary of well-doing.'

"Will it be made and sustained? Or will Christians, like any other comfortable, well-fed, well-housed and well-entertained group, 'pass by on the other side'?"

"Peace In Our Time"?

The cry "peace," once exchanged among men as a Christian greeting, as a pledge to a common law of love, has come upon hard times. Modern history has heard it shouted from lying lips. A British Prime Minister was so deceived by a depraved prophet that returning from negotiations on the eve of World War II, he triumphant-

ly announced we would have "peace in our time." The catastrophe of that war, with bombings for the cities of the innocent and ovens for the ethnically disinherited, made mockery of the very word.

The vision of great world leaders, meeting to form the League of Nations in the glass ballroom of Versailles, had by then dimmed; today it threatens to blur again with the stalemates and disputes in the Security Council chamber of the United Nations.

Have men learned? Looking at the world situation, it seems not. Smoke rises from the scenes of carnage all over the world. Everyone apparently believes in peace, but few receive any evidence that others do. On October 4, Pope Paul stood on the dais in the General Assembly Hall where the International Convocation had opened eight months earlier. In the interim we had suffered the tragedies of Santo Domingo and Kashmir, witnessed the spectacle of Watts and seen war escalate in Vietnam. Was the Pope oversimplifying the case of peace when he told the United Nations delegates: "The real danger comes from man himself. . . . If you wish to be brothers, let the arms fall from your hands. . . . No more war, war never again"? Rather, he realized that the complicated structure of any peace-keeping organization depends ultimately on the motivation of its human component. No computer has a conscience, and in a real sense, statistics do not lie; only men do. International organizations may be necessary for initiating the "new conversation" the Convocation sought; but peace cannot reign until each of us, regardless of ideology or religion, speaks the word in concord with his neighbor. The "new conversation" will be far-reaching, according to Chief S. O. Adebo, Nigeria's Permanent Representative to the United Nations and one of the Convocation's spokesmen for the world's emerging nations. The Ambassador told us: ". . . **the greatest achievement of the Convocation was, to my mind, its success in projecting the message of Pope John's great encyclical to millions who had not till then heard it or understood its practical implications. This was the result of the special effort made by the organizers to ensure the widest possible publicity for the Convocation proceedings.**

"Because of that successful effort, the impact of the Convocation has been tremendous and, in my opinion, will endure. It cannot be said that we now have, as a result, a transformed world. But we do have a slightly better informed world."