

Text of Pope's Warning of Tyranny and War in Speech to Cardinals

ROME, June 2 (AP)—The official English-language text of the Pope's speech follows:

The Year 1947

Once again the recurrence of the feast of our holy predecessor and heavenly patron provides us with the occasion, venerable brethren, of dwelling for a while with you on the great questions of the tremendous happenings of the day, and on the dangers that threaten the whole world.

May the outpouring of our mind and heart, which find an echo in the thoughts and sentiments so happily expressed to us by your venerable dean, be for each of you, our intimate counselors and faithful helpers, and for ourselves, a stimulus to continue with renewed confidence, greater energy and calm dedication that apostolic work which today more than ever weighs on all the toilers in the Lord's vineyard, all the ministers of the sanctuary.

The year 1947—what judgment shall the future ages pass on it? It has almost reached half of its course and up to now, to the time of speaking, has it brought anything else to the world except the apparently irreconcilable opposition between the mighty onrush of problems in which it is sinking and entangled, and the humiliating lack of solution for them?

The verdict of history will be in accordance with the results coming from the events and discussions of the months which still remain.

Future generations will either bless or curse it; they will bless it if it means for the great human family a starting point toward the reawakening of the sentiment of brotherhood establishing an order of law and peace worthy of men, useful and beneficial for all; they will curse it, on the other hand, if it means a gradual decline into those stagnant marshes of discord and violence from whose murky depths there can arise only sinister and harmful forebodings of new and incalculable calamities.

Security

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

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

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

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

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

Therefore, once again we desire to exhort and to warn the nations: security, as far as it may

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

Prosperity

Much has been said also about a universal prosperity, which should likewise have resulted from the victory. But where is it? There are, indeed, countries where the wheels of industry turn rapidly and work without interruption and at a maximum capacity. Production, overproduction—that is the golden key, the sesame, the secret formula that would wipe out the last traces of the evils of the war and fill up the craters it made.

But the prosperity of nations cannot be safe and secure if all do not share in it. Hence it is not unlikely that idleness and the impossibility of commerce in which some nations find themselves placed will automatically cause in the near future economic crises and unemployment even in other nations as well.

Liberty

Likewise, much was said of the state of liberty which was to have been another perfect fruit of victory: liberty triumphing over despotism and over violence. But this cannot flourish except where justice and law command and efficaciously secure the respect for individual and collective dignity.

Meanwhile the world is still waiting and pleading that justice and law create stable conditions for man and society. In the meantime, millions of human beings continue to live under oppression and despotic rule. For them nothing is safe, neither home, nor goods, nor liberty, nor honor; thus the last ray of happiness, the last spark of courage, dies in their hearts.

In our Christmas message of 1944, addressing a world full of enthusiasm for democracy and eager to be its champion and proponent, we expounded the main moral requirements for a right and healthy democracy. Today, not a few fear that the hope placed in that order has diminished, owing to the striking contrast between democracy in words and the concrete reality.

If at this moment we raise our voice, it is not to discourage the many men of good-will who have already set to work nor to belittle what has already been attained, but it is only through a desire to contribute, as far as in us lies, to an improvement of present conditions.

It is not yet too late for the peoples of the earth to bring about in a united and loyal effort, these conditions so indispensable for security, for universal prosperity or at least for a tolerable modus vivendi, and for a helpful organization of liberty.

Youth

A consideration of the first importance renders necessary this common effort—the good of youth and of the family.

The Church, a tender mother, is not alone in fearing for the welfare of youth. In some countries the new generations from their adolescence and even from infancy suffer from weakness, physical and spiritual anemia caused by material poverty with all its attendant miseries, from an insufficient family life or even from its complete absence, from lack of education and instruction or finally, perhaps, from long years of imprisonment or exile.

Among peoples living under better conditions, dangers of another kind often arising from an excess of wealth and pleasure menace the physical and moral health of youth. This state is still sadder. But there is something even more serious, and it makes the cure of the evil still more difficult—the widespread crisis, indefinitely prolonged, with the disorders it provokes and the uncertainty for the future which it necessarily brings, sows in the hearts of coming generations seeds of distrust in their elders, whom they hold responsible for all the evils they suffer and makes them skeptical of all the principles and values that their

elders held in high esteem and passed down to them.

There is a serious danger that very many youths poisoned by these corrupting principles will end by falling into pure nihilism. Woe to the nations the day when there is extinguished in the heart of youth the sacred flame of faith, of ideals, of readiness for sacrifice, of the spirit of dedication. Even though such a state of things were to last but for a short while, who can foresee the consequences?

The Family

In a similar precarious state of incertitude which tends to continue, what can the future hold in store for the family—that natural nursery and school where the man of tomorrow grows up and is formed?

From districts that suffered most come distressing news of the miserable condition of family, youth, woman. Above all, tragic is the state of the families—if those wandering groups may still be called such—whose fidelity to God's law brought the blessing of a rich crown of children, very often after paying more than others their tribute of blood during the war. Today, they are obliged to suffer more acutely the consequences of the general lack of dwellings and provisions.

It is not God, certainly, who is failing to keep His promise, as the sneers of egoists and the pleasure-loving seem to insinuate; but the incomprehension, the harshness and ill-will of others makes the burden of life well nigh insupportable for the heroes of conjugal duty.

It is only true heroism, sustained by the grace of God, that is capable of keeping in the hearts of young married people the desire and joy of having a large family. What a humiliation for the world to have fallen so low—into a social condition so opposed to nature.

Before God and faced with this sad truth, we call with all our strength for a speedy remedy and trust that our cry of anguish may resound in the ends of the earth and find an echo in the minds of those who are in charge of public affairs and who cannot ignore that, without a healthy and vigorous family life, a people and a nation are lost. Nothing calls more urgently for the peace of the world than the unspeakably wretched state of the family and of woman.

Fear Not

What is the true state of affairs? Who would dare affirm that the two years since the cessation of hostilities have marked notable advances in the path of restoration and social progress?

In seeing fruitless conferences succeeding one another and the series of interrupted or postponed discussions being prolonged, the peoples, bitterly deluded in their desire for order, peace and reconstruction, are coming to lose hope and patience.

It is not our intention to make accusations. We have before our eyes a higher purpose than to pass judgment on what has been done. We wish to forestall new and greater evils in the near and distant future.

During periods of deep agitation of minds and of disordered events we place all our trust in God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ and Lord of Lords (II Cor. I, 3; I Tim. iv, 15), and after God we place our trust in the faithful of the whole world. To them, then, we address the words that the Divine Master repeated to his disciples: "Fear not."

If there is something today that gives cause for fear, it is fear itself. There is no worse counselor, especially in the present conditions. It only brings dizziness and blindness and leads away from the right and secure path of trust and justice.

False prophets unscrupulously propagate with cunning and violence anti-Christian and atheistic concepts of the world and of the state which are contrary to the natural law, and as such they have been condemned by the Church, particularly in the encyclical, "Quadragesimo Anno," of our great predecessor, Pius XI. Neither the difficulties of the present nor the crossfire of propaganda should frighten or mislead you.

Fear, which is a shameful thing in itself, excels in its many disguises. At times it puts on the misleading garb of a declared Christian love for the oppressed;

as if suffering people could derive advantage from falsehood and injustice, from mob-tactics and from promises that can never be fulfilled.

At other times it hides under the appearance of Christian prudence and under this pretext remains silent when duty should require it to utter a fearless "non licet" to the rich and powerful, and to caution them thus; It is not lawful for you, in following a greed for gain and dominion, to stray from the inflexible lines of Christian principles which are the bases of political and social life which the Church has repeatedly and with great clarity expounded to the men of our times. To you especially the invitation is addressed to collaborate without reserve in forming a public order which will realize, in the highest possible degree, a healthy economic life and social justice.

Thus the exploiters of class warfare will be deprived of the possibility of ensnaring the disappointed and the despoiled people of the world, by telling them that the Christian faith and the Catholic Church are not their ally, but their enemy.

By disposition of the Divine Providence, the Catholic Church has formulated and promulgated its social doctrine. She points the path to be followed; and no fear of losing possessions or of temporal gains, of appearing less in harmony with modern civilization or less national or social, could authorize true Christians to deviate even a hair's breadth from this path.

Peace

Considering the sad reality of the numerous and disastrous conflicts which so painfully afflict the world of today and bar the path of peace, it would be equally wrong to shut one's eyes so as not to see or to hold one's arms so as not to act, alleging as an excuse that nothing more can be done. Nothing more can be done? At the very moment when Christians can oppose to vacillating and uncertain principles that fearless courage which is not the mere joyous exuberance of a sanguine nature, but a manifest proof of a supernatural force nourished by the theological virtues of faith, hope and charity?

By means of this force a mighty breath of pure air will sweep over the world, dissipating the atmosphere of panic and pessimism which threatens to poison

it; eyes, sealed till then, will open to the clear vision of truth and justice. Those in good faith and of good-will, who had gone astray, will discover a way out of a situation that has become almost intolerable and advance toward a solution of apparently insurmountable problems.

For those who see things in the light of the supernatural, there is no doubt that even in the most serious conflicts of human and national interests, there is always room for a peaceful settlement.

Is this not, perhaps, the mission of the Christian, of the Catholic, in the whirlpool of social and political agitation of today? This is precisely the explanation of the hatred toward the Church that all those cherish whose life depends on dissensions and conflicts and whose interest it is to fan them continuously into flame. They feel almost instinctively that the church, established by God as a rock of brotherhood and of peace, cannot come to terms with the idolatrous worshippers of brute force and of the struggles, inside and outside their frontiers, for world domination.

This consideration should be enough to fill you, Catholics, with noble pride because the hatred launched against the church heightens in the eyes of men her spiritual and moral grandeur and her work done for the good of mankind. Be alive to such greatness! It means a task, a duty, responsibility. It is not without a purpose that Divine Providence has disposed that never more deeply, perhaps, than at present, have all the faithful of the church on earth felt conscious of sharing intimate membership in the mystical body of Christ. Even if the powers of darkness, of disunity, discord and destruction are spreading today over the whole world, so much more effective must be the superior activity of Christians and their force, derived from union, order and peace.

What true Catholic could think of shirking such a pressing duty? Apply yourselves, all of you, with earnestness to those tasks: among the timorous be fearless, among the doubters be firm in faith, among the discouraged be strong in hope and be full of love among the skeptics who are devoid of love.

Love

Your love is ardent and is as vast as the world. We know it

from experience and can in some measure gauge it from the admirable generosity by which the Catholics in countries still prosperous helped to relieve the needs of people in greater want. They gave incomparably more than figures published in certain quarters would lead one to believe. To a renewed expression of our gratitude toward all the benefactors, we join once again our earnest exhortation: let not your love grow cold, but let it spread more widely. There are still so many districts from which rise to heaven a cry of distress and a plea for help.

Heaven hears this cry of anguish, but wishes to heed it through means of your charity. The words of Christ, "As long as you did it to one of these my least brethren you did it to me" (Matt. xxv, 40), may also be changed by saying: the good that each of you has done to relieve your neighbor in need has been done by Christ; Christ himself, in you and through you, is helping the poor and the derelict.

Therefore, in the happy certitude that Christ lives and works in each of us, we say to all our sons and daughters throughout the universe:

Strong in faith, put up a good fight! The future belongs to believers and not to the skeptics and doubters.

The future belongs to those who love, not to those who hate. The church's mission in the world, far from being ended or outmoded, goes out to meet new trial and fresh enterprises.

The task confided to you by Providence in this crucial hour is not to conclude a weak and timid peace with the world, but to establish for the world a peace really worthy in the sight of God and man.

Humanity, by its own unaided efforts, cannot win this peace. To implore it from the divine mercy for the poor, torn and tortured world, is a duty that all, pastors and flocks, should undertake with fervent zeal, especially during this month consecrated to the heart of the Divine Redeemer.

Animated by an unshakable faith in the power of this suppliant prayer, and as a prelude of its being heard, we impart with an ever-flowing heart, on you, venerable brethren, and on all our beloved sons and daughters scattered over the face of the earth, our apostolic benediction.

