

CJDP - "A Just and Durable Peace." Statement of Political Propositions ('Six Pillars of Peace') - June 1943

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Richard M. T. S.

"A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE"

**STATEMENT
OF
POLITICAL PROPOSITIONS**

which underlie a Just and Durable Peace
and which the United States ought now
to accept for itself and begin forthwith
to realize in cooperation with others.

1943

Formulated by
The Commission on a Just and Durable Peace
instituted by the
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

THE COMMISSION ON A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE

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Inquiries may be addressed to Walter W. Van Kirk, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

By the Commission

It seems to have been reserved to the people of this country, by their conduct and example to decide whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend for their political constitutions on accident and force. The crisis at which we are arrived may be regarded as the era in which that decision is to be made, and a wrong election of the part we shall act may deserve to be considered as the general misfortune of mankind.

— THE FEDERALIST, 1787.

The American people again find themselves in an era of critical decision. It must now be determined, this time in worldwide terms, whether men are capable of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they will continue to be buffeted about by force and by accident. Now, as before, it is reserved to the people of this country to play a decisive role. Now, more than ever, a wrong choice of the part we shall act will involve us in the general misfortune of mankind.

In anticipation of this critical period, the Federal Council of Churches, over two years ago, set up this Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace. We have diligently pursued that study. We have seen and said that the ills which afflict our society are fundamentally due to non-conformity with

a moral order, the laws of which are as imperative and as inexorable as are those that order our physical world. Indifference to and violation of these moral laws always bring such sickness and suffering as today afflict mankind. We have, in a Statement of Guiding Principles, set down certain principles of that moral order as being particularly relevant to our times and to our national responsibility and opportunity. That Statement has been officially endorsed by the Federal Council of Churches, and the widespread response which it has evoked from Christian people makes it clear that they predominantly hold the beliefs therein set forth.

Many now ask: What shall we do?

The first and paramount task of the Christian churches remains that of bringing more persons to subject their lives to the will of God as revealed in Jesus Christ. For us He is the source of the moral law of which we speak. He is the source of moral judgments on the issues of this war upon which the Federal Council of Churches has also spoken. Only if the Christian churches of this land build a spiritual foundation that is broad and deep will this nation pursue righteous policies. Only if spiritual revelation strike from our eyes the scales of hatred, hypocrisy, intolerance and greed, will we be competent to cope with the immensely difficult problems that confront us.

But there is a secondary task to which our Commission can now properly address itself. That is to point out that the Guiding Principles we have proclaimed compel certain broad political conclusions. We do that now because the course of events is such that a time for action is at hand.

Military peril has dramatized, for all to see, the need for international cooperation. But as military victory becomes more certain and draws more near, that need will be less obvious.

As we come to grips with the appalling moral, social and material aftermaths of Axis rule, transitory issues will arise to perplex and divide the United Nations. These may loom large and obscure the fundamentals and incline us to relapse into reliance only upon our own strength. Thus, if our nation does not make the right choice soon, it may never be made in our time.

We have, accordingly, now formulated and we present herewith a Statement of Political Propositions that flow from the moral principles we have heretofore enunciated. We also append a brief commentary upon these Propositions.

We have stated our Propositions in simple and minimum terms. We recognize that as so stated there is much latitude as to their form and detailed content and as to the timing of their full realization. These matters are important and their determination will involve much honest differences of opinion which, ultimately, must be reconciled. But the Propositions, as stated by us, serve to force the initial and vital decision on the direction in which this nation will move. They force that decision in relation to six major areas within which the factual interdependence of the world has become such as to require political mechanism for cooperative action. If the six Propositions we enunciate become an official program of this nation, we will be committed to move, by definitive steps, to bring ourselves into an ordered relationship with others. Only if the nations join to do this can we escape chaos and recurrent war. Only if the United States assumes a leadership can it be done now. For we, more than any other nation, have the capacity to influence decisively the shaping of world events. If the future is to be other than a repetition of the past, the United States must accept a responsibility for constructive action commensurate with its power and opportunity.

And so we present our Statement of Political Propositions and we ask the people of this nation

- to study, to understand and to accept these Propositions and their implications:
- to seek that such Propositions shall be adopted by our Congress and Executive as official policy of our Government:
- to seek, through proper channels, the acceptance by other nations of these Propositions, to the end that an immediate start be made to realize them.

The many who believe the things we believe and who desire, as citizens, to do something about it, have here a field for action.

THE COMMISSION TO STUDY THE
BASES OF A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE,

by JOHN FOSTER DULLES,
Chairman.

MARCH, 1943.

'Six Pillars' -

STATEMENT
OF
POLITICAL PROPOSITIONS

I.

The peace must provide the political framework for a continuing collaboration of the United Nations and, in due course, of neutral and enemy nations.

II.

The peace must make provision for bringing within the scope of international agreement those economic and financial acts of national governments which have widespread international repercussions.

III.

The peace must make provision for an organization to adapt the treaty structure of the world to changing underlying conditions.

IV.

The peace must proclaim the goal of autonomy for subject peoples, and it must establish international organization to assure and to supervise the realization of that end.

V.

The peace must establish procedures for controlling military establishments everywhere.

VI.

The peace must establish in principle, and seek to achieve in practice, the right of individuals everywhere to religious and intellectual liberty.

COMMENTS ON THE STATEMENT OF POLITICAL PROPOSITIONS

I.

The peace must provide the political framework for a continuing collaboration of the United Nations and, in due course, of neutral and enemy nations.

COMMENT

The interdependence of the world is strikingly proved by the events that led up to this war. That interdependence calls for permanent political collaboration. Such collaboration should, as quickly as possible, be universal. But practically, the initial nucleus is the United Nations who have already been forced, by events, to collaborate.

The degree of collaboration can properly be related to the degree of interdependence and thus any universal scheme may contain within its framework provision for regional collaboration. Europe particularly illustrates the need for regional collaboration. To continue there the uncoordinated independence of some twenty-five sovereign states will assure for the future that, as in the past, war will be a frequently recurrent event.

II.

The peace must make provision for bringing within the scope of international agreement those economic and financial acts of national governments which have widespread international repercussions.

COMMENT

Science has made it possible for the world to sustain a far greater population than was formerly the case and to attain for that population a higher standard of living. But this involves a large degree of transportation and interchange between one nation and another. Thus all people are subject to grave risk, so long as any single government may, by unilateral action, disrupt the flow of world trade. This is a form of anarchy that creates widespread insecurity and

breeds disorder. It prompts nations to seek self-sufficiency for themselves at the expense of others.

We do not here envisage, as presently practical, a condition of "free trade". But the world does require that the areas of economic interdependence be dealt with in the interest of all concerned and that there be international organization to promote this end.

III.

The peace must make provision for an organization to adapt the treaty structure of the world to changing underlying conditions.

COMMENT

The world is a living and, therefore, a changing organism. Change is the one thing that is inevitable. As the world is now organized, a fixed status is prescribed by treaties and, unless all the parties agree, that status cannot be changed except by force or the threat of force. Change effected under the threat of force seldom is productive of peace, because change under such circumstances seems to reward, and thus encourages, violent and lawless elements. On the other hand, nations, like individuals, seldom freely abandon their acquired legal rights. We must, therefore, have an organization to promote such changes in the treaty structure of the world as may be needed to keep that structure responsive to future changes in the underlying conditions. Without this, no conditions of peace, however just and fair initially, will permanently assure peace.

IV.

The peace must proclaim the goal of autonomy for subject peoples, and it must establish international organization to assure and to supervise the realization of that end.

COMMENT

There is a ferment among many peoples who are now subject to alien rule. That will make durable peace unattainable unless such peoples are satisfied that they can achieve self-rule without passive or active resistance to the now constituted authorities. We realize that autonomy, in certain cases, is not now desired, and in other cases

is presently impractical. But judgments as to this tend to be warped, and certainly are suspect, when made by the governing power itself. There must be international agencies, which embrace persons free from the self-interest which comes from identification with the particular governing power, and which are charged with the duty to see that pledges of ultimate autonomy are honored, and that, in the meanwhile, there is no exploitation for alien ends. Self-rule, when achieved, would, of course, be subject to the limitations which follow from the other Propositions here stated.

V.

The peace must establish procedures for controlling military establishments everywhere.

COMMENT

It is assumed that those nations with which we are at war will be effectively disarmed. But that alone will not suffice. Military establishments everywhere should be brought under some form of international control. This has two aspects: One, negative, and the other positive.

The negative purpose is to bring to an end the present system which permits nations generally to create unlimited armament for use for purely national ends. Continuation of that system would ultimately undermine the international organs we contemplate. It would either paralyze their action or lead to action preferential to nations possessed of great military power. There should nowhere be vast military establishments which have no valid reason for existence except to enable their possessors to be a law unto themselves.

A positive purpose of control is to bring such military establishments as remain into the affirmative service of international order. International agencies, such as those we contemplate, will primarily need to depend upon the moral support of the great body of mankind. That is their only reliable source of permanent power and unless they can command such moral backing they are not entitled to other forms of power. But any society will produce minority elements who are not subject to moral suasion and who, if they feel able, may defy the general interest to advance their own. Therefore, the economic and military power of the world community should be

subject to mobilization to support international agencies which are designed to, and do in fact, serve the general welfare.

VI.

The peace must establish in principle, and seek to achieve in practice, the right of individuals everywhere to religious and intellectual liberty.

COMMENT

Wars are not due only to economic causes. They have their origin also in false ideologies and in ignorance. Peace, furthermore, cannot be preserved merely by documentary acts that create political bodies and define their powers and duties. Such bodies can function effectively only as they can count upon a public opinion to understand and support them.

It is, therefore, indispensable that there exist the opportunity to bring the people of all the world to a fuller knowledge of the facts and a greater acceptance of common moral standards. Spiritual and intellectual regimentation that prevents this is a basic underlying cause of war. As such it is not a matter of purely domestic concern, and governments and parties must recognize this if the world is to achieve a durable peace.

