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“A Universal Message”:

Pope John XXIII on International Order in the Postwar World

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On October 28th, 1958, a billow of white smoke emanated from an antiquated narrow chimney on the Sistine Chapel and dissipated into the clear Roman sky. The faithful gathered within Saint Peter’s Square in solidarity with the billions the world over awaiting the ascendance of light smoke from a smoldering fire, and anxiously awaiting the “*Habemus Papam*” announcement. Nineteen years had passed since the last time a fire was ignited under that narrow chimney of the Sistine Chapel. They had been nineteen tumultuous years which had seen the most catastrophic and transformative global event in modern history, the Second World War. Across the span of nineteen years, the preceding structure of the temporal order was destroyed, its demise ratified in the blood of the millions killed in the conflict, and in its place, the modern political world had arisen. Back in March 1939, during the waning golden moments of international peace, the white smoke that time signaled the genesis of the papacy of Pope Pius XII. He was a man who not only astutely steered the Catholic Church but also guided the conscience of a violent world through its *darkest hour*.

The world was radically different in 1958. Indeed, the entire structure of the globe had been transformed in nineteen years. How to achieve an international order, as a transnational effort of nations and individuals to encourage peace, maintain freedom, and protect human

rights, became the most enduring question of the postwar period. In the tradition of his immediate predecessors, the late Pope Pius XII had guided the world's largest and oldest international institution, the Catholic Church, into the era of postwar modern internationalism. To the next man in his office would fall the responsibility to both preside over this universal organization and continue leading the Church from its infancy to maturity concerning international relations. On that autumn evening in 1958, the man charged with this task, the elderly Venetian prelate Angelo Roncalli, appeared above the central *loggia* of Saint Peter's Basilica. The papacy of Pope John XXIII had begun.

Considered one of the most influential papacies in history, the brief but pivotal reign of Pope John XXIII (1958-1963), ratified the standing and policies of the Catholic Church in the light of the postwar international order. Consistent with the modern social teaching of the Catholic Church, as articulated by previous modern popes, John XXIII's response to the new international order of the world, was built upon a classical view of Thomistic, or Scholastic, natural law theory (influenced by Saint Thomas Aquinas).¹ A renewed Neo-Scholasticism emerged in earnest in the European, and later the international sphere, and included the French philosopher Jacques Maritain.² Through his philosophical writings on the natural law, coupled with committee work in drafting the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), Maritain not only influenced secular international institutions but also encapsulated in his writings a basis for teachings on internationalism based upon the natural law. To understand John XXIII, it is imperative to recognize the political intellectual tradition of both Thomas

¹ Robert John Araujo S.J., and John A. Lucal, S.J., *Papal Diplomacy and the Quest for Peace: The United Nations from Pius XII to Paul VI* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2010), 3-5, 61.

² Bradley R. Murno, "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Maritain, and the Universality of Human Rights," in *Philosophical Theory and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.*, edited by William Sweet (Ottawa, Canada: University of Ottawa Press, 2003), 110, 114-117.

Aquinas, as well as some of his immediate papal predecessors, Pope Pius XII (1939-1958), Pope Pius XI (1922-1939), and Pope Leo XII (1878-1903), through the lens of this revived natural law philosophy.³ Consequently, by doing so an intellectual history can be made of how the world's largest and oldest international societal institution, the Catholic Church, responded to a change in the secular postwar international world. Knowing this tradition of intellectual continuity allows for a more profound comprehension of the historical teaching of John XXIII for international order in his time. This also aids in recognizing his tremendous influence establishing a robust Catholic framework for international political questions during the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), and within the papacies of Paul VI (1963-1978), and John Paul II (1978-2005).⁴ Specifically, John XXIII's 1963 encyclical *Pacem in Terris*, the quintessential Catholic response to the international questions of the period, demonstrates how Thomistic natural law thinking on society became applied to Catholic teaching on the international order.⁵ Pope John XXIII's teaching for order in postwar international society was founded upon the Thomistic natural law tradition and this teaching later influenced Catholic policy on internationalism both in the Second Vatican Council and subsequent papacies.

Aiding in giving a broader context to the philosophical underpinnings of Pope John XXIII's teachings on international society, Andrew Woodcock's article, *Jacques Maritain, Natural Law, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, argues and explains the influence and tangible effects of Catholic philosopher Jacques Maritain's views of Thomistic natural law

³ Harry C. Koenig, ed., *Principles for Peace: Selections from Papal Documents Leo XIII to Pius XII*, (Washington D.C: National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1943); Araujo and Lucal, *Papal Diplomacy and the Quest for Peace*, 1-6, 61, 90.

⁴ Araujo and Lucal, *Papal Diplomacy and the Quest for Peace*, 71-75, 122; Pope John Paul II, *Centesimus Annus* (The Holy See: Vatican City-State, 1991), http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_01051991_centesimus-annus.html.

⁵ Pope John XXIII, *Pacem in Terris: Encyclical of Pope John XXIII On Establishing Universal Peace in Truth, Justice, Charity, and Liberty* (The Holy See: Vatican City-State, 1963), http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-xxiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_j-xxiii_enc_11041963_pacem.html.

in relation to the postwar international order.⁶ Beginning with a thorough explanation of the historical-philosophical journey of natural law from Aristotle to the postwar period, the article allows the layman to grasp the arguments surrounding the essence of the natural law theory, or as the Woodcock argues, theories.⁷ Subsequently, Woodcock explains the role of natural law philosopher Maritain, a primary formulator and intellectual groundbreaker who served as an influential committee-member on the drafting for the UNESCO's Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948. Additionally, he tells how this man's intellectual labor brought about a conscious awareness in the reemergence of the Thomistic view of natural law with internationalism as a Roman Catholic.⁸ Incidentally, this includes Thomistic natural law's interpretations of the development and proper end of society, which in this historical context was applied towards establishing international order in the form of human rights.⁹ While tremendously useful in determining the natural law underpinnings of Catholic thought, its emphasis remains on Maritain and does not examine the teachings and influences of the contemporary papacies.

In the historical monograph, *Papal Diplomacy and the Quest for Peace: The United Nations from Pius XII to Paul VI*, Catholic Church historians Robert John Araujo and John A. Lucal collaborated to write what can be considered arguably the leading historical narrative and commentary on the history of the founding of the postwar International Order concerning the official standings of the papacy from 1945 to 1976. The monograph defends the thesis that the Vatican response to the international order of the postwar time was based firstly upon the

⁶ Andrew Woodcock, "Jacques Maritain, Natural Law and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights," *Journal of International History* 8, (2006): 245.

⁷ Woodcock, "Jacques Maritain," 249-255.

⁸ Woodcock, "Jacques Maritain," 260-262.

⁹ Woodcock, "Jacques Maritain," 262.

Aristotelian premise of natural law, and secondarily that this viewpoint, which originated tangibly during the pontificate of Pope Pius XI, before being culminated in the United Nations address of Pope Paul VI in 1965.¹⁰ This work demonstrates the combination of the historical continuity of multiple papacies while emphasizing the enduring principles of natural law undermining official Catholic views of internationalism. The work devotes considerable pages to particularly explain the vast influence of Pope John XXIII's universal and pivotal encyclical *Pacem in Terris*.¹¹ This work serves as an inclusive framework from which refined arguments of the period can be conceived. Although it details specific papacies, issues, and the general historical narrative of Vatican-United Nations relations, the monograph does not give more than a passing explanation of the details regarding the rich philosophy of natural law theory and the importance that other contemporary Catholic intellectuals had on Catholic internationalism.

Few ideological pillars are of such preeminent importance and intricately essential to the soul of Western civilization as the tradition and development of the natural law doctrine. Historically in the West, it is upon the existence of an enduring moral natural law, that the elements of ethics and morality, religious philosophies, and the modern ideas of human rights, and democracies have been predicated.¹² The natural law theory has existed in some form in Western civilization since the Ancient Greeks and Romans' discussion of *justice*.¹³ While Aristotle and other Greco-Romans developed a basis of the natural law philosophy, they did not attempt to critically categorize the elements of the theory nor explain its origin.¹⁴ These two goals became the enduring contributions of natural law's greatest innovator, the medieval saint,

¹⁰ Araujo and Lucal, *Papal Diplomacy and the Quest for Peace*, 3-5, 61, 90.

¹¹ Araujo and Lucal, *Papal Diplomacy and the Quest for Peace*, 61-79.

¹² Woodcock, "Jacques Maritain," 249-255.

¹³ Woodcock, "Jacques Maritain," 249-255.

¹⁴ D.J. O'Conner, *Aquinas and the Natural Law* (London, United Kingdom: Macmillan Press, 1967), 57-59.

Thomas Aquinas. Aquinas' substantial and influential Scholastic view of the natural law's origins, limits, and uses, became organized as the classical, Thomistic, natural law theory.¹⁵

For Aquinas, the natural law was, "nothing else but the rational creature's participation (understanding) of the eternal law (of God)."¹⁶ Thus according to the twentieth-century Jacques Maritain, the natural law in relation to mankind is the unwritten and unchangeable intrinsic inclinations of man that are proper to his being's essence given to the heart by God.¹⁷ The natural law in this sense is synonymous with the moral law, and this right order of humanity can be attained in some part through natural reason. Particularly this is emphasized in the being's self-evident realization of its "normality of functioning" (natural inclinations) of what it *should* or *ought* to be when directed to its teleological proper end.¹⁸ Implicit in the context of seeking natural order, the *should* and *ought* aspects particularly demonstrate the ethical choice between what is good, or proper to a being's end, and conversely what is evil towards it. Thomistic thought holds that man is both a person and an individual, that is to say, he is a whole bound not only to himself but also as a part of a community.¹⁹ This idea of achieving the best in society for order, the *common good* of politics, is a combination of freedom, just authority, human goodness, and ethical morality.²⁰ For man, naturally a social creature, it is only fitting that human laws, such as those between nations, protection of human rights, and the preservation of peace, be set upon this Thomistic natural moral law for the preservation of the common good. It

¹⁵ Woodcock, "Jacques Maritain," 250.

¹⁶ O'Conner, *Aquinas and the Natural Law*, 61-62.

¹⁷ Jacques Maritain, "Natural Law," in *The Social and Political Philosophy of Jacques Maritain*, ed Joseph W. Evans and Leo R. Ward (London, United Kingdom: Geoffrey Press Ltd, 1955), 48-49.

¹⁸ Maritain, "Natural Law," 49-50.

¹⁹ Woodcock, "Jacques Maritain," 257; Jacques Maritain, "The Person and the Common Good," in *The Social and Political Philosophy of Jacques Maritain*, ed. Joseph W. Evans and Leo R. Ward (London, United Kingdom: Geoffrey Press Ltd, 1955), 102-105.

²⁰ Jacques Maritain, *Christianity and Democracy and The Rights of Man and the Natural Law* (San Francisco, California: Ignatius Press, original 1942, republished 1986), 94-95; Maritain, "The Person and the Common Good," 103.

is through this understanding of what is good for his nature, that temporal, or human laws can be established.²¹ Hence, the political state, and later international order for Maritain, is responsible for facilitating the higher implementations of the common good under natural law.²²

Subsequently, these beliefs of the common good and the natural law would form the basis of the twentieth-century eras papacies' teachings on internationalism. While a discussion of the intricacies and minutiae of Thomistic natural law theory is a task best left to philosophical treatises than this intellectual history, there are six main principles in the classic theory that are most pertinent for this discussion. They are, (1) natural law's innate sense of order, (2) the primacy of the common good, (3) human rights, (4) the principle of solidarity, (5) the principle of subsidiarity, and (6) the pursuit of justice.²³ It is this view of the natural order that would shape the teachings of Pope John XXIII.

It would be imprudent not to recognize the intellectual continuity of modern Catholic international thought. Therefore, it is important to discuss briefly the contributions of several modern-era popes to the natural law theory and its six main principles in international relations. By observing this continuity, it is in a sense more fitting to see John XXIII's teaching on internationalism as a grand assemblage and culmination of the past half-century's writings on the topic, than a radical new wave of intellectualism. Seventy years before the election of Roncalli as pontiff, Pope Leo XIII taught in an encyclical on human liberty, that human laws for the promotion of liberty are to be guided by and framed through the natural law.²⁴ Even before this, Pope Leo XIII had spoken on the importance of the principle of the common good in

²¹ Woodcock, "Jacques Maritain," 251.

²² Woodcock, "Jacques Maritain," 259.

²³ Robert John Araujo, "International Law Clients: The Wisdom of Natural Law," *Fordham Urban Law Journal* 28, no. 6 (2001): 1753, 1755, 1788, 1759, 1761, 1768.

²⁴ Pope Leo XII, "Libertas Praestantissimum: On Human Liberty (1888)," in *Principles for Peace*, 40.

governmental structures, believing that this end would be established to serve both the community and the individual.²⁵ This theme would become central to both Maritain's work and John XXIII's. Pope Leo XIII's sociopolitical teaching reached its zenith in *Rerum Novarum*, an encyclical that would collectively become a keystone influence of how the Catholic Church addressed the issues of internationalism. While written primarily to speak towards the concerns of labor and capital in a burgeoning industrial society, the writer touches upon another of the six primary principles of natural law concerning internationalism, solidarity. Solidarity, the cooperation between connected human entities to resolve social evils as such, while not yet named, is implied throughout the document's pages.²⁶ Additionally, Leo XIII discusses by name the principle of natural rights which are inherently residual in the individual.²⁷ By careful observation of this early modern pope, the evolution of modern Catholicism's enunciation of human rights, the common good, and the natural law's primacy is revealed.

During the papacies of both Pope Pius XI (1922-1939) and Pope Pius XII (1939-1958), the six principles of natural law theory towards internationalism become more solidified in both generalities, due to the former's work, and through some of the latter's practical policy advisements. Both men, as well as their contemporary Jacques Maritain, would present a paradigm for international order that would be utilized and articulated by Pope John XXIII. Because his reign ended in 1939 upon the dawning of the Second World War, little historical scholarship exists considering the contributions of the pontiff towards internationalism, as most tend to focus on the contributions of his successor. Nevertheless, Pius XI's *Quadragesimo Anno* takes a bold approach to diagnosing the sociopolitical ills of the era and proposing a

²⁵ Pope Leo XII, "Immortale Dei (1885)," in *Principles for Peace*, 26.

²⁶ Araujo, "International Law Clients: The Wisdom of Natural Law," 1759; Pope Leo XIII, "Rerum Novarum (1891)," in *Principles for Peace*, 52-81.

²⁷ Pope Leo XIII, "Rerum Novarum," 55.

constructivist solution. Released forty years after *Rerum Novarum*, the writing encapsulates the development of Thomistic political thought up until that point by giving a name to the six principles of social natural law theory. For example, while expanding the Catholic understanding of human rights, solidarity, the pursuit of the common good, the encyclical explores in more depth the role that the natural moral law has as the proper ordering of humanity towards the good, the pursuit of justice, and the principle of subsidiarity.²⁸ In the pages of this text, Pius XI lays out how the ancient theory of natural law could be directly related to the ills of modern society.

It would be his successor, Pius XII, that would begin to apply in detail these principles to the modern world. As philosopher D.J. O’Conner argues, while generalities of the truth of the natural law may be understood by many, its application can be specifically implemented through particular avenues of action.²⁹ It was Pius XII, who particularly through many public addresses during the war, that took the next step in evolving natural law for international policies. Only three months into the war, Pius XII’s 1939 Christmas Allocution to the College of Cardinals, arguably the most solemn proclamation of the infant papacy yet so far, proposed a *new kind* of international order (likely in reference to the failed League of Nations) in the forthcoming postwar period to “continue undisturbed and ensure true peace...”³⁰ As a means to reach this end, the pope explicitly willed for an international judicial order to enforce this desire and avoid transnational misunderstandings stating, “...in order to...avoid unilateral interpretations of treaties, it is of first importance to erect some juridical institution...”³¹ This international

²⁸ Pope Pius XI, “Quadragesimo Anno (1931),” in *Principles for Peace*, 400, 414, 402, 410, 415-6, 423.

²⁹ O’Conner, *Aquinas and the Natural Law*, 63.

³⁰ Araujo and Lucal, *Papal Diplomacy and the Quest for Peace*, 2-6; Pope Pius XII, “In Questo Giorno Di Santa (1939),” in *Principles for Peace*, 636-637.

³¹ Pope Pius XII, “In Questo Giorno Di Santa,” 637.

institution was not to be built upon secularism but upon the natural moral law. By doing so, Pius hoped that the postwar world would be built in fraternal charity and virtue. Consequently, during his papacy, the pontiff called for the construction of this new world order stating, “(the) reconstruction of the new social order, worthy aspiration of God and man, will instill a new and powerful impulse and a new wave of life and development in the whole flowering of human culture.”³² It is interesting to note that many of the effects of the postwar international world order, human rights, national sovereignty, economic justice, the need for an international organization, disarmament, and freedom of conscience, were argued for and supported by Pius XII during his papacy.³³ Although not invited to participate at either the 1944 Dumbarton Oaks Conference or the San Francisco Conference in 1945, Pius XII was eager to support the international order based on natural law.

The Catholic presence during the formation of the United Nations was modest, yet powerful, to say the least. Thomistic Jacques Maritain, French Ambassador to the Holy See during part of the reign of Pius XII, would serve in the role of committee chairman during the discussions for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948. Maritain would vehemently argue for the natural law as the source of human rights in his committee position.³⁴ In this role, it is reasonable to conclude that the natural-law based ideology for the international order of Pius XII and the neo-Thomistic thought of the diplomat Jacques Maritain, was united, as a reading of their writings will suggest.³⁵ During the 1950s, the Vatican continued its discourse within the United Nations, while recognizing its shortcomings.³⁶ For the desired international

³² Pope Pius XII, “Discourse Solemnita della Pentecoste (1941),” in *Principles for Peace*, 727-729.

³³ The Catholic Association for International Peace, *A Peace Agenda for the United Nations: A Report of the Post-War World Committee* (New York: Paulist Press, 1943), 26-29.

³⁴ Jacques Maritain, “On the Philosophy of Human Rights (1948),” in *Human Rights: Comments and Interpretations*, ed. UNESCO (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949): 9-17, 72-78.

³⁵ Araujo and Lucal, *Papal Diplomacy and the Quest for Peace*, 151.

³⁶ Araujo and Lucal, *Papal Diplomacy and the Quest for Peace*, 12.

order to truly become envisioned in Catholic intellectualism, Pope John XXIII's papacy would entirely suffice.

Arguably with the possible exception of the enormous historical personality of Pope John Paul II, no pope changed the church since the Council of Trent in the 1500s more than "Good Pope John." Pope John XXIII's papacy was seen by many of his contemporaries as a "stop-gap" before the younger, Giovanni Montini (later Paul VI) was mature enough to lead the church. The reason for this is undoubtedly his role in calling the Second Vatican Council. His teaching towards establishing an international order was nearly equally as groundbreaking. Taking upon the intellectual tradition of centuries of natural law theory, including its six main principles, the rudimentary basis of Leo XIII and Pius XI, and the international desires of Pius XIII and neo-scholastic Jacques Maritain.³⁷ Pope John XXIII's teaching on postwar international order was fundamentally predicated upon a Thomistic natural law understanding. No other writing during his papacy more encapsulates his teaching his 1963 seminal encyclical *Pacem in terris*. The international tone and connotations of this document are evident, as it is the first papal encyclical addressed to not only Catholics but to "All Men of Good Will."³⁸ From the beginning, it is clear that his teaching and message from the Catholic (appropriately etymologically *katholikos* or *universal* in Ancient Greek) Church in the international world is a universal message. It was in short, a universal church's message for a universal world.

³⁷ *N.B.*: While there is no evidence that Roncalli and Maritain ever developed a close relationship, they were aware of each other and met on occasion during their work in the Vatican Diplomatic Corps. Some authors have suggested Maritain influenced Roncalli directly. This work suggests that Maritain's reemergence of neo-Thomism and his relationship with Pius XII was the most enduring influence on Roncalli's thought. Catherine M.A. McCauliff, "Jacques Maritain's Embrace of Religious Pluralism and the Declaration on Religious Freedom," *Seton Hall Law Review* 41 (2011): 593, 609; New York Times, "Jacques Maritain Dies at 90," April 29th, 1973, <https://www.nytimes.com/1973/04/29/archives/jacques-maritain-dies-at-90-a-powerful-mind.html>.

³⁸ Pope John XXIII, "Pacem in Terris," Introduction.

This neo-Thomistic framework for international order is made relevant through *Pacem* for an international audience.³⁹ John amplifies the six main principles of natural law: the innate sense of order, the primacy of the common good, human rights, the principle of solidarity, the principle of subsidiarity, and the pursuit of justice.⁴⁰ The first principle, that of a sense of ordering inherent within nature, is defined in *Pacem* before all else by a thorough explanation of this in its opening lines, recognizing the divine origin of law. Natural order, John teaches is found inscribed within the hearts of men and it is from this that man's sense of purpose can be found.⁴¹ Later, the culminating theme of order reappears, and not surprisingly in its discussion of this international new order so desired by Pius XII.⁴² As is given in the very understanding of natural law, the ethical choice between good and evil, a code of ethical morality, is fundamental. As Pius XI's call for a renewal of public virtue in return to the natural law,⁴³ *Pacem* emphasizes that the good of the community can only be obtained by virtuous living and respect of the moral law saying: "The order which prevails in human society...its foundation is truth...it needs to be animated and perfected by men's love for one another, and, while preserving freedom intact, it must make for an equilibrium in society which is increasingly more human in character."⁴⁴ Here is found the quality of international living. This order, through morality and good choice, is the foundation upon which John sees the genesis of the international order hanging.

The second and third principles, related to the primacy of the common good and the protection and existence of human rights are addressed in considerable detail. Because man is by nature social, and thus a part of a whole, his good is bound to the common good of freedom,

³⁹ Pope John XXIII, "Pacem in Terris," Paragraph 38.

⁴⁰ Araujo, "International Law Clients," 1753, 1755, 1758, 1759, 1761.

⁴¹ Pope John XXIII, "Pacem in Terris," Paragraph 5.

⁴² Pope John XXIII, "Pacem in Terris," Paragraph 124.

⁴³ Pope Pius XI, "Quadragesimo Anno," 410.

⁴⁴ Pope John XXIII, "Pacem in Terris," Paragraph 37.

authority, and virtue of the whole. Similar to the belief held by Maritain, John sees the human rights and the common good as inextricably intertwined. Human rights, with their emphasis on individuality, and the common good with its emphasis on collectivism, are not juxtaposed but mutually compatible.⁴⁵ While the final cause of social order and its many individual parts is the common good,⁴⁶ the most efficient means of achieving this end is through the efficient cause of the protection of individual human rights. Doubtlessly influenced by Christian liberalism John explains the role of maintaining the common good through human rights:

...the common good is best safeguarded when personal rights and duties are guaranteed. The chief concern of civil authorities must, therefore, be to ensure that these rights are recognized, respected, co-ordinated, defended and promoted, and that each individual is enabled to perform his duties more easily. For "to safeguard the inviolable rights of the human person, and to facilitate the performance of his duties, is the principal duty of every public authority."⁴⁷

While the common good is the aim, the method of reaching it is via the protection of human rights. These rights are directly tied to the natural law. They grant innate dignity to the human person as John explains, "These rights and duties derive their origin...from the natural law..."⁴⁸ By this recognition, all men of the world are entitled to the protection and respect of these rights, whether they be political, economic, or religious.⁴⁹ In a similar intellectual continuity with Maritain's influenced UDHR,⁵⁰ Pope John seemingly sees both particular individual rights, such as the right to life, religion, and property, and communal welfare rights, such as the right to a living wage, and the right to medical services.⁵¹ John was directly aware and perhaps influenced

⁴⁵ Maritain, "The Person and the Common Good," 102-105; M.C.A., McCauliff, "Cognition and Consensus in the Natural Law Tradition and in Neuroscience: Jacques Maritain and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights," *Villanova Law Review* 54, no. 435 (2009): 14.

⁴⁶ Pope John XXIII, "Pacem in Terris," Paragraphs 60, 70, 84.

⁴⁷ Pope John XXIII, "Pacem in Terris," Paragraph 60.

⁴⁸ Pope John XXIII, "Pacem in Terris," Paragraph 28.

⁴⁹ Pope John XXIII, "Pacem in Terris," Paragraph 26, 18, and 14.

⁵⁰ Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948.

⁵¹ Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948; Pope John XXIII, "Pacem in Terris," Paragraphs 11, 15, 20, 21.

by the UDHR as he explicitly praised it, despite some of the shortcomings.⁵² Thus, by examining the discussion of human rights as principally united to the common good, the Catholic desire for the building of the international order becomes evident.

Understanding the subsidiarity and solidarity principles are fundamental to a comprehensive understanding of the complexities of *Pacem*. In regards to the latter, the document not only encourages active solidarity but through its discussion of it promotes global human consciousness stating, "... civil authority exists, not to confine men within the frontiers of their own nations...which certainly cannot be divorced from the common good of the entire human family."⁵³ This level of *global citizenship* described so directly in an international context is unprecedented in papal writings. It speaks profoundly to the desire of the church to become more active in international affairs. Regarding the principle of subsidiarity, words that *Pacem* holds are concise yet potent. By subsidiarity, it holds that nations should be self-determined to develop at the local level.⁵⁴ Subsidiarity is a conservative balance to solidarity, as it holds that the proper level of authority to solve a sociopolitical problem should be localized.⁵⁵ Even so, *Pacem* implies a sort of international order that the "universal authority" ought to establish so that smaller institutions can properly exercise this principle.⁵⁶

Finally, the pursuit of justice is fundamental to all Catholic social teaching, as peaceful order is derived only through the work of justice. This end of the role of justice is illustrated thus, "Now the order which prevails in human society is wholly incorporeal in nature...must be brought into effect by justice."⁵⁷ There can be no order in a society founded upon the natural

⁵² Pope John XXIII, "Pacem in Terris," Paragraphs 143, 144.

⁵³ Pope John XXIII, "Pacem in Terris," Paragraphs 98-99.

⁵⁴ Pope John XXIII, "Pacem in Terris," Paragraphs 92, 140-141.

⁵⁵ Araujo, "International Law Clients," 1761.

⁵⁶ Pope John XXIII, "Pacem in Terris," Paragraph 141.

⁵⁷ Pope John XXIII, "Pacem in Terris," Paragraph 37.

law without seeking that which is good, or just. While the document does not philosophize what the theological nature of justice is, it is responsible to interpret it within the Thomistic tradition of ensuring *that which ought to be based on reason*. *Pacem* applies this understanding multiple times. For example, it states the role of the state is the protection of human rights. If a state is not doing this, this is a violation of justice, and hence is “lacking binding force.”⁵⁸ It continues that transnational relations between countries are to follow suit in justice based upon a mutual understanding of their rights.⁵⁹ Justice, indeed the word or its derivatives appears over fifty times in the document is so foundational to the international teachings outlined in *Pacem*, that much more scholarship can be done distinguishing the separate types of justice called for in the work. Notwithstanding, what is most important to understand though is that the pursuit of justice, the sixth principle of the Catholic natural law tradition, is a predominant mark of the teaching of John XXIII.

Despite a reign on the papal throne lasting only five years, Pope John XXIII’s comprehensive collaboration of the texts of the Thomistic natural law tradition concerning the postwar international order *Pacem in Terris* forever altered the Catholic approach to internationalism. By responsibly developing his teaching upon the precedent of predecessors, John’s successors, and later millions of international Catholics, would become aware of these expansions in the social natural law tradition. Put candidly, John’s teaching in *Pacem* did not dissipate into academic oblivion but remained the foundational text for international teachings during the Second Vatican Council,⁶⁰ and the papacies of Paul VI and John Paul II. During the Second Vatican Council, one of the four major documents, *Gaudium et Spes*, dedicates an entire

⁵⁸ Pope John XXIII, “*Pacem in Terris*,” Paragraph 61.

⁵⁹ Pope John XXIII, “*Pacem in Terris*,” Paragraph 91-93.

⁶⁰ Araujo and Lucal, *Papal Diplomacy and the Quest for Peace*, 71-75.

chapter to the “establishment of a community of nations,” and multiple times references *Pacem* directly.⁶¹ Numerous parallels can be made that directly are linked to themes in *Pacem*, written only two years prior such as those regarding the nature of peace, order, and justice, the need for an international authority, and the importance of the natural law.⁶² Likewise, Pope Paul VI, in his 1967 encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, gives due recognition to the social teachings of his immediate predecessor’s work and influence upon him.⁶³ In it, the influence of John XXIII is evident when Paul VI speaks of an international authority and the need for the preservation of solidarity.⁶⁴ Finally, written three months before the 1991 collapse of the Soviet Union, and during the centennial of the foundational international social teaching of Leo XIII’s *Rerum Novarum*, Pope John Paul II’s *Centesimus Annus* is profoundly influenced by *Pacem*. It is a deeply reflective work on both historical and philosophical standpoints displaying the continuing continuity of the six principles of the natural law tradition, and relating them to the current state of political affairs.⁶⁵ Incidentally, *Gaudium et Spes*, *Populorum Progressio*, and *Centesimus Annus* would each become immortalized into the twenty-first century teaching of the Catholic Church by being referenced and directly quoted in the current collection of the beliefs of the 1994 Catechism of the Catholic Church.⁶⁶ This catechism is the standard of Catholic teaching across the world today. Thus, through these influences and documents, Pope John XXIII’s legacy on internationalism based upon the natural law tradition remains in the modern church and among the ideologies of the modern world.

⁶¹ Second Vatican Council, “Gaudium et Spes: Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World (1965),” in *Vatican Council II: Volume I The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents*, ed. Austin Flannery, O.P (Northport, New York: Costello Publishing Company, 2004), 986-1001.

⁶² Second Vatican Council, “Gaudium et Spes,” 986, 993-4, 996.

⁶³ Araujo and Lucal, *Papal Diplomacy and the Quest for Peace*, 122-124.

⁶⁴ Araujo and Lucal, *Papal Diplomacy and the Quest for Peace*, 123.

⁶⁵ Pope John Paul II, “Centesimus Annus,” Paragraphs 6, 7, 10, 15, 17, 47.

⁶⁶ Catechism of the Catholic Church (1994) (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2010), 726, 731-734.

On that October evening in 1958, when the hopeful crowd gathered in Saint Peter's Square first gazed upon the rising white smoke, few could have envisioned the impact that the imminent papacy would have. Pope John XXIII's short-lived papacy not only transformed and renewed the Church but on the international level, it taught what the true basis for the postwar international order ought to be. Through him, the ancient was made new, the philosophical turned practical, and a universal message brought was brought from a universal church to a universal world. Nevertheless, the tradition of Thomistic natural law theory and internationalism is not over. While John XXIII's teaching solidified what the international order should be, its completion has not been attained. Individuals, not institutions, make the international order. Thus, for the living historical legacy of Pope John XXIII to be tangibly recalled into the present day, it is vital that all individuals "of goodwill" seek the lasting peace, justice, and order that comes from living courageous virtue in accordance with the natural law.⁶⁷ Perhaps if that noble end is pursued, the international community will indeed experience an era of true, lasting *Pacem in terris*.⁶⁸

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⁶⁷ Pope John XXIII, "Pacem in Terris," Introduction.

⁶⁸ Translation from Latin: Peace on Earth.

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