

and

International Affairs

By

THE REV. FRANCIS J. HAAS, Ph. D.

A Report of the Subcommittee on Agriculture and International Relations and the general Economics Committee. The Report has been passed by these two Committees and presented to the Executive Committee of the Association.

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F. J. HOLWECK, Censor Librorum. Sti. Ludovici, die 12a. Septembris, 1930.

IMPRIMATUR ‡ JOANNES J. GLENNON, Archieppus Sti. Ludovici, Sti. Ludovici, die 13a. Septembris, 1930. Central Bureau, C. V. Print, St. Louis 115

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American Agriculture and International Affairs

This report aims to outline the relations between American agriculture and international affairs.¹) It will not attempt to analyze the relations between the agricultural situation in any of the foreign countries and international affairs. This would be impossible within the narrow limits of this report, in view of the wide diversity among nations as to natural resources, extent of territory, and degree of industrial development. Moreover, what is said of American agriculture and its bearing on international affairs, will, with proper allowances, apply to foreign countries.

The present report will cover the following headings:

- I. City-ward Movement in the Industrial Nations;
- II. Causes of the City-ward Movement in the United States;
- III. Effects of the City-ward Movement on International Relations;
- IV. Ethical Values Involved;
 - V. Proposals and Recommendations.

I. City-ward Movement in the Industrial Nations

Two trends in the world population are discernible during the nineteenth century: First, an enormous increase in population; and secondly, a marked tendency of peoples to live in cities. In 1800, the population of the world was about 850 millions; in 1900, it was about 1700 millions. Thus the increase in the last century alone equalled the increase in all the centuries preceding it. In the second place,

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¹) Grateful acknowledgment is made to the Century Co., New York, for permission to reproduce in this report portions of Chapter XVI of *Man and Society*, by Francis J. Haas.

throughout the past century and up to the present time, the peoples of the various nations have shown a marked tendency to concentrate in cities. In fact, the large city is a distinct product of the nineteenth century. At present there are nearly forty cities in the world with a population of over one million, whereas a hundred years ago, barring the congested districts of China, there were not more than three. Moreover, the population centers of Europe which were fairly large in 1800, showed enormous increases during the last century. London and Berlin were ten times, and Paris six times, as large in 1900 as in 1800. The rate of increase per decade has been even greater since 1900 than before.

At present, there are approximately 86 million people in the United States, living in cities, towns, and villages; and 31 million living on farms and in the open country. This means that for every 100 persons on farms there are 280 persons in cities, towns, and villages. In 1880, for every 100 persons on farms there were only 130 persons in cities, towns, and villages. Thus the relative number classified as non-agricultural at present is more than twice that of 1880. The same trends appear if the data are taken for the working population alone. In 1880, 44 per cent of all persons gainfully employed were engaged in agriculture, and 56 per cent were engaged in non-agricultural occupations. In 1920, the percentage for the former was 29, and that for the latter was $71.^2$)

The European countries exhibit the same trend toward urbanization as does the United States. According to the latest censuses the populations of the United States, England and Wales, Germany, and France are classified as follows:³)

²) National Industrial Conference Board: The Agricultural Problem in the United States, p. 46.

 League of Nations, Geneva: Agricultural Problems in Their International Aspect, p. 412.
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	Urban	Rural
United States	51.4	48.6
England and Wales ⁴)	79.3	20.7
Germany	64.4	35.6
France		53.7

In the United States the number of persons engaged in agriculture in each 1000 persons of the total occupied population is 262; in Great Britain it is 68; in Germany, 353; and in France, 415. In each of these countries the number engaged in agriculture is considerably less than before the World War. Since the pre-war years the number in the United States has dropped from 330 to 262; in Great Britain from 78 to 68; in Germany from 384 to 353; and in France from 424 to 415. It is to be noted that the greatest decrease during this period took place in the United States.⁵)

The foregoing data show that industrialization has made the greatest strides in Great Britain. This is due chiefly to the fact that Great Britain began to develop her manufacturing industries long before the other countries began to do the same. Since 1750, the British policy has been to import raw materials such as cotton, wool, and iron ore; manufacture them into finished products; and export them. This policy has resolved itself into a conscious aim of employing the largest possible number of workers in the manufacturing industries at home, and endeavoring to secure food for them through trade abroad. Thus it is said that the English people get their bread and meat from the bottoms of vessels. It is estimated that at present England grows enough food to feed her own people only three days a week. Food for the other four days must be imported.

⁴) The Statesman's Year Book, 1929 p. 16. The figures for England and Wales, however, are not strictly comparable with those for other countries.

⁵⁾ League of Nations, op. cit. p. 416.

II. Causes of the City-ward Movement in the United States

The causes of the city-ward migration in the United States may be reduced to two: (A) economic and (B) social.

(A) Economic Causes. Looking at the problem in its historical background, it is seen that the chief economic factor in moving the population from farms to cities during the past century has been the invention of power machinery. Machinery has worked in two ways in stimulating city expansion. It has operated in the city itself by attracting people from the farm; it has operated on the farm by expelling surplus farm labor to the city. First, it has drawn individuals and families to the cities from the farms. The mechanized mills and factories of the city needed men and women to operate them, and they reached out to the farms with the lure of higher wages and shorter hours, and gathered workers into the cities. It should be added that machinery has also played an important role in drawing newly arrived immigrants into cities. Since 1860, immigrant men and women, after their arrival in New York City, have settled in such industrial centers as Philadelphia, Chicago, and Detroit. They could readily find work in unskilled machine occupations in the large cities, but could not take up farming, as they lacked the capital necessary for land and equipment.

In the second place, the invention of machinery has been a powerful factor in sending boys and girls from their farm homes into the city. Because of the increased use of farm machinery, they were left without work on the farm, and they went to the cities and towns to find gainful employment. The National Industrial Conference Board has attempted to estimate the effect of farm machinery on farm emigration. According to the Board's report the amount of machinery on the farm has increased tenfold per farm worker since 1850, and about 18 mil-

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lion persons otherwise necessary for farm production have been released for other occupations.⁶) In the harvesting of wheat, oats, barley, rye, and maize, Quaintance estimates that machinery effected a saving in manual labor of nearly 50 per cent from 1850 to 1900. From 1898 to 1926, agricultural output per worker increased 53 per cent, and this increase was due mainly to the increased use of farm machinery.⁷)

Nor is this all. Many foodstuffs formerly prepared by hand on the farm are now manufactured with the aid of machinery in cities. Foremost among these foodstuffs are milled flour, meat, vegetable products, butter and cheese. The extent of this change may be estimated by remembering that 29 per cent of all the persons working for wages in towns and cities are employed in industries which directly or indirectly prepare food for consumption. These industries include those manufacturing farm machinery, fertilizers, and other production goods used on the farm for producing foodstuffs; the slaughtering, canning, and preserving industries: and the industries distributing food to the general population. Thus it is easy to see how machinery has driven hundreds of thousands of boys and girls from their farm homes by removing from the farm much of the work formerly done there.

The most immediate economic cause of the concentration of the population in cities is the relatively low income of farmers. Low income, in turn, is partially the result of other factors; namely, the tariff and taxation. The more important facts regarding each of these causes will now be presented.

Approximately 26 per cent of the population of the United States are actively engaged in agriculture, and their share of the national income is 10

⁶) Agricultural Problem in the United States, p. 110.

⁷⁾ President's Conference Committee, Recent Economic Changes, Vol. II, p. 452.

per cent of the total.⁸) The relative smallness of the share of the national income going to agriculture is not due to small capital investment in farming as compared with non-agricultural industries. On the contrary, agriculture has a larger capital investment than any other industry in the United States. About 58 billion dollars are invested in agriculture, 53 billions in manufacturing, and 22 billions in transportation. In 1926-1927, the average yearly reward per farm family for labor and management was \$627.9) From 1920 to 1925, the average return per farmer for labor and management was 44 per cent of that of workers in other occupations, the average of the former being \$613, and that of the latter \$1,399.10) Finally, it is to be remembered that the hours of labor on American farms are excessively long, and that Sunday is a working day, at least for the care of live stock. The average length of the working day is about eleven hours for week-days, and about six hours for Sundays.¹¹)

In regard to the tariff, it is sufficient to say that since the time of Alexander Hamilton we have consistently followed a policy of protecting city industries. The result has been that farmers have been compelled to buy farm implements, building materials, food, and clothing, in closed markets. The costs of these commodities constitute over 60 per cent of all costs of farming. On the other hand, the farmer's staple products, such as cotton, wheat, and corn, go into an open world market, and are

⁸) H. A. Wallace, National Conference of Social Work, 1927, p. 20; Dwight Sanderson, Editor, Farm Income and Farm Life, p. 101; cf. National Industrial Conference Board, The Agricultural Problem in the United States, p. 46.

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 ⁹) U. S. Department of Agriculture, Crops and Markets, July, 1927.
¹⁰) National Industrial Conference Board and Chamber

¹⁰) National Industrial Conference Board and Chamber of Commerce of the United States, The Condition of Agriculture in the United States, p. 56.

¹¹) U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bulletin 1466, p. 48.

sold at world prices. The necessary consequence has been a reduction of farm income.

The relatively greater tax burdens carried by farmers as compared with urban dwellers have also been an important factor in reducing farm income. This inequality is due chiefly to the general property tax, which provides the major part of governmental revenues. This tax strikes the farmer with greater severity than it does the city resident, inasmuch as the property of the farmer consists for the most part of land, which cannot easily escape the assessor's eye, whereas that of urban residents consists largely of intangible wealth, such as bonds and securities, which cannot be easily reached for taxing purposes. Moreover, it is to be noted that the farmer cannot shift his taxes to the consumer, for the reason that farmers cannot control the total output of their industry, or adjust production to changing price levels on short notice. Contrariwise, urban manufacturers are, as a rule, able to do these things.

(B) Social Causes. The second group of causes that has stimulated the movement of the population to the cities is non-economic, or social. The more outstanding social causes are: (1) education, (2) health, (3) -recreation, and (4) farm-home conditions.

(1) Education. The contrast between the educational opportunities of the city and those of the farm is notorious. There are at present 200,000 one- and two-room schools in the United States. Each teacher hears perhaps forty recitations daily from children ranging in age from five to eighteen years. Approximately 112,000 rural teachers, which is nearly one-half of all the persons teaching in rural schools, receive an average annual salary of \$735. Finally, the country school is open ordinarily for only a short term, and in some cases, for only five or six months each year.

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(2) Health. Contrary to popular opinion, health conditions are in many respects better in the city than on the farm. The inferior conditions in the country are due to poor sanitation, the absence of adequate hospital facilities, and the fewness of physicians, or rather, the wide areas which they are forced to serve.

(3) Recreation. It is a well-known fact that there are fewer opportunities for recreation and social activities on the farm than in the city. This difference is felt keenly by young people on the farm, and is often their chief motive for going to the city. While the automobile has done much to offset the isolation of farm life, especially enabling the building up of community centers, nevertheless the problem of rural recreation is far from being solved.

(4) Farm-Home Conditions. The absence of modern conveniences, such as gas, electricity, running water, and toilet facilities; and the heavy manual labor required of mothers and daughters about the house and in the fields, tends to make farm dwellers dissatisfied with their lot. Studies made in such prosperous farming states as Minnesota and Wisconsin reveal the absence of the most elementary conveniences and labor-saving devices in a very large percentage of farm homes, necessitating over-work and drudgery by farm mothers and daughters.

It requires little imagination to see how all these conditions, when working together, discourage boys and girls from making agriculture their life calling, and urge them to try their fortune in the city.

III. Effects of the City-ward Movement on International Relations

The economic and social causes just outlined have played a major part in industrializing the American people. Similar forces have been operating in England, Germany, and France, with substantially the same results. It will be in place, therefore, to examine the effects of the world tendency toward industrialization on international well-being and peace. This may be done by considering the three great needs of every nation that embarks on a program of industrialization, and by showing how irritation and conflict necessarily follow when all the world powers pursue an identical policy.

Every industrial nation has three great needs: namely, (A) raw materials, (B) foreign markets, and (C) food.

(A) Raw Materials. It is obvious that manufacturing can be developed in a country only up to the point where raw materials can be had for manufacture. In other words, the available supply of raw materials determines the upper limit of industrial expansion. It is to be observed, however, that there is a wide diversity among nations as to natural resources. Some nations possess abundant and diversified natural resources; others are almost entirely without them. As a result, nations with small territories and limited resources. such as England, Germany, and France, find it necessary to reach out beyond their boundaries into undeveloped countries for metal ores, oil, coal, cloth fibres, and rubber. Through diplomacy, and, in some cases, through threat of force they secure "concessions" and "spheres of influence" in undeveloped countries like China, Mexico, and Africa. A conflict of interests necessarily follows, especially when the "concessions" or "spheres of influence" either overlap or are contiguous to one another. The history of the "concessions" which European nations have acquired, or perhaps more accurately, exacted from China, illustrates the struggle among the manufacturing nations for raw materials, and the ease with which this struggle leads to international friction and actual conflict. Pro-

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fessor Tawney cites examples of international tension and open warfare which have grown out of the struggle for raw materials.

He writes: "It was largely the economic interests involved in gold and diamond mines which produced the war of Great Britain with the South African Republics. It was the menace to Japan of Russian economic expansion which lay behind the Russo-Japanese war. It was the right to exploit the iron ore of Morocco, with the opportunities of opening up the country by railways, ports and other concessions, which made Morocco the storm-center of international politics from 1904 to 1911. It was the economic possibilities of the Middle East which gave its significance to the controversy surrounding the Bagdad railway."¹²)

(B) Foreign Markets. Inasmuch as every industrial nation tends to manufacture more of some classes of goods than it can sell at home, the prosperity of the home population and even its livelihood will depend on the nation's ability to build up and maintain markets in foreign lands, especially in those which are in a backward state of manufacture. The necessary result is a keen rivalry among the industrial nations for world markets. This rivalry may become so intense that it will get beyond the control of diplomats. These conditions were illustrated before the World War. Germany had been feverishly expanding her world markets, while England and France aimed to keep pace with Germany and to retain the markets which they had previously developed. It is no secret that trade rivalry played an important part in bringing on the Great War of 1914.

(C) Food. While the search for raw materials and markets is taking place in foreign lands, another disturbing factor is operating in the home

¹²⁾ Tawney: The British Labor Movement, p. 110.

countries. This is the need of food for the manufacturing population of the cities. When a nation such as Great Britain becomes almost solidly industrialized, it is necessarily deprived of a foodproducing population. It is compelled, therefore, to seek its sustenance, like its raw materials, in foreign lands. According to Professor Tawney, in 1913, England spent £290,000,000 on imported foodstuffs, which was equivalent to thirteen per cent of her total income; Germany, which exported wheat in the middle of the nineteenth century, spent £160,000,000 on foodstuffs, and France, which has never been able to feed herself since 1860, imported $\pounds 60.000.000$ worth of foodstuffs.¹³) The need of a constant flow of foodstuffs into the home country has been an important factor in urging these nations to establish colonies. Foreign colonies, moreover, like "concessions" and "spheres of influence." are prolific sources of international jealousies and irritation.

Thus industrialization creates the three-fold pressure for raw materials, markets, and foodstuffs. Inasmuch as this pressure tends to increase not only in one or the other industrial nation, but in all of them, international complications issuing in open warfare become practically inevitable.

It may be in place to contrast the relation between business philosophy and war, and farm philosophy and war. The law of business is competitive rivalry, which ruthlessly sifts out the weak, and awards the prizes of the struggle to the strong. The business mind readily applies this law to world politics and exalts it into a canon of justice and right. According to the code of business, the victorious nation is the righteous nation. It cannot be denied that this pernicious doctrine has become deeply imbedded in modern thinking. In contrast with the philosophy of business, the philosophy of

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13) Op. cit., p. 106.

the farm is emphatically not one of struggle and combat. The farm population is dominantly peaceloving, a fact observed even in Xenophon's time. With the decay of agriculture this healthy attitude toward life is necessarily lost. This invaluable peace asset should not be overlooked by those who are seeking to promote international good-will.

Finally, it is to be emphasized that the race for industrial prestige among the nations does not stop with resort to war. During and after a war, industry makes new gains in population and wealth at the expense of agriculture. The chain of causes operates in a vicious circle: industrial rivalry among the nations leads to war; war further stimulates industrial rivalry. These forces are interacting continuously with accumulating losses to agriculture. In the United States, agricultural depression followed the war of 1812, the Civil War, and the World War. Likewise, in most of the European nations, farm depression set in after the World War. The reduction of the farm population, and the reduction in farm output are shown in the recent report of the League of Nations on Agriculture.14)

IV. Ethical Values Involved

From the foregoing it is evident that, as agriculture declines and industrial competition progresses among the world powers, the need of armed force for the settlement of international disputes becomes more imperative. Moreover, it is to be remembered that certain basic ethical values are sacrificed in the process of expanding industry at the expense of agriculture; and that these values must be safeguarded at all costs if national as well as international well-being is to be assured. These

¹⁴) League of Nations, Agricultural Problems in their International Aspect, Geneva, 1926. See also Semaine Sociale de France, 1920, pp. 209 seq.

ethical values are : (A) The Family, and (B) Justice.

(A) The Family. The most precious assets of any nation are the human values created by normal family life. The families of a nation are the cells of which it is composed. They are not only its lifesustaining cells; they are also its life-perpetuating cells. Hence whatever interferes with the natural functions of the family interferes with the present and future well-being of the nation. No lesson of history is clearer than this.

One of the important forces contributing to the decay of family life since the middle of the last century is the individualism of the large city. The large city is essentially a place of personal interests as opposed to family interests. The urban home has relatively little about it to elicit the common concern of father, mother, and children. In a city such as New York, Chicago, or San Francisco, the father and adult children, and frequently the mother, go to their respective work-places, and each has his or her individual purse. A spirit of excessive self-interest is thereby engendered, manifesting itself not only in an unwarranted independence of growing children, but particularly in the impairment of the marriage bond through family limitation and divorce. At the present time the divorce rate in cities is more than twice as high as that in rural districts.

While the life of the city tends to make the individual the unit of society, the life of the farm tends to make the family the unit of society. In the first place, the farm is a family enterprise and all the members of the family are interested in its success. There are 6,500,000 farms in the United States, and on three-fourths of them all the labor is performed by the farmer and his family without the aid of outside help.¹⁵) The economic organ-

¹⁵) National Industrial Conference Board, op. cit., p. 107.

ization of the farm is therefore a powerful factor in reinforcing family unity. Again, the normal educational functions of the family have the widest scope on the farm, where parents and children are in one another's company the greater part of the time. This is not possible in the city, where more and more of the parents' authority and supervision are being shifted to teachers, and recreational directors outside of school hours. Moreover, the farm family with its close bond of union and group loyalty stands in sharp contrast to the age-groupings of the city, which bring fathers together in men's clubs, mothers in women's clubs, and children in boys' and girls' clubs. The recreation of the farm is accordingly a family experience, whereas that of the city is an individual experience, dictated by personal inclinations and preferences. It is to be noted also that the family exerts a wider influence in the country than in the city. As compared with city dwellers, a larger proportion of the farming population marry, and they marry at an earlier age.

The beneficent influences of rural home life do not react on national welfare in a month or a year. They require time to work themselves out. Nevertheless, they operate continuously and profoundly. Approximately two million persons in the United States move from the farm to the city each year, carrying with them their home ideals and attitudes. Furthermore, the silent but inescapable example of home life is constantly projecting itself from the farm into the city, and acting as a wholesome leaven in promoting normal family relations throughout the nation. With the decay of rural life these invaluable influences necessarily disappear.

Needless to say, the Catholic Church does not look with indifference on the economic forces that tend to disrupt family life. She has too much at stake. Her teaching in regard to marriage is one

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of her central doctrines. Marriage is a Sacrament instituted by Christ. It is more than a biological union; it is an indissoluble, supernatural union, enriched with divine graces to enable husband and wife to discharge their duties toward one another, and to attain salvation for themselves and their offspring. Individualism, in the last analysis, means personal indulgence; Christian marriage means reciprocal forbearance. To the extent that the economic forces of over-industrialization and the decay of agriculture tend to make individualism the dominating principle of conduct, they contribute to the breakdown of Christian marriage. Catholic leaders and scholars throughout the world are, therefore, vitally interested in these tendencies. While there is no direct connection between the destruction of family ideals in a given nation and world politics, a much more fundamental problem is to be faced: the very existence of a people depends on the stability of its family life. The disruption of the family institution means national suicide. Moreover, in view of the close communication of the nations with one another, the condition of family life in each country is a matter of concern to all.

(B) Justice. The second ethical value that has been gravely violated in the expansion of industry is justice. Justice requires that neither party to a contract should have a preponderating advantage over the other, or, what is the same thing, that neither party should be in a position to dictate its terms to the other. As commerce is now carried on between cities and farms, the agencies of the urban population enjoy an undue advantage over rural dwellers. Indeed, city agencies enjoy an advantage in two ways, namely, in buying and in selling. Urban buying agencies—the grain and cotton brokers, dairy associations, and the meat packers—are generally organized, and buy from farmers, who must sell as individuals. Urban selling agencies—the farm-machinery manufacturers, mailorder houses, and railroads—are likewise organized, and sell to farmers, who must buy as individuals. Thus the advantage is with the city population, both in buying and in selling. As a consequence, the farmer's income is reduced, and, in many instances, depressed below proper living standards. Insofar as this is the result of inequitable exchange methods, it constitutes a direct violation of commutative justice.

The farming population has been made to suffer certain injustices also because of various governmental policies. At the head of the list are the tariff and taxation. In our present state of industrial development the tariff violates distributive justice. All the intricacies of the protective tariff cannot be entered into here. It is sufficient to say that the existing system operates directly to the benefit of the urban and manufacturing section of the country, and that it increases the living and operating costs of farmers very considerably. In a similar way, the present tax system imposes disproportionately heavy burdens on the farming community. In comparison with non-agricultural groups, the farming population is compelled to contribute more than its fair share to the total tax revenues. As stated above, inequality in the collection of taxes is due mainly to the retention of the general property tax. Inequality in the tax system appears also in the apportionment of taxes collected. especially in the relatively small appropriations made by state legislatures for rural schools and roads.

Under the prevailing system of mass production, mass capitalization, and mass merchandising in cities, coöperation among farmers in selling and buying is the only practicable means of maintaining just exchange relations between agriculture and city agencies. The coöperative seeks to meet organization with organization. It aims to match strength with strength. When parity is maintained between farms and cities through the medium of coöperation, and when the tax and tariff burdens now resting on agriculture are removed, undoubtedly the farming population will become more stabilized than it is at present. As this condition comes to be realized, the race for industrial leadership among the nations will be moderated, and the need for great military establishments reduced. Studies of city migrants show that people move from the farm to the city to enjoy economic advantages more than for any other reason.¹⁶) Moreover, it is to be observed that as farmers receive greater income, they will be in a position to provide themselves with better schools, and more adequate medical and . recreational facilities.

More income in itself will, of course, not create a genuine rural culture, either in the United States or in any other country. What is necessary is more income and a higher standard of living. A higher standard of living on farms implies the consumption of a greater volume of goods and the opportunity for greater spiritual and cultural enjoyments than have hitherto prevailed. It implies also a reduction in the number of hours of labor. To repeat, more income in itself is not identical with a higher standard of living. Unless increased income is spent in satisfying a larger number of material, cultural, and spiritual wants, the result will be a mere accumulation of money wealth on farms. What is necessary is the consumption of additional income in better home conveniences, greater leisure, better churches and schools, improved medical service, more books and libraries, and all the things that are required for the cre-

¹⁶) American Economic Review, March, 1926; U. S. Department of Agriculture, Analysis of Migration, October, 1927.

ation of a genuine rural culture. Doubtless these advantages will be enjoyed when greater income makes their purchase possible. As this process works itself out, it can be reasonably supposed that the problem of maintaining a proper balance of population between farms and cities will gradually solve itself.

As the population becomes more evenly divided between farms and cities, another important benefit will necessarily result: namely, a wider diffusion of ownership than has hitherto existed. The social advantages of an equitable distribution of wealth are well-nigh incalculable. At present the distribution of property is highly uneven, and the opportunity for self-employment, except in agriculture, is almost negligible. It is estimated that over ninety per cent of all the wealth of the United States is owned by thirteen per cent of the population.¹⁷) The social dangers of this condition are not to be underestimated. Pope Leo XIII writes: "On the one side there is the party which holds the power because it holds the wealth; which has in its grasp all labor and all trade; which manipulates for its own benefit and its own purposes all the sources of supply, and which is powerfully represented in the councils of the State itself. On the other side there is the needy and powerless multitude, sore and suffering, always ready for disturbance. If working people can be encouraged to look forward to obtaining a share in the land, the result will be that the gulf between vast wealth and deep poverty will be bridged over, and the two orders will be brought nearer together."¹⁸)

One of the important means of bringing about this desirable result is the encouragement of agri-

¹⁷) Federal Trade Commission, 69th Congress, First Session, Senate Document, No. 126.

¹⁸⁾ Encyclical Letter "On the Condition of Labor."

culture. Farming is the only major industry now open to the individual owner and enterpriser. In proportion as agriculture receives its just share of the national income, individual ownership will be increased, and national welfare placed on a more secure foundation. It is of special relevance to point out here that as any given nation succeeds in encouraging its agriculture and maintaining it in a prosperous condition, other nations will be prompted to emulate the example of this nation with constantly increasing benefits. It is only necessary to cite the case of Denmark. The progress made in this country against seemingly insurmountable obstacles has aroused the interest and admiration of all the nations of the world.

V. Proposals and Recommendations

The committee strongly recommends the extension of selling and buying coöperative associations among farmers. It believes that nothing short of coöperative associations, equaling the buying and selling agencies of the city in area and strength, can bring the exchange power of farmers up to the level of city agencies. The committee does not underestimate the hugeness of the task of extending the coöperative movement in agriculture. Many great obstacles stand in the way of its advancement, for example, misunderstanding, suspicion, low initial profits, indifference due to past failures, farm individualism and conservatism, and opposition from urban interests. But these obstacles are not insuperable. They can be overcome through educational work carried on by the Federal and State Departments of Agriculture. This work might well include systematic training in business methods, cost accounting, and marketing; with a constant insistence on the necessity of delegating

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personal and community autonomy to accredited spokesmen and agencies.¹⁹)

Secondly, the existing policies of protecting city industries through tariffs, and the current methods of collecting and apportioning taxes, must be revised in order to remove the present inequalities resting on the farming population. It is not proposed that the tariffs should be removed at once. Doubtless both farmers and city dwellers would suffer serious losses if all protected industries were to lose their tariffs over night. Nevertheless, the tariff advantages enjoyed by city industries at the expense of agriculture should be scaled down to the zero point as rapidly as this can be done without seriously disturbing price levels. As to tax inequalities, there is apparently no good reason why these should not be corrected at once.

As farm income is increased, and particularly as farm living standards are raised, the exodus of the farm population to the manufacturing centers will be checked. The manufacturing industries are already overmanned by from fifteen to thirty per cent. Further additions to their laboring force help to aggravate the urban problems of congestion, unemployment, and low wages.

Sound national and international policy demands that a larger proportion of the population live on farms than is the case at present, and that they enjoy higher standards of living than those which now prevail. These results will follow when agriculture receives greater income, and when its hours of labor are reduced. Agriculture will then form a respected and dignified part of national life, and

¹⁹) Since the preparation of this report, Congress passed the "Agricultural Marketing Act," June 15, 1929. Section One of the Act declares that it is the policy of Congress to promote the effective merchandising of agricultural commodities, "so that the industry of agriculture will be placed on a basis of equality with other industries."

the race for industrial leadership among the nations will be abated. The competition in armaments will accordingly be reduced, with greater assurance of mutual understanding and good-will among the nations.

APPENDIX A

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APPENDIX B

N. C. W. C. Study Club Outline

(Printed with Permission of the N. C. W. C. Study Club Committee)

LESSON I

The City-ward Movement in the Industrial Nations

(Text-Section I)

Topics for Discussion

- 1. Rise of industrialism and the city-ward movement.
- Rural and urban population for 1890, 1910, 1920, and 1930 as given in U. S. Department of Commerce Report— Farm population of the United States, 1920.
- 3. The World War and the decline in agriculture in the United States, Germany, England, and France.
- England's policy of industrialization and her present international situation.

Questions

- 1. What are the major causes underlying the "world tendency toward industrialization" in the United States? England? Germany? France?
- How does this world tendency influence "international well-being and peace?"
- 3. In view of the overcrowded conditions of city industries why is it often economically and socially unwise for persons to leave their farms?
- 4. What are the basic causes for the decrease in immigrant rural population since 1880?
- 5. What are the views of some economists regarding the city-ward movement? Why?

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- 1. European Urbanization Since 1800 and Its International Significance:
 - "Man and Society," Haas. Chapter XVI. (Century.)
 - "Agricultural Problems in their International Aspect." League of Nations. (World Peace Foundation, Boston)

"The Statesman's Year Book, 1929."

"Urbanization: Its Effects on Government and Society," Thompson. (Dutton)

2. The Effects of Industrialism in the United States :

"The Agricultural Problem in the United States." National Industrial Conference Board.

"These Changing Times," Eastman. (Macmillan)

3. England's Foreign Policy and World Affairs:

- "Europe: A History of Ten Years," Buell. (Macmillan)
- "International Economic Policies," Culbertson. (Appleton)

"The British Labor Movement," Tawney. (Yale University Press)

LESSON II

The Causes of the City-ward Movement in the United States

(Text-Section II)

Topics for Discussion

- 1. The effect of farm machinery on farm emigration.
- Tariff and taxation as economic factors in farm emigration.
- 3. The four outstanding social causes affecting city-ward movement.

4. Lay organizations and social programs in rural districts.

5. Rural versus urban educational system.

Questions

- How can rural education, health, recreation and home life be placed on a firmer basis and made more attractive to people on farms?
- 2. Why is the growth in tenancy a serious social problem?
- 3. Is the decrease in rural population in itself a sign of the decline of agriculture? Explain.
- 4. Explain the lines—"Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,

Where wealth accumulates, and men decay."

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Papers

"The Church and the Community," O'Hara. (Macmillan)

"The Agricultural Problem in the United States." (National Industrial Conference Board)

"Analysis of Migration of Population to and from Farms." (U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., 1927)

2. Tariff Legislation and the Farmer :

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Yearbooks, 1925-1929. (U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.)

3. The Church and the Lay Organization in the Rural Community :

"The Church and the Country Community," O'Hara. (Macmillan)

"Handbook of Rural Social Resources," Israel and Landis. (University of Chicago Press)

"Rural Organization," Burr. (Macmillan)

"Health Through the School Day," Spencer. (National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D. C.)

"The Farmer's Standard of Living." (U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bulletin No. 1466)

"Objectives of the Catholic Rural Life Movement." (Rural Life Bureau, N. C. W. C., 1312 Mass. Ave., Washington, D. C.)

LESSON III

The Effects of the City-ward Movement on International Relations

(Text-Section III)

Topics for Discussion

- 1. Effects of world industrialization on international wellbeing.
- 2. War as a cause and effect of industrial rivalry.
- 3. Post-war agricultural depression in the United States following the Civil War and the World War.
- 4. Trade rivalry and the World War.
- 5. United States' trade expansion in Latin America.

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^{1.} Rural Problems and their Solution:

Questions

- 1. Why is it folly for a nation to consider itself independent of foreign markets?
- 2. Discuss the natural resources of three leading nations and the nations using their products.
- 3. If the United States were isolated from all other countries, how would we be affected as to clothing, food, minerals, price of farm products, etc.?
- 4. Why are "concessions" causes of international conflict?
- 5. Why did the United States send Marines to Nicaragua?

Papers

- 1. A Review of Moon's "Imperialism and World Politics," Chapter XVI. (Macmillan)
- 2. Foreign Markets and International Disputes :
 - "Latin America and the United States," Sections III-V; "Causes of War;" and

"The World Economic Conference." (Catholic Association for International Peace, Washington, D. C.) "Man and Society," Haas. Chapter XII. (Century.) "Raw Materials and Their Effect Upon International Relations." International Conciliation Pamphlet No. 226. (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York)

3. The International Factor in Agriculture:

- "The International Economic Conference," Young and Fay. (World Peace Foundation, Boston)
- "Agricultural Problems in Their International Aspect," League of Nations. (World Peace Foundation, Boston)
- "Raw Materials and Foodstuffs in the Commercial Policies of Nations," Culbertson. (*Annals*, American Academy of Political and Social Science, March, 1924)
- "The World Economic Conference," League of Nations. (Final Report, 1927.)

LESSON IV

The Ethical Values Involved (Text—Section IV)

Topics for Discussion

- 1. Rural family life versus urban individualism.
- 2. The relation of family well-being to national well-being.
- 3. Tariff and taxation and their relations to city-ward move-
- 4. Economic advantages of rural "coöperatives."
- 5. Pope Leo XIII's Encyclical "On the Condition of Labor."

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Questions

- 1. Explain why "economic advantages" is the major cause given for persons leaving the farm for the city.
- 2. List the nations that have permitted family life to disintegrate and tell the results.
- 3. How can the rural Church aid in stabilizing farm life? In education? In recreation? In social service?
- 4. How does the tariff operate to the net disadvantage of the farmer?

Papers

- 1. Review of "International Ethics." (Catholic Association for International Peace, Washington, D. C.)
- Leo XIII's Encyclical Letter "On the Condition of Labor" and Its Application to this Section of Report. (Letter obtainable at National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D. C.)
- 3. The Credit Union and the Farmer :
 - "What is a Credit Union?" McGowan. (Rural Life Bureau, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D. C.)
 - "Rural Organization," Burr, Chap. IV. (Macmillan)
- 4. Review of "Distributive Justice," Ryan, Chaps. I-VII. (Macmillan)
- 5. The Religious Vacation School Movement and Its Need in Your Community:
 - "The Church and the Country Community," O'Hara. (Macmillan)
 - "Religious Manual for Vacation Schools;" and Catholic Rural Life Magazine, Files. (Rural Life Bureau, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D. C.)

LESSON V

Proposals and Recommendations

(Text-Section V)

Topics for Discussion

- Coöperative associations in rural communities, causes of past failures, remedies and benefits.
- 2. Governmental privileges extended to city industry in preference to agriculture.
- 3. Effects of recent tariff legislation on international economic relations with France, England, Germany.
- 4. The relation of the present unemployment situation to the city-ward movement.

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Questions

- 1. How would the increase in farm income alter the present rural situation?
- 2. How can the obstacles to the spread of the coöperative movement be overcome?
- 3. Is there any essential difference between the principle of collective bargaining in trade unions and the principle of collective bargaining in rural coöperatives?
- 4. How can the Federal and State governments assist the rural coöperative movement?
- 5. How is the rural population affected by recent tariff legislation?
- 6. Explain the relation of an increased agricultural and a decreased industrial population to "greater assurance of mutual understanding and good will among the nations."

Papers

- 1. The Rural Co-operative Movement in the United States : "Rural Organization," Burr. (Macmillan)
 - "The Church and the Country Community," O'Hara. (Macmillan)
 - "Cooperative Democracy," Warbasse. (Macmillan)
 - "Cooperation: The Hope of the Consumer," Harris (Macmillan)
- 2. The Tariff and the Farmer :
 - "The Tariff and American Foreign Trade." (Foreign Policy Association, Information Service, June 12, 1929)
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 - "Agricultural Problems in Their International Aspect," League of Nations. (World Peace Foundation, Boston)

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"The Origin of the Next War," Bakeless. (Viking Press)

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HE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION FOR INTER-NATIONAL PEACE came into existence as a re-

sult of a series of meetings during 1926-1927. The initial step was taken immediately following the Eucharistic Congress in Chicago, June, 1926, where representatives of a dozen nations met informally with Americans for discussion. A second meeting followed in October of the same year in Cleveland. At this meeting a temporary organization known as the Catholic Committee on International Relations was formed. In April, 1927, at a two-day conference in Washington the permanent name, the Catholic Association for International Peace, was adopted. Three conferences were held in the same city in 1928, 1929 and 1930. It is a membership organization. Its objects and purposes are:

- To study, disseminate and apply the principles of natural law and Christian charity to international problems of the day;
- To consider the moral and legal aspects of any action which may be proposed or advocated in the international sphere;
- To examine and consider issues which bear upon international good will;
- To encourage the formation of conferences, lectures and study circles;
- To issue reports on questions of international importance;
- To further, in cooperation with similar Catholic organizations in other countries, in accord with the teachings of the Church, the object and purposes of world peace and happiness.
- The ultimate purpose is to promote, in conformity with the mind of the Church, "the Peace of Christ in the Kingdom of Christ."

The present plan is to bring together in committees persons acquainted with a particular question. These committees prepare reports. The reports are discussed in the meetings of the organization. In the light of this discussion, they are then revised. Thereafter, they are presented to the executive committee, which makes them public.

The Committees on Ethics, Law and Organization, and Economic Relations serve as a guiding committee on the particular questions for all other committees. Questions involving moral judgments must be submitted to the Committee on Ethics.

C. A. I. P. Publications

PAMPHLETS_

No. 1—INTERNATIONAL ETHICS—10c. No. 2—LATIN AMERICA AND THE UNITED STATES—10c.

No. 3—CAUSES OF WAR, and SECUR-ITY, OLD AND NEW—10c.

No. 4—HAITI, PAST AND PRESENT —10c.

No. 5—FRANCIS DE VITORIA, Founder of International Law—10c.

MIMEOGRAPHED SERIES_

No. 1—LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN ITS FIRST DECADE—10c.

No. 2—A M E R I C A N COOPERATION WITH THE LEAGUE OF NA-TIONS—10c.

No. 3—THE INTERNATIONAL ECO-NOMIC CONFERENCE—10c.

REPORTS IN PREPARATION-

Europe and the United States. Relations with Asia. Porto Rico and the United States. International Law and Organization. Peace Education. Racial Attitudes. The Church and Peace Efforts.