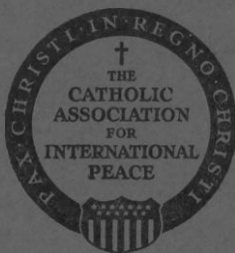


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The World Society.
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The World Society

A Joint Report



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THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION FOR
INTERNATIONAL PEACE

1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
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—
1941

APPRECIATION is expressed to Providence College, Providence, R. I., for sponsoring the publication of this pamphlet, thereby helping to promote that condition and aim of peace described by His Holiness Pope Pius XII:

"The more Christian justice, fraternity and charity animate and guide individuals and groups, so much more also is established among nations, a spiritual atmosphere making possible, indeed easy, the solution of many problems which today appear, or really are insoluble."

THE WORLD SOCIETY

A JOINT REPORT

CHARLES O'DONNELL, *Editor*

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INTERNATIONAL PEACE

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THIS is a report of the following Committees, or Sub-Committees thereof, of the Catholic Association for International Peace: Ethics, National Attitudes, Economic and Social Relations, and International Law and Organization, and is issued as a study from these Committees. The specific contribution of each Committee or Sub-Committee is listed under the chapter headings. The subjects covered by the report were discussed at the 1936 and 1937 Annual Conferences of the Association and reports on the separate sections were drawn up on the basis of these discussions by the respective Committee Chairmen. The sections were edited and correlated by Charles O'Donnell, a member of the International Law and Organization Committee, and each section submitted to the full membership of the interested Committee or Sub-Committees for their co-operation in its final form. The report was then submitted to the Executive Council which ordered it printed as a publication of the above Committees. As the process indicates the report is not a statement from the whole Association.

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The World Society

INTRODUCTION

THIS study presents a statement of the principles and foundations of a just peace as understood by a group of American Catholics interested in the restoration of law and order for all nations and peoples. It is not a program for a "negotiated" peace. At the same time that it proposes realizable counsels of wisdom and perfection, it defers to the judgment of prudent men in the matter of the time and place appropriate to the undertaking of the plan of action suggested in this report. Acknowledging the sharp differences of opinion which divide men over the questions of the foreign policy of our country, the report takes its stand outside the area of controversy about immediate policy. It hopes to unite men on the fundamental issues involved in the constructive principles and practical aims that should govern a well-ordered world society.

The present report is a synthesis of the work of five committees of the Catholic Association for International Peace which have, from one point of view or another, discussed the concrete ideals and the workings of world society. The Ethics Committee has already issued several studies on the moral principles implicated in the problems of world peace. Sub-Committees of the Committee on National Attitudes have surveyed one of the most formidable obstacles to peace in our times—the nearly exclusive concentration of national states upon their own selfish interests. This committee has considered the significance of excessive nationalism and its twin brother imperialism and has studied some practical measures designed to re-orientate men toward a sane view of the place of nations in a peaceful world order.

The economic disturbances loosed upon the world by the great depression and the political revolutions which that depression have occasioned are still so vivid in the contemporary mind that men nearly everywhere fear the economic consequences of the present war. On the other hand, doubts concerning the benefits of individualistic capitalism, as it has operated within national states and among the nations, seem to have stimulated experimentation with better organized economic systems in democratic countries. The Sub-Committee on Economic Life has examined the operations of our world economy and, under the inspiration of the encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno*, has

outlined with the Ethics Committee a scheme for a new international economic order which deserves attention.

Of all the labors of the post World War I peace effort, few may be more praised and hold out more promise for the future than the work of the League agencies and the non-League groups dealing with the international problems of health, morals and education. The Social Relations Sub-Committee reports on these activities.

The concluding section of this study was written from statements of the Committee on Law and Organization. The League of Nations experience has brought thoughtful men to a conviction that, whatever may have been the mistakes of the past, a viable world order calls for some limitations on national sovereignty and an effective organization of a Commonwealth of Nations.

CHAPTER I

The Moral Bases of World Society

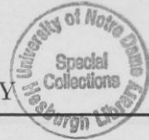
A REPORT OF THE ETHICS COMMITTEE¹

Because profound conflict over social and political aims almost certainly is at the bottom of existing world disorder, it seems imperative that a Christian political and cultural philosophy of world society should be widely and openly discussed and that the ways and means of translating its ideals into durable institutional forms be seriously considered. Because means have a perverse way of reshaping ends, this study of the Christian ideal of world society will examine some concrete and practicable methods of instrumenting the ideal. Lastly, because world society is not a Utopia but an association of men living under known historical conditions, this report deals with the environment and the climate of opinion in which a world government of nations may be founded.

International Moral Principles

The false separation of private and public morality has been the source of innumerable misguided ethical and political doctrines. For one thing it has misled some men into thinking that the moral character of an association of nations differs essentially from the morality of separate nations and of the individuals con-

¹ The original draft of this report was prepared by the Right Rev. John A. Ryan, D.D., Chairman of the Ethics Committee.



stituting the citizenship of these communities. A Christian ethics, on the contrary, affirms the universal and elemental oneness of moral principles. The common citizen, prince, president, nation, and world society alike are under the laws of God and of nature. When, for example, two or more individuals unite to form a business partnership or a corporation, they are bound by the moral law in their joint acts just as they are subject to that law as individuals. If this were not true, men could exempt themselves from the moral law by the simple device of formal association.

The state, too, is a community of human beings as truly controlled by the moral law as are individuals or any private society. That the political community is a necessary society does not set it free to do as it pleases. Its acts are the acts of an organized group of human beings. Its international conduct affects other humans. While its end is primarily the well-being of its own members, it must attain that end with proper regard for the welfare of persons outside its jurisdiction, in much the same way that the acts of a family must be consistent with the rights of other families. The national state is therefore bound by the precepts of justice, charity, and all the other moral rules which govern human relations.

The law which regulates the conduct of nations—international law as we know it today—drew upon the principles of Christian morality.² To the doctors of moral and canon law it was clear that the same principles hold for sovereigns as hold for individual citizens. What distinguishes the morality of nations from that of individuals is for a considerable part the circumstances in which its fundamental norms are to be applied. International law embodies a moral code to which nations are subject because they are associations of individuals and families. The state is not a super-being beyond good and evil. Its might creates no rights. Its authority derives from a higher law and power.

The Existence of World Society

Self-styled political realists boldly assert that world society is a fiction and the ideal of a Commonwealth of Nations utopian. They say that those nations for whom isolation is possible by reason of geography, tradition, and economic self-sufficiency, should remain aloof from foreign entanglements as they would from the devil himself.

² This concept of international law has not been held by the so-called pragmatic or positivist school which has been influential in the practice of international law for the past half-century.

Opinions of this sort are so widely entertained that they cannot be cavalierly dismissed. Nor should the sincerity of many proponents of this point of view be suspect. But general acceptance of a political policy although sincerely held cannot cloak its wrongheadedness nor its amoral implications. The fact that totalitarian states espouse in the most exaggerated forms the imperialist tendencies of doctrinal isolationism should give pause to the democratic opponents of a world society. These democrats might better acquaint themselves with the company they keep and take time out to re-examine their facts and norms.

An adequate answer to the view that there is no world society rests on two sets of facts, one metaphysical, the other historical. The basic metaphysical fact upon which a world society is grounded is that man is a social animal. The identically fashioned son of identical first parents, formed in the image and likeness of the One God, needs the help of every other person if he is to get along in this world. The eminent theologian Tapparelli has written on this point: "It is nature itself, that eloquent interpreter of the Divine Will, which calls all peoples to form among themselves one universal society and at the same time makes it their duty to do so. . . . Nature has by divers links united all nations together; at the same time she calls each one of them to develop its own comfort and wealth. . . . Thus needs and interests soon produce, and quite rightly, the desire to form with other nations, a real, definite society; thence come the establishment and development of international society following upon the natural, regular progress of each of the component nations. . . . Thus society is the outcome of a tendency common to all peoples; and unless nature is accidentally and violently frustrated in its proper evolution, all the nations cannot fail to come and to take their places in this international society."

Historically speaking, the social character of man, his inner need of others, was once expressed in tribal rule, tribal economy, and tribal culture. The same social nature drove him on to ever wider contacts in his search for the satisfaction of his needs. The wars and territorial conquests of primitive man were a perverse evidence of his interdependence.

The progress of civilization brought civil society or the state into being so that, as Aristotle says, man might not only live but live well. Society became a consciously organized association of persons pursuing a common end, and the state a perfected form of society aiming at the material, moral, and intellectual

well-being of its members. The political community governing a defined territory gave men a greater security for life and property; when it did its work well, it delimited the spheres of war and mitigated some of its barbarities. It provided men with more leisure for the pursuit of cultural things, greater facility for fulfilling the duties of family life, and a greater freedom to attain the peaceful and orderly life becoming to man.

Nevertheless, even in the modern form of the national state, the political community, since it depends primarily upon its own resources, can confer but limited benefits on its citizens. The national common good may provide in widely varying degrees the possibility of security and prosperity but it does so within the limits of its natural resources and its cultivated skills. Unless enriched by vital contacts with the economy and the culture of foreign nations, the isolated national cultural development of a people will, in the words of the Belgian Jesuit, Father Muller, "harden and become impoverished."

The insufficiencies of human nature and the limited or scattered abundances of the physical world are such that for the fruition of our nature and the development of the world, we must stand together. The human race has always been potentially a world society. It has been potentially so because the demands of our life drive us to communication on a world basis and therefore to organize on a world basis. It was only potentially a world society until the actualities of communication reached the point of real and continuous world-wide relationships. The commercial revolution and the industrial revolution have gradually closed the frontiers of the world. Transportation and communications are no longer confined to national boundaries. The industrial machine and the farms of the world are producing for world markets. The contemporary man thinks in terms of world geography; has become a world traveler; and if a warrior dreams of world empire. World society is as natural and normal to the twentieth century as the city state was to the ancient Greeks.

The supreme example of human interdependence the world over, of mutual dependence, of the fact that the human race is not only made of like individuals but is a family in which everyone depends upon every other one, is to be found in religion. In our times the diversity of creeds and the disintegration of religious faith has assisted in the breaking down of the reality of world society. The re-orientation of contemporary politics and culture to religious faith will revitalize the moral energies which

persist in diverse forms throughout world society. Pope Pius XII in his encyclical letter to the Church in the United States invites the co-operation of those "whom Mother Church laments as separated brethren" to participate in united and harmonious efforts to solve social problems.

The World Organization of World Society

A world society must have a world organization which has the character of a political community. A national state is a community of persons occupying a definite territory, possessing an organized government and clothed with the prerogatives of sovereignty and authority. Sovereignty means formally that quality of a state which makes it legally independent of other states in both its external and internal relations. Legal independence does not, however, imply moral independence. A state may not ethically do as it wills, either with regard to its own members or in its dealings with other states. The concept of authority adds to that of sovereignty a distinctly ethical note. It means that the state has a moral right to perform its proper functions. It denies that the sovereignty or legal supremacy of the state is unlimited. This authority comes from God.

The tendency to attribute to the national state alone the character of a perfect society full panoplied with authority needs to undergo some modifications. The perfection attainable and required for the modern state is not to be found solely in national communities but most eminently in world society and a Commonwealth of Nations. At least some of the attributes of sovereignty and authority must be transferred to a world organization if the world of today is to solve its problems in the most efficacious fashion and if the moral ends of the political community are to be better approximated.

Pope Pius XII in his first encyclical seems to have given support to this view when he said: "The idea which credits the State with unlimited authority . . . leads to the violation of others' rights." He then calls for the establishment of a great Commonwealth of Nations.

Ethical Norms Directing World Society

A realistic moral and political philosophy of world society is needed to indicate the principles which must guide and direct a world Commonwealth of Nations. A Christian international

ethics, taking its inspiration from the numerous encyclicals of the Popes on matters of international relations, may be found in a number of the publications of the C. A. I. P. This ethics teaches that a world organization must respect the rights of nations, as nations must safeguard the rights of families and citizens. A Christian ethics which recognizes the dignity of the human person, the need for advancing the freedom of the person, and the necessity of protecting the many organized communities of men which serve the common good, is as applicable to a Commonwealth of Nations as it is to the United States of America.

Monsignor Francis J. Haas has admirably put the moral case of our interdependent world society in the following words: "As the individual citizen cannot live a normal life without a state to which he cedes some of his freedom of action, the state cannot function properly without a power to which it cedes some measure of its autonomy. As the good of the individual is the purpose of the state, the good of the state is the purpose of a world association of nations."

A world society properly organized and governed would go far in effecting the proposals made by Pope Benedict XV in his *Letter to the Belligerent Nations*, August 1, 1917. In this letter the Pontiff wrote: "First of all, the fundamental point must be that the moral force of right be substituted for the material force of arms; thence must follow a just agreement of all for the simultaneous and reciprocal diminution of armaments . . . in a measure sufficient and necessary for the maintenance of public order in each state; next as a substitute for armies, the institution of arbitration with its high peace making functions, subject to regulations to be agreed on and sanctions to be determined against the State which should refuse to submit international questions to arbitration or to accept its decisions."

No more profound or eloquent statement of the moral bases for a just peace in our day has been offered than that outlined by Pope Pius XII in his Christmas message of 1939. We close with a summary of the five conditions to peace as stated in that message: (1) That "the right to life and independence" be guaranteed to all nations, large, small, strong or weak; and that where this equality of rights has been destroyed or impaired, just reparation be made; (2) that nations "be liberated from the heavy slavery of armaments" and the danger of the rule of force; (3) that international institutions be established or reconstructed, but that past errors be avoided, and juridical bodies be formed to aid

in carrying out treaties, and when necessary, to revise them; (4) that the needs and just demands of nations, peoples and ethnical minorities be met; (5) observance of true Christian principles by statesmen and peoples.

These papal teachings, taken together with the many other observations on world society in general and on the international economy in particular, constitute the elements of a program for the "Peace of Christ in the Reign of Christ."

CHAPTER II

Nationalism in Relation to a World Society³

A REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEES ON NATIONALISM AND
CULTURAL RELATIONS OF THE NATIONAL ATTITUDES
COMMITTEE⁴

Nationalism is now the chief obstacle to international order and peace. It may be a "myth," but if so, it is an extraordinarily potent myth, one in which an increasing rather than a decreasing number of men sincerely and ardently believe, one which is spreading rather than contracting in our modern world, one which inspires widespread popular action quite at variance with the ideals of human brotherhood.

The Rise of Cultural Nationalism

Cultural nationalism, rather than cultural cosmopolitanism, is now in the ascendant. Regardless of the fact of duty national states concentrate upon national characteristics which they believe distinguish them from other states, with the result that they seek to withdraw themselves from the larger circles of World Society and to live in a greater or less degree of isolation.

For long the prevalent tradition of western culture was that of cosmopolitanism and universality, as exemplified by ancient Greek and Roman civilization and immensely re-enforced through the Middle Ages and into modern times by the teachings of Christianity and by the achievement of the great and expanding cultural community called Christendom. Even with the disruption

³ This section deals with cultural and political nationalism. Economic nationalism is discussed in the next chapter.

⁴ The original draft of this report was prepared by Carlton J. H. Hayes, Ph.D., Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Nationalism.

of that community in the sixteenth century and the subsequent rise of skepticism about supernatural religion, there was no immediate weakening of the specifically cultural tradition. Almost to a man the religious skeptics of the eighteenth century were roundly humanitarian. Their successors, the liberals of the last century, were correspondingly broadminded and benevolent toward the world at large.

But in the twentieth century, alongside the trend toward a unifying world culture, an even more pronounced trend has set in toward divisive national cultures. To this latter phenomenon three special developments have contributed.

Language Differences

The first in time and the first in lasting importance has been a new emphasis on linguistic differences. There always have been, since prehistoric times, a large and bewildering variety of spoken languages and dialects. Only in the modern era, however, have linguistic differences militated seriously against progress toward a world culture. This or that local dialect has been put into writing, equipped with a grammar, and endowed with a literature. Gradually it has supplanted rival dialects, at least for literary purposes, and has come to be regarded by scholars and statesmen as a national language. As such it is employed and prized not only by the masses but also by the cultured classes, while an international language like Latin falls into disuse and is pronounced dead. This has been the course in Europe.

Once a national language clearly emerges, it rapidly gives color and currency to the idea of national culture. Language in our modern world is the surest badge of nationality. In most countries it is the one thing the respective citizens have in common. It is the one thing which distinguishes them from other persons. Likewise, it is one of the tangible ties between the present generation of a nation and preceding generations. Of each nationality, therefore, language bespeaks alike solidarity and continuity. And national literature, in its many forms of poetry and prose, history and names, has done much, and now does more, to emphasize what is supposedly peculiar to a given nationality rather than what is demonstrably common to mankind.

A distinctive language is also emphasized for political reasons. The contemporary appeal of governments to the masses can be

met most successfully in countries where politicians and the citizen body use a common national language. It serves to expedite commercial intercourse throughout the length and breadth of the country where it is spoken and written and at the same time to impede intercourse with other countries.

Religion and Nationalism

A second and parallel development of cultural nationalism has been going on in respect to religion. Man is naturally religious, and if he becomes skeptical, as he has about a particular religion, he is apt to seek a substitute for his lost faith. In the measure that man disbelieves in supernatural, "other-worldly" religion, he finds in some "this worldly"-ism an object of religious devotion. Thus humanitarianism became a benevolent if vague faith in a purely human city of man. To a large number of persons communism offered the comforts of a fanatical belief in a utopia without God which seemed, at least to its followers, not at all vague. For the largest number of persons, among whom we may now include many communists, nationalism is the true faith.

The modern pagan dogma and cult of nationalism is a partially reasoned and a partially emotional appeal. It claims to be "practical," "modern," "progressive," and "scientific." Yet it encourages a most fanciful and unscientific attitude toward history, anthropology, culture and race; and in its extreme form it represents a wilful return to "tribal" paganism, the paganism of the early Greeks, Romans, or of barbarians whose paganism, we thought, Christianity had dispelled.

The love of God Who humbled Himself and died for all men is not the corner stone of integral nationalism. The central gospel of this nationalism is "love yourselves and hate your enemies." Its praise is not of humility but of pride. Its preaching is "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." It is a spiritual preparation neither for the brotherhood of man nor for international peace but for war and concentration camps.

Nationalistic Propaganda

The development of popular nationalist propaganda has been a third and most recent major factor in exalting cultural nationalism. Every nation now has its school system in which children may perhaps learn something of foreign peoples and world affairs, but in which all children must be indoctrinated with su-

preme loyalty to the national culture and the national state. Every nation now has a popular press which either from policy or from conviction is overwhelmingly nationalist in the news it presents and in the editorial comments it offers. Every nation has cinemas which flick "patriotic" pictures before the public eye, and radios which din "patriotic" speeches into the popular ear. In most countries the national state has a monopoly of radio broadcasting and exercises a close supervision over the cinema and press as well as over the schools. Almost everywhere the masses are taught or made to think nationally and are stopped from thinking internationally.

The present war has accentuated these pre-war trends. Censorship and war propaganda are among the milder forms of nationalist education. In Nazi Germany extreme penalties are visited on persons listening to foreign broadcasts. Campaigns of racial hatred are conducted which spell ruin and death for the hated races and which exalt the superiority of a people's government which knows how to conquer souls as well as bodies. Each side in the conflict arouses popular hatreds against its enemy in order to whet the public zeal for war.

The Development of Political Nationalism

Capping the cultural nationalism of our day, and giving shape and direction to it, is political nationalism. This has attended and in turn been magnified by the modern development of national states. That the world should be divided into separate political states is nothing new, but it is a modern and indeed a comparatively recent phenomenon that the large majority of such states should be based on the principle of nationality and inspired with a supreme devotion to it.

The National State

For a time after national states had begun clearly to emerge in western Europe, and especially in the middle of the nineteenth century, when they were crystallizing in central Europe, the new political trend was generally hailed as making for a saner and more liberal order. It was commonly believed that there was no antithesis and could be no incompatibility between nationalism and a peaceful order in Europe. One would lead to the other.

Yet actually, as the idea of national states has spread and been put into effect on an ever widening front and as national

states have formed and matured, the political nationalism associated with them has acquired the character of an ultimate good. Indeed a fairly clear distinction can be made between a people first striving to achieve political independence and unity and the same people seeking to strengthen a national state. The nationalism of the former is almost always liberal and humanitarian and as such solicits the sympathy and approbation of the world. The nationalism of the latter is apt to be less liberal and more self-centered.

What is still more serious is that politico-cultural nationalism fills a people to the brim with a swaggering, conquering spirit which readily spills over into a violent and domineering imperialism. The German Nazis have taught the world what a factor in the world equation a nationalism carried to the nth power can be. The myth of nationalism surcharged with the myths of race, power, leadership, discipline, sacrifice and hatred will brook no opposition. Its triumphs are evident to the whole world.

Here then is evidence of the drift from a liberal to an exultant, exclusive and conquering nationalism. This change is a most impressive mark of our age, quite at variance with the predictions of a century ago. Explanations of it are in order, and a few of them are suggested here.

Dependence Upon Arms

First, there has been a deepening disillusionment about the pacific character of nationalism. Liberal nationalism was altruistic and pacific in intent and idea. Its leading exponents, as a rule, were internationalist as well as nationalist. But from the outset nationalist patriots met opposition from emperors, petty princes and other nationalists. The patriots turned to war and revolution to achieve their purpose and to redraw the map of Europe and of the world. Once armed, nationalists were for one reason or another unwilling to surrender their armaments. One of the most terrible and cataclysmic of nationalistic wars was fought on land and sea for four years between 1914-1918. After the war the map of Europe was radically recast in approximate conformity with the fundamental principles of liberal nationalism.

Yet this nationalism, in closing upon its goal, suffered a transformation. Its liberalism waned as its nationalism waxed. The methods which it employed to erect national states had been predominantly military, and it had induced a heightened regard for

militarism. The conquered nations and those disillusioned with the fortunes of war came to cherish arms and to rely upon them. Their patriots and statesmen convinced themselves that only by the force of arms could they attain their place in the sun. The victorious peoples too were more and more persuaded that military power and alliances were the only solid guarantee of their independence. International rivalry in armaments outstripped optimistic peace efforts.

Historically, a chief function of states has always been the protection of its citizens against domestic invasion and foreign intrusion. Everywhere for centuries armies and police forces have consumed the major portion of public revenues. This condition has not been changed by the rise of national states. They continue and even fortify the earlier tradition. They merit the abiding title of "powers."

Educational and Charitable Functions

But the modern national state has assumed functions far beyond the merely military and police powers of other and earlier states. For one thing it has been the beneficiary of the relative decline of religious institutions. Schools, hospitals and asylums have been transferred with increasing rapidity and thoroughness from ecclesiastical to secular control, from universal church to national state, and latterly from private humanitarian agencies to public social services. Today, many people look to the state as the dispenser of education and charity.

Economic Control

Similarly the national state has become the practical agency for remedying the abuses of modern industrialism and for promoting the material well-being of the masses. The national state has been called upon to check an individualism which for a time threatened to run riot; and it has responded by exercising more and more drastic regulation of industry and in one degree or another by assuming outright ownership. The nationalist state has thereby re-enforced its power and enhanced its popularity.

The national state is now emerging as absolute and totalitarian, as an end in itself, a supreme Good. Such an outcome has been hastened by the popular nationalism, economic, cultural, and religious which the national state supremely inculcates and of which it is the final embodiment.

World Order and Nationality

In the midst of a second world war pessimists predict that the future may see men living in the worst of all possible worlds. But for men of good will there is a settled determination that, before nationalism shall round out the circle of selfishness, violence and ruin, new forces will supervene recalling the world to sanity, reconciling nationality with world order, and renewing the age-long human aspiration for brotherhood and peace.

We may remind ourselves, moreover, that the current nationalism is not of long duration in the annals of mankind and that it is in large part a result of conscious and purposeful education. What has been its cause can be utilized for its cure. People can be trained in the ways of a world order of society and for peace as well as in nationalism and for war. Not even the present war has killed the hopes and ideals of a world society.

The genuine endeavors of governments and peoples to lay the foundations of a Commonwealth of Nations cannot have been in vain if human experience and human ideals have any meaning. Catholic Christianity stands today, as it has in the past, as a bulwark against pagan nationalism. Catholic Christianity teaches a positive program of ethical nationalism and a practical ideal of a world commonwealth of free men.

Christian teaching on the relationship between national and international duties of citizens makes a just synthesis of both obligations. In *A Code of International Ethics* it is said: "A Christian must and can fulfill both duties following the example of the Church whose wonderful catholicity includes the salvation of individuals and prosperity of nations and the good of humanity in its universal solicitude." Devotion to one's country and a preference for it which is not an "exclusive passion," continued the *Code*, should make the true patriot sincerely desire his country's collaboration with others for the good of all nations including his own.

Pope Pius XII in *Summi Pontificatus* has referred to the forgetfulness of "the law of human solidarity and charity" as the "first of these pernicious errors widespread today." The perfect balance of patriotism and of universal brotherhood set forth as the Christian ideal is admirably stated in the same encyclical where the Pontiff said: "Nor is there any fear lest the consciousness of universal brotherhood aroused by the teaching of Christianity, and the spirit which it inspires, be in contrast with love

of traditions or the glories of one's fatherland, or impede the progress of prosperity or legitimate interests. For that same Christianity teaches that in the exercise of Charity we must follow a God-given order, yielding the place of honor in our affections and good works to those who are bound to us by special ties. . . ."

These are the lessons of the Bishop of Rome who teaches the Christian Faithful and all others who will listen. If they are learned the world will be re-educated in peace and good will.

CHAPTER III

Economic Relations in a World Society

A REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE COMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RELATIONS ⁵

Besides the ethical errors and immoral practices which lie at the roots of international disorder are the historical facts of the armaments race, the weaknesses of the League of Nations, and the constant upthrust of nationalism in new and more virulent forms. But these facts of themselves cannot explain the causes of the present war unless the failure to organize the economic life of the world is also taken into account.

Economic Interdependence and Disorganization

In the economic sphere each country has become increasingly dependent upon every other country. But the disorganization of the world economy has in fact permitted individuals and particular countries to grow in wealth and power at the expense of others. In this interdependent but disordered economic system, social injustices arising in part from economic power-politics have both caused and produced wars.

The economic consequences of the peace which will follow World War II have been sometimes conceived of as spelling a victory either for a totalitarian economic nationalism and imperialism or for a competitive world economy (in which a mitigated imperialism may be tolerated but which is theoretically to be eliminated). According to Catholic thinkers these alterna-

⁵ The original draft of this report was prepared by the late Parker Thomas Moon, Ph.D., as Chairman of the Committee on Economic Life.

tives do not provide the only options for an economic system. If nations will listen to the advice of Christian moralists and economists the principles of both of these plans will be rejected and a third set of directives will guide the world to a more stable and productive international economy.

Christian Economic Principles

Christian normative economic principles differ from those of the dictated economies of the totalitarian states and from the individualism of the capitalistic states. These Christian principles deny that either government or individuals are the absolute sovereigns of the economic order. They affirm, as may be seen in *Quadragesimo Anno*, the ethical nature of private property; they define its limits and social obligations; they recognize the right of government to own "certain forms of property" but not all of the means of production; they urge the protection of the poor by social security laws as well as by private charities, and most particularly, they command the reorganization of national and international economies in such a manner as to escape the errors of individualistic and of totalitarian economies and to better realize the satisfaction of *human* wants and needs. According to this plan employers and workers alike would organize. Each industry would organize to direct itself. All industries would federate for joint self-direction. Governments would encourage their organization and would protect them as needed by keeping them from doing wrong and by helping them to do right.

Pope Pius XI saw that an ordered economy would be initiated and administered within national states but that it could be completed only by the co-operation of nations acting through international treaties and the institutions of a world economy. A world economic organization would attempt to provide an instrument of co-ordination among functionally organized national economies.

National states whether democratic or totalitarian have in recent years and in diverse fashions torn the fabric of international economic life. The rupture of established ties has made the world economic depression more severe as it has made recovery more difficult. The present war may augment these evils unless the economic troubles besetting the world find a more durable solution than the one indicated by Versailles. Economic nationalism has impaired the well-being of even the most self-sufficient na-

tions. To countries poor in raw materials, or heavily dependent on foreign markets it has been a reminder of their poverty and an exciting stimulus to imperialistic conquests.

Distribution of Raw Materials

One of the most urgent problems which will confront the peacemakers is the equitable distribution of the world's raw materials, the major portion of which is now held or controlled by a few powerful nations.

The outstanding facts concerning raw materials indicate first, that the distribution of raw materials cannot be irrevocably fixed for the future. If by some good fortune a fair distribution of existing materials could be made, inventions would demand some re-distribution tomorrow. Secondly, no nation can hope to be entirely self-sufficient in raw materials now or in the very near future. Science produced marvels in the way of substitutes and of synthetic goods but even a country like the United States is still unable to supply itself with a number of raw materials now deemed indispensable; poorer nations are vastly more dependent. Thirdly, even if self-sufficiency were approximated by some nations and not by others, this situation would arouse enmities and possibly cause wars. Lastly, the economic problem of a better distribution of raw materials is not a problem of scarcity or cost; it is a question which centers around much needed improvements in the organization of trade. Tariffs, quotas, and exchange restrictions make the problem of buying nearly insoluble save on a barter basis. Maladjustments in domestic economies instantly affect the free flow of world commerce. Unemployment, declining production, inflations and deflations throw the whole delicate mechanism of foreign trade so completely out of order that nothing short of heroic measures would seem to meet the requirements.

Among the proposals to bring about a continuously equitable distribution of raw materials, in so far as it is obtainable, are those calling for a re-allocation of colonies, a generalization of the mandates system, removal of export taxes and restrictions on raw materials, restoration of world trade in manufactured materials and foodstuffs, international rationing of raw materials and the abolition of war.

The rationing of raw materials by international agreement or by some international agency has often been proposed. Within

limits it may be feasible. The operations of international employers' cartels, as in rubber, exemplify some of the difficulties and dangers of this method. Large scale rationing would require international economic planning, production control, and price fixing of such drastic proportions that little hope can be expected from this direction unless there is a world economic organization made up of employer-labor cartels by industries, of a federation of like cartels and a politically organized world helping and guiding them.

Labor Standards

The phenomenal invasion of world markets by Japanese cotton goods shows how real is the problem of protecting labor against the competition of foreign industries which utilize cheap labor and a depreciated currency. Capital and labor in unison cry out for protection against such competition. The principal protection now given has taken the form of tariff discrimination, sometimes reinforced by quota restrictions. A second line of defense has been sought through international labor conventions designed to raise the standard of living in low-cost countries. In the main, however, the nations with highly paid labor have held their own in world markets chiefly by reason of their superior technique, machinery, and efficiency.

Technological Advances

Against the rise of an industrial power which combines advanced techniques with cheap labor, international labor conventions are as yet inadequate safeguards. Emergency trade barriers have actually given little protection and have provided much ground for complaint. Only a well organized system of world economic directives, including price controls, would be adequate to cope with such a problem.

Any practicable economic rules for the improvement of the world economic order must take into account the technical economic considerations that an increase in the industrial productivity on the part of any nation is not only inevitable but desirable even though it may temporarily displace or reduce the wages of labor in the competitive industries of other countries; and that well knit organization of world economic life might assist in moderating the frequency and the violence of major displacements in the realm of competitive labor.

Financial Regulations

The control of financial, monetary, and credit institutions, the regulation of foreign loans, and the protection of foreign investments are now functions of the national state. International trade and the development of backward countries have been largely financed by private enterprisers, often with unofficial and sometimes official encouragement, direction and protection. But there have been no international authorities, comparable to the American Securities and Exchange Commission, capable of regulating the sudden flights of capital from one country to another, or of protecting investors, or of enforcing standards of honesty and prudence in international loans.

International financial operations are conducted in terms of money and credit which are backed by gold and/or silver. Both of these are international metals but are produced by a few countries and are now held in enormous quantities in the United States. The steady flow of gold to the United States for safe-keeping and for other purposes has created a financial problem whose solution is impossible without international consultation and agreement.

Although the banking system of each country operates according to national laws, the banks themselves have internationalized their operations by opening foreign branches, by making foreign affiliates, by carrying deposits abroad, by dealing in foreign acceptances, bills of exchange, stocks and bonds. The war, the depression and banking legislation and securities legislation in the United States have changed the conditions under which international banking now does business.

The end of reparation and of debt settlements inherited from World War I seems to have arrived. If these problems come up for resettlement, they will greatly complicate the new and pressing international debt questions which are sure to arise at the conclusion of the present war.

Private foreign investments, amounting in the aggregate to many billions of dollars, cover the entire world. A post-war economic bankruptcy would involve an unprecedented debacle in the investment markets of the world.

A glimmer of hope for a sane post-war financial order is afforded by the good work already done by the League of Nations and by the potentialities for international financial co-operative action in the Bank for International Settlements. The League

has been able to give financial aid and technical advice to a number of countries. The Bank for International Settlements, created in 1930, handled reparations and war debt payments.

The Ethics and Economic Committees of the Catholic Association for International Peace have scored the use of the gold standard for the selfish interests of some countries and have suggested the use of gold as a monetary standard in such a way as to moderate violent fluctuations in prices. Whatever may be the most prudent and the fairest standard, nearly everyone is agreed that an internationally accepted standard is a first requisite of monetary stability. The international agreements of 1936 which undertook to maintain exchange stability between the dollar, franc, and sterling are examples of what might be done on a more extensive scale, even though the examples might not be perfect.

The Ethics and Economic Committees are also inclined to look upon the International Bank of Settlements as a permanent supervisor of international financial transactions on the condition that it were an agency of an international democratic economic organization. The Bank along with the international economic organization would have to acquire both the financial means of discharging their duties and of making their decisions effective. This would constitute a step toward a world government.

Foreign Markets

The problem of foreign markets is not only important in itself but in a real sense underlies most of the other problems of international economic relations. Countries having surpluses of raw materials, agricultural and manufactured goods, or finance capital want foreign markets for their products. Countries poor in raw materials and farm products but rich in manufactured articles want foreign markets for their finished goods in order to supply their deficiencies. Even more or less self-sufficient countries like the United States are lacking in some goods, so that they find it necessary to import; they may possess an abundance in other commodities which they seek to export. International finance exists largely to move goods to and from foreign markets. Without foreign trade each nation would attempt, as they have, to become self-contained and those farthest removed from that rare condition would more likely than not prepare for war, unless they were willing to resign themselves to poverty.

These conclusions concerning foreign markets seem inescapable; that the world needs more international trade for the sake of justice, prosperity, and peace; that international trade which consists of imports and exports should not be thrown out of balance by undue restrictions of imports or by political pressures.

Economic nationalism, whether in the form of capitalistic protectionism or of totalitarian autarchy, has created chaotic disunity in the markets of the world and a fierce competition in which the might of the powerful prevails over equity and justice. The League of Nations held two economic conferences, but both failed to stem the rising flood of national economic conflict, itself a cause of war.

A number of methods have been proposed for the reopening of foreign markets and the revival of world trade. Unilateral tariff reductions, reciprocity treaties of the Hull type, a few regional agreements have been attempted and some progress has been made. World-wide agreements for the reduction of trade barriers have been shipwrecked on the shoals of national sentiment and of class interest.

International Economic Order

From Catholic quarters comes the proposal for a "guided and organized economy." Instead of striving simply to remove exchange obstacles and to level tariff barriers, which may lead to an individualistic freedom of competition contrary to the Catholic conception of ordered justice, the nations should seek to establish a new international economic order, a world system of federated economic councils, capable of promoting a healthy exchange of goods between international markets.

Free trade leads to international economic anarchy in the sense that it has resulted in virtual monopolies for some countries and poverty, tensions, and resentments among others. But what is true of free trade might also be true of protected national economies. If a federation of national economic councils were capable of exercising genuine economic authority in their own countries and among the nations of the world, it would still be necessary to reconcile their organized national interests with a superior international economic common good.

National economic councils and a world federation of them presupposes the termination of individualistic capitalism and of totalitarianism. In place of these misguided economies must come

a reformed system, adaptable to many countries, which recognizes private property in its rights and obligations, which makes use of multiplying industrial techniques in machinery and management for increasing production, which takes account of tested economic laws, rightly applied, which realizes the need for industrial authority, subject to wider, but non-imperialistic political authority and which places power in the members of democratically organized industries.

The renovation of national and international economies demands a new conception of economic authority which is neither the anarchical principle of mere contract, nor the socialistic principle of an overriding political authority in the state. Marshall Dimock in his T. N. E. C. monograph has probably given the best descriptive word for the notion of an adequate and competent economic authority in his phrase "trusteeship." Trusteeship as we define it involves more freedom than political freedom and less authority than political authority. It is builded on the reality of private property which should be re-defined to include not only real and personal property, monies, credit, stocks and bonds, but also one's job. Property, thus understood, would be formidable protection for the individual person. But property rights would themselves be subject to general legal regulation in terms of a political common good. The legal regulation should recognize the realities and the values of property, and should above all, seek to fix responsibility for the uses of private property. This scheme of things must also permit public ownership of some properties, such as natural monopolies. Social legislation of considerable scope should be encouraged. Capital and labor would be organized in relation to one another in diverse ways, so that in some cases they may be identical and in other cases quite distinct, but in every one of its formal relationships capital and labor should constitute a community of property. And capital and labor must join together to administer their industries separately and all of them jointly.

The complete or nearly complete settlement of the present disturbance of the international economic order must wait upon the reorganization of national economies. In the interim, world markets in raw materials, industrial and agricultural goods, and in finance should be as free of restrictions as can reasonably be expected and all guidance should be handled by organized industries. No nation can rehabilitate its economic order so long as it is shut out from access to the wealth of the world. This free-

dom does not mean the wholesale or immediate destruction of existing restrictions. But it does mean that international agreements should restore to countries, large and small, the right to obtain what they need. It is quite likely that the international economic order is an order in which even more freedom and less authority is required than in reconstructed national economies, although a world economy surely involves more genuine collaboration than exists at present.

At the close of this section we must summarize some of the leading facts and economic principles outlined above. In the first place, the economic and political policies of national states today tend, on the whole, toward more nationalism, more self-sufficiency, and less world unity. On the other hand, the industries and resources of the world are so unevenly distributed that excessive nationalism can only lead to losses for rich countries, unjust deprivations for co-operating, poor countries, and a dangerous revival of war-like imperialism which would continue to threaten world peace and to menace the whole fabric of our economic civilization. For these reasons, if no others, excessive nationalism should be combatted and international co-operation promoted.

In principle, moreover, Christian justice and charity should be of world-wide application and should inspire world-wide co-operation to establish a better economic order. This principle is confirmed by the specific injunction of Pius XI: "It would be well if the various nations in common counsel and endeavor strove to promote a healthy economic co-operation by prudent pacts and institutions, since in economic matters they are largely dependent one upon another, and need one another's help."

It would require undue optimism to see in the powerful international unions dealing with world communications, in the Economic, Financial, and Labor Organizations of the League and in the Bank for International Settlements, as they now stand, a sufficient framework for the proper governance of the economic world. They provide the scaffoldings and superstructures. The foundations remain to be laid. For its foundations world society needs the solid stones of national economic councils and the cement of Christian charity and social justice.

Upon these, however, can be built and must be built a world economic organization working with and under a world governmental organization. In the words of the report of the Committee on International Economic Life: "The chaos of an interdepend-

ent world that is not organized to make the interdependence effective becomes sooner or later the chaos of war"; and further that: "Economic world unity in all its variety and change must somehow be thoroughly organized so that every human element in it will be represented; and then in a world social-economic order, supplemented by a world governmental order, work out an economic life that will accomplish the economic good of all universally."

CHAPTER IV

Social, Cultural and Humanitarian Aspects of World Society

A REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL WELFARE OF THE COMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RELATIONS ⁶

The student of world society can be heartened by the accomplishments of international agencies engaged in social and cultural activities. Although these organizations have worked so quietly that the average man knows nothing of them, men and women interested in international peace cannot afford to overlook their implications for a future world order.

In this section we shall deal with all of those international organizations that have sought to improve public health, better living conditions, and public morals, and with those that have coordinated and encouraged national activities in the field of education.

Beginning with the latter half of the nineteenth century, a number of public international unions were organized to correlate the health and morals services of national states and of private national associations. Agencies such as the International Sanitary Commission, the International Red Cross, and the International Opium Commission, tried to meet an urgent need for the prevention of the spread of vice and disease. But they did more than that, they created habits of co-operation among nations in dealing with other and greater international problems.

The League of Nations, when it was organized, saw the importance of the services of social, cultural, and humanitarian bodies and set up agencies dealing with these problems within the League Secretariat or closely attached to it. The League's ad-

⁶ The original draft of this report was prepared by Elizabeth M. Lynskey, Ph.D., Chairman of the Committee on Economic and Social Relations.

ministrative organization provided for sections dealing with health, with social and humanitarian work, and with international intellectual co-operation. The sections were supplemented by parallel organizations, advisory commissions, and special committees.

The United States, in spite of its failure to co-operate wholeheartedly with the political activities of the League of Nations, has continuously taken an active and even a leading part in the social, cultural, and humanitarian functions of the League. Perhaps we may expect this collaboration to increase rather than to diminish with the transfer of so many of the League's administrative services to the Western Hemisphere. The new life recently injected into Pan-American co-operation has brought the American nations into closer contact in the social and cultural spheres as the activities of the American National Committee on International Cultural Co-operation and the Conference on Rural Hygiene for the Americas would indicate.

Health

In the latter part of the last century, national public health authorities found that the growing trade and travel between widely separated countries was creating new health problems for all of them. Pestilence, famine, and epidemic ignored national boundaries. Medical scholars and scientists realized the need for co-operative research in stamping out the dreaded human scourges of bubonic plague, cholera, and malarial fevers. Public health officers saw the urgency of uniform national laws on ship sanitation. Labor departments called for uniform regulations concerning the health of migrating populations.

Following private example, seventeen national states established an International Institute for Public Health at Paris in 1907. This body held regular conferences of public health experts, worked out standardizing treaties, published important health information, and maintained a service by which governments could be rapidly warned of the spread of epidemics. After the League of Nations was organized, the Paris Office instituted a direct connection with the League.

The League Health Organization collects, publishes, and distributes public health information to national health officers; sets international standards of health (for example, it has worked out a model health law and a uniform system of health statistics);

provides health services, mainly, by way of promoting co-operation in medical research among medical scholars; keeps a watch on epidemics, circulates information about them, and assists in fighting against them.

Branches of the Health Section of the League Secretariat have been placed in a number of capital cities to speed up its work. The Health Organization has sent its experts to advise on sanitary regulations for the repatriation of Balkan peoples, and at the request of China has sent medical experts to advise upon the reorganization of the Chinese health services. The Health Organization keeps in close touch with private groups. It maintains liaison with the International Labor Office, and with the League Committee on Social Questions and its sub-committees on child welfare and on traffic in women and children. With the Paris Institute it has furnished experts on narcotic drugs to an international supervisory body which sets medical standards for the control of trade in narcotics. It has called and co-operated with regional medical conferences for the study of African and Asiatic health problems.

American co-operation in the League's health work has been extensive and of long standing. Many Americans have served as staff experts or as regular administrative officers in many of the League's health agencies. Former Surgeon-General Hugh S. Cummings has been a member of the Health Committee from its beginning.

This record would indicate that national states have delegated some of their power in health matters to international bodies, and that they have also acknowledged in these agencies some health functions which they have never performed as separate states. The urgency of health work by international agencies, as well as the considerable benefits already accruing from them, assure the future of this work.

International Morals

The value and the need of a more effective world organization is further shown in the matters of morals, of the trade in narcotic drugs, of obscene literature, and most of all, in the matter of trade in human beings.

Trade in narcotics is an economic question; the medical uses of drugs a scientific question; and the socially harmful results in the unscientific and unregulated use of the commodities raises

questions of political regulation. Each nation determines internally how and where drugs may be lawfully used, and they seek to prevent addiction. These purposes cannot be executed without the active co-operation of other states.

While the health problem is more scientific than moral, and the economic gains from good public health seem to be well understood, the narcotic problem is complicated by politics and the desire for economic profit. Some governments, as that of Persia, received much revenue from the trade in narcotics. The first attempts to control the production and trade in narcotics, which were made by China, failed because of the greed of smugglers and corrupt enforcement officers, and, to a very large extent, because of the interference of foreign governments.

Several international conferences have sought to work out a technique of enforcing national anti-narcotic legislation. A standard system of import and export certificates for narcotics has at last been agreed upon; a model law has been framed to serve as a guide to national legislatures; and narcotic trade statistics have been standardized.

The League of Nations Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs, which is made up of non-governmental experts, gathers and publishes information, and advises the League Council on matters of international policy with respect to narcotics. A smaller body of experts, nationals of countries producing and consuming drugs, and known as the Permanent Central Opium Board, requests national states to set estimates of their national needs and helps to obtain the quantity of drugs required. Information gathered by the Board is used to determine leaks in the drug traffic; on finding discrepancies the Board is authorized to recommend a narcotic boycott against an offending state. The present war and the Far Eastern events leading up to it have meant a setback in the international control of opium sales.

Much remains to be done before the international traffic in drugs is brought under complete control, but the machinery for its regulation has been well built. The most significant thing about the Advisory Board and the Central Opium Committee may be the precedent they have set for the control of other raw materials. Many commentators have compared the problems of the drug trade with those of trade in armaments and even with those involved in the distribution of the raw material resources of the world.

International efforts to end traffic in human beings have, on the whole, been less successful than the control of drugs. Committees with special powers of inquiry and investigation have been set up for both the traffic in African slaves and the traffic in women and children. Advisory committees are in existence to make recommendation of future policy, but no agreement has been reached as to what should be done about these matters. There are those who condone forced labor in Africa on the ground of necessity and who condone the traffic in women on the ground of consent. The white slave trade is profitable and can be carried on with relative ease under lawful appearances.

Some standardization of terms relating to these practices has been agreed upon. Information and statistics on the subjects have been gathered. But the only real check on the trade is the proper enforcement of national laws. Through the Social Organization of the League these national statutes are slowly being made uniform.

Education

The world organization of education has been rather strictly limited to promoting intellectual co-operation between scholars in the same fields of knowledge and to furthering international understanding among peoples. The International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and the International Museum Office have worked together with agencies such as the International Educational Cinematographic Union. Educational moving pictures have been made more accessible to scholars; students and professors have been aided in studying and teaching in foreign lands. Now the war has brought a halt to nearly all of these activities, save that the United States and Latin America have become the havens of exiled intellectuals, and countries of both continents have begun to create committees for increasing cultural co-operation.

Public international agencies have also concerned themselves with the study of national laws governing copyrights, sale, and publication of books with an eye to providing greater security for scholars and literary men. This work is being done by national committees, appointed by their governments, in co-operation with an advisory committee on intellectual co-operation appointed by the League Council. The International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation has worked with private groups in national states, has informed young people about the principles and practices of

the League of Nations, and has sponsored periodical international conferences for the exchange of views among students of many nationalities.

Before the war broke out the international school at Geneva and the summer school in international law at The Hague did much to advance interest in and knowledge of international problems. The International Educational Institute of New York has served as a clearing house for exchange scholarships. The General Education Board, the Guggenheim Foundation, the Rockefeller fellowships, the Carnegie Endowment scholarships and fellowships have each in their own way contributed to an understanding of world society. A Catholic Bureau of Inter-American Collaboration in the Education Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference is working for further exchange of students and professors between this country and Latin America. International federations of students have long been common and have done their share in studying and in creating a public opinion favorable to world peace. A number of Catholic student unions, notable among which is *Pax Romana*, have held significant international and regional conferences.

Scientific, literary, and scholarly international congresses have extended the international horizons of learning. If national pride has sometimes motivated their meetings and permeated their discussions, at least their willingness to come together may have established precedents which will make their revival and improvement the much more possible.

We may conclude that the social, cultural, and humanitarian interdependence of national states is a certain fact. National boundaries have failed to prevent the spread of disease and vice. National governments have had to co-operate to a greater or lesser degree to protect their own citizens. In the intellectual sphere scientists, writers, scholars, and students have recognized the need for international co-operation and for the extension of international authority.

International agencies, both inside and outside of the League, have managed to prevail upon many national states to yield up portions of their sovereignty and to permit some international control over matters which they had come to regard as the special preserves of domestic authority. In the economic as well as in the social and cultural fields these same international bodies have assisted in breaking down the divisive principle of the equality of states through the acceptance of majority in place of unani-

mous decisions. These unions and the League organizations have enlarged the scope of common action on the part of national states by means of international congresses and by providing machinery to see to it that covenants, openly arrived at, are enforced. The planning and supervisory activities of experts employed by these organizations have given increased hope for a better world order.

Such a record of encouragement should not, however, blind us to the limitations of these services. Frequently their work has been confined to collecting and distributing information or to establishing standards. The effective execution of their programs when left in the hands of national states has been thwarted by a conflict of national interests and the pressures of private interest groups.

The present war has brought a temporary halt to much of the activity of international agencies. Yet, for all practical purposes, it is the public international unions and the League Secretariat which are most likely to survive the war and to provide a nucleus for the new international organizations which must come if a world society is to arise from the shambles of war.

CHAPTER V

A World Commonwealth of Nations

A REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON LAW AND ORGANIZATION ⁷

The failure of the League of Nations to provide a workable political organization for world society appears to some persons to prove the impossibility of an international political authority. For many such individuals the demonstrated strength of totalitarianism or the gathering power of American economic and political nationalism suggests more realistic possibilities for the organization of political power. Large, separate, and self-sufficient empires erected on a continental scale would constitute the ideal pattern of the "new order." The balance of power principle in which continents rather than nations would be the power components is envisaged as the stabilizing force of this new world. It would seem almost certain that this grandiose scheme of world empires would inevitably involve the world in inter-continental

⁷ This report was written from studies by members of the Law and Organization Committee under the Chairmanship of Charles G. Fenwick, Ph.D.

wars whose massive operations would dwarf all other wars, past and present. If this is what we may expect from totalitarianism, or from "democratic" isolationism it is reason enough for free men to exert all of their efforts to prevent its coming and at the same time to work for a Commonwealth of Nations of just and effective authority.

In the section of this study which treated of the moral bases of world society we have concluded to the moral necessity of an organized world order and to the fundamentally ethical or normative character of that order. Here we are concerned with the questions: Is a Commonwealth of Nations practicable; if it is, what form should it take; what functions should it perform; how shall its authority be instrumented; and how can it enforce its commands?

The practicality of a World Commonwealth of Nations is indicated by the realities of the existing world order and by the dictates of the moral law. In spite of international good will and organization, brutal wars and international insecurity have followed the wake of national upheavals and hatreds; world society has been carried away from its moorings by the terrifying disasters of man-made tempests. But the facts of social, cultural, and economic interdependence in world society remain; the nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw the development of a great network of genuine international agencies designed to establish order in an interdependent world society.

Christian morality enjoins all men of good will to exert a common endeavor to challenge international anarchy and to work unceasingly for a world society in which peace, order and justice will hold sway. The politics of power must be displaced by a truly humanistic policy of justice and charity and authority.

Functions of Government

If a great Commonwealth of Nations, implemented with a practical organization of authority and endowed with powers sufficient to realize the ends of peace and justice, is to be established, we might look for guidance to the structures and functions of national governments. The fundamental principles underlying national and international political communities are the same.

National states have developed political organizations and codes of law for the maintenance of the peace and order of the community. The primary purpose of these laws is to suppress

violence among individuals; and unless the state is in a position to put down such violence, it will find itself unable to carry out successfully its functions of advancing the social, economic, and cultural welfare of the political community. The obligation of preventing violence, of preserving the peace is an executive function and in itself goes no farther than that of upholding the existing order of property, personal and societal rights. This basic function proceeds from the principle that, no matter what his claim, the citizen must not be allowed to resort to violence to obtain it. He must not "take the law into his own hands."

Supplementary to the function of restraining violence is the function of providing for the settlement of conflicts of claims by judicial agencies. No man can be the judge of his own case; it is the organized community, acting through its courts, that must decide upon his claims. The courts of a state fulfill an executive function, in the sense that they are concerned with the application of law as they find it, and not with the making of new law. They adjudicate controversies upon the basis of the *status quo*, and they do not, generally speaking, inquire into the moral justice of the legal claims which they undertake to enforce. In a strict sense it is not the function of the courts to correct abuses, but to apportion to each his due as the existing law prescribes.

But no state can act as a moral agent or as a practical political institution unless it also seeks to promote justice. The legislative duty of advancing social justice is the very heart of political authority. The principle of rendering to each man his due requires the issuance of commands which are in conformity with the moral law and which, although they do not arise from the facts of existing social and economic conditions, are also adapted to social changes. Law making is therefore intimately related to social and economic conditions but is essentially determined by the moral law. The state is thus, through its appropriate governmental agencies, charged with the duty of promoting social justice as a condition of law and order.

The state is society governmentally organized. It is not identical with society and does not assimilate society to itself. Apart from individual persons, familial society has its separate existence, organization, and anterior rights; the economic societies of industry and the professions should, according to Catholic social teaching, have a separate existence, organization and rights. Religious organizations in a special way have a distinct character, functions, and authority.

Collective Security

In an organized world society, as in national states, the first problem is one of defense against disorder. Within a nation defense is a collective function. The individual citizen goes unarmed, but he has behind him the protection of the organized community. The community assumes a collective responsibility for the maintenance of order and undertakes to regard an attack upon one of its members as an attack upon itself. Each citizen, however, has a share in the obligation of contributing what he can to the maintenance of order.

In a world society some form of collective defense of world order is essential. As a previous joint committee of the C. A. I. P. has said: "The use of national armaments can be justified for the defense or restoration of order within that world society, an order in which each has rights and corresponding duties." The alternative is world anarchy and war. Pope Benedict XV declared that: "All states should unite in one sole League or rather family of nations both to guarantee their own independence and safeguard order in the civil concert of the peoples."

Is it possible to apply the principle of co-operative defense to the relations of world society? Can we, as a practical proposition, ask a Commonwealth of Nations to accept a collective responsibility for the maintenance of peace? Can this Commonwealth work out a system of co-operative defense in which the individual state can be assured the adequate protection of its rights? Does a system of co-operative defense necessarily require an international army, navy and air force, or might it be possible to co-ordinate separate national forces for the same purpose?

Answers to these questions are not easy. But the ineffectual efforts during the last quarter of a century to achieve a reduction of armaments would seem to indicate that a Commonwealth of Nations may have to require the abolition of obligatory military service and of conscription, already urged by Benedict XV. Fresh attempts may have to be made to bring about a general reduction of armaments, and probably also to set up regional and international armies of police forces. At the minimum it would seem desirable to some to reduce and to internationalize the air forces of the world. Given the sad experience of the twenties and the thirties, given the need for stronger world organization, a system of co-operative defense would seem to be a necessary condition of further disarmament.

Economic Sanctions

Even though considerable progress were made in the direction of disarmament and of internationalizing military power, collective security would require still more implementation.⁸ The inadequacy of the Paris Peace Pact in outlawing war would appear to indicate the practical wisdom of the recommendation of the joint committee of the C. A. I. P. which proposed that the United States call a conference of all the signatories of the Kellogg Pact "for the purpose of negotiating an agreement by all both to consult and to join in an international boycott against any nation found after consultation to have violated its agreement to use only peaceful means to settle its disputes." Had this proposal been implemented and acted upon, might not the disastrous course of world events in recent years have been averted? Perhaps collective consultation and the imposition of economic sanctions would have paved the way to a Commonwealth of Nations which now seems absolutely necessary, but which is, because of the war, much more difficult to achieve.

The irresolution, doubts, and misgivings concerning economic sanctions which were so widely entertained before the present war may now be dissolved. A Commonwealth of Nations for our world society needs to have the power of imposing both military and economic sanctions. The right of individual nations to use these sanctions must be limited, for the hope that single nations might use them in the interest of world peace has proved illusory.

In the present era of economic and social interdependence it may turn out that with an adequate international authority military sanctions will be less necessary than they have been. Economic sanctions justly applied by an international agency would be an admirable substitute for the more cruel means of war. This world government would then continue to be a league to enforce peace.

A World Supreme Court

We have seen that it is the function of national courts to pass upon the conflicting claims of individuals and in so doing

⁸ The course of this implementation is indicated by Pope Benedict XV in his August 1, 1917, Message: "In place of armed force should be substituted the noble and peaceful institution of arbitration according to regulations to be made and penalties to be imposed upon any State which might refuse either to submit a national question to such a tribunal or to accept its decision."

to interpret and to apply the law as they find it. In the exercise of this function the jurisdiction of the court is obligatory, in the sense that the individual citizen has no alternative but to submit his case to the court in the event that an agreement cannot be reached out of court.

The report of the Ethics Committee has underlined the significance of Pope Benedict XV's peace program which called for judicial settlement, the codification of international law, and an international tribunal of justice. These are pre-eminently peaceful means that should be effective in adjusting any controversy.

The question arises how the jurisdiction of a Supreme Court of world society can be made obligatory, if the parties are unable to reach an agreement outside of court. As a partial solution nothing less than membership of nations in a world Commonwealth, having genuine political authority over international relations, would seem to be indicated. In this Commonwealth the Supreme Court would be organized along the lines of the present Permanent Court of International Justice. Its jurisdiction might be made obligatory on the principles already agreed to under the optional clause of the World Court protocol. A Supreme Court which would be outside the framework of a world Commonwealth would, however, be ineffectual; it might prevent the development on the part of the judges of a sense of judicial responsibility and might halt the development of international law by the establishment of precedents.

The organization of such a permanent court with supreme judicial power should by no means exclude the recourse of nations to methods of mediation, conciliation, and *ad hoc* arbitration. Every practical technique for the settlement of international disputes should be utilized. Only cases of exceptional difficulty need come before the permanent world tribunal.

A Supreme Law-Making Body

There can be little doubt but that the most difficult and the most important problem involved in the political organization of world society is that of making provision for the establishment of justice in international relations. We have seen that it is an essential function of national governments to bring about changes in the existing social, economic and cultural communities in order, on the one hand, to offset the tendency toward the serious in-

vasion of property, personal and societal rights, and on the other hand to promote a common action for the common good. This function is legislative in character and is sharply distinguished from the executive function of restraining violence, and the judicial function of deciding controversies.

A Commonwealth of Nations without legislative functions and legislative organization would be lacking in the essential quality of an international authority. Deprived of legislative powers, it could be little more than an advisory body having some feeble authority to warn and admonish.

What legislative functions might be possessed by a Commonwealth of Nations in order that it may have competent political authority to direct the nations of the world toward an international common good? In the section on the economics of world society we concluded that some international agency should have the power to regulate, and even sometimes to control international markets in raw materials, manufactured and agricultural goods and services and the multiple forms of international finance. Constitutional powers analogous to those given to the Congress of the United States over commerce and finance might be conferred upon the legislature of the Commonwealth. The Constitution of the world Commonwealth might specify the extent and limits of these powers as well as define with some precision the objects of international trade and finance to which the powers extend. International control over colonial areas after the type of the Mandates system seems necessary. International legislation could co-ordinate and advance national labor laws.

In addition to an international economic authority the legislative functions of a Commonwealth of Nations might be used to encourage, promote, and assist in the enforcement of national minorities treaties. National minorities do exist and will probably continue to exist under the best of peace settlements. The well-being of minorities cannot be left to the mercies of national states. A network of minority treaties might be supplemented by international investigatory powers and a system of sanctions for flagrant violations. The same practice might be followed regarding an International Bill of Rights.

A third group of powers which might be conferred upon the legislature of the world society would deal with the enforcement of peace. The imposition of economic sanctions, the em-

ployment of an international police force, and power to reduce armaments might be included among the lawmaking functions of the world Commonwealth.

The progress of world communication and transportation as well as the promotion of public health, safety, and morals and the advancement of intellectual and cultural co-operation depend upon the continuance and the fortification of existing agencies brought together to work out programs of action. Some of these matters are well regulated by bilateral or multilateral treaties; others of them require the co-operation of the whole body of nations.

The Organization of a World Commonwealth of Nations

The successful performance of these political, economic, social and cultural functions at the international level calls for the elaboration of institutions adapted to these activities. Many students of international affairs are now convinced that a supreme lawmaking body, directing an integrated administrative system, is called for, so that the multitudinous legislative and administrative functions of international bodies might be coordinated and geared to similar functions of regional groups and national states.

We shall consider first the kind of a legislative body which might be established to exercise the policy making functions of a world society. A word of warning concerning this discussion is required. In this matter, as in other questions concerning the type of organization desirable for a World Commonwealth, there can be no degree of certainty. What is outlined here is tentative and open to many reservations. While our conclusions have been guided by past experience and by the expectations for the future, there remains much doubt as to the best form of world political organization. A great deal of discretion must be left to the constitution makers of a world order, and even they must leave many questions to be settled by future experience and the good sense of the men to whom world government may be entrusted.

Perhaps the most feasible form of a legislative organization for a Commonwealth of Nations would be a unicameral house of representatives selected by national states. The represent-

atives might be chosen on a proportional basis according to the size, population, natural resources, etc., of member states. A chamber large enough to represent all nations and small enough to permit adequate deliberations might come to legislative decisions by a simple majority vote save in the case of the amendment of the Constitution of the Commonwealth.

A permanent committee co-opted either by the legislature or by the national states from the representatives might be selected to prepare the agenda for the deliberative sessions of the assembly. This committee could be small and yet include a permanent membership of large states and a temporary membership of smaller powers. This committee might be closely integrated in its personnel and its responsibilities with the representative body, and it might serve as an interim legislative authority during the time the assembly is not in session.

The permanent committee of the representative body might select an administrative secretary to act as general manager of the administrative agencies provided for by the Constitution or authorized by the house of representatives. The administrative organization itself might well be modeled after the general lines of the League of Nations Secretariat. Where independent international administrative bodies are to continue their work, they can be brought closer to the administrative hierarchy of the Commonwealth by means of co-ordinating bodies.

A constitutional document stating the fundamental law of the Commonwealth might be drafted. It might outline the framework of organization and authority of the Commonwealth government which would consist of a supreme court, a representative assembly, a permanent committee of the assembly, and an administrative organization. The constitution might also include a declaration of international rights and obligations affirming the essential moral and political aims of world society and of the Commonwealth of Nations. The constitution should also include effective provision for its own amendment. Authority both to amend the constitution and to recommend treaty changes might be given to the house of representatives of the Commonwealth.

The idea of a world Commonwealth which would operate immediately upon individual citizens and upon national states alike, and the notion of world citizenship, as proposed by *Union Now*, seems overly optimistic. But there can be no doubt that the

new Commonwealth might cherish and foster a Christian ideal of world citizenship. As Dr. Arlinghaus has written in his discussion of "Political Organization in a World Society" this ideal of citizenship is a conception that "man is a man before he is an American, a German, a Frenchman, an Italian."

World Regional Governments

In view of the practical difficulties presented by the organization of the world of states, the question of the advantages of the organization of certain groups of states in regional units for the administration of interests peculiar to them has been much discussed in recent years. It might seem that there is a place for regional federations even in a Commonwealth of Nations much farther advanced than what we may expect of world society in the near future. In the western hemisphere there are regional relationships which may be more readily promoted by a Pan-American Union than by a world Commonwealth. The good neighbor policy, the Havana Conference of 1940, the closer co-operation of the United States and Latin America in innumerable other directions may presage the beginnings of a regional union of American nations.

The near fulfillment of the aims of the Commonwealth will almost certainly await the betterment of economic and social conditions in Europe and Asia. A United States of Europe may then seem required, if a realistic approach is to be made to the post-war peace settlement which primarily involves European problems.

That the political vision of nations is to some extent regional may be observed from the fact that many American problems have by a long tradition come to be regarded as easier of settlement by the regional co-operation of the American governments than by a world organization. The Tacna-Arica dispute was brought to an end by the United States and not by the League of Nations. By the same token European problems have generally been solved by Europeans with an all too frequent recourse to the arbitrament of force. Regional co-operation is indeed a more virile tradition than world-wide co-operation.

It is to be hoped that the government of the United States will appreciate the important role which American Catholics may play in consolidating North and South American interests.

World Federation

There are idealists who talk about a World State which would break down national loyalties and hemispheric barriers and would give a long suffering world a superpolitical community. The cold, harsh realities of the world we know does not give prudent men leave to dream such things. The obvious strength and the real worth of national political authority and the dawning consciousness of continental power are stumbling blocks for utopians.

That a Commonwealth of Nations might take the form of a federal structure would seem to be indicated by the observations of the popes of the twentieth century who have constantly pleaded for the recognition of the rights of nations, large and small. In *Summi Pontificatus* Pope Pius XII wrote: "A disposition in fact of the divinely sanctioned natural order divides the human race into social groups, nations or states which are mutually independent in organization and in the direction of their national life." It was the same Pope who proposed a Commonwealth of Nations as one of the conditions of a lasting peace.

An organized world society would distribute authority among nations, regional federations, and a Commonwealth of Nations. The world Commonwealth may be vested with the powers necessary to enforce peace and to assist in the rehabilitation of the world's social, economic, and cultural order. It may be empowered to exercise authority limited to those functions which national and regional governments are incapable or unwilling to exercise. In particular the Commonwealth may liberate nations from what Pope Pius XII has characterized as "the heavy slavery of armaments" and the dangers of rule by force.

National governments must continue to deal with their major economic, social, and cultural problems aided by the Commonwealth and regional governments. In some instances such as colonies and minorities the Commonwealth can legitimately claim to make final decisions. In other cases the world authority might be limited to stimulating, advising, admonishing, administering, or directing the activities initiated and executed by other governmental authorities. Bilateral and multilateral treaties, regional agreements, mediations, conciliation, arbitrations should continue to be entered into by the independent national states.

Can man shape his destiny according to the demands of the natural law and of social and political realities which are formed in the pattern of unity in diversity? If he cannot or will not

find the way out of his present dilemma, the catastrophe of war and dictatorship, of anarchy and of totalitarianism are destined to be his normal condition. All men of good will abhor such a world. They will exert every energy and all of their intelligence; they will seek every light human and divine to prevent it and to build a human city of peace, order, justice and charity.⁹

CHAPTER VI

The Peace Settlement

The outline of facts and principles discussed in the previous sections of this study can at best offer only a realizable hope for the world order of the future. Should a constitution for a World Commonwealth of Nations be drafted by the statesmen of the world at the conclusion of the present war, its success will enormously depend on the kind of a peace settlement that accompanies it. One of the weaknesses of the League of Nations was its link with peace treaties in which too much injustice and not enough charity was written. The herculean task of remaking the post-war world under intolerable conditions contributed no little to the impatience of the sincerest peace endeavors.

If the world is to be a decent place for men to live in, the nations cannot afford to repeat the mistakes, blunders, and misdeeds of the last twenty-five years. Perhaps the frightening prospects of world chaos and the vivid memory of the horrors and the terrible burdens of the present war will stir men to their depths. Perhaps, also the realization that we are in the toils of world revolution will move the leaders of the nations to an understanding that their responsibilities can be fulfilled only to the degree that they earnestly search after justice and practice charity.

The common man, too, has been shaken to the roots of his soul by the awful times in which he has lived. Men are not going to tolerate what appears to them to be stupidity on the

⁹ The Rev. Patrick J. Higgins, S.J., a member of the Executive Council, desires to note the following differences of opinion on points in the above Chapter: (a) Economic sanctions should never be applied except with the consent of three-fourths of the nations of the world; (b) The suggestion that the government of a world society might control the finances of nations in a manner analogous to the financial powers of the United States Congress is not feasible; (c) Instead of the suggested proportional basis for electing the legislature of the world society, a unit vote for each independent and sovereign nation (excluding parts of empires); (d) A three-fourths majority (of all the nations) vote to carry a measure in the legislature assembly instead of the proposed simple majority.

part of their leaders. The hatred of war among the people is more intense than ever before.

This popular feeling may produce a great impetus towards peace, but on the other hand, it may become perverted into an unholy wrath which bodes ill for good order. Christians, above all, are now obliged to raise their voices in a plea for high moral and political leadership among the peacemakers, so that this mass sentiment may be marshaled in the support of a wise peace settlement and of a lasting world order.

The people of the United States are called to do great things for man. They are in a position to proffer to the warring nations, when the war is over, the principles of acceptable and equitable terms of peace. They can propose a plan for a Commonwealth of Nations which will work. They can participate in this world federation to the ends that the peace treaties will promote harmony; that the nations will co-operate in a common partnership for a common good, and that war may be less frequent and less terrible.

The statement of the principles of a just peace treaty should acknowledge that all nations share in the remote responsibility for the war and that, however unequal that share may be, the peace of the world depends upon an exceedingly charitable distribution of the costs of the war. The staggering wastes of this war must be shouldered both by those best able to bear its burdens and by those most responsible for it. Pray God that there is sufficient sanity and realism left in this world, and that there is a superabundance of love.

The boundaries of the new states, which are almost certain to be remade, might be reorganized to serve the following purposes: the satisfaction of legitimate national aspirations; the establishment of an increased degree of national self-sufficiency (probably best accomplished by the federalization of certain continental European regions); the minimization of national minorities.

The government of a Commonwealth of Nations should be established as speedily as possible following the signing of the peace. The Commonwealth might be given emergency powers for a definite period of years to superintend the execution of the peace treaties. Armament limitations should be universal and immediate, and moderately drastic. The disarmament program might be administered by the Commonwealth. The mandates system might be greatly extended and its administration given

over to the Commonwealth government. The immediate economic needs of the populations of Europe should be taken care of. International and national pacts dealing with trade and finance must come out of the peace deliberations.

This is the greatest and most difficult task which man has ever had to undertake. Little less than the most piercing realism, the highest moral principles, the keenest statesmanship, and the greatest abundance of charity of which men are capable can suffice for the right doing of this work. Even though the world's leaders are not so admirably fitted for the making of the peace settlement as is required, the aspiration to be more than human may take our leaders along the path to a tolerable and livable world order.

Among the nations of the world the United States is especially obliged to make a supreme endeavor to lead the world. This country was not endowed with the plenties of nature, peoples, of genius, and of democracy selfishly to feed upon her own might. Her moral obligations to her neighbors, to all nations, are commensurate with her power which is at once physical, political, and moral. America is not destined to redress balances in the old world or new, but to use her power for the most heroic activity of man—the perfection of his fellows.

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