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THE POPE'S  
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AND THE U. S.

By JAMES M. EAGAN, Ph.D.

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY SERIES No. 4

“Christian teaching alone, in its majestic integrity, can give full meaning and compelling motive to the demand for human rights and liberties because it alone gives worth and dignity to human personality.” — POPE PIUS XI, *Apostolic Letter on the Catholic University of America, at the opening of its Jubilee Year, October, 1938.*

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# THE POPE'S PEACE PROGRAM AND THE U. S.

By

**JAMES M. EAGAN, Ph.D.**

College of New Rochelle



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## FOREWORD

That as Americans we do not live in a world consisting only of the United States, peopled only by North Americans, is a fact no one can deny. That we are dependent for our sense of internal security and prosperity upon peace and prosperity in other parts of the world is a fact to which our agitation over the conflicts now raging abroad is ample testimony. That we should regard all the peoples of the world as our brothers and treat them as such, is in both the Christian and the American democratic tradition. What this brotherhood means in terms of getting and preserving security and world peace and in co-operating for the well-being of the community of nations as well as of the United States is, however, often ignored. Dr. Eagan has attempted to make an application for America of the Catholic principles of international relations, with specific reference to the five conditions of just peace laid down by His Holiness, Pius XII in his Christmas Message, 1939. In doing so he has kept in mind the best and truest attitudes of the Christian and the democrat.

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# THE POPE'S PEACE PROGRAM AND THE U. S.

By JAMES M. EAGAN, PH.D.  
College of New Rochelle

## THE UNITY OF MANKIND

"God 'hath made of one, all mankind, to dwell upon the whole face of the earth, determining appointed times and the limits of their habitation, that they should seek God'" (Acts xvii. 26, 27). Thus His Holiness, Pope Pius XII, in his first Encyclical, *Summi Pontificatus*, stresses once more the essential unity of mankind.

This central fact of world unity and the obligations it entails received in our own country twenty years ago an authoritative and detailed expression by the Archbishops and Bishops in their last general Pastoral Letter:

Since God is the Ruler of nations no less than of individuals, His law is supreme over the external relations of states as well as in the internal affairs of each. The sovereignty that makes a nation independent of other nations, does not exempt it from its obligations toward God; nor can any covenant, however shrewdly arranged, guarantee peace and security, if it disregard the divine commands. These require that in their dealings with one another, nations shall observe both justice and charity. By the former, each nation is bound to respect the existence, integrity and rights of all other nations; by the latter it is obliged to assist other nations with those acts of beneficence and good will which can be performed without undue inconvenience to itself. From these obligations a nation is not dispensed by reason of its superior civilization, its industrial activity or its commercial enterprise; least of all by its military power. On the contrary, a state which possesses these advantages, is under a greater responsibility to exert its influence for the maintenance of justice and the diffusion of good will among all peoples. So far as it fulfills its obligation in this respect, a state contributes its share to the peace of the world: it disarms jealousy, removes all ground for suspicion and replaces intrigue with frank co-operation for the general welfare. . . .

One of the most effectual means by which states can assist one another, is the organization of international peace. The need of this is more generally felt at the present time when the meaning of war is so plainly before us. In former ages also, the nations realized the necessity of compacts and agreements whereby the peace of the world would be secured. The success of these organized efforts was due to the influence of the Church. The position of the Holy See and the office of the Sovereign Pontiff as Father of Christendom, were recognized by the nations as powerful factors in any undertaking that had for its object the welfare of all. . . . Again and again they have united the nations of Europe, and history records the great services which they have rendered in the field of international arbitration and in the development of international law.<sup>1</sup>

As part of a Universal Church, American Catholics are directly concerned with the affairs of all mankind. We have been prone to forget the full implications of the teachings of the Church in this respect. This is, as the Holy Father has pointed out, a common failing throughout the world. Among the first of the pernicious errors which affect society, His Holiness declares "is the forgetfulness of that law of human solidarity and charity which is dictated and imposed by our common origin and by the equality of rational nature in all men, to whatever people they belong, and by the redeeming Sacrifice offered by Jesus Christ on the Altar of the Cross to His Heavenly Father on behalf of sinful mankind. . . . But legitimate and well ordered love of our native country should not make us close our eyes to the all-embracing nature of Christian Charity, which calls for consideration of others and of their interests in the pacifying light of love."<sup>2</sup> Many of us in our adoption of a holier-than-thou attitude toward Europeans and their problems have not been charitable. We have forgotten in some measure the great economic, social, cultural and political contributions which Europe has made to America. There is a temptation in America to refer to the space of water which separates us from Europe and Asia as an argument that America has no interest in affairs outside of our own hemisphere. Modern wars and revolutions, however, are

<sup>1</sup> *Pastoral Letter* of the Archbishops and Bishops of the United States, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, 1920, pp. 69, 70.

<sup>2</sup> *Summi Pontificatus*, Encyclical Letter of Pope Pius XII on the Function of the State in the Modern World, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, 1939, p. 16.

caused by ideas, the transmission of which is not hindered by space. The existence of anti-Semitic, of Communistic and Fascist groups in the United States is proof that the ocean is no barrier against "isms." Economically we are vitally affected by events abroad. Culturally, we would suffer from a Europe perpetually engaged in warfare. Certainly, the spiritual ruin which faces Europe is also our concern.

In his Christmas Message, the Holy Father declared, "The total sorrows and sacrifices have reached such a point as to inspire great anxiety in those concerned with the future economic, social and spiritual condition of Europe, and not of Europe alone. The more the war monster strives for, swallows and allots itself material means which are placed inexorably at the service of war needs—mounting from hour to hour—the more acute becomes the danger, for nations directly or indirectly struck by the conflict, of what We might call pernicious anemia, and they are faced with the pressing questions: How can exhausted or weakened economy, at the end of the war, find means for economic and social reconstruction among difficulties which will be enormously increased, and of which the forces and artifices of disorder, lying in wait, will seek to make use in the hope of giving the final blow to Christian Europe."<sup>3</sup> In the social and economic upheavals which will face a post war Europe, American democracy might possibly be gravely undermined. Our stake in the kind of peace which Europe makes is almost as great as that of the European peoples themselves.

### I. Rights of Nations

American Catholics, should, then, study with particular care the conditions which Pius XII has laid down as the bases of a permanent peace. In his Christmas Message of 1939, he stated that "The fundamental condition of a just and honorable peace is to assure the right to life and independence of all nations, large, small, strong, or weak. One nation's will to live must never be tantamount to a death sentence for another. When this equality of rights has been destroyed, in-

<sup>3</sup> "Christmas Message on International Peace." See *Pius XII and Peace, 1939-1940*, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, 1940, p. 38.

jured or imperiled, juridical order requires reparation whose measure and extent are not determined by the sword or selfish, arbitrary judgment, but by the standards of justice and reciprocal equality."<sup>4</sup> American tradition has always been in line with this right of self-determination, of the right to live of small as well as large nations.

American Catholics should not feel that assistance in the construction of such an order would diminish their devotion to their own country. Pius XII does not call for a world in which the principle of nationality shall be extinguished.<sup>5</sup> He does not say that there shall cease to be Frenchmen, Germans, or Englishmen. The Church has never desired to destroy the "active love of country" which is patriotism.<sup>6</sup> Leo XIII stipulated that "The natural law enjoins us to love devotedly and to defend the country in which we had birth and in which we were reared, so that every good citizen hesitates not to face death for his native land."<sup>7</sup> The Church has, however, condemned that exaggerated patriotism which leads to nationalism. Some Americans in their insistence upon extreme isolationism are likely to adopt the same self-centered nationalism which they condemn in Europe. The late Pope Pius XI reminded Catholics that "love of country become merely an occasion for, and an added incentive to, grave injustice, when true love of country is debased to that condition of an extreme nationalism, when we forget that all men are brothers and members of the same great human family, that other nations have an equal right with us both to life and to prosperity, that it is never lawful nor even wise to dissociate morality from the affairs of practical life, that, in the last analysis, it is 'justice which exalteth a nation, but sin maketh nations miserable.'" <sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 5.

<sup>5</sup> "The Church of Christ, the faithful depository of the teaching of Divine Wisdom, cannot and does not think of deprecating or disdaining the particular characteristics which each people, with jealous and intelligible pride, cherishes and retains as a precious heritage." *Summi Pontificatus*, p. 19.

<sup>6</sup> Hayes, C. J. H., *Patriotism, Nationalism and the Brotherhood of Man*. A Report of the Committee on National Attitudes, Catholic Association for International Peace, Washington, 1937, p. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Schaefer, M. C., *A Papal Peace Mosaic, 1878-1936*, The Catholic Association for International Peace, Washington, 1936, p. 10.

<sup>8</sup> Pius XI, Encyclical, *Ubi Arcano Dei*, December 23, 1922. Quoted in *Patriotism, Nationalism and the Brotherhood of Man*, p. 7.



Pope Pius XII pointed out that this excessive nationalism renders peaceful intercourse of peoples precarious and uncertain.<sup>9</sup> American Catholics should do all in their power to foster the kind of education which would lead to an appreciation of the values of true patriotism in contrast with excessive and un-Christian nationalism.<sup>10</sup> Catholics, especially students should co-operate with European Catholic groups which have been working toward the same end.<sup>11</sup> In this way, that "human solidarity and charity which is dictated and imposed by our common origin" will be furthered. The first condition of any lasting peace must be based upon "mutual love and a lively sense of charity."<sup>12</sup> American Catholics, cannot, by a policy of strict isolation, contribute to this. Before any reconstruction of the world along lines of international stability can be accomplished, there must be a return to the universal morality for which the Church stands. His Holiness said, "Before all else, it is certain that the radical and ultimate cause of the evils which We deplore in modern society is the denial and rejection of a universal norm of morality as well for the individual and social life as for international relations."<sup>13</sup> American Catholics are as much bound to restore the reverence for moral law as are Catholics in Europe. We should feel definite responsibility for a reconstruction of Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Finland and the guarantee of their right to live without fear of encroachment.

## II. Disarmament

This is closely connected with Pope Pius XII's second fundamental condition of a lasting peace. American Catholics should strive in common with all Catholics to eliminate the menace of armament. "That order," said the Holy Father, "re-established in such a manner, may be tranquil and durable—the cardinal principles of true peace—nations must be liberated from the heavy slavery of armaments and the danger

<sup>9</sup> *Summi Pontificatus*, p. 16.

<sup>10</sup> Wolfe, Right Rev. Msgr. John M., *Peace Education in the Curriculum of the Schools*. A Report of the Peace Education Committee.

<sup>11</sup> Schaefer, M. C., *Catholic Organization for Peace in Europe*. A Report of the Europe Committee, The Catholic Association for International Peace, Washington, 1935.

<sup>12</sup> *Summi Pontificatus*, p. 19.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

that material force, instead of serving to protect rights, become the tyrannical violator of them.

"Conclusions of peace which failed to attribute fundamental importance to disarmament, mutually accepted, organic and progressive, both in letter and spirit, and failed to carry out this disarmament loyally, would sooner or later reveal their inconsistency and lack of vitality."<sup>14</sup> Disarmament, however, can take place only in a world in which all nations accept the rules of international law and agree to the settlement of international disputes by "means of purely moral and persuasive measures."<sup>15</sup> Widespread disarmament can come about only in a world which renounces the cult of force. In his address to the Minister of Haiti, the Holy Father stressed this point and indicated the solution. "The world will enjoy the longed-for peace and order," he said, "which is an indispensable condition, only if the men responsible for the government of peoples and their reciprocal relations, renounce the cult of force employed against right; if recognizing as being insufficient and precarious a morale from a purely human basis, they accept the supreme authority of the Creator as a basis of all individual and collective morale; and if they render that Father who is in Heaven, the homage wished by Him of a fraternal concord between His children of all countries and languages. Then only will they succeed in effectuating and perfecting a fecund, stable international organization as desired by men of good will; an organization that—as it will respect the rights of God—will also be able to assure the reciprocal independence of big and small nations, to impose fidelity to pacts loyally agreed upon and to safeguard through each one's efforts for the prosperity of all, the sound liberty and dignity of the human person. . . ." <sup>16</sup>

### III. International Organization

Because American Catholics are placed in a more fortunate position than many European Catholics, they have a more di-

<sup>14</sup> "Christmas Message on International Peace," *Pius XII and Peace, 1939-1940*, p. 39.

<sup>15</sup> Leo XIII, *Discourse on Disarmament*, April 11, 1899. Quoted in M. C. Schaefer, *A Papal Peace Mosaic, 1878-1936*, Catholic Association for International Peace, Washington, 1936.

<sup>16</sup> *Pius XII and Peace, 1939-1940*, p. 34.

rect obligation to help bring about this stable international organization of which Pope Pius XII speaks. The Holy Father's third point deals with the "reorganization of international neighborliness" which should deeply concern us. This reorganization "should conform with the rules of human wisdom for all parties concerned to remove the consequences of past lapses or deficiencies. And in creating or reconstructing international institutions which have a mission so high but at the same time so difficult and full of serious responsibilities, account should be taken of experiences which arose from the inefficacy or defective functioning of similar previous projects."<sup>17</sup>

As Americans, we should be ready to assign some of the blame for the "inefficacy or defective functioning of similar previous projects" to ourselves. As a great creditor nation with immense prestige and economic resources, we chose to turn our backs upon the organization which strove to realize that society for which the Church stood. American Catholics paid little heed to the injunctions of Benedict XV when he wrote in 1920:<sup>18</sup>

Things being thus restored in the order desired by justice and charity, and the peoples reconciled among themselves, it would be truly desirable, . . . that all States should put aside mutual suspicion and unite in one sole society or rather family of peoples, both to guarantee their own independence and safeguard order in the civil concert of peoples. A special reason, not to mention others, for forming this society among the nations is the need generally recognized of reducing, if it is not possible to abolish it entirely, the enormous military expenditures which can no longer be borne by the States, in order that in this way murderous and disastrous wars may be prevented and to each people may be assured, in the just confines, the independence and integrity of its own territory.

And once this League among the nations is founded on the Christian law in all that regards justice and charity, the Church will surely not refuse it valid aid, inasmuch as being itself the most perfect type of universal society, through its very essence and its aims, it has wonderful power for bringing this brotherhood among men, not only for their eternal salvation but also for their material well-being; it leads them that is, through temporal happiness so as not to lose the eternal. Well does St. Augustine say in this regard: "This celestial city, while in exile

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>18</sup> *A Papal Peace Mosaic, 1878-1936*, pp. 31-34.

here on earth calls to itself citizens of every nation and forms out of all the peoples one sole pilgrim society, no one thought is had of differences in customs, laws and institutions; everything which tends to the conquest and maintenance of peace on earth, the Church far from repudiating and destroying, jealously preserves; for however these things might vary among the nations, they are all directed to the same end of peace on earth as long as they do not hinder the exercise of the religion which teaches adoration of the one supreme true God" (*De civitate Dei*, lib. xix, capt. 17).

In order to avert the dreadful consequences of our failures, the Sovereign Pontiff has once more called upon us to reconstruct international institutions, building upon past experience. Since the first lesson of the past is that any international organization has its chances of successful operation considerably diminished if it is not entirely crippled by non-participation of the United States, we should consider what part America should play in the new world order. Secondly, the American people should undertake an unbiased appraisal of the workings of the League of Nations to find its strength and points of weakness. No critic of the League, no matter how bitter he may be, could in honesty say that the League had failed in all its endeavors. No defender of the League would dare to say that the League had succeeded in everything that it tried. We should be more tolerant of the League's failures when we consider that the United States experimented with union under the Articles of Confederation before the Constitution was evolved. It is our obligation to study the work of the League and other attempts at international co-operation so that we may see how they may be improved in conformity with the Holy Father's desire for a stable international organization.

*The League of Nations.*—Any appraisal of the League's work and the possibilities of its future development must take into account its achievements in international co-operation in humanitarian fields. Failures in the political field have made newspaper headlines but success in the field of technical work has not been spread abroad in such blatant fashion. The work of the League Secretariat in acting as a clearing house for information about economic, social and cultural problems has become so necessary that no future international organization can

neglect it. Politically, the world has divided itself into nations, self-centered and committed to the narrow principles of nationalism. Economically, socially and culturally, however, the world has become a unit. The use of a drug for the treatment of a disease can hardly be restricted to one country. The experience gained in the success or failure of social or economic legislation in one country must be made available to all. The League Secretariat made it possible to exchange such information on a world-wide scale through the creation of a number of commissions such as the Communication and Transit Organization, the Economic and Financial Organization, the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs, the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and an Advisory Committee on Social Questions which has such sub-committees as the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Women and Children and the Child Welfare Committee.

These Committees functioned well in the non-political sphere of the post-war world. The lessons learned by them will be invaluable when the world once more faces the task of reconstruction. The League's experience in this respect was such that no Christian should forego a careful study of it. It represents the kind of international co-operation which the American Catholic with his emphasis upon humanitarian endeavor should try to emulate. The United States, with its great industrial and natural resources, will find it necessary to assist in the task of reconstruction, if only to preserve our foreign trade. The work of the League will yield many fruitful examples of the manner in which it should be done. In the post-war world, the League faced a world ravaged with epidemics. Thousands of war prisoners were scattered throughout Russia and Siberia. Millions of refugees wandered penniless from country to country. The Holy Father drew the attention of the League to the fact that thousands were dying in the famine-stricken areas of Russia, and the Caucasus, urging the League to give immediate assistance.<sup>19</sup> Pius XI, in his letter to the Archbishop of Geneva, April 7, 1922, wrote, "If according to the fine motto of the Red Cross: *Inter arma caritas*, Christian charity should rule even during the clash of

<sup>19</sup> League of Nations, *Ten Years of Co-operation*, Secretariat of the League of Nations, Geneva, 1930, p. 264.

arms, this should be still more true when once arms are laid down and treaties of Peace are signed."<sup>20</sup> The League followed this precept in an impartial and humanitarian fashion. When Albania appealed for help in 1924 for its famine-stricken population, the League rushed to its aid. Contributions were made to its work from countries such as Czechoslovakia which gave \$25,000, the Italian Red Cross which furnished clothing and medicine, and citizens of the United States who contributed \$10,000.

The League, with the assistance of Dr. Nansen, performed what seemed like miracles in the repatriation of half a million war prisoners in Europe and Asia. The situation has become so bad that it was estimated that between 120,000 and 200,000 prisoners would probably die in Siberia. Dr. Nansen repatriated the prisoners at the cost of about five dollars for each life saved. Persons of twenty-seven nationalities were returned to their homes. Revolution and Civil War in Russia had driven out about two million men, women and children, most of whom were destitute and starving. They fled to countries which were themselves in the throes of post-war reconstruction. Dr. Nansen as Commissioner for Russian Refugees and with the assistance of the American Red Cross and the American Relief Administration succeeded in relieving the situation of 170,000 Russians, 75,000 Turks, and 166,000 Greeks and Armenians who had descended upon Constantinople. The problem was made more acute by Turkish expulsion of foreigners in 1922. A million and a half Greeks, 300,000 Armenians, and 30,000 Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish refugees were driven into Greece and Asiatic Turkey. Dr. Nansen carried on the work of resettlement until by 1924 the problem could be handed over to the international Labor Organization. A revolving fund was established so that refugees who were settled could repay the loans made to them and thus help refugees who were less fortunate. Educational and training facilities were provided to fit refugees for employment and to care for children. Model farms were started to give practical training in agriculture.

These are but a few concrete examples of the way in which

<sup>20</sup> *A Papal Peace Mosaic, 1878-1936*, p. 34.

the League applied the principles of Christian Charity to a post-war world. No Catholic could feel that he is worthy of the name if he opposed such forms of international organization. The League's fine work in abolishing slavery, its success in regulating the traffic in women, its agreements to cease the traffic in obscene publications, its Child Welfare Committee, its control of the traffic in opium and dangerous drugs, all these were examples of the International co-operation which benefited humanity far out of proportion to the money spent.<sup>21</sup> Money spent upon armament, if diverted to these fields, might have fostered the growth of that Christian international spirit based upon the brotherhood of man for which the Holy Fathers from Benedict XV to Pius XII have pleaded.

*International Labor Organization.*—Another form of international organization in which Catholics, especially those of America, should have a particular interest, is the International Labor Organization.<sup>22</sup> This form of co-operation was urged by Leo XIII as early as 1893.<sup>23</sup> Father Albert Le Roy has shown the affinity between Catholic social principles and those of the International Labor Organization. The United States joined this agency which attempts to obtain uniform standards of labor, hours of labor, social insurance, the protection of women and young persons, promote industrial hygiene and safety and to collect data on the prevention of unemployment. It makes suggestions for the international pooling of resources to combat unemployment. Throughout its work the International Labor Organization has followed the injunctions laid down in *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno*. In fact, Pope Pius XI in the latter Encyclical makes the relationship most specific. "When after the Great War the rulers of the leading nations wished to restore peace by an entire reform of social conditions and among other measures drew up principles to regulate the just rights of labor, many of their conclusions agreed so perfectly with the principles and warnings of Leo XIII as to seem expressly deduced from them."<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Ten Years of World Co-operation*, Chapter VIII.

<sup>22</sup> Le Roy, Albert, *Catholics and the International Labor Organization*, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, 1939.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

<sup>24</sup> Pius XI, *Forty Years After*, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, p. 8.

The Archbishops and Bishops of the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference in their statement, "The Church and Social Order" emphasize the fact that "Our economic life then must be reorganized not on the disintegrating principles of individualism but on the constructive principles of social and moral unity among the members of human society. In conformity with Christian principles, economic power must be subordinated to human welfare, both individual and social, social incoherence and class conflict must be replaced by corporate unity and organic function; ruthless competition must give way to just and reasonable State regulations; sordid selfishness must be superseded by justice and charity."<sup>25</sup>

If these principles should be applied on a national scale, in our own country, so much more should they be applied internationally. Basically, any permanent peace must rest upon the economic security and well-being of the peoples of the world. The International Labor Organization represents a means by which American Catholics can work for both peace and social justice. The National Catholic Welfare Conference has co-operated with the International Labor Office for many years. European, Canadian and South American Catholic groups have collaborated fully with the Organization. The Young Christian Workers Organization (J. O. C.), to mention but one, has carried out inquiries into the wages of young persons, vocational training and apprenticeship.<sup>26</sup> Thorough co-operation with the International Labor Organization may help to prevent those violent economic and social changes in post-war periods which lead to revolution. It will help to sow the seed of economic prosperity which all peoples of the world, including our own, will reap.

*Other Agencies of Co-operation.*—As Catholics, we must keep in mind the injunction of the Holy Father to erect a "fecund, stable international organization" when we consider the work which has already been done to secure better financial and economic co-operation throughout the world. Here again the experience of the League of Nations should not be

<sup>25</sup> *Church and Social Order*, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, 1940, p. 32.

<sup>26</sup> Le Roy, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 47.



neglected. Through international loans, the League was able to put Austria on a firm financial basis and thus right some of the wrongs of a treaty which left Austria a republic with few economic means of support. The League strengthened the financial system of Hungary through loans and the appointment of an American, Jeremiah Smith, to supervise its finances. Not the least of the League's accomplishments was the work of the League Economic Intelligence Service which produced the *International Statistical Year-Book* with figures relating to the population, commerce, public finance, transport and the communications of the world. Utilization of these figures should be of tremendous help to nations with surplus crops, unemployment, and depression. The Economic Intelligence Service tried to arrive at a world view of economics and finance, something badly needed where depressions are worldwide but where attempts at economic change are often purely national. Closely related is the work of the League in facilitating international transit and communications.<sup>27</sup> This division of the League helped to remove those minor hindrances to trade which sometimes lead to cases of major international friction.

Other agencies outside the League have pointed the way to international co-operation in which America might safely take part. Such agencies as the Universal Postal Union did fine work, co-operating closely with the League but it could not avail itself entirely of the League's facilities because the United States was a member. A number of new unions such as the Bureau for the Protection of Plant Life, and the International Office for Dealing With Contagious Diseases of Animals, helped to pave the way for the settlement of problems which have to be solved on the international rather than the national scale.

The Bank for International Settlements is another example of the way in which international problems can be handled by a permanent body divested of political or national interest. Originally designed in 1929 to handle the financial transactions involved in the German reparations payments under the Young plan, the bank, controlled by bankers rather than by poli-

<sup>27</sup> *Ten Years of World Co-operation*, Chapter V.

ticians with a purely national point of view, became the central bank of central banks. Co-ordination of world financial policies could be effected through the Bank for International Settlements. American Catholics should not be averse to the work of such a body.

*Principles of Economic Co-operation.*—The machinery for economic and financial co-operation has already been built. It needs power, however, to make it function, and this can come only from a regenerated point of view towards world economic problems. Economic unrest and maladjustment has been a basic cause of war.<sup>28</sup> Pius XI traced the origin of present struggles in *Quadragesimo Anno*:

In the first place, then, it is patent that in our days not alone is wealth accumulated, but immense power and despotic economic domination is concentrated in the hands of a few, and that those few are frequently not the owners but only the trustees and directors of invested funds, who administer them at their good pleasure.

This power becomes particularly irresistible when exercised by those who, because they hold and control money, are able also to govern credit and determine its allotment, for that reason supplying so to speak, the life blood to the entire economic body, and grasping, as it were, in their hands the very soul of production, so that no one dare breathe against their will.

This accumulation of power, the characteristic note of the modern economic order, is a natural result of limitless free competition which permits the survival of those only who are the strongest, which often means those who fight most relentlessly, who pay less heed to the dictates of conscience.

This concentration of power has led to a threefold struggle for domination. First there is the struggle for dictatorship in the economic sphere itself; then, the fierce battle to acquire control of the State, so that its resources and authority may be abused in the economic struggles; finally the clash between States.

This latter arises from two causes: because the nations apply their power and political influence regardless of circumstances, to promote the economic advantages of their citizens; and because, vice versa, economic forces and economic domination are used to decide political controversies between peoples.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Moon, Parker T., *Causes of War*, A Preliminary Report of the Committee on Sources of International Enmity, Catholic Association for International Peace, Washington, 1930, pp. 5, 6.

<sup>29</sup> *Quadragesimo Anno* DO. 32, 33.

The remedies proposed by Pius XI are no less clear. "Economic life," he declared, "must be inspired by Christian principles. . . . All those versed in social matters demand a rationalization of economic life which will introduce sound and true order."<sup>30</sup> An international reorganization of economic life, based upon justice and charity, much be substituted for a system dominated by economic nationalism. For whole nations have now adopted the practices once used by a few individuals in their desire to amass wealth. The result has been economic chaos throughout the world as each nation tried to become self-sufficient through the acquisition of colonies, the accumulation of gold, and the erection of tariff barriers. In order to overcome the barriers to world peace which the practices of economic nationalism present, it will be necessary to recognize that the source of the trouble is not wholly economic. Both Pius XI and Pius XII have stressed this point. Pius XII wrote, "For true though it is that the evils from which mankind suffers today come in part from economic instability and from the struggle of interests regarding a more equal distribution of goods which God has given man as a means of sustenance and progress, it is not less true that their root is deeper and more intrinsic, belonging to the sphere of religious belief and moral convictions which have been perverted by the progressive alienation of the peoples from that unity of doctrine, faith, customs and morals which once was promoted by the tireless and beneficent work of the Church. If it is to have any effect the re-education of mankind must be, above all things, spiritual and religious. Hence, it must proceed from Christ as from its indispensable foundation, must be actuated by justice and crowned by charity."<sup>31</sup>

Justice and charity, in the past, have hardly been the keynote of Americans in their tariff-making policy. The United States helped to push the world into economic chaos by raising its tariffs through the Hawley-Smoot Act so that other peoples could not obtain necessities from us without some dear sacrifice on their part. The world followed suit and within a short time, international trade slowed down almost to a stand-still as every nation raised its own tariff barriers to

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>31</sup> *Summi Pontificatus*, pp. 33, 34.

hitherto unknown heights. We devalued the dollar and attempted to attract the world's supply of gold to our shores, thus forcing some nations to resort to barter trade. We considered such trade unworthy of a great and free nation, forgetting that our resources and gold made it unnecessary for us but impossible for other nations to trade in any other way. At the London Economic Conference, we refused to consider monetary stabilization until our domestic problems were solved, forgetting again that economic problems are international today in character. The Hull Trade Agreements are a step in the right direction but they, alone, can work but slowly.

Before the economic problems of the world are settled, there must be a general lowering of tariff barriers throughout the world. This will be a practical example of the application of ethical principles to international economic life.<sup>32</sup> The Church has always stood for this approach. American Catholics, in justice and charity, should feel the obligation which is theirs for the proper use of the great natural wealth which God has given us. As stated in a report on International Economic Life, "World resources, equipment and technique, *i. e.*, the unity, variety and change of the world economic life are to serve the human interests of all peoples everywhere."<sup>33</sup> "Tariffs," a report on *Tariffs and World Peace* states, "are not a matter of mere domestic concern. They vitally influence the peace and prosperity of the world as a whole. . . . Once a government begins to put *unwarranted* restrictions upon international trade, whether by bounties, subsidies, discriminatory rates or prohibitive tariff laws, then the economic competition becomes national in character and the enmity, antagonism and quarrels that ensue are international in magnitude." The world today is trying to solve the problems of international economic life through the use of force. Eventually, nations may see that individual, national and international welfare is best promoted through the gradual reduction

<sup>32</sup> Ryan, Right Rev. Msgr. John A., Moon, P. T., and McGowan, Rev. R. A., *International Economic Life, A Report of the Committees on Ethics and on Economic Relations*, Catholic Association for International Peace, Washington, 1934, p. 7.

<sup>33</sup> Divine, Rev. T. F., *Tariffs and World Peace, A Report of the Economic Relations Committee*, Catholic Association for International Peace, Washington, 1933, pp. 20, 21.

of tariff barriers so that each country may produce only that for which it is best suited. American Catholics can hardly go on preaching their desire for world peace and fostering economic nationalism. International co-operation along economic lines is one of the most certain approaches to permanent world peace. Then the words of Pius XI will have been fulfilled. "Various nations," he wrote, in *Quadragesimo Anno*, "in common counsel and endeavor [should strive] to promote a healthy economic co-operation by prudent pacts and institutions. . . ." As Father Schmiedeler has pointed out, "World co-operation, world consultation, even a reasonable measure of world organization is necessary alike to the prosperity of the nations and to the peace of the world."<sup>34</sup>

A blueprint for a new type of international economic organization which would make the economic structure of the world conform more to Christian principles is offered in *International Economic Life*.<sup>35</sup> National and international co-operation might be effected through regulation in agriculture and industry by farm co-operative and organizations of employers and labor so that control might be put in the hands of those most directly affected. The proposal is this:

To have governments set up in each country autonomous councils of the existing employers' associations and labor unions of each capitalistic industry and autonomous councils of comparable organization in non-capitalistic lines of production and service, such as, in the United States, the farm co-operatives.

To have them serve as administrators both of their single industries and services, and, through federations, of all industries and services together.

To have them so serve as autonomous but not independent arms of government and under its supervision.

To have these national economic councils co-operate closely on the international field and grow into international economic councils of separate products and services and a joint economic council of all to administer autonomously international econo-

<sup>34</sup> Schmiedeler, Rev. Dr. Edgar, *Agriculture and Economic Life*, A Report of the Sub-Committee on Agriculture, Catholic Association for International Peace, Washington, 1937, p. 56.

<sup>35</sup> Pp. 43-48.

conomic life under close co-operation and supervision of international government conferences and international permanent governmental organization.

The calling of a World Economic Conference would seem to be the first step towards implementing this proposal. Such an organization would consider "tariffs, monetary policies, access to raw materials and areas of settlement, development of under-developed areas, quantity of production, labor standards, price parities and justice, the destruction of imperialism in both its major phases, the distribution of wealth and income . . . under a new aspect, the aspect of common world good."<sup>36</sup> The construction of such a world order, it is superfluous to say, would be far from easy. Pope Pius XII recognizes the difficulty of creating "a community of nations, fair to all, efficacious and sustained by mutual confidence. In his letter to President Roosevelt, he admitted, "We are fully aware of how stubborn the obstacles are that stand in the way of attaining this goal and how they become daily more difficult to surmount. And if the friends of peace do not wish their labors to be in vain they should visualize distinctly the seriousness of these obstacles and the consequently slight probability of immediate success so long as the present state of the opposing forces remains essentially unchanged."<sup>37</sup>

American Catholics should not be disheartened by the terrific obstacles in the way of a construction of a new world order based upon charity and justice instead of hate and greed. Their path has been made easy in the field of technical achievement by the agencies already constructed for social and economic co-operation. Great courage, however, will be necessary to face problems which lie in the political field. Problems in the non-political field which could be solved by a permanent body of experts were met without undue difficulty by the League of Nations. The League failed miserably, however, in solving disputes in the political field where Great Powers were involved. The permanent organs of the League had no power in such cases. Member states, represented by politicians dominated by nationalistic and materialistic mo-

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 46, 47.

<sup>37</sup> *Pius XII and Peace, 1939-1940*, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, 1940.

tives attempted to solve these disputes and failed because they could look at problems only in a national light. They refused to consider the abrogation of any of their sovereign rights, clinging to the tenets of power politics and maintaining a system of alliances based upon armament which contradicted the spirit of the League Covenant. In cases where "sovereignty" and "national rights" could be forgotten, however, the League was successful. Only small nations were willing to do this. If the larger nations were willing to follow the example of Sweden and Finland in settling their dispute over the Aaland Islands; of Colombia and Peru in their dispute over the border town of Leticia; of Greece and Bulgaria over their border incident, the League might have succeeded in averting major wars. The League failed in Manchuria, Ethiopia, the Chaco and China because the major powers placed their sovereignty and immediate interests ahead of their desire for peace. This attitude, pursued by all the major powers, resulted in complete international anarchy.

Following the Holy Father's injunction to reconstruct international institutions according to "the rules of human wisdom" and keeping in mind the successes as well as failures of the League, one possibility would be to subordinate the sovereignty of all nations, great and small, to a permanent international organization which should consist of representatives of governments and of experts in various fields. This would seem to be in accord with the Holy Father's suggestion that there be established "juridical instruments which would serve to guarantee the loyal and faithful carrying out of [treaty] terms."<sup>38</sup> Such an organization would be guided by moral principles rather than the desire to preserve the status quo established by any treaties. As the Holy Father suggested, "It is so difficult—one would say almost impossible—for human weakness to foresee everything and assure everything at the time of drafting of peace treaties—when it is difficult to be entirely free from passions and bitterness. . . ." Such a system would go far in the realization of the Holy Father's wish "to avoid arbitrary and unilateral ruptures and interpretations of treaties."

<sup>38</sup> "Christmas Message on International Peace," in *Pius XII and Peace, 1939-1940*.

In thus following the words of the Holy Father, we should not neglect to consider the work of the Permanent Court of International Justice or the World Court. In the past, American isolationists have argued that membership in the World Court would bring us into the League by the back door. This argument neglected the fact that the World Court is as independent of the League as the International Labor Organization to which we have belonged since 1934. A study of the World Court would reveal that it has built up a body of case law which would serve as a basis for future decisions. Forty nations have bound themselves to submit disputes to the Court. Many treaties contain a clause which provides that any dispute over the terms of the treaty should be referred to the Court. One important function of the Court, that of rendering advisory opinions on points of international law to the Council or Assembly of the League could be further developed in any stable international organization constructed for peace. Americans should not be averse to participation in such a body. As Professor Fenwick and his committee on International Law and Organization have pointed out, "all proposals for arbitration and judicial settlement must be judged not on their merits in the abstract but as alternatives to the anarchy of war. Just as the individual accepts restraints upon his personal conduct because of the necessity of maintaining public law and order, so the nations must accept restraints because of the same necessity. If each nation is to insist upon being the judge in its own case and refuse to accept any intermediation on the part of the community of nations at large, there would seem to be no hope of ending the anarchy which leads to war. In this connection it must be stressed that it is the consistent teaching of Catholic theologians that the same principles of morality which are binding upon individuals are binding upon the state of which they are citizens; and it is only a question as to how those principles may be applied under the circumstances."<sup>39</sup> The World Court, however, as Professor Fenwick's report points out, could not solve all problems. A genuine spirit of international co-operation based upon the teachings of the Church must first be present.

<sup>39</sup> *Arbitration and the World Court*, A Report of the International Law Committee, Catholic Association for International Peace, Washington, 1937, pp. 23, 24.



#### IV. Rights of Peoples

Such an organization could assist in carrying out the Holy Father's Fourth Point. This is a "point which should be given particular attention if better arrangement of Europe is sought." It "concerns the real needs and just demands of nations and peoples as well as of ethnical minorities; demands which, if not always sufficient to form a strict right when there are recognized or confirmed treaties or other juridical documents which oppose them, deserve at all events benevolent examination to meet them in a peaceful way and, where it appears necessary, by means of equitable, wise and harmonious revision of treaties."

As the Holy Father pointed out, "Once true equilibrium among nations is thus brought back and the basis of mutual trust is reestablished, many of the incentives to resort to violence would be removed."

It need hardly be said that we as American Catholics, belonging to the wealthiest, most powerful neutral nation of the world with our immense prestige and influence throughout the world must take part in the kind of international organization which Pope Pius XII recommends. We cannot sit back and expect the nations of Europe, torn by war and with hatred still smoldering, to build such an organization. Americans must try to assure themselves of such spiritual stature that they will be able to measure up to the standards set by the Holy Father for those who will make the peace. He wrote, "When that day dawns—and we would like to hope that it is not too far distant—on which the roar of battle will lapse into silence and there will arise the possibility of establishing a true and sound peace dictated by the principles of justice and equity, only he will be able to discern the path that should be followed who unites with high political power a clear understanding of the voice of humanity along with a sincere reverence for the divine precepts of life as found in the Gospel of Christ. Only men of such moral stature will be able to create the peace that will compensate for the incalculable sacrifices of this war and clear the way for a community of nations, fair to all, efficacious and sustained by moral confidence."<sup>40</sup> Pope Pius

<sup>40</sup> "Letter to President Roosevelt." See *Pius XII and Peace, 1939-1940*.

elsewhere proclaims his trust in and dependence on such men to bring about peace: "Whatever We can do to hasten the day when the dove of peace may find on this earth, submerged in a deluge of discord, somewhere to alight, We shall continue to do, trusting in those statesmen who, before the outbreak of war, nobly toiled to avert such a scourge from the peoples; trusting in the millions of souls of all countries and of every sphere, who call not for justice alone but for love and mercy; above all, trusting in God Almighty . . ." <sup>41</sup> Americans can hardly work for such a peace by caring simply for their own economic welfare while they look smugly upon a war-stricken world. Our obligation, because of our fortunate position in world affairs, to strive for a world organization which will actually work, becomes greater every day. If timidity, hypocrisy, or laziness, prevent our working towards such ends, we fail to live up to the Sovereign Pontiff's desires.

The Holy Father has stressed the necessity of meeting the needs of ethnical minorities. Since the World War, Americans have shut their gates to any large scale migration to our shores. Other countries, following the same tenets of nationalism, have acted likewise. American Catholics should remember that all races are equal in the Church. In *Summi Pontificatus*, the Holy Father wrote, "Those who enter the Church, whatever be their origin or their speech, must know that they have equal rights as children in the House of the Lord, where the law of Christ and the peace of Christ prevail." <sup>42</sup> Any peace must provide for racial equality and justice. This is particularly true of the Jewish question. A group of Catholic European scholars declared:

*It is the bounden duty of every Christian today to expose, wherever and whenever this may be necessary, all the errors inherent in the practical political side of the contemporary Jewish question. . . . As Christians we must exert ourselves to the utmost in order to dispel the prevalent poisonous atmosphere of falsehood and hate. Whenever the Christian himself is deprived of his rights and is without political influence, he should assist in individual cases, especially and primarily the Christian non-Aryans who wander through the world today as*

<sup>41</sup> *Summi Pontificatus*, p. 46.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

homeless people. These should be helped by the creation of possible settlements, by the establishment of a world-wide employment service and similar practical measures. To these we are first obliged to show consideration, because they are our brothers and sisters in the spirit and in the faith; it is they who have suffered most of all from the current anti-Jewish legislation in Germany.

If . . . we raise our voice against the errors in vogue today regarding the Jewish question as a mystery of faith, we do so because these errors ultimately threaten the life of our faith and also on account of the un-Christian hatred prevalent in public life. . . .<sup>43</sup>

The remedy for the minorities question is not to be found in the erection of national states for each minority, racial, religious or linguistic. The inclusion of clauses in peace treaties signed by Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey of respect for the lingual, religious and cultural rights of minorities was a step in the right direction. Germany, however, did not sign such a clause. Special minorities treaties were signed by Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Greece. Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia were denied admission to the League until they had promised to guarantee minority rights. The League had no way of enforcing these treaties and it is doubtful if any satisfactory way will ever be found until the spirit of Christian tolerance drives out the racial myths and the nationalistic prejudices which make the lot of minorities intolerable and the peace of Europe impossible. The machinery of the League, however, was there to handle the problem of refugees but the spirit of Christianity was lacking in those nations which had minorities. The solution for the minorities question will be found in a system of government which provides for religious freedom, educational freedom, for expression of opinion and autonomy within the State. In the meantime, American Catholics should do their best to promote racial tolerance by seeing to it that they do not contribute to racial hatred in America. Catholics in America who have seen what religious intolerance and bigotry will do should be wary of any programs which smack of them. American democracy, religious and racial freedom and tolerance are inseparable.

<sup>43</sup> A Memorial Issued by Catholic European Scholars, *The Church and the Jews*, Catholic Association for International Peace, Washington, 1937, p. 33.

### V. Justice and Charity

The Fifth Point of the Holy Father's program deals with that thirst for justice which motivates Americans at home. Even more should it move them to seek justice on a world scale. He said, "But even better and more complete settlements will be imperfect and condemned to ultimate failure, if those who guide the destinies of the peoples, and the peoples themselves, refuse to permit themselves to be penetrated ever more by that spirit which alone can give living authority and obligation to the dead letter of articles in international agreements—by that spirit, namely of intimate, acute responsibility that measures and weighs human statutes according to the holy unshakable rules of Divine Law; by that hunger and thirst for justice which is proclaimed in the beatitudes in the Sermon on the Mount, and which has, as a natural presupposition, moral justice; by that universal love which is the compendium of and most comprehensive term for the Christian ideal, and therefore offers a way also for those who have not the benefit of participating in our own Faith."<sup>44</sup>

The way is clear for Catholics everywhere. Unless we are willing to face the prospect of constantly recurring wars, unless we foresee that Europe's nationalistic hatreds will have their eventual effect upon us, we must attempt to fashion the kind of peace based upon justice and charity which the Holy Father desires. Revision will be necessary as circumstances require and some permanent international body will have to provide for revision if peace is to endure. The basic foundation of such a peace and such an organization has already been traced for us by Benedict XV.<sup>45</sup> Summed up briefly it is:<sup>46</sup>

The substitution of moral right for material force, general disarmament, compulsory arbitration of disputes among states, the codification of international law, an international tribunal of justice and an association of nations.

The acceptance and practice of every one of these condi-

<sup>44</sup> "Christmas Message on International Peace," in *Pius XII and Peace, 1939-1940*.

<sup>45</sup> MacLean, Rev. Donald A., *The Permanent Peace Program of Pope Benedict XV*, Catholic Association for International Peace, Washington, 1931.

<sup>46</sup> Ryan, Right Rev. Msgr. John A., *International Ethics*, A Report of the Ethics Committee, Catholic Association for International Peace, Washington, 1928, p. 37.

tions would bring about permanent peace. As the Report on International Ethics points out, "Unless we strive for peace by specific and practical methods, all our pacific professions are hallow and futile. The obligation to attain an end implies an obligation to use the appropriate means."<sup>47</sup>

The means of obtaining permanent peace would no doubt include the use of sanctions. The League's use of sanctions could hardly be expected to work with the Powers giving it half-hearted support and with the United States refraining from participation. Pope Benedict XV foresaw the necessity of such compulsory measures when he called for the compulsory arbitration of international issues and the establishment of "appropriate and effective sanctions which would compel states to submit questions in dispute and to accept the awards of the International Court of Arbitration when rendered."<sup>48</sup> Cardinal Gasparri, Secretary of State to Pope Benedict XV, believed that an international court should be given the power of "boycotting morally, economically, industrially and financially all countries manifesting a militaristic spirit."<sup>49</sup> In certain cases, it might be necessary to apply the sanction of the combined military organizations of the several world states.<sup>50</sup> This means that Americans should be ready to muster their material forces to the side of forces working for peace. They should stop supplying aggressor states with materials and machinery for the manufacture of arms while busily condemning the use of those arms. Americans should realize that when a people such as the Chinese or the Finns have fought a war of self-defense, one which is obviously a just war by all criteria of a just war, they should be aided in every possible material way. This does not mean that the United States should actually go to war. It does mean that it should throw its economic weight on the side of the unjustly invaded. It should, if necessary, consider the shipment of arms to nations such as Finland which engage in a death struggle for those rights which we ourselves prize above life itself. If American Catholics shrink from their obligation to stand ready for the defense of freedom in such cases, there is little hope for any permanent peace. If we abandon ourselves to rank despair

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 19.

<sup>48</sup> MacLean, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

that permanent peace can never be achieved, it never will be. If we refuse to work actively in every possible way for world peace; if we clothe ourselves in a selfish nationalism which demands complete isolation, we are not living up to the expectations of the Holy Father.

We have but to choose. The path of international co-operation leads to permanent peace; that of nationalism and imperialism leads to Armageddon repeated over and again.

"If ever," Pope Pius XII writes, "there were an aim worthy of the concourse of noble, generous spirits; if ever there arose a spiritual crusade which, with new truth sounded the cry, 'God wills it,' it is truly that high aim and this crusade—to lead peoples back from the muddy gulf of material and selfish interest to the living fountain of Divine Law, which alone is powerful and gives that morality, nobility and stability of which a lack has been felt for too long, and which is gravely needed to repair the damage done to most nations, to humanity and to those ideals which are at the same time the real ends of peace based on justice and love."<sup>51</sup>

His Holiness further enjoins us, "We wait for and hope that all those who are united to Us by the bond of Faith, each at his post within the limits of his missions, will keep both mind and heart open, so that, when the hurricane of war ceases and is dispersed, there will rise up in every nation and among all peoples far-sighted and pure spirits, animated by courage, who will know how and will be able to confront the dark instinct of vile vengeance with the severe and noble majesty of justice—the sister of love and companion of all truth and wisdom."<sup>52</sup>

Above all, we should keep in mind the words of the Holy Father: "God can do all things. As well as the happiness and the fortunes of nations, He holds in His hands human counsels and sweetly turns them in whatever direction He wills; even the obstacles are for His Omnipotence means to mold affairs and events and to direct minds and free wills to His all-high purposes.

"Pray then, Venerable Brethren, pray without ceasing;

<sup>51</sup> "Christmas Message on International Peace," in *Pius XII and Peace, 1939-1940*.

<sup>52</sup> *Summi Pontificatus*, p. 47.

pray especially when you offer the Divine Sacrifice of Love. Do you, too, pray, you whose courageous profession of the faith entails today hard, painful and, not rarely heroic sacrifices; pray you, suffering and agonizing members of the Church, when Jesus comes to console and to heal your pains, and do not forget with the aid of a true spirit of mortification and worthy practice of penance to make your prayers more acceptable in the eyes of Him Who 'lifteth up all that fall; and setteth up all that are cast down' (Psalm cxliv. 14) that He in His mercy may shorten the days of trial and that thus the words of the Psalmist may be verified: 'Then they cried to the Lord in their affliction: and He delivered them out of their distresses' (Psalm cvi. 13).

Then and only then will the world know and live in that "unity of faith and of love" which will bring peace, prosperity and happiness to all mankind.

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**N. C. W. C. STUDY CLUB OUTLINE****I**

1. What has been the Papal attitude of Benedict XV and Pius XII with respect to the desirability of an international organization?
2. Are American Catholics exempt from participation in such an order? What obligations have all Catholics to create and maintain such an order?
3. Discuss the difference between patriotism and nationalism. Does patriotism exclude adherence to an international organization?
4. In what economic, social, political and cultural ways does the war affect America?

Suggested papers: The Attitude of the Church Toward Patriotism and Nationalism. The Peace Plan of Benedict XV.

**II**

1. Should Poland, Czechoslovakia and Austria be restored as nations?
2. What dangers does excessive nationalism present to the existence of nations, both large and small?
3. How can "mutual love and a lively sense of charity" mitigate the evils of nationalism?
4. Should a nation be bound by the same rules of morality as an individual? Are Catholics everywhere bound to work for the restoration of the moral order?

Suggested papers: Nations Which Have Deviated from the Rules of Morality Applicable to Individuals. The Rise of Nationalism in Post Versailles Europe. Nationalism as the Cause of the Present Conflict.

**III**

1. Can a lasting peace be achieved without disarmament?
2. What should the bases or prerequisites of disarmament be?
3. Does the Holy Father believe that the work of the League of Nations, the World Court, and the International Labor Organization should be utilized in creating or reconstructing international institutions?
4. Were we to blame for the faulty functioning of the League? Did we heed the teachings of Benedict XV in this respect?

Suggested papers: Attempts at Disarmament in the Post Versailles Period. The Relation Between Armament and Nationalism. Suggestions for the Creation of a Spirit Which Would Make Armament Unnecessary.



IV

1. What lessons can be learned from the League success in the social and economic fields? What can be gleaned from its experience in the political field? Were all the League attempts at the solution of political problems failures?
2. Why is it necessary to have a world organization to care for problems of health, finance, labor? Can each nation satisfactorily solve its own problems in these fields without co-operation with others?
3. What humanitarian work did the League perform in settling the immediate problems of post-war Europe? Could its experience gained then be of use after the present war?
4. How might Americans assist in such work? Would it involve "entanglement in European affairs"? Must we do it in justice and charity?

Suggested papers: The Health Work of the League of Nations. League Work in the Care of Refugees. The League's Work in Nutrition. The Bruce Report on Reorganization of the Social and Economic Functions of the League. The Regulation of Opium Traffic by the League.

V

1. What financial assistance did the League lend smaller nations? Did Americans, as individuals, take part in such work?
2. Is there any necessity for the construction of new machinery of world organization? What spirit is needed to set present machinery in motion? What can we do to supply it?
3. What is the relationship between economic life and peace? How does economic nationalism endanger peace? Has the United States helped to create economic nationalism? What are we doing to mitigate it?
4. How can economic peace be best secured? What suggestions have been made for a new type of economic international organization?

Suggested papers: The Work of Jeremiah Smith in the Financial Reconstruction of Hungary. Tariffs and the Growth of Economic Nationalism. An International Economic Organization.

VI

1. What is national sovereignty? What is its relationship with national pride and prestige? How might extreme national sovereignty be diminished without interfering with domestic affairs?

2. Would the use of experts for the solution of technical problems outside the realm of domestic affairs be undemocratic?
3. What problems has the World Court tried to solve? How might its functions be enlarged?
4. What part should the United States play in revising past attempts at international organization or creating a new type? Does our geographic position exempt us from moral obligations in this respect?
5. Does the Holy Father believe that we should work out an international organization in advance or should we wait for the end of the war? What does the Christmas Message on International Peace say as to the possibility of securing a just peace at the end of a war of attrition?

Suggested papers: A World Federation. A League of Regional Units. Plans for the Revision of the League of Nations. American Participation in World Organization.

#### VII

1. What suggestions for the solution of the minorities question have been made in the past? How can we relieve the position of minorities? What could we do for refugees?
2. How can we apply "hunger and thirst for justice" in our efforts at international co-operation?
3. What did Benedict XV regard as the basic principles of world peace?
4. Did Cardinal Gasparri, Secretary of State to Benedict XV believe that military sanctions should be used as well as moral and economic sanctions? What obligations has the United States to a nation which has been unjustly attacked?
5. How may faith and prayer bring world peace? Does the Holy Father believe that we should rely on prayer alone or should we unite it with action for world peace?

Suggested papers: The Sanctions Proposed by Cardinal Gasparri. The World Court as Suggested by Benedict XV and Cardinal Gasparri. Present Attempts to Relieve the Situation of Refugees and Minorities. Present Attempts of the United States to Aid Refugees.

## SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY CLUBS ON CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY

1. The study club is not a group to listen to lectures. It is for informal discussion. It is small—ten or twelve to twenty or so—so as to permit general discussion.
2. There is a discussion leader.
3. The group may consist of persons of various occupations and interests or of special groups. A number of small study groups established within each organization is desirable.
4. Meetings are once a week or once every two weeks or once a month.
5. Every member should have at least the text and the outline.
6. Reference Shelf or Table is helpful.
7. The discussion, as a rule, follows the outline point by point. The section of the text to be discussed should be read before the meeting by each member.
8. Use questions at the end of the meeting to recapitulate.
9. Reports or papers called for by the outline should be brief.
10. Short summary of previous meeting by different member each time ensures continuity.
11. Begin meeting and close it on time.
12. The purposes of the group are:
  - (a) So its members will know the teaching of the Church on social and political relations.
  - (b) So they can speak at Catholic meetings.
  - (c) So they can be leaders in the activity of Catholic organizations.
  - (d) So they can apply the teachings in their civic life.
  - (e) So they can guide the civic and political organizations to which they belong.
  - (f) So they will be better Catholics.
  - (g) So they will be better citizens.
13. If the group is an offshoot or a part of another organization they should report their conclusions to the parent organization, because one of the chief purposes of the club or committee is to pass on their information, point of view and enthusiasm to the Catholics of their community and to make the club's work definitely a part of the parent organization's work.

*For further information and assistance, write:*

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