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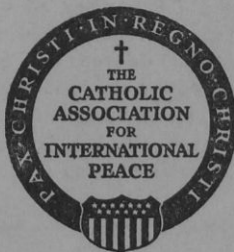
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Patriotism, Nationalism and the Brotherhood of Man

A Report of the Committee on National Attitudes

Carlton J. H. Hayes, *Chairman*

"All must remember that the peoples of the earth
form but one family in God."—Pius XI, Encyclical, *Divini
Redemptoris*, March 19, 1937.



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Patriotism, Nationalism, and the Brotherhood of Man

A Report of the Committee on National Attitudes

INTRODUCTION

THE brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God is a fundamental tenet of Christian faith and morals, taught by Jesus Christ and His Apostles and by the long line of Roman Pontiffs, successors of the Prince of the Apostles. It has always been both an ideal and a practical program of historic Christianity. It is a principle embedded in Christian revelation, and developed in Christian philosophy and propaganda. But it is also one of those attributes of Christianity quite in keeping with human aspiration and experience, and with what may be called "natural religion." For centuries, not only Christians but many Pagans assumed, what the Hebrew Scriptures declare, that the whole human race is descended from common ancestors created by God. They naturally inferred that physical and mental differences among men arise from differences of geographical and physical environment and of individual personality.

In particular, the Catholic Church has ceaselessly pointed the way to a community of Christian nations—a common Christendom. Early in the fifth century, a classical expression of the Church's unvarying doctrine on the subject was given by St. Augustine: "The heavenly city (*i. e.*, the Church), while it sojourns on earth, calls citizens out of all nations, and gathers together a society of pilgrims of all languages, not scrupling about diversities in the manners, laws, and institutions whereby earthly peace is secured and maintained, but recognizing that, however various these are, they all tend to one and the same end of earthly peace."¹

Actually, too, this doctrine was steadily propagated in an ever enlarging Christendom. For, we may recall, Christendom was extended in the first five centuries of our era over southern Europe, in the next ten centuries over central and northern Europe, and in the last five centuries to the American conti-

¹ St. Augustine, *City of God*, Book xix, chapter xvii.

nents and into the Far East and Africa, and the islands of the Pacific. And with the rounding out of that collectivity of Christian peoples which is Christendom, recent Popes have neglected no opportunity to reiterate and reemphasize the comprehensive and unifying character of the Catholic Church. "The Church," declares Benedict XV, "is the most perfect model of a universal society."² "The Church," says Pius XI, "is indeed the true international institution, which, as a matter of fact, covers the entire world, so that even where the culture, science, art, and industry of civilized peoples have not succeeded in penetrating, the word of the Apostle has reached. . . . Beyond all confines and all frontiers extends this divine international institution of the Catholic Church."³

Accompanying and in measure expediting the later extension of European Christendom into a worldwide Christendom has been a noteworthy improvement of the industrial arts, an epochal advance of technology, and its revolutionary application to commercial intercourse among nations, continents, and cultural areas. How much easier this should have made the achievement of the Christian ideal of human brotherhood! Just as local self-sufficiency and local isolation have been overcome by national developments, so these, it has reasonably been argued, should give way to the interdependence of peoples and empires. Just as economic forces have operated to integrate towns and provinces into national states, so they should continue to operate to bring about a close association and federation of nations. In the phrase of a brilliant French publicist, "economic realities" of contemporary world society should and eventually must dissipate such a "political myth" as nationalism.⁴

Yet, despite the age-long preaching of the Christian gospel and the progressive expansion of Christendom, despite the newer industrial and commercial bases for a common material civilization throughout the world, the fact must be faced that the rise and spread of a popular and exaggerated nationalism has been a concurrent phenomenon of recent times and that

² Benedict XV, Encyclical, *Pacem*, May 23, 1920.

³ Pius XI, Discourse to International Pilgrimage of Catholic Youth, 1925.

⁴ Francis Delaisi, *Les Contradictions du monde moderne* (1925), trans. into English as *Political Myths and Economic Realities* (1927).

it now constitutes a major obstacle to the realization of human brotherhood. This nationalism may be a "myth," but, if so, it is an extraordinarily potent myth, commanding the ardent allegiance of more and more peoples and inspiring widespread popular attitudes and activities quite at variance with ideals of world unity.

We must all be aware that we live today in a world full of nationalism. We read of it in the headlines of our daily newspapers. We see evidences of it on every hand in our daily lives. We are a bit odd if we do not occasionally experience it within ourselves.

We all have at least a general idea as to what nationalism is. We recognize it, at any rate, in its extreme forms. We know, for example, that both German Naziism and Italian Fascism are nationalistic movements. We should know, moreover, that Germany and Italy are by no means the only countries where extreme nationalism flourishes, but that it is in evidence in Poland and Hungary, in Soviet Russia, in Japan and China and India, in Mexico—indeed, all over the world. Many Englishmen and Frenchmen and many inhabitants of other countries are extremely nationalistic—sometimes without being aware of it. Many Americans, too, are devotees, consciously or unconsciously, of nationalism, and its extreme form is typified most perfectly perhaps by such a peculiarly American organization as the Ku Klux Klan.

But nationalism is a very complex phenomenon, and the word itself has been employed during the past century in different ways. Sometimes the word is used as a synonym for "patriotism." Sometimes, especially among the French and certain other European peoples, it is sharply distinguished from ordinary patriotism and made synonymous with "chauvinism" or a grossly boastful patriotism. For us it is highly important to recognize *kinds and degrees of nationalism* (or *patriotism*) ranging from the abnormal and feverish to the normal and temperate, from the nationalism which is contrary to Christian teaching to the patriotism which is in harmony with it. In our study of patriotism and nationalism, therefore, we must be very careful to make the proper distinctions and to understand clearly what is "good" patriotism and what is "bad" nationalism, what contributes to human solidarity and what militates against it.

In the first section of this report, we discuss the Christian conception of national patriotism. In the second section, we treat of current non-Christian or anti-Christian doctrines of nationalism. In the third section, we offer explanations of the rise and present vogue of these latter doctrines. In the final section, we make some suggestions as to how national attitudes may be refashioned so as to serve the fundamental Christian end of the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God.

I

THE CHRISTIAN CONCEPTION OF NATIONAL PATRIOTISM

Nationalism, in its historic and simplest sense, is *patriotism applied to one's nationality*. As such it is a common cultural phenomenon, and one compatible with Catholic tradition and precept. For patriotism is a love of one's country, a prime expression of that sense of loyalty which holds men together in groups and without which men could not be the gregarious creatures that by nature they are.

Men have always lived in groups. Apparently it is a part of God's plan that they should. And one of the things which have enabled them to live in groups has been the loyalty—the patriotism—which God has implanted in their very nature. This loyalty—this patriotism—this “love of country”—involves a triple affection. It embraces an affection for familiar places, an affection for familiar persons, and an affection for familiar ideas. One's “country” connotes all three of these: the land itself, the persons on it, and the traditions associated with it. One's “native land”—the *terra patria, la patrie, das Vaterland*—is an extension of hearth and home. It is the soil that has given life to one's forefathers and holds their tombs, and which in turn nurtures one's children and grandchildren. It is a link between generations, between families and friends, between common experience of the past and that of the present and future. It is the earthly means, at once familiar and sacred, of establishing and maintaining a community or group life.

Loyalty to “country,” or patriotism in the basic sense, is one of those fine traits of man which prompt him to rise out

of himself, to do things for his fellows, to have a regard for order and tradition and ideals. Patriotism is not merely passive loyalty to country. It is active love of country. But true patriotism, like any true love, is cherished in humility, not in pride. It is, of course, primarily emotional and impulsive, rather than deliberate and reasoned, though like any human emotion, such as hunger or passion, it is liable to grave abuse if it is not guided by reason and disciplined by experience.

The right use of patriotism is a precept of the natural law and a Christian duty. Such has been the invariable teaching of the Catholic Church and the Roman Pontiffs. In the words of Pope Leo XIII: "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."⁵ And Pope Pius XI has added that patriotism is "the stimulus of so many virtues and of so many noble acts of heroism when kept within the bounds of the law of Christ."⁶

"When kept within the bounds of the law of Christ." This, too, has invariably been a reservation which the Catholic Church and the Roman Pontiffs have made to their inculcation of patriotism. Duties to our compatriots must not blind us, the Church constantly proclaims, to our paramount duties to God, or to the duties of justice and charity which we owe to mankind at large. Christ Himself instructed us at the beginning "to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." Pope Pius XI reminds us in the present age that "love of country becomes merely an occasion for, and an added incentive to, grave injustice, when true love of country is debased to the condition of an extreme nationalism, when we forget that all men are our 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.'"⁷

If one group of human beings is naturally and divinely held

⁵ Leo XIII, Encyclical, *Sapientiæ Christianæ*, *Chief Duties of Christians as Citizens*, January 10, 1890.

⁶ Pius XI, Encyclical, *Ubi Arcano Dei*, December 23, 1922.

⁷ *Ibid.*

together by patriotism, then other groups are similarly held together by a like patriotism, and what one esteems for one's self, one must not deny to others. This is natural justice, re-enforced and ennobled for Christians by the Christ-given law of charity. As Pope Benedict XV says: "There is nothing that Christ recommended more frequently and more insistently to His disciples than the precept of mutual charity, and that because it embraces all others; Christ called it the new precept, His commandment, and He wished to make it a characteristic mark of Christians, by which they would be distinguished from the rest of mankind. . . . The Gospel does not contain one law of charity for individuals and another law, different from the first, for cities and peoples."⁸

Patriotism, in its true and basic sense, is a Christian virtue. This is not to say, however, that patriotism must be, or always has been, synonymous with nationalism. Nationalism is but one form of patriotism. Nationalism is patriotism applied to a nationality, and if it is true patriotism (in the Christian sense) that is applied to nationality, then the resulting nationalism is compatible with Christian ethics. But patriotism may be applied, and actually has been applied throughout past ages, to a variety of human groupings other than national; and, again, if the patriotism thus variously applied is true patriotism (in the Christian sense) then the resulting attachment to city, to province, or to empire is, equally with attachment to nationality, quite in harmony with Christian teaching.

Patriotism is love of one's "country," we have said. But one's "country" may be small or large, very local or widely imperial. It may be a mere fragment of a nationality—a town, a county, or a province. Or it may be a conglomerate of several nationalities—an empire, a cultural area, or an occupational or religious community. The ancient Greeks constituted a nationality, but their abundant patriotism was pre-eminently devoted not to their common nationality as a whole, but rather to their separate city-states, such as Athens or Sparta. The ancient Romans managed to transform the object of their paramount patriotism from a diminutive town on the banks of the Tiber to a huge imperial domain encircling the Mediterranean and constituting a commonwealth of culture and interests for previously disparate tribes and peoples.

⁸ Benedict XV, Encyclical, *Pacem*, May 23, 1920.

St. Paul evinced as much patriotic pride in the Roman Empire as in the Jewish nationality.

There can be, moreover, and usually has been in past ages, a kind of pluralism in "love of country," that is, in patriotism. One and the same person can simultaneously feel and display a patriotic emotion about several different objects. This was especially true of the Christian Middle Ages. At that time most individuals were deeply rooted in loyalty to some restricted locality—a village or city, a barony or duchy. At the same time the same individuals were loyally attached to a profession or class—nobility, guild, peasantry. Above all, the same individuals possessed a supernatural (and supranational) religious loyalty to Catholic Christianity and to its territorial embodiment, Christendom. One of the great medieval hymns of the Catholic Church, the *Pange Lingua*, pointed on to eternal life with God in Heaven as the Christian's "native land."

Qui vitam sine termino
Nobis donet in patria.

O grant us endless length of days
In our true native land with Thee!

Persons who thus thought of Heaven as their "native land," and who also felt a lively attachment to a special social group and to a special limited locality, might incidentally be patriotic about the nationality to which they belonged. But the nationalism of such persons could not be an exclusive or extreme nationalism. It was in keeping with Catholic principle and practice.

Latterly, in modern times, nationality has come to play a more and more important rôle in human society and hence to emphasize a national grouping of human beings which more and more transcends the earlier groupings by locality or class. Wherefore, patriotism tends more and more to be associated with nationality, to shed its previous pluralism, and to take on the singular character of nationalism. There is nothing inherently evil in this. Patriotism of the Christian type can be as properly applied to nationality as to city or to empire; there can be an eventuating nationalism which is as Christian as any urbanism or cosmopolitanism.

To obtain a clear idea of what nationalism is, whether it be Christian or anti-Christian nationalism, we must discover not only what patriotism is but what nationality is. For nationalism, let us repeat, is patriotism applied to nationality.

Nationality is one kind of human grouping, the kind which commonly depends, in first instance, on differences of language. Gradually, however, as a particular language is put in written form and used as a vehicle of literary expression, a distinctive national literature develops, and this serves to establish and maintain certain historical traditions and cultural usages peculiar to the nationality. Thus, eventually, nationality comes to be based not only on difference of language but on difference of historical tradition and on at least a fancied difference of culture. Englishmen, Germans, Frenchmen, Italians, Poles, and Hungarians, for example, are obvious examples of modern nationalities: each possesses a distinctive speech and literature; each has undergone a special historical evolution and hence cherishes particular traditions of its own. In some cases, a divergence of historical evolution and tradition between separate parts of a linguistic nationality may go so far as to give rise to practically different nationalities. In other words, while language is the chief determinant of nationality, historical tradition may become a hardly less effective determinant. Such is the case with the American nationality as over against the English, or with the Spanish-American nationalities as over against the Spanish and likewise as over against one another.

Nationality is a very old fact in human experience. Since very ancient times there have been a multitude of diverse languages and as many nationalities as languages.

There is, of course, a good deal of fluidity in the matter of nationality. While nationality is a constant and continuous phenomenon in all recorded history of mankind, particular nationalities appear and disappear and occasionally reappear. Many of our modern nationalities, the French and the English, for instance, did not exist in ancient times; and many ancient tribes and nationalities, such as the Elamite, the Etruscan, and the Phœnician, have long ago ceased to exist. The present American nationality is a relatively recent creation, still betraying by its language its origin in the English nationality, though evolving within the past two centuries certain national traditions of its own.

Always, nationality is a cultural conception and a cultural fact. In every age, one nationality is distinguished from another by culture, that is, by language or historic tradition or both, and only incidentally, if at all, by biology or race. Some-

times we loosely speak of nationalities as races—for example, of a German race, a Slavic race, an Irish race, or a Jewish race. In so doing, however, we speak inaccurately and misleadingly. Biologically, there is no German or Slavic race, no Irish or Jewish race. There is a white race, a black race, a yellow race. There is a long-headed race and a round-headed race. But the latest findings of the biological and anthropological sciences only tend to confirm the traditional Christian teaching that what physical differences there are among men are insufficient, on the one hand, to explain cultural differences, or, on the other hand, to raise serious question about the essential unity of all mankind. Certainly no present-day nationality consists of one and only one race. In every country of Europe and America, long heads and round heads are intermingled. In the United States, black Americans are just as American in speech and tradition as are white Americans. The Jews are really not a "pure" race, but rather a mixture of various strains; in Germany, where many of them have resided for centuries, they are as German in language and ordinary usage as are the so-called Aryan Germans. The very word "Aryan" denotes a type of language; only sheer imagination can make it connote race.

We must remember, furthermore, that while nationality is a fact of long standing in the world, it has not always been recognized as a fact of prime importance or as an object of paramount patriotism. Doubtless at all times individuals and families have been conscious of belonging to a particular ethnic group, but for centuries of recorded history they have been wont to attach as much or more significance to some other grouping of which they were members—a church, an empire, a town, a clan, a guild. Only among primitive tribes and among modern peoples has the sentiment of patriotism been predominantly and universally associated with nationality.

That nationality has come to the fore in modern times as the chief object of patriotic devotion is attributable in considerable part to the counsel and example of the Catholic Church. The Church, recognizing nationality as usual and natural with man, has no quarrel with it, any more than with patriotism. Indeed, the Church throughout the nineteen hundred years of her existence has respected and even fostered a consciousness of nationality among her members; and it is significant that

Europe, which has been the central scene of the Church's activities almost from the beginning, is the very continent in which national consciousness has been most continuously and successfully cultivated. In a real sense the Catholic Church is the foster-mother of the European and American nationalities. The Church established an ecclesiastical unity for the English nation before there was any political unity, and a similar function she performed for the French, the Spanish, the German, the Scandinavian, the Czech, the Hungarian. She helped immensely to keep alive the sentiment of nationality among peoples, such as the Irish, the Polish, the Lithuanian, etc., who were long deprived of political independence. Her priests, as a German writer says, "fought for the rights of the people in Flanders, in Ireland, in Alsace, in southern Tyrol, in Slovenia, in Croatia, in Slovakia, in Poland, in Lithuania, in the Latgal, and in the Basque country."⁹ And in her later missionary enterprise in Asia and Africa, as in her earlier extension throughout Europe, she has taken pains to respect national traditions and to erect at the earliest possible moment native national hierarchies.¹⁰ Everywhere she has inculcated love of one's native environment and respect for national language, custom, and atmosphere. She has sought "the preservation of man's right to remain what he is, to talk the language one learned from one's mother, to dress in the costume of one's fathers, to sing the songs that have belonged to the country for centuries."¹¹

Nor has the Church discouraged the fusion of the consciousness of nationality with the sentiment of patriotism to produce a kind of nationalism. On the contrary, the Church has approved, rather than disapproved, the unity and independence of particular nationalities—German, French, Spanish, English, Irish, Polish, and all the others. "Self-determination of peoples," rightly understood, is and always has been quite compatible with Catholic teaching. The Catholic Church expects and counsels every Christian to be patriotic, in the

⁹ Erik von Kühnelt-Leddihn, *The Gates of Hell*, Eng. trans., p. 435.

¹⁰ This point has been stressed by Benedict XV in the Apostolic Letter, *Maximum Illud*, of November 30, 1919, and by Pius XI in the Encyclical, *Rerum Ecclesiae*, of February 28, 1926.

¹¹ Erik von Kühnelt-Leddihn, *op. cit.*

proper sense, to the national state of which he is a citizen—to its land, to its people, to its traditions and culture.¹²

Christian nationalism, the Catholic Church insistently proclaims, must conform, like any patriotism, to the law of Christ. It must not be an end in itself, but a means to an end—the brotherhood of men and of nations under the Fatherhood of God. It must not make the national state the supreme and exclusive object of man's loyalty. It must not adopt a contemptuous and vainglorious attitude toward foreign nations. Above all, it must not itself become a religion. Rather, it must infuse and purify the love of the natural with love of the supernatural, the love of one's own nation with respect for other nations. It must be guided, both internally and externally, by the supreme Christian principles of justice and charity. It must reconcile the special duties of national patriotism with the general obligation of international comity. It must protect and advance the universal mission of the Christian religion and of its central divine agency, the Papacy, which is at once national, international, and supranational.

In the words of Pius XI: "There exists an institution able to safeguard the sanctity of the law of nations. This institution is a part of every nation; at the same time it is above all nations. It enjoys, too, the highest authority, the fullness of the teaching power of the Apostles. Such an institution is the Church of Christ. She alone is adapted to do this great work, for she is not only divinely commissioned to lead mankind, but moreover, by reason of her very make-up and the constitution which she possesses, by reason of her age-old traditions and her great prestige, which has not been lessened but has been greatly increased since the close of the War, she cannot but succeed in

¹² "Right order of Christian charity does not disapprove of lawful love of country and a sentiment of justifiable nationalism; on the contrary, it controls, sanctifies, and enlivens them. If, however, egoism, abusing this love of country and exaggerating this sentiment of nationalism, insinuates itself into the relations between nationality and nationality, there is no excess that will not seem justified; and that which between individuals would be judged blameworthy by all, is then considered lawful and praiseworthy if it is done in the name of this exaggerated nationalism. Instead of the great law of love and human brotherhood, which embraces and holds in a single family all nations and peoples with one Father Who is in Heaven, there enters hatred, driving all to destruction."—Pius XI, Encyclical, *Caritate Christi*, May 3, 1932.

such a venture where others assuredly will fail.”¹³ Or, in the words of Leo XIII: “Through the Divine Founder of the Church and in virtue of the age-old traditions, the august ministry of the Pope possesses a sort of high investiture as mediator of peace. In fact, the authority of the supreme Pontiff extends beyond the frontiers of nations; it embraces all peoples, in order to federate them in the true peace of the Gospel; his activity in promoting the general welfare of humanity lifts him above the particular interests which the different heads of states have in view, and, better than anyone else, he knows how to make peoples, different in natural traits, tend to concord.”¹⁴

II

CURRENT NON-CHRISTIAN AND ANTI-CHRISTIAN DOCTRINES OF NATIONALISM

Unfortunately, much of modern nationalism, especially the extreme nationalism of the present day, is not simply an application of patriotism, in the Christian sense, to the principle of nationality. Nationalism has taken on other meanings, both with statesmen and with countless citizens, beyond Christian teaching and frequently in flat contradiction to it.

Three of these meanings may be distinguished and indicated as follows:

1. Nationalism, to many persons, signifies the exalting of the national state as the supreme, even the exclusive, object of man's loyalty. In this sense, the national state is regarded as omnipotent and is expected to act accordingly. It not only exercises full right to wage war and to command the obedience of its citizens in all secular and temporal matters. It also claims sovereign authority over religion and education, over families, and especially over the upbringing of children.¹⁵ In a word,

¹³ Pius XI, Encyclical, *Ubi Arcano Dei*, December 23, 1922.

¹⁴ Leo XIII, *Letter to Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands*, May 29, 1899.

¹⁵ This claim Pope Pius XI has vigorously denied and denounced. “The believer has an inalienable right to profess his faith and to put it into practice in the manner suited to him. Laws that suppress or make this profession and practice difficult contradict the moral law. . . . Laws or other regulations concerning schools that disregard the rights of parents guaranteed to them by the natural law, or by threat and violence

this kind of nationalism insists upon rendering to Cæsar (that is, to the national government) not only what is Cæsar's but what is God's also.

More than this, however. The national state which is dominated by the type of nationalism here described tends to fall under the sway of the most intensely nationalistic element of its citizens, who preach a veritable warfare against all other elements in the nation. Hence, from the twofold conviction that the national state is omnipotent and that everyone in it must conform with the most nationalistic element, springs a peculiarly strenuous intolerance, which is an outstanding characteristic of much present-day nationalism. Any group suspected of "divided allegiance," or even of harboring international or supranational thoughts, is subject to nationalist denunciation and persecution. Notably has this been the case with four groups: (a) resident foreigners or citizens of foreign antecedents; (b) advocates of reforms effected or attempted in other countries; (c) Jews; and (d) Catholic Christians. Against one or another, or all, of these groups nationalist propaganda and legislation have been directed in one country after another. In Germany, not only Jews but both Catholics and Protestants have suffered. In Mexico, an extreme nationalism has abetted an especially savage attack upon the Catholic Church. In the United States, agitation is carried on by fanatical nationalists, periodically and indiscriminately, against Negroes, Jews, Catholics, and all "alien" influences.

Wherever this intolerant nationalism appears, it is not a lovely thing. It is antithetical to Christian patriotism, whose "love of country," let us remember, involves the Christian concepts of humility and charity. And, needless to say, nationalistic intolerance is apt in the long run to defeat its own ends, by stimulating counter intolerances among persecuted minorities, and by putting a premium on the most noisy and most demagogic and most stupid members of the community rather than on the wisest and best.

2. Closely associated with the nationalism which promotes intolerance and prompts persecution within a nation is that kind of extreme nationalism which inculcates an attitude of

nullify those rights, contradict the natural law and are utterly and essentially immoral."—Encyclical, *On the Church in Germany*, March 14, 1937.

contempt and belligerency toward foreign nations. As a literary convention, it may be pardonable for a people to describe itself as peculiarly brave or dashing, virtuous or witty, honest or domestic, or as specially endowed with a superabundance of genius or common sense; and there probably are particular national traits which scientists as well as imaginative writers can detect. But it is unfair and unjust, and likewise dangerous, for nationalists to caricature and slander foreign nations—the vast majority of the human race. A nation as well as an individual can be slandered, and slander is as much a sin in the one case as in the other. Yet the leading nationalist of contemporary Germany in his speeches and writings has repeatedly referred to neighboring nations as “skunk nations,” and something of the same state of mind is evinced by half-jocular, half-serious talk in the United States about “Wops” and “Micks” and “Frogs” and “Kikes.”

Most unfortunately, the nationalist attitude of mind, which reveals itself in contemptuous and derogatory remarks about other peoples, is conducive to some of the worst ills to which the modern world is prey. There is, for instance, the ill of imperialism, the forceful subjugation and exploitation of weaker peoples by stronger peoples, with the resulting denial to others of that right of national existence and independence which one claims for one's own nation. There is, too, the ill of economic nationalism, the selfish pursuit of national economic interests without regard to the well-being of other peoples, involving tariff wars and threatening the economic ruin of foreigners in order that one's own nation may prosper.¹⁶ Or, again, there is the ill of heavy rival armaments, the dependence on might rather than on right for the settlement of international disputes and for the achievement of national ambition, stimulating mutual distrust, jealousy, and fear, and provoking a most extravagant and eventually a mutually destructive rivalry. As Pope Leo XIII has said: “Numerous troops and an infinite development of military display can sometimes withstand hostile attack but they cannot procure sure and stable tranquillity.

¹⁶ Pius XI, in the Encyclical *Divini Redemptoris* of March 19, 1937, urges that “all means be sedulously employed for the removal of those artificial barriers to economic life which are the effects of distrust and hatred. All must remember,” he goes on to say, “that the peoples of the earth form but one family in God.”

The menacing increase of armies tends much more to excite than to allay rivalry and suspicion."¹⁷

Finally, as a more or less natural outcome of all these ills, there is the ill of international war. The World War of 1914-1918 was primarily a nationalistic war, in which nationalist passions were most effectively and almost universally aroused; and the four years of the World War proved vastly more destructive and deadly than the twenty years of the Napoleonic Wars, or the thirty-years' war of the seventeenth century, or the hundred-years' war of the late Middle Ages, or the four hundred years of medieval crusades. Obviously, war becomes in our modern age ever more terrible; and the explanation is to be sought not only in the technological perfecting of instruments of war but also in the intensifying nationalism which possesses whole peoples and makes them ready and even zealous to make use of the perfected instruments of war.

What makes a calamitous situation even worse is the fact that popular passions are so intensified by nationalistic war as practically to preclude victorious powers from negotiating a just peace with the vanquished. There can be no doubt, for example, that the spirit of vengeance rather than that of conciliation dictated many provisions in the peace treaties which concluded the World War, and thus not only embittered post-War international relations but also contributed to the contemporary exaggeration of nationalism, especially among the defeated and unjustly treated peoples. Another nationalistic world war could be but a prelude to still more vindictive nationalism. As Pope Pius XI has recently declared: "It is indeed impossible for peace to last between peoples and states if in the place of true and genuine love of country there reigns a hard egotistical nationalism, which is the same as saying hatred and envy in the place of mutual desire for the good, diffidence and suspicion in the place of fraternal confidence, competition and antagonism in the place of willing coöperation, ambition for hegemony and mastery in the place of respect for all rights, including those of the small and weak."¹⁸

¹⁷ Leo XIII, *Consistorial Allocution*, February 11, 1889. The same Pontiff, in an Apostolic Letter of March 19, 1902, speaks of "armed peace" as "equivalent in many respects to a disastrous war." Pius XI in his Apostolic Letter, *Nova Impendet*, of October 2, 1931, speaks further of "the unbridled race in armaments" as "the cause of enormous expenditure taken out of the resources available for the public well-being."

¹⁸ Pius XI, *Consistorial Allocution*, December 24, 1930.

3. There is still another meaning which nationalism has come to have in modern times. For a rapidly increasing number of men and women it now represents an attempt at a new religion to take the place of such an historic and universal supernatural religion as Christianity. The religion of nationalism, if we may use the phrase, superficially resembles real religion: it has dogmas; it has a cult, with holydays and ceremonial observances; it appropriates religious, even Christian, phrases and formulas; and it instills in its worshipers a strong sense of obligation and devotion. In essential respects, however, it is different from Christianity, and quite antithetical to it. It is this-worldly, rather than other-worldly; its kingdom is of this world. It takes no account of the supernatural, ignoring if not openly denying it, but bases itself on what it accepts as the natural order and what it interprets as "realistic"; it exalts not the Bible or the Christian Fathers, but the positivism of Auguste Comte, the politics of Machiavelli, the romanticism of literary men of modern times, or the racialism of pseudo-scientists of the late nineteenth century. It is exclusive rather than comprehensive, being concerned with a particular people rather than with all peoples. It flatly contradicts the Catholic principle expressed by St. Paul: "There is neither Jew nor Gentile, there is neither Greek nor Barbarian, there is neither bond nor free: for you are all one in Christ Jesus."¹⁹

At bottom and in its extreme manifestations, the religion of nationalism betokens a conscious or unconscious revival of tribal, primitive paganism, the paganism of those barbarian Teutonic, Slavic, Indian, or other tribesmen who anciently disported themselves in the forests and clothed themselves in the skins of wild animals, the paganism which Christianity has long been praised for dispelling. In present-day Germany, Hungary, and other countries, conspicuous devotees of the religion of nationalism loudly lament the Christian civilization which, they claim, was originally imposed upon their respective peoples by "foreign" Jews or Romans from the outside and which, they aver, has long corrupted naturally heroic nations by inculcating in them Utopian or downright vicious doctrines of humility and world-brotherhood; and they vociferously urge a complete uprooting of "alien" Christianity and a popular return to the worship of such indigenous legendary gods and heroes as Odin,

¹⁹ St. Paul, Romans, x, 12; Galatians, iii, 28; Colossians, iii, 11.

Thor, Arpad, etc., and to the national "heroic virtues" associated with them. These advocates of revived paganism would make it the "spiritual" force in a modern nationality, as it was in the ancient primitive tribe. As each nationality, like each tribe, would occupy a definite area, restrict its membership to a supposedly blood relationship, cultivate a distinctive language, fashion a peculiar corporate pattern of social customs and usages, and develop a despotic political régime under a warlike chieftain, so each nationality, like each tribe, should possess a distinguishing and cementing religion, involving ancestor-worship and the cult of mythological pre-Christian demigods of virility and valor, and implanting in all its members a firm faith that they are the superior, the virtuous and chosen, people in a world of inferior and evil-minded peoples who must inevitably be hated and probably chastised.

Not only Christianity but every religion which lays claim to being supernatural and universal is nowadays being assailed or threatened by the religion of nationalism. In Europe and America, it is Christianity and Judaism which suffer. But in Turkey and Persia it is Islam also, and in the Far East it is Buddhism. In Japan, the tribal national cult of Shinto now overshadows the wider cult of Buddha. In Turkey nationalism makes an onslaught on the Moslem religion strikingly similar to that which it makes in Germany or Mexico on the Christian religion.

To Christianity particularly, the recent rise of the neo-pagan religion of nationalism, its preaching by so-called intellectuals and its acceptance by large numbers of common people in many countries, is indeed the latest and a most serious menace. For nationalism, in its extreme religious aspects, enshrines a fundamentally different doctrine and morality. Humility and love of God Who died for all men is not its corner stone. Its praise is not of humility but of pride, and its gospel is according to Nietzsche, "Love yourselves and hate your enemies."

This type of extreme nationalism has been emphatically condemned by Pope Pius XI, notably in the Encyclical which he addressed in 1937 to the German Bishops. "He who takes race or nationality or state or form of government out of its earthly valuation and makes it the ultimate norm of all, even of religious values, and deifies it with an idolatrous worship,

perverts and falsifies the order of things created and commanded by God." It is "a heresy to speak of a national God, of a national religion." It is "madness to try to confine within the boundaries of a single people, within the narrow blood stream of a single race, God the Creator of the world, the King and Lawgiver of all peoples." It is "a duty to defend the sovereign rights of God against aggressive neo-paganism."

The Pope particularly warns, in the same Encyclical, against nationalist perversion of Christian conceptions. He points out, for example, that "the historic manifestations of a nationality" are not to be interpreted as divine revelation in the Christian sense; that "continued existence of a nationality on earth for an indefinite length of time" is not to be confused with Christian faith in the continuance of individual life after death; that to attribute special "grace" to a single national type "is an error and an open challenge to a fundamental truth of Christianity." Likewise reaffirming the indissoluble connection, in Divine Revelation, between historic Judaism and Christianity, between the Old and the New Testament, the Pope solemnly declares: "This revelation knows no addition from the hand of man, knows above all no substitute and no replacement by arbitrary 'revelations' which certain speakers of the present day wish to derive from the myth of blood and race." Furthermore, the Pope reminds us, "The Church of Christ, which in all ages up to the present time counts more confessors and voluntary martyrs than any other society, does not need to receive instruction from such [nationalist] quarters about heroic purpose and heroic achievement. In the shallow twaddle about Christian humility being self-abasement and unheroic conduct, the disgusting pride of these reformers mocks itself."

Finally, against the modern tendency to deify nationalist heroes and dictators, the Pope utters emphatic protest: "He who, sacrilegiously disregarding the yawning abyss of essential distinction between God and creature, between the God-Man and the children of men, dares to place any mortal, were he the greatest of all times, beside Christ, or worse, above Him and against Him, must be told that he is a false prophet."²⁰

²⁰ Pius XI, Encyclical, *On the Church in Germany*, March 14, 1937.

III

WHY NATIONALISM FLOURISHES IN MODERN TIMES

We have already offered four definitions of nationalism. One, the simplest and most basic of the four, is the *application of patriotism to nationality*, which, rightly understood, is compatible with Catholic Christian doctrine and tradition. The three other definitions, however, are essentially non-Catholic and even anti-Catholic; and yet the three, taken together, describe that extreme nationalism which is rampant today in several countries and which is making headway elsewhere throughout the world. The first of these definitions, we would recall, is *an absolute and exclusive loyalty to the national state, coupled with an intolerance of dissent*. The second is *a feeling of superiority and haughty pride in respect of foreign peoples, coupled with imperialism and belligerency*. The third is a pagan religion, *an adoration of one's nation and its government*.

There has always been, during the long history of mankind, some nationalism. There has always been patriotism. Since time immemorial, there have been diverse nationalities; and there has been application of patriotism to nationality. For centuries, nevertheless, and especially for the centuries from the fourth to the sixteenth, when Catholic Christianity was particularly influential, nationalism, at least in Europe, was generally subordinate to other human loyalties. It was subordinate to local loyalties, to professional loyalties, to imperial loyalties, and to supernatural religious loyalty. These loyalties either cut through nationalities or submerged nationalities. One might still be conscious of one's nationality and loyal to it, but what nationalism there was, being conditioned and qualified by a plurality of other loyalties, could hardly be supreme or exclusive or extreme.

Indeed, it is a noteworthy fact that extreme nationalism was exceptional among the civilized peoples of Europe and Asia throughout all the centuries, since they had become civilized, and down until modern times. Moreover, it continued to be largely exceptional in eastern Europe until the nineteenth century, and in the greater part of the Asiatic continent until the twentieth—our own—century. In other words, *civilized peoples*,

not only civilized Christian peoples but other civilized peoples also, have not, as a rule, been extremely nationalistic until relatively recent times.

This is an important historic fact. But while we should keep it constantly in mind, we may recall another and curiously contrasting fact, to wit, that outside civilized areas and peoples, there has often been an intense and extreme kind of nationalism, a kind customarily termed tribalism. This tribalism is still, at the present moment, a mark of certain so-called "primitive" or "savage" peoples.

Tribalism means a living in tribes, with each tribe occupying a definite area, usually boasting of a blood relationship (real or fancied) among its members, and normally possessing a distinctive language or dialect, a peculiar political organization, peculiar religious beliefs and practices, and a peculiar pattern of social customs and usages, and with each tribe being intolerant of internal dissent or external interference and bent upon training its youth in the "heroic" virtues and for war. Such tribalism involves smaller groups than contemporary nationalism, but in essence it is nationalism. It may be described as extreme nationalism of a "primitive" or "savage" type.

Still another, and very interesting, fact of history is that, as men became more and more civilized, they tended to abandon tribalism (that is, extreme nationalism) and, as we have said, to substitute for it, at least in large part, either a localism which cut through nationality or a religious universalism which united nationalities. And what makes this fact extraordinarily interesting is the further fact that after thousands of years of historic civilization (characterized by both localism and universalism), men have recently been getting extremely nationalistic again. Historically speaking, we are now in a new—a second—stage of intense nationalism, an intense nationalism among supposedly civilized peoples and on a fairly large scale. If primitive tribalism was the original nationalism, then an obvious trend at the present time is toward an advanced tribalism. The history of mankind would thus appear to have been going full circle, out from the tribalism of savagery, around, and back to a nationalistic tribalism in our own age.

Whence comes this new, this extreme, nationalism of our day? Why do we tend to revert to tribalism?

The basic explanation is the relative decline of the popular

influence of supernatural universal religion; and, more specifically, especially as regards Europe and America, the relative decline of the popular influence of Catholic Christianity. For we must face the fact that, at least since the so-called Reformation of the sixteenth century, a relatively large—and growing—number of men and women in Europe and America have been drifting farther and farther away from Catholic faith and tradition and from Catholic influence. Let us suggest in a few sentences how this drift has taken place and what have been its nationalistic consequences.

The drift away from Catholicism meant, in first instance, a repudiation of the centre of unity for all nations, a resulting disruption of Christendom, and a consequent partial nationalizing of Christianity. It meant, next, a weakening of the customary bonds of social solidarity, and a correspondingly new emphasis upon the individual: the breakdown of coöperative agriculture and coöperative industry and the unrestrained rise of individualistic competition and capitalism.

Presently, as the drift away from Catholicism proceeded, it meant a shift of popular interest and concern from other-worldly altruism to this-worldly selfishness. Whence it promoted the process of "secularization," the transference of educational, charitable, and all manner of institutions from ecclesiastical to secular control, from the Church to the State. Thus the State emerged as absolute, as an end in itself, as the supreme Good, a substitute for God. And, under the spell of "natural" and pseudo-scientific doctrines and following the practical examples of England and France, the *national state* became, above every other kind, the state idealized by intellectuals and deified by the multitudes.

We have now reached a further stage in the drift away from Catholicism: the stage when millions of men think only of the national state as the means of regulating an individualism run riot; the stage when they think only of nationalism (whether "communist" or "capitalist") as the object of the supreme religious devotion which their human nature cries out for and yet which they will not pay to the supernatural.

Along with the relative decline of supernatural religion, of Catholic Christianity, there has been evidenced in our own day an unprecedented popular absorption in technology and industrialization and in material and economic affairs, conse-

quent upon an enormous growth and extension of machinery and machine-production, the latest phase of the so-called Industrial Revolution. And this has proved specially conducive to the spread and intensification of nationalism.

To be sure, the amazing modern development of technology and the industrial arts does not constitute, of itself, an intellectual revolution. Of itself, it performs no thinking, and is neither good nor bad, neither Christian nor nationalist. It is essentially mechanical and material. It merely provides superior means and greater opportunities for the dissemination of any ideas which individuals or groups entertain. What has rendered it specially conducive to nationalism is the historical fact that it began in an important way when nationalism was already becoming an influential intellectual movement largely divorced from Christian principles and tradition and directed toward a naturalist and materialist reordering of government and society. From the outset, therefore, while the new industrial machinery has stimulated a marked growth of a kind of internationalism—a notable extension of trade in goods, persons, and ideas (including Christian ideas) across national frontiers—it has served even more to consolidate nationalism within particular countries and to export it thence to all parts of the world. Obvious international aspects of the Industrial Revolution must not blind our eyes to its impressively nationalist implications. To date, at any rate, the significance of the Revolution would seem to be much greater within nations than between them.

The Industrial Revolution began in the national state of England, whose statesmen at the time were very nationalist and very eager to increase "the wealth of the nation." When, a generation later, it penetrated into France, it entered another national state and one in which the economic nationalism of Colbert, of the revolutionary Jacobins, and of Napoleon was a lively tradition. Both in England and in France, the new mechanical industrialization, with its attendant novel modes of transportation and communication, was the singularly effective means of consolidating and strengthening an existent national state; and the practical example of what a strengthened and consolidated national state like England or France could do to promote the collective wealth of its citizenry was not lost on other peoples. These, too, must have national states to fos-

ter the industrialization of their special countries and the economic prosperity of themselves. And thus it has transpired that as soon as the Industrial Revolution spread to lands lacking strong national states, it served to create a demand for just such states, and that as soon as new national states were actually brought into existence, they tended to sponsor more industrialization—and more economic nationalism. This has been the case with Germany and Italy, with Russia, with the succession states of the Austrian and Ottoman empires, and, also, outside Europe, with the United States, the Latin American republics, the self-governing Dominions of the British Empire, and Japan.

Economic nationalism of the present day represents an extension of the principle of economic competition—which, we should remember, is historically associated with the drift away from Catholic principles. It is an extension of competitive industry and capitalism from the individual to the nation. If, perhaps, there is less selfish competition nowadays between individuals within a nation, there is certainly more between nations. Every national state pursues economic policies calculated to profit its own people, usually at the expense of other peoples. In an extreme case, such as Soviet Russia, there is virtually a “closed state,” artificially shut off from normal international trade and investment, and consecrated by its government to a strictly materialistic philosophy and to a national economy so planned as to foster industrial as well as agricultural self-sufficiency and at the same time to preserve exclusively for natives, on a socialized basis, whatever benefits may accrue. In certain other cases, such as Germany and Italy, the national state may be relatively less “closed” and not avowedly materialistic or communistic, but self-sufficiency is its economic goal, and an economic nationalism hardly less extreme than Russia’s the means of reaching that goal. To the same end and with similar policies, governing groups strive in many other countries. Almost every nation imposes high protective tariffs and rigid restrictions on immigration, to the advantage, ostensibly, of natives and to the disadvantage of foreigners; and in the pursuit of economic self-sufficiency and material gain, strong nations resort to imperialistic rivalry with each other for the conquest and exploitation of weak and “backward” peoples. Such nationalistic imperialism not only intensi-

fies the rivalry and competition between nations; it immensely heightens the spirit of national pride within a conquering nation, and eventually produces among the conquered people an embitterment and an unnaturally developed national consciousness, which in turn brings out less agreeable traits of human character—over-sensitiveness, hysteria, quarrelsomeness, deceit, etc. No people can remain subjected to an imperialistic power for a long period of time without developing some of these unpleasant characteristics, which pass into proverbs and become again a cause of nationalistic antagonisms.

As the Industrial Revolution has progressed in an age of lessening Christian influence, and extended from its original local habitat over the world and been everywhere intensified, it has served at first to subordinate local economy to national economy, and then to exalt national economy above world economy. Nowadays, in the latest stage of technological advance, what otherwise might have been employed most efficaciously to realize the Christian ideal of the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God, is actually the chief and most potent means of obscuring that ideal and promoting instead an intense national egocentricity.

One effect of modern industrialization has proved particularly favorable to mass acceptance of extreme nationalism. This is the rapid urbanization of industrial nations, attended by an extraordinary mobility of population and the formation of a numerous and precarious proletariat. At first thought, this might seem more favorable to the growth of wider and more tolerant points of view than to the spread and intensification of nationalism. Such is far from being the case, however. The very fact that masses of mankind have become chronically migratory, ever moving from country to city and from city to city, involves the breaking of local ties and the destruction of local cultures. Thus, a void is created in the popular heart, which formerly was filled by local traditions and attachments, with their hallowed memories of the past; and the way is prepared for nationalist propaganda, for the seizure of the collective consciousness by demagogues and agitators. The appealing propaganda may be of an extreme internationalism as well as an extreme nationalism, but both these isms are only different aspects of the same phenomenon: the same substitution of a superficial ideology for the natural interests and enthusiasm

that spring from a properly balanced cultural life based on ancestral soil and on long tested tradition. The masses who are uprooted from the soil and blown in heaps about the streets of big cities—the *déracinés*, as the French call them—quickly lose any local consciousness and loyalty. They are ready, and often anxious, only for that centralization, cultural, economic, and political, which leads more or less inevitably to the adoption of strong nationalistic policies.

A bad situation is made worse by the attendant circumstance that, with the rapid growth of a mobile and urbanized population, there has been an increasing divorcement of the masses not only from ancestral traditions but also from any ownership of private property. Wealth—or capital—has been enormously magnified by contemporary industrialization, but instead of being more widely diffused it has tended to become concentrated in relatively few hands. The few own much property; the many own nothing. This, of course, is quite contrary to Christian moral teaching, which, while defending the institution of private property, has always stressed the importance of it for everybody. The outcome is that, with the rejection of Christian teaching and the acceptance of a more or less unadulterated materialism alike by classes and by the masses, the former do their utmost to preserve for themselves a monopoly of this world's goods, while the latter readily fall prey to demagogic advocates of some socialistic or nationalistic Utopia. It would be impossible for Marxian Communism to flourish were it not for the support accorded it by multitudes of propertyless persons. And an extreme nationalism, whether utilized by demagogues for personal aggrandizement or espoused by the propertied classes as a defense against Communism, can be made to appeal to the masses as an attractive alternative means of bringing about a greater socialization.

To a similar end have contributed certain major agencies of popular propaganda with which technology and the industrial arts have endowed our age—national schools, national armies, national newspapers, cinemas, and radios. Without the Industrial Revolution, it would be impossible to obtain funds requisite for the establishment and maintenance of comprehensive systems of free popular schooling. Without the Revolution, it would be impossible to take the youth of a whole nation away from productive employment and put them

in an army for two or three years, feeding and clothing them at public expense and equipping them with transport and arms. Without the Revolution, it would be impossible to provide each nation with cheap newspapers, cinemas, and radios, or to enable agitators to flood an entire country with written and oral propaganda.

To be sure, all such perfected agencies of education and propaganda are potential blessings to mankind. They might be put to excellent use—religious, cultural, social, international—and in measure they have been. In greater measure, nevertheless, they are put to narrowly nationalist use, and naturally so, in existing circumstances. For they have been developed and perfected at the very time when nationalism has been possessing the minds and hearts of “intellectuals” and of the masses, overcoming localism and submerging Christian universalism, and when the national state has been acquiring sovereign authority in concerns both material and spiritual. It is, therefore, under the auspices of the national state, and subject to pressure from the most nationalistic element of its citizenry, that not only armies are maintained but also schools and all other agencies of popular education. Every nation now has an elaborate school system, in which children may, perhaps, learn something of foreign peoples and world affairs, but in which all children may be indoctrinated with supreme unquestioning 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 comment it offers. Every nation now has cinemas which flick nationalist pictures at the popular eye, and radios which din nationalist speeches into the popular ear. In many countries the national state has a monopoly of radio-broadcasting and exercises a close supervision of cinema and press as well as of schools, and in some countries the most significant post in the government is now the “ministry of national propaganda.”

One obvious result is to give free rein to nationalist propaganda (whether “communist” or “capitalist”) and to check whatever may be deemed inimical to it. Another, and broader, result is to confirm the tendency toward psychological uniformity within each nation, which the mobility and urbanization of modern large-scale industry promotes, and which eventuates

in a national "mob-psychology." Thereby the masses of a nation are prepared to follow a demagogue, to be intolerant of dissenting minorities, and to acquiesce in, if not to welcome, a nationalist dictatorship.

The contemporary trend toward nationalist dictatorship is explicable, in general, as an outcome of the "mob-psychology" just mentioned and of the opportunity it affords to an ambitious and resourceful demagogue. It has been stimulated and strengthened, however, by certain doctrines and beliefs which have had a special appeal in our age. One is the Nietzschean and anti-Christian doctrine of "the superman," an expression of that intellectual pessimism and that snobbish contempt for the masses which are apt to grip the disillusioned skeptic and make him despair of any improvement in human affairs except through the chance appearance of some genius of ruthless will and forcefulness. Another is the vogue of the materialistic and atheistic philosophy of Karl Marx, with the belief on the part of many of its disciples that the only practical way of forwarding it is through a proletarian dictatorship, and with a corresponding conviction on the part of many of its adversaries that the only practical way of halting it is through a nationalist dictatorship. Third, and perhaps more widely influential than Nietzschean or even Marxian doctrine, is the growing popular devotion to "efficiency," the notion that economic enterprise is the highest aim of human endeavor and that therefore the methods of "big business" should be applied to the "big government" of a national state. What once was extolled as the safeguard of personal initiative and popular democracy is now denounced as the pettiness of partisan politics and the inefficiency of parliamentary government. Altogether, the masses and the classes alike tend to yield individual responsibility and to expect the appearance of a "strong man" in each nation—a Lenin or Stalin, a Mussolini, or a Hitler—which puts a premium on nationalist demagogues and dictators.

Associated with the trend toward nationalist dictatorship is a tendency to exalt might above right. This springs, in part, from the glorification of past military achievements of one's nation and one's national heroes, a glorification especially noticeable in national schools, and from a resulting reliance on military strength to maintain and advance national life in full vigor. It springs also, in part, from certain erroneous and anti-

Christian ideas widely held in the present age: (a) the pagan teaching of Nietzsche that humility and patience are vices and that the highest virtues are forcefulness and pride; (b) the pseudo-scientific interpretation of Darwin's hypothesis of biological evolution as "proof" that all progress depends on a struggle for existence and a survival of the fittest; and (c) the insistence of Marx and his Communist followers that every historical event is determined, not by spiritual factors and human coöperation, but by class-conflict and material might.

There is still another semi-intellectual vogue in our age which helps to explain a peculiar type of extreme nationalism—the vogue of racialism. This springs from the work of a considerable number of non-Catholic "intellectuals" of the nineteenth century, who denied the essential oneness of the human race and asserted the "scientific" character of racial differences and of "eugenics." Gradually it was borne in upon the popular mind, not only that races differ from one another in color, white or black or yellow, not only that they differ in complexion and skull-shape, blonde or brunet, long-headed or round-headed, but that they differ from one another in intelligence and capability and virtue, that some are "superior" and others "inferior." Furthermore, with even less justification, the notion became widespread that linguistic groups, that is, nationalities, are distinct races in the biological sense. There began to be much talk about the Germanic or Nordic "race," about the Italian or Mediterranean "race," about the Anglo-Saxon as opposed to the Celtic "race," and very much talk about the Semitic "race."

If every nationality is a separate "race," and if some races are inferior to others, then obviously there is biological justification for the conclusion that some nations are superior to others and are entitled to take heroic steps to preserve their racial purity and with it their superiority. Though such a conclusion is based on assumptions whose improbability and even downright falsity are now pretty well established by real scientists, it has been widely accepted and in some countries has been expressly applied to nationalism. Wherever racialism is applied to nationalism, the latter is rendered more boastful and proud, more intolerant, and more anti-Christian as well as anti-Jewish.

In fine, the contemporary world is full of intense, extreme

nationalism by reason of strange and unsound trends in modern thought and action: the trend toward emphasizing race and identifying it with nationality; the trend toward exalting force; the trend toward demagoguery and dictatorship; the trend toward psychological uniformity and intellectual regimentation within a nation; the trend toward absorption in material affairs; and, fundamental to them all, the trend away from supernatural and Catholic Christianity.

IV

THE REFASHIONING OF NATIONAL ATTITUDES

An intelligent and right attitude must be refashioned in respect of patriotism and nationalism. This is incumbent upon all persons of good will. It is incumbent particularly and above all upon Catholic Christians, and upon Catholic Christians in the United States.

In refashioning such an attitude, Catholics should take the lead. This they cannot do, however, unless they have an accurate knowledge of what the Church teaches about patriotism, nationalism, and the brotherhood of man, and a firm will to translate those teachings into practice. Before Catholics can perform the rôle which the Church demands of them—and the world expects—they must be sure that their own patriotism is really Christian, and that they themselves do not, either wittingly or unwittingly, espouse a nationalism which is un-Christian or anti-Christian.

The refashioning of national attitudes is primarily a matter of education, and education, like charity, should begin (though not end) at home. It must begin, indeed, with one's self and thereafter be extended to one's immediate fellows, and then, as far as possible, to one's own nationality. Relatively little can be achieved by occasional conferences of internationally-minded persons in some foreign city. Even less can be achieved by seeking and finding in some foreign country an awful example of nationalistic excess. Wholesale and uncharitable denunciation of other peoples serves but to confirm them in their ways and to react unfavorably upon the denouncers. The only effective means of achieving anything truly and permanently

worth while is to strive to imbue one's own people with a right attitude toward patriotism and nationalism and thereby to render it an exemplar to the world.

Hence the first task before Catholics in the United States is to appreciate the situation in this country and especially among Catholic Americans. This country, we may say without boastfulness but quite sincerely, now occupies a remarkably strategic position in international affairs. It is a far greater force for good or for ill in the world than ever before. Similarly, the Catholic Church now newly holds a balance of power and influence within the United States, and it can be, if its communicants so will, a largely decisive factor in shaping American public policy—and perhaps world policy—in accordance with Christian principles and ideals.

Unfortunately, there is a wide gulf between what can be and what is. It must regretfully be confessed that many Catholics in this country see little or no connection between their profession of religion and the attitudes they assume in matters of patriotism and nationalism. Many are as raucously nationalistic, as fiercely chauvinistic, and as intolerant toward Negroes, Jews, Japanese, and all manner of "foreigners" as any materialistic pagan or any Ku Klux Klan fanatic. Many, moreover, seem to submerge their Catholic religious loyalty in a loyalty to the particular nationality from which they derive, Irish or German or Italian or Polish or French Canadian, and often to such an extent as to negate the teaching of the Church in respect of peace, justice, and charity, and to champion some ultra-nationalistic movement abroad. No one can expect the United States to become more Christian, if professed Catholics become less so. No one can expect the United States to be preserved from pagan nationalism—or Communism—unless its Catholic citizens do their part. They should be leaders, and not mere followers. To this end, they must know and live their Faith in all its ramifications. They must apply it, individually, and collectively, to public as well as to private life. They must understand the pressing problems of today, not least the problems of contemporary nationalism, and must meet them in accordance with age-long Catholic principles.

In determining just what should be the proper national attitude that Catholic Americans should help to fashion—or to re-fashion—we must be mindful of several general considerations:

1. We should not aim at the destruction of all nationalism. That would be as impractical as it would be undesirable. It would contravene the realities of human life and the teachings of the Catholic Church. Both patriotism and consciousness of nationality—the two constituent elements in nationalism—are coëxtensive with man's habitat and are older than any written records. They have been, in human experience, ubiquitous and universal, and, having been so, they will in all probability continue so to be. They are, in fact, natural with man; and like all other traits of human nature, they can be controlled and directed, but not suppressed. "The fact remains," as a Swiss professor has pointed out, "that this phenomenon [of national patriotism] cannot be eliminated by any argument whatsoever or by any procedure whatsoever, not even by economic pleas and achievements. Direct observation proves that, free choice being assured and material conditions being normal, economic interest is subordinated to sentiment. It is true of nationality as of love: sentiment comes first, and it is only after a blow that one tries to reason about it. . . . It is only on the excrescences of nationalism that conscious control can be exerted."²¹

We should not wish to get rid of national patriotism, even if we could. As a thoughtful English writer has said, it "is not only explicable as a national sentiment, but justifiable as a reasonable faith."²² Particularly is it justifiable as an antidote to that poisonous form of materialistic internationalism which would reduce all mankind to a regimented mass and direct it toward a purely material end. In praise of national patriotism, for just this reason, another English publicist has written at some length and quite convincingly: "It is a safeguard of self-respect against the insidious onslaughts of materialistic cosmopolitanism. It is the sling in the hands of weak undeveloped peoples against the Goliath of material progress. . . . Nationality is more than a creed or a doctrine or a code of conduct, it is an instinctive attachment; it recalls an atmosphere of precious memories, of vanished parents and friends, of old custom, of reverence, of home, and a sense of the brief span of human life as a link between immemorial generations, spreading backwards and forwards. . . . The road to true international-

²¹ A. von Gennep, *Traité Comparatif des Nationalités*, Vol. I (1922), pp. 12, 13.

²² John Oakesmith, *Race and Nationality* (1919), p. 116.

ism lies through nationalism, not through levelling men down to a grey indistinct cosmopolitanism, but by appealing to the best elements in the corporate inheritance of each nation."²³

2. We should not think of "nationalism" and "internationalism" as antithetical. Indeed, we should be internationally as well as nationally minded. As Americans we are national; as Catholics and human beings we are international and supranational. There is, of course, an exaggerated and dangerous kind of internationalism, just as there is an exaggerated and dangerous kind of nationalism. But the internationalism which is compatible with Christian teaching and which the Catholic Church exemplifies and positively enjoins, is simply an honest and reasoned respect for the rights of all nations and for a pacific world order. It involves an appreciation of the ties of blood, nature, interest, and culture which knit together individuals and nations, indeed the whole human race. It calls for recognition of the claims of humanity, as well as of one's own nationality or locality, and for sympathetic regard for serious efforts at international coöperation. Particularly does it call for a lessening of economic nationalism, for a halt on nationalistic imperialism, for a reduction of national armaments, for an eradication of national and racial prejudices, and, in general, for the reversal of policies and attitudes which militate against justice and charity in the mutual relationship of peoples and in the advance of common civilization.

Christian internationalism presupposes, in our modern world, a sincere loyalty of the individual to his national state, a cherishing by him of his national language and his national traditions, a lively patriotism within him. It is thus not opposed to Christian patriotism. Rather, it supplements and tempers the latter. On the other hand, Christian patriotism must lead to, and be crowned by, Christian internationalism. "When all has been restored," says Pope Benedict XV, "according to the order prescribed by justice and charity, and peoples have been reconciled to one another, it is most desirable that all states, putting aside all their mutual suspicions, should unite to form one association, or, even better, one family, both for the defense of their respective liberties and for the maintenance

²³ A. E. Zimmern, *Nationality and Government* (1919), pp. 53, 54, 77, 78.

of the human social order.”²⁴ In the face of this and many similar admonitions of other Sovereign Pontiffs, Catholics cannot afford to scoff at “internationalism,” or to join hands with those who maintain that the nation is an end in itself or that national claims are superior to those of humanity.

3. We should not fall victim to words. “Nationalism” is a word of many meanings and connotations, and so is “internationalism.” There is a Christian nationalism, and an anti-Christian nationalism. Likewise there is a Christian internationalism, and an anti-Christian internationalism. We must be very careful to discriminate between the things themselves, and not to be deluded by the same name for different things. A man may call himself a nationalist and have a truly Christian attitude toward the matter. Or, perhaps more commonly nowadays, a man who styles himself a nationalist may have a most un-Christian attitude. The chief difficulty here—and one which we must avoid—is the tendency of the former type of “nationalist” to imagine that in a common title he has a bond of union with the “nationalist” of the latter type and that he should therefore accept him as an ally, even as a leader, and make joint cause with him. A like difficulty is presented by different uses of the word “internationalist.” In both cases, and in every instance, we must be careful to base our attitude on the thing described rather than on a mere word.

“Patriotism” is also a word much used—and much abused. It has a fine sound and implies a sacred sentiment. In the present Report we have repeatedly employed the word in a Christian sense to denote “Christian patriotism” or “Christian nationalism.” We must point out, however, that some of the most extreme nationalists exploit the word and not infrequently delude a large section of the public into thinking that sheer pagan nationalism must be right because it is given a sacred name. No one likes to be called unpatriotic but it should be a badge of honor rather than of shame to be termed unpatriotic by persons who caricature or outrage real Christian patriotism.

What *the thing* called Christian patriotism (or Christian nationalism) actually is, we have set forth in Part I of the present Report.²⁵ It is, in brief, loyalty to one’s country or na-

²⁴ Benedict XV, Encyclical, *Pacem*, May 23, 1920.

²⁵ See especially pp. 7, 8, 13, above.

tion conformably with the law of Christ. It is this kind of patriotism (or nationalism) which should inspire the national attitude of Americans, particularly of Catholic Americans.

What non-Christian or anti-Christian patriotism (or nationalism) actually is, we have explained in Part II under three heads: (a) it is an absolute and exclusive loyalty to the national state, coupled with an intolerance of dissent; (b) it is a feeling of superiority and haughty pride in respect of foreign peoples, coupled with imperialism and belligerency; (c) it is a pagan religion, an adoration of one's nation and its government.²⁶ It is these kinds of patriotism (or nationalism) which should be repudiated by Americans, particularly by Catholic Americans.

What Christian internationalism actually is, we have indicated in the preceding section of the present Report.²⁷ It is a just and charitable recognition of the rights of all other nations and of the claims of humanity as a whole. It is, let us repeat, thoroughly compatible with Christian patriotism but quite at variance with the contemporary trend of non-Christian and anti-Christian nationalism.

There is, besides, as we have said, an exaggerated and essentially anti-Christian internationalism. This is the materialistic internationalism (or cosmopolitanism) preached by Marxian Communists and some so-called Rationalists, which would abolish all individual, local, and national distinctions and would reduce all mankind to a regimented mass, made to think and behave as one and directed, like cogs in an industrial machine, toward a purely material end. This kind (not to be confused with praiseworthy Christian internationalism) has repeatedly been scored by Catholic authorities and latterly condemned by Popes Benedict XV and Pius XI. Said Benedict XV in 1920, soon after the establishment of the Communist régime in Russia: "We see ripening before our eyes the idea which the most dangerous fomentors of disorder wish for and hope to see realized, the advent of a universal republic, based on the principles of absolute equality among men and the community of all goods, from which would be eliminated all national distinctions, and which would recognize neither the father's authority over

²⁶ See pp. 14-20, above.

²⁷ See especially pp. 34, 35, above.

his children, nor that of governments over citizens, nor of God over mankind." ²⁸

4. We should not sacrifice permanent general principles to apparent exigencies of the passing moment. The danger of doing so is very real and the temptation strong right now when, to many observers, including many Catholics, a life-and-death struggle seems to impend, if not to be actually joined, in Europe between the forces of Marxian Communism and those of extreme nationalism. Communism is avowedly materialistic and atheistic, and as such it has been pronounced by Pope Pius XI "the first, the greatest, and most widespread menace." ²⁹ Catholics are clearly obligated to oppose the spread of Marxian Communism. But this is not to say that they should rely upon anti-Christian nationalism to ward off the evils of Communism. That kind of nationalism has been condemned, no less than Communism, by papal pronouncements. The complete triumph of Communism would undoubtedly spell disaster for Christianity and the Catholic Church, but so also would the complete triumph of the nationalistic paganism now widely preached.

The differences between Marxian Communism as practiced by the Russian government, and extreme nationalism as inculcated by high governmental officials in Germany (for example), are now more of degree than of kind. To be sure, the formal ideologies are different. The one takes its central philosophy from Karl Marx; the other, from Friedrich Nietzsche. The one stresses class-conflict and economic determinism; the other, national conflict and racial determinism. Yet the practical operations and effects of the two are strikingly similar. Both are expressions of a widespread contemporary revolt against Christian faith and morals, a more or less logical outcome of the de-Christianizing process of modern times. An integral part of their respective philosophies is Hegel's doctrine of state-worship. Both are totalitarian. Both are despotic. Both seek to train the youth and to regiment the masses in supreme and exclusive loyalty to a régime that is essentially pagan.

²⁸ Benedict XV, *Motu proprio, Bonum Sane*, July 25, 1920.

²⁹ Pius XI, Address at the opening of the International Catholic Press Exposition at Rome, May 12, 1936. For the culminating indictment and condemnation of Atheistic Communism by Pius XI, see his Encyclical, *Divini Redemptoris*, of March 19, 1937.

Both incite to violence and armed conflict. If the one is more aggressively communistic in theory, more expressly determined to abolish private property utterly, the other prides itself on its socialism and is hardly a respecter of rights of private property. If the one is more frankly materialistic and more belligerently atheistic, the other is scarcely less contemptuous of the supernaturalism, or subversive of the moral universalism, of the Christian religion. The one, whatever may be its profession of internationalism, is in practice ever more nationalist; and so, too, of course, is the other. To line up Catholics with racial pagan nationalists in order to overcome Marxian Communism is as dangerous—and as futile—as to line them up with Communists in order to combat extreme nationalism.

5. We should not neglect or minimize the fundamental importance of religion as an indispensable safeguard alike of sane nationalism and of sane internationalism against the vagaries and excesses of either. Religion is such a safeguard for a twofold reason.

(a) *Religion is the parent of culture.* No culture, properly speaking, exists upon the earth today which has not had its origin in some form of religion and in some attempt to externalize religious beliefs by their translation into patterns of human conduct. If we look upon culture as the ensemble of intellectual, artistic, and moral traditions that have become part of the life of a people, we find that religion has usually, if not invariably, played a stellar rôle in developing the ensemble. This applies to primitive cultures, from that of the South Sea Islanders to that of the Amerindians in Central America. It applies to advanced cultures of ancient Egypt, Greece, China, and Rome. It applies to European cultures of today.

The Christian religion is particularly and necessarily cultural in its effect. Even in its most diluted form, as in the case of certain minor sects, it has still played its part in evoking the cultural gifts of song or oratory among primitive communities. When it attains its full development, as in the flourishing of Catholic parish life or in the flowering of monasticism, we find that Christianity unites soil, people, and civilizing arts in a synthesis of unparalleled social stability and richness. It makes for a flowering of the finest kind of patriotism and also for the fruition of the best sort of internationalism.

(b) *Religion, especially the supernatural religion of Christ,*

is unifying. It supplies from revelation as well as from nature the supreme belief in a God and an order transcending the created world, and, in so doing, is the principle of unity for a mankind that cannot find such a principle merely in itself, much less can dig it out of the material world about us. The destruction of religion would involve the destruction of two elements which are essential for the permanence of any form of human society, whether national or international: the continuity of human institutions, and the dignity of human personality. That we actually have both national and international environments, an inheritance of experiences and institutions which mold our lives and infinitely enlarge the feeble powers and limited personal experience and inventiveness of the individual, is due to that continuity of life and thought which is particularly fostered and safeguarded by the Christian religion.

The terminus of all that environment's activity, however, is the human person. Destroy the dignity of human personality, by destroying the responsibility of his soul to its Creator, and you destroy the very meaning of the nation, considered as the individual's generous and willing response, by a collective consciousness and will, to the environment transmitted to him from his ancestors. For the cynic, the gangster, the materialistic atheist, there can be no sense, for instance, in our American national traditions—the flag, Mount Vernon, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Gettysburg Address. Nor can there be to such irreligious individuals any but a perverted sense of the cultural traditions of humanity at large. The appeal of the past is to persons, to the spiritual side of man, not to abstract groups of interests. And the claim of the future on our loyalty and self-sacrifice is likewise, to take the place of the Divine likeness in man, not to his purely material nature.

Irreligion, therefore, in order to ensure the permanence of group life—or, to be more specific, the permanence in our modern age of the national state which has been subordinated to strictly materialistic ends—is obliged to seek a substitute for that dignity of the human personality to which religion alone has the key. There must be some absolute, to take the place of the transcendent sanction of religion. This absolute may be the so-called national will, conceived as an end in itself; or it may be the illusion of racial purity and racial supremacy; or class warfare and class loyalty; or the militaristic absolute; or

one of many other standards which have been raised as a rallying point for nationalistic or Communistic enthusiasm. But all such concepts, however vigorous they may be in welding together, whether by political might or by psychological appeal, the discordant interests of a group, inevitably bring international discord in their train. They are essentially separative. Having rejected God, the sole principle of ultimate unity, they must fall prey to the disruptive forces that they unloose.³⁰ In the meantime, domestic tyranny and foreign war are the price.

The lesson is obvious. There must be a renewal and extension of man's faith in, and adherence to, that supernatural religion which for nineteen hundred years has pointed the right goal of all human groupings, whether national, international, or local, and which holds the right balance between them. There must be a wider and deeper recognition of the truth that that supernatural religion is the begetter of genuine culture and likewise the indispensable guarantor of personal dignity and world harmony. There must be, in the words of Pope Pius X, a "restoration of all things in Christ."

6. We should not resign ourselves to a fatalistic attitude in respect of the extreme anti-Christian nationalism which surrounds us and which undoubtedly is now gaining ground, nor despair of our ability to make some contribution to its re-fashioning in accordance with Christian principles. This latter is admittedly an ambitious objective, and its attainment may well appear, in existing circumstances, extraordinarily difficult, if not utterly impossible. On the other hand, however, it is hard to believe either that the human race wills to destroy itself or that Divine Providence guides it to destruction. It is much easier to believe that before pagan and materialistic nationalism shall have rounded out its circle of selfishness, violence, and ruin, other forces will have supervened recalling men to sanity, infusing nationalism with supernatural and Christian principles, and revivifying the age-long human aspiration for

³⁰ "Take away this base [faith in God and fear of God], and with it all moral law falls, and there is no remedy left to stop the gradual but inevitable destruction of nationalities, families, the state, civilization itself."—Pius XI, Encyclical, *Caritate Christi*, May 3, 1932. "No coercive power of the state, no merely earthly ideals, though these be high and noble in themselves, can in the long run replace the final and decisive motives which come from belief in God and Christ."—Pius XI, Encyclical, *On the Church in Germany*, March 14, 1937.

brotherhood and peace. As Pope Benedict XV reminded us shortly after the last World War: "Besides the motive of charity, there is at the end of a war a motive of necessity which seems to direct events toward a general reconciliation among nations. The natural relations of reciprocal dependence and good offices that link nations together have become closer than ever in virtue of the growing sentiment of humanity and in virtue of the marvellously greater facility of commercial intercourse."³¹

We should remember, moreover, that the rampant extreme nationalism of the contemporary age is not of long duration in the annals of mankind and that it is in large part a result of conscious education and purposeful propaganda. People can be trained in supranational Christianity and for peace as well as in pagan nationalism and for war. And not only is supranational Christianity older and more enduring than any form of modern nationalism; it has had, and still has, teachers and disciples quite as willing to make supreme sacrifice for their transcendent cause.

The foregoing general considerations Catholic Americans must have intelligently and constantly in mind in any specific effort they make, individually or collectively, to refashion national attitudes. They must be sure, first of all, that they themselves have the proper Christian attitude. Then they should endeavor, by example and precept, to communicate that attitude to their co-religionists and fellow citizens.

The means of refashioning national attitudes is educational. We must educate ourselves in the matter. We must likewise educate our fellows, and especially the younger generation. And education, in our modern world, has many ramifications and instrumentalities. None of these should be neglected.

Basic is *Christian* education—a training from infancy, within home, church, and school, in Christian faith, Christian morals, and Christian worship. For education involves not merely the acquisition of facts and the establishment of right mutual attitudes, but training in the right ways of life and participation in the public worship of God in the mystical Christ—the liturgy of the Catholic Church. This liturgy is not merely

³¹ Benedict XV, Encyclical *Pacem*, May 23, 1920.

human effort in public prayer. It is the power of God in Christ, and it contributes immeasurably to the building up and sanctification of all group loyalties—of the family, the vocational and neighborly group, the local community, the nation, the international federation, the world order.

Not only priests and seminarians but all teachers in Catholic schools and colleges and all editors of Catholic periodicals should concern themselves with the practical work of uprooting national and racial prejudice and implanting a thoroughly Christian patriotism and internationalism. Much can be done in schools, moreover, by providing the right sort of textbooks and collateral reading, particularly in religion, history, and civics, and by stimulating the formation of study clubs, especially in colleges and high schools, and directing their attention to problems of nationalism and internationalism. In particular, there should be widespread cooperation of both clergy and laity with the Catholic Association for International Peace.

Nor should informed Catholics neglect to cooperate with right-minded fellow citizens (regardless of the latter's religious affiliations) in any serious effort to allay nationalistic passion. Catholics, no less than non-Catholics, should make their influence felt in their locality—with their local school teachers and school boards, with their local newspapers, with their local cinemas and broadcasting stations, and with their local clubs and societies. To all such agencies of popular propaganda and education, sincere and informed Catholics should devote some attention and should endeavor to make them agencies of a nationalism that shall be shorn of evils and perils and rendered compatible with Christian principles and teachings.

In the political sphere, Catholics should be on their guard against "patrioteers" and nationalistic demagogues, and critical of public policies tending unduly to exalt the nation at the expense of localism or of internationalism. One's national state should be abroad an exemplar, and not a violator, of international justice. At home it should be the guarantor, and not the destroyer, of the corporate rights of family, guild, and church. It should foster not a single exclusive loyalty, but a plurality of loyalties such as characterized the so-called Christian ages. Especially solicitous must Catholics be to secure and preserve the liberty of individual and collective Christian education

against the tyranny or indifference of civil government and of champions not only of communistic materialism but also of exclusive nationalism.

Altogether, the end to be sought in the refashioning of national attitudes through education and propaganda and political action is not the destruction of nationalism but rather its purification. It is to be purified of paganism, of materialism, of racialism, of belligerency, intolerance, and boastful pride. It is to be infused with justice and charity. In the words of Pope Pius XI: "Not only our acts as individuals but also as groups and as nations must conform with the eternal law of God. In fact, it is much more important that the acts of a nation follow God's law, since on the nation rests a much greater responsibility for the consequences of its acts than on the individual."³²

The refashioning of national attitudes must clearly be inspired by, and directed toward, the goal enunciated by Pope Leo XIII some fifty years ago: "As peace is born from order, it follows that for states as for individuals concord rests principally on justice and charity. Obviously it is in the care one takes to injure no one, to respect the sacred rights of others, to practice mutual confidence and benevolence, that we must look for the strong and immutable bonds of concord, the virtue of which is so efficacious that it has the power to destroy the very germs of enmity and jealousy."³³

In these modern utterances of the Holy See, we have confirmation of the continuing vitality and prescience of that Divine Institution which, through the centuries, while fostering an ethical patriotism, has been a constant bulwark against pagan tribal nationalism as against all other aberrations of human thought and conduct. With such confirmation, we are heartened, even in the midst of the contemporary flood tide of un-Christian and anti-Christian developments, to strive the harder to apply the parable of the Good Samaritan to international as well as to individual relations, and thus eventually to realize the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God.

³² Pius XI, Encyclical, *Ubi Arcano Dei*, December 23, 1922.

³³ Leo XIII, *Consistorial Allocution*, February 11, 1889.

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STUDY OUTLINE ON PATRIOTISM, NATIONALISM AND THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN

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STUDY CLUB COMMITTEE)

Lesson I

(Introduction and Section I)

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1. Principles of Church relating to "the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God," and "a common Christendom"; past and present deviations from these principles; basic causes of these departures.
2. The Christian concept of national patriotism; value of right use of patriotism; evils from its misuse. Views of Pope Pius XI on false nationalism. Difference between Christian and anti-Christian nationalism and application of each. Ideas concerning nationalism in ancient and medieval times.
3. Nationality in relation to language, national tradition, race. Nationality in the United States considered in these three aspects. Interpretation of "self-determination of peoples." The Papacy as a national, international and supranational institution. Statements of Pope Leo XIII on unity of nations.

PAPERS

1. National versus International Welfare. Nationalism as a Cause of War. Good and Bad Effects of Nationalism Within a Country. Race and Nationalism. Patriotism as a Form of Nationalism. The International and Supranational Teachings of the Church. Review of Pope Pius XI Encyclical, *Caritate Christi*, May 3, 1932.

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(Section II)

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2. Superior attitudes in nations. Exploitation of weaker peoples. Economic nationalism. National self-sufficiency. Armament rivalry between nations. National spirit in Europe before, during and since the World War. Letter of Pope Benedict XV (1917) to heads of belligerent nations. Pronouncements of Pope Pius XI on national rivalries.
3. Nationalism as a religion. Revival of neo-paganism in nationalist countries. Encyclical of Pope Pius XI to German Bishops, 1937. Deification of nationalist heroes and dictators. Nationalist perversion of Christian conceptions.

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1. Statements of recent Popes regarding Nationalism. Religion as a Factor in Development of Nationalism. Attitudes of Racial Superiority and their Effects. National Characteristics as Influenced by Geography, Religion, Education, History, etc. Nationalism in the United States. Nationalist Movement in Ireland. Effects of Reformation on Nationalism.

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2. Extreme nationalism versus Marxian Communism. Religion as a safeguard in questions of nationalism and internationalism. Forces of international discord. The triumph of supranational Christianity and Peace over pagan nationalism and war. Necessity of Christian education. Methods of promoting right thinking and action on national and international problems. Sincere application of ideas found in "the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God."

PAPERS

1. Why Nationalism Flourishes Today. History of Rise of Nationalism in Some Specific Country, Citing Effects on Country Itself and on Other Nations. Influence of National Movements in European Countries on the United States. Nationalism as a Factor in International Relations. Relation of Capitalism to Nationalism in Europe.
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(Section IV)

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3. The press, school, radio and movies as agencies of nationalist propaganda. Anti-Christian doctrine of "the superman." Materialistic and atheistic Marxian philosophy. The vogue of racialism and intellectuality. The trend toward demagoguery and dictatorship. Anti-Catholicism and anti-Semitism. General national trends away from the supernatural and Catholicism.

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1. Obligation of Catholics to Promote World Peace. Justice and Charity in International Cooperation. American Catholics and Proper National Attitudes. Present National Forces Detrimental to World Unity. The Catholic Association for International Peace and Cooperation with It. Pope Pius XI in World Affairs. Peace Education and Action among Clergy and Laity in the United States. Responsibility of Catholics in restoring "the Peace of Christ in the Kingdom of Christ."
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THE Catholic Association for International Peace has grown out of a series of meetings during 1926-1927. Following the Eucharistic Congress in Chicago in 1926, representatives of a dozen nations met with Americans for discussion. In October of the same year a meeting was held in Cleveland where a temporary organization called The Catholic Committee on International Relations was formed. The permanent name, The Catholic Association for International Peace, was adopted at a two-day Conference in Washington in 1927. Since 1927 the Association has held the following Conferences: nine Annual in Washington, one in Cleveland and one in New York; four Regional, at St. Louis University, Notre Dame University, Marquette University and Villanova College; and eleven Student, in various sections of the country. It is a membership organization. Its objects and purposes are:

To study, disseminate and apply the principles of natural law and Christian charity to international problems of the day;

To consider the moral and legal aspects of any action which may be proposed or advocated in the international sphere;

To examine and consider issues which bear upon international good will;

To encourage the formation of conferences, lectures and study circles;

To issue reports on questions of international importance;

To further, in cooperation with similar Catholic organizations in other countries, in accord with the teachings of the Church, the object and purposes of world peace and happiness.

The ultimate purpose is to promote, in conformity with the mind of the Church, "The Peace of Christ in the Kingdom of Christ."

The Association works through the preparation of committee reports. Following careful preparation, these are discussed both publicly and privately in order to secure able revision and they are then published by the organization. Additional committees will be created from time to time. The Association solicits the membership and cooperation of Catholics of like mind. It is seeking especially the membership and cooperation of those whose experience and studies are such that they can take part in the preparation of committee reports.

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

Publications of the Catholic Association for International Peace

PAMPHLET SERIES—

- No. 1—International Ethics.
- No. 2—Latin America and the United States.
- No. 3—Causes of War, and Security, Old and New.
- No. 4—Haiti, Past and Present (out of print).
- No. 5—Francis de Vitoria (out of print).
- No. 6—American Agriculture and International Affairs.
- No. 7—Puerto Rico and the United States (out of print).
- No. 8—Europe and the United States—Elements in Their Relationship.
- No. 9—The Ethics of War.
- No. 10—National Attitudes in Children (out of print).
- No. 11—Tariffs and World Peace.
- No. 12—Manchuria—The Problem in the Far East.
- No. 13—International Economic Life.
- No. 14—The Church and Peace Efforts.
- No. 15—War and Peace in St. Augustine's "De Civitate Dei."
- No. 16—Peace Education in Catholic Schools.
- No. 17—Peace Action of Benedict XV.
- No. 18—Relations Between France and Italy.
- No. 19—Catholic Organization for Peace in Europe.
- No. 20—The United States and the Dominican Republic.
- No. 21—An Introduction to Mexico.
- No. 22—A Papal Peace Mosaic.
- No. 23—Arbitration and the World Court.
- No. 24—Agriculture and International Life.
- No. 25—Patriotism, Nationalism, and the Brotherhood of Man.
- No. 26—The Church and the Jews.

MISCELLANEOUS SERIES—

- Appeals for Peace of Pope Benedict XV and Pope Pius XI.
- Argentina—Land of the Eucharistic Congress, 1934.
- Catholic Primer of Peace.
- Peace Trends.
- Permanent Peace Program of Pope Benedict XV.
- Syllabus on International Relations.

REPORTS IN PREPARATION—

- World Society—Symposium.
- Catholicism—the Keynote of Pan Americanism.
- Disarmament and Catholic Doctrine.
- International Cultural Relations.
- So-called "Over-Population."
- Trends in International Labor Legislation.

BOOKS—

- The Catholic Tradition of the Law of Nations—John Eppstein.
- The Peace Efforts of the Church During the Last Three Hundred Years—Josef Müller.

N. C. W. C. JOINT COMMITTEE ON PEACE—

- Peace Statements of Recent Popes.
- The Christian Way to Peace.