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The Church—Foundation of Society

*Allocution of Pope Pius XII to the College of Cardinals at a public Consistory,
February 20, 1946*

THE lofty and noble sentiments expressed by your eminent spokesman, Venerable Brethren, on behalf of this, the first group of Cardinals included by Us in the Senate of the Church, have given Us much pleasure.

And now We address you, you who—to apply to this solemn occasion the words of the great St. Augustine—are the newly formed flowers of canonry, opening up to the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, flowers of Our honor, fruits of Our choice, now crowned by Us with diadem not glistening with gold or precious stones but with the color of flame and blood, because in flame and blood is all the charity of Christ which surpasseth all knowledge.

Your names, your virtues, your merits, the battles fought by not few of you with heroic courage against the oppressor in defense of truth and justice are so well known to the whole world that We consider Ourselves dispensed from recording in detail that which has already received the recognition and praise of all.

There is a sense of serene calm as We look on you and see in you who have come from every corner of the world the whole Church, that "home of the Living God" as the Vatican Council calls it, which houses all the faithful, united by the bonds of common faith and charity.

You have come to Peter in whom, according to words of the same Council, the episcopate and the faithful find "principles and visible foundation of unity."

When in Our address of Christmas Eve We announced to the Sacred College Our intention of raising you to the sacred purple, We were fully conscious of the lively interest which such a manifestation of the supra-national character of the Church and of its world-wide unity would arouse throughout the world—the poor world which everywhere hungers and thirsts for unity and strives in various ways to secure it.

Our words have provided the faithful with a new motive for consolation and encouragement; to the others—We speak of honest people, not those who are slaves of the “father of lies”—they have given matter for serious reflection.

The Church, as We then pointed out, has in God, in the God-Man, in Christ, the invisible but unshakable principle of her unity and entirety, of the unity, We mean, of her head and members in the complete fullness of her own life, which embraces and sanctifies all that is really human, directing and subordinating their many aspirations and particular aims to the integral and common end of man, which is his likeness in the highest possible degree to God.

This Church stands out today in the midst of a world torn and divided as a warning, as a standard unto the nations which invites all who do not yet believe to come to her and strengthen her sons in the faith which they profess; for without God and away from God there cannot be any true, solid, secure unity.

If then today so many from every side turn in anxious expectancy and trembling hope to the Church and ask her what part she has to play in the salvation of human society, in the establishment of that inestimable blessing, more precious than all treasures, which is lasting internal and external peace, the answer of the Church can be manifold and varied, corresponding to her varied potentialities.

But the main definite answer, to which all others can be reduced, always remains the unity and completeness of the Church, founded in God and in Christ. Hence the necessity—first for the children of the Church themselves, but also for human society in general—of having clear and exact notions of the influence exercised in practice by this unity and completeness.

This influence extends to the foundation, structure and activity of human society. The primary importance of the first of these three ideas leads Us to make it—in conjunction with Our Christmas message already referred to—the subject of the discourse which We address you today on this solemn, unusual occasion which gathers around Us new

members of the Sacred College, worthy representatives of the Church's universality.

SOLIDARITY AND SECURITY—THE CHURCH AND MODERN IMPERIALISM

The unity and completeness of the Church made clear by the manifestation of her supranational character is of great importance for the foundation of life in society. This does not mean that it is the office of the Church to include and somehow embrace, as in a gigantic world empire, all human society. Such a concept of the Church as an earthly empire and world domination is fundamentally false.

At no time in history has it been true or corresponded to reality unless one persists erroneously in transplanting into past ages the ideas and terminology proper to our own.

The Church—while fulfilling the mandate of her Divine Founder of spreading the gospel everywhere and of winning over to the gospel every creature—is not an empire, especially in the imperialistic sense, such as is now meant by the word. Her progress and expansion are marked by a trend contrary to that of modern imperialism.

Her development is before all else in depth, then in length and breadth. She seeks out above all man as such. Her study is to form man, to model and perfect in him the Divine image. Her work is done in the depth of each man's heart, but has its effects, extending throughout his life, in all his activities. Through men thus formed the Church prepares for human society a basis on which it can rest securely.

Modern imperialism, on the contrary, goes in just the opposite direction. It does not seek out man as such but the material things and forces to which it subjects man; that is why it carries in it germs which endanger the very foundations of human intercourse.

Under such circumstances, can one wonder at the present anxiety of peoples for their mutual security? It is anxiety born of an unbridled tendency toward expansion which has within it the gnawing worm of ceaseless unrest, and brings it about that, to each demand made as needed for security, there follows another and another without end, the second perhaps more insistent than its forerunner.

COHESION AND EQUILIBRIUM—ACTIVITY OF THE CHURCH WITHIN MAN

Moreover the solidity of foundation would be useless if the structure lacked cohesion and equilibrium. Now the Church also contributes to the cohesion and equilibrium of all the diverse and complex parts of

the social structure. Here, too, her activity is, before all else, internal. The props and buttresses built outside a tottering edifice are but a precarious makeshift and cannot do more than delay somewhat its inevitable collapse.

If the destructive hand of time, which has not spared many more recent monuments, has respected the magnificent Gothic cathedrals of the thirteenth century, if they still stand erect above the ruins that surround them, it is because their buttresses provide only an accessory, if precious, contribution from outside to the interior strength of the jointed structure in a pleasing style of architecture as solid and finished as it is daring and graceful. So it is with the Church. She works on what is most intrinsic to man's being, on man in his personal dignity as a free creature, in his infinitely higher dignity as a son of God.

This man the Church forms and educates because he alone, complete in harmonious combination of his natural and supernatural life, in an orderly development of his instincts and inclinations, his rich qualities and varied reactions, is at the same time the beginning and the end of life in human society, thus also the principle of its equilibrium.

That is why the Apostle of the Gentiles, speaking of Christians, proclaims they are no more "children tossed to and fro" by the uncertain drift in the midst of human society. Our predecessor of happy memory, Pius XI, in his Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* on social order, drew a practical conclusion from this thought when he announced a principle of general application, viz, that what individual men can do by themselves and by their own forces should not be taken from them and assigned to the community.

It is a principle that also holds good for smaller communities and those of lower rank in relation to those which are larger and in a position of superiority. For—as the wise Pontiff said, developing his thought—every social activity is of its nature subsidiary; it must serve as a support to members of the social body and never destroy or absorb them. These are surely enlightened words, valid for social life in all its grades and also for the life of the Church without prejudice to its hierarchical structure.

Now, Venerable Brethren, over and against this doctrine and practice of the Church, place in their real significance the tendencies of imperialism. Here you will find the solidarity of human intercourse suffers yet another immense setback. For, if such gigantic organisms have no

real moral background, they evolve of necessity in the direction of an ever greater centralization and more stringent uniformity.

As a result their equilibrium, their very cohesion, are maintained solely by force and by dominating material conditions and juridical expedience, events and institutions, and not by the power of the conscientious assent of men, of their intellectual convictions and readiness to take the initiative or assume responsibility. The so-called internal order is reduced almost to a simple truce between the various groups with a continuous threat of upsetting their equilibrium at every shift, whether of the interests at stake or of the proportion between the respective forces.

Being thus fragile and unstable in their internal composition, these organisms are all the more liable to become a danger also to the whole family of states.

EQUALITY—THE COMPLETE MAN, CENTER OF THE SOCIAL ORDER

Undoubtedly there is the case of an empire built upon a foundation whose spiritual character has been established and reinforced in the course of history; which moreover draws its support from the conscience of the great majority of the citizens. But is it not exposed to another kind of danger, namely, that of giving an exaggerated importance or exclusive attention to what is its own and of not being able to evaluate or even be aware of what is outside it? And here again is the unity and integrity of human intercourse threatened by the breach made at a vital point in its foundations; here again is the sacred principle of equality and parity among men violated.

Here too it is the Church that can cure and heal such a wound. And she does it by having access to the innermost sanctuary of the human being and placing him at center of the whole social order. Now this human being is not man in the abstract, nor considered only in the order of pure nature, but the complete man as he is in the sight of God, his Creator and Redeemer, as he is in his concrete and historical reality, which could not be lost sight of without compromising the normal functioning of human intercourse.

The Church knows it and acts accordingly. If, in particular ages or places, one or another ethnical group or social class has more than others made its influence on the Church felt, this does not mean that she becomes vassal to anyone, or is, so to speak, petrified at some historical moment and debarred from any further development.

On the contrary, since she is ever bent intently over man, watching his every heart beat, she knows all his rich qualities, is alive to his aspirations with that clear-sighted intuition and penetrating appreciation which can come only from the supernatural illumination of Christ's teaching and the supernatural warmth of His Divine charity.

Thus the Church in her onward course watches, without pause or conflict, the divinely-guided course of times and circumstances. This is the need and significance of her vital law of continuous adaption, which some, incapable of grasping such a magnificent concept, have interpreted or described as opportunism. No; the world-embracing comprehension of the Church has nothing in common with the narrowness of a sect or with the exclusiveness of an imperialism tied to its own traditions.

She works with every care for that end which St. Thomas Aquinas, disciple of Aristotle, assigns to life in the community, that is to hold men together with the bond of friendship. It has been said that, with all the modern means of communication, peoples and men are now more isolated than they were ever before. But it should not be possible to say this of Catholics, members of the Church of normal development in space and time.

DEPORTATION OF PEOPLES

The Church is, in fact, the perfect society, the universal society, which embraces and holds all men together in the unity of the Mystical Body of Christ: "All the nations Thou hast made shall come and adore before Thee, O Lord," (*Psalms* 85,9.)

All, peoples as well as individuals, are invited to come to the Church. But this word "come" does not connote any idea of migration, expatriation, or those deportations by which Governments or the dire force of circumstances snatch populations from their lands and homes; it does not mean the forsaking of healthy traditions or venerable customs, nor the permanent or at least protracted separation by force of married couples, fathers and sons, brothers, relatives and friends, nor the degradation of men in the humiliating status of a formless "mass."

The dislocation of men in this disastrous form has unfortunately today become more frequent, but even it, in forms both ancient and new, can be traced in diverse ways, directly or indirectly, to contemporary imperialistic tendencies. The invitation of the Church to "come" to her does not call for such sad dislocations, even though the merciful and powerful directing hand of God uses even these same calamities

in order to draw many of their victims to the Church, their Father's house; but in His heart He did not want such calamities; He did not need them; as St. Augustine puts it very well, when he writes:

"Non enim de locis suis migrando venient, sed in locis suis credendo."
("It is not by leaving their homes, but by believing within their homes that they will come.") (*Epist.* 199, Cap. 12, No. 47—Migne Pl. T. 33 Col. 923).

Has not the Church, Venerable Brethren, through this intimate spiritual attraction, contributed—does she not still contribute effectively—toward laying a solid foundation for civil society? Man, as God wants him and the Church accepts him, will never consider himself as firmly fixed in space and time if stripped of secure property and traditions. Herein the strong find the source of their ardent and fruitful vitality, and the weak, who are always the majority, are protected against pusillanimity and apathy, against slipping from their dignity as men.

The long experience of church educators of peoples confirms it; accordingly she is careful in every way to join the religious life to national customs and is particularly solicitous of those whom emigration or military service keeps far from their native land. Shipwreck of so many souls justifies, alas, this maternal apprehension of the Church, and imposes the conclusion that the security of property and attachment to ancient traditions, which are indispensable to the healthy integrity of man, are also fundamental elements of human society.

However, it would evidently be equivalent to nullifying the beneficent effect of this postulate and converting it into its contrary, if one were to use it in order to justify the repatriation of men against their will and the refusal of the right of asylum in regard to those who, for grave reasons, wish to fix their residence elsewhere.

The Church living in the heart of man and man living in the bosom of the Church—here, Venerable Brethren, is the most deeply rooted and efficacious union that can be conceived. Through this union the Church elevates man to the perfection of his being and of his vitality. In order to give to human society men formed thus: men established in their inviolable integrity as images of God, men proud of their personal dignity and of their healthy freedom, men justly jealous of their equality with their fellows in all that touches the most essential bases of man's dignity, men firmly attached to their land and traditions—men, in a word, characterized by this four-fold element; this is what gives to human society

its solid foundation and obtains for it security, equilibrium, equality, normal development in space and time.

This, then, is also the real sense and practical influence of the supranational character of the Church, which—so far from being like an empire—rises above all differences, above all human society.

Let us put our trust in her; even if all around her is reeling, she stands firm. To her is applicable even in our days the word of the Lord: "Even if the earth be melted with all that dwell therein; I shall establish the pillars thereof." (*Psalms* 74, 4).

THE TWO MAIN PILLARS OF HUMAN SOCIETY: FAMILY AND STATE

On such a base especially rest the two main pillars, the fabric of human society as conceived and willed by God: the family and the State. Resting on such a foundation they can fulfil securely and perfectly their respective roles: the family as the source and school of life, the State as guardian of the law, which, like society in general itself, has its proximate origin and its end in the complete man, in the human person, the image of God.

The Apostle calls the faithful by two magnificent names: "Fellow citizens with saints" and "members of God's household." (*Eph.* 2, 19.) Do we not see that, of these epithets, the first refers to the life of the State, and the second to that of the family? And is it not possible to find here an allusion to the manner in which the Church helps to establish the foundation of society in its inner structure, in the family and the State?

Have this concept and this manner of acting lost today their validity?

The two master columns of society, as they lost their center of gravity, have, alas, also been torn from their base. And what is the result, except that the family has seen the decline of its vital and educative power, and the State, on its side, is on the point of abdicating its mission of defender of the law to transform itself into that leviathan of the Old Testament which dominates everything because it wants to draw almost everything to itself?

Certainly today, in the inextricable confusion in which the world is tossing, the State finds itself compelled to take over an immense weight of duties and offices; but does not this abnormal state of affairs threaten gravely to compromise its essential force and the efficiency of its authority?

Now what is the consequence of all this for the Church? She must

today, as never before, live her mission; she must reject more emphatically than ever that false and narrow concept of her spirituality and her interior life which would confine her, blind and mute, in the retirement of the sanctuary.

The Church cannot cut herself off, inert in the privacy of her churches, and thus desert her divinely providential mission of forming the complete man, and thereby collaborating without rest in the construction of the solid foundations of society. This mission is for her essential. Considered from this angle, the Church may be called the assembly of those who, under the supernatural influence of grace, in the perfection of their personal dignity as sons of God and in the harmonious development of all human inclinations and energies, build the powerful structure of human intercourse.

Under this aspect, Venerable Brethren, the faithful, and more precisely the laity, are in the front line of the Church's life; for them the Church is the vital principle of human society. Accordingly they—especially they—must have an ever-clearer sense not only of belonging to the Church, but of being the Church, the community of the faithful on earth under the guidance of the common head, the Pope, and of the Bishops in communion with him. They are the Church, hence from its earliest days the faithful, with the consent of their Bishops, have united in particular associations relating to the most diverse spheres of life. And the Holy See has never ceased to approve of and praise these organizations.

Thus the principal meaning of the supranational character of the Church is to give lasting shape and form to the foundations of human society, above all differences, beyond the limits of space and time. Such a task is arduous, especially in our days, in which life in society seems to have become an enigma for men, an inextricable tangle.

Erroneous doctrines are current in the world, which declare a man culpable and responsible merely because he is a member or part of a determined community, without taking the trouble to seek or examine whether on his part there has been any personal sin of deed or omission. This means arrogating to one's self the rights of God, Creator and Redeemer, Who alone, in the mysterious designs of His ever loving providence, is absolute Lord of Events and as such, if He so deems in His infinite wisdom, unites the fate of the guilty and innocent, of those responsible and those who are not responsible.

We may add that especially the complications of the economic and military order have made of society a huge machine, of which man is no longer master, of which, indeed, he is afraid. Continuity in time had always appeared essential to life in society, and it seemed that this could not be conceived if men were isolated from the past, present and future. Now this is precisely the disturbing phenomenon of which we are today witnesses.

Too often of the past hardly anything is any longer known, or at most, only what is sufficient to guess at its hazy outlines in the accumulation of its ruins.

The present is for many only the disordered rush of a torrent which carries men like drift on its headlong course to the dark night of a future in which they will lose themselves with the stream that bears them on.

THE MYSTIC EFFICACY OF THE HOLY SACRIFICE OF THE MASS FOR THE GOOD OF HUMAN SOCIETY

Only the Church can bring man back from these shadows to the light. She alone can make him conscious of the past, master of the present and secure for the future. But her supranational character does not act like an empire which extends its tentacles in all directions with the aim of dominating the world. Like the mother of a family, she daily gathers around her all her sons scattered over the world. She gathers them into the unity of her vital Divine principle.

Do we not see every day on our innumerable altars how Christ, Divine Victim, His arms outstretched from one end of the world to the other, embraces and holds at the same time in its past, present and future the entire human society?

It is the Mass, that unbloody Sacrifice instituted by our Redeemer at the Last Supper, by which the bloody sacrifice to be offered once on the Cross should be represented, and its memory persist even to the end of time and its salutary virtue be applied for the remission of those sins which we daily commit.

With this epoch-making declaration of the Council of Trent, incised for a perpetual record at one of the gravest moments of history, the Church defends and proclaims its best and highest values for the good of society, values which form an indissoluble bond between its past and its future and throw a right light on the disturbing enigmas of our time.

In the Mass men become ever more conscious of their guilty past

and, at the same time, of the immense Divine benefits in the commemoration of Golgotha, the greatest event in the history of mankind. They are strengthened to free themselves from the profoundest misery of the present, the misery of daily sins, while even the most abandoned feel a breath of the personal love of our Merciful God; and their gaze is directed toward a secure future, toward the consummation of the ages in the victory of Our Lord, there on the altar of that Supreme Judge Who will one day pronounce final irrevocable sentence.

Venerable Brethren, the Church then provides in the Mass the greatest support of human society. Every day, from where the sun rises to where it sets, without distinction of peoples or nations, there is offered a clean oblation, at which are present all children of the Church scattered throughout the world, and all find there a refuge in their needs and security in their perils.

LET US LOVE THE CHURCH

Let us love the Church, this Holy, lovable, strong Church, this truly supranational Church. Let us make her loved by all peoples and all men. Let us be ourselves the stable foundation of society; may it become, in effect, the "una gens," of which the great Bishop of Hippo speaks, one nation; "because one faith, one hope, one charity, one expectation": that, then, all those whom the grace of Our Lord has called to His Church, "out of every tribe and tongue, and people and nation," may be conscious in this grave hour of their sacred duty to irradiate from their lively and active faith the spirit and love of Christ in human society; that, in turn, all peoples and men—near the Church or still far from it—may recognize that she is the salvation of God even to the farthest parts of the earth.

With all Our heart We impart to you, Venerable Brethren, to Bishops and priests who cooperate with you in the Apostolate, to the Faithful of your Dioceses, to your families and to all persons and institutions dear to you, to your nations, to your peoples, to the whole Church and to the entire human family, with special affection, Our Apostolic Benediction.



Cross and Crown

Reprinted from the *ADVOCATE**

THE experience of the last decade has made the Western men of this generation better acquainted than their fathers with the kind of brutalities inflicted upon our Saviour through the fearful night and morning of His Passion. The inhuman pagan fanatics of our time have reintroduced much of the old technique of judicial "frightfulness."

We read, in accounts of the horrors of German concentration camps, of assaults upon the body such as those which He suffered, combined with the assault upon the mind of shameful mockery, injustice and humiliation. This violence is inflicted as part of a coldly-planned design, to produce a definite psychological effect: its aim is to reduce the personality to a dehumanized pulp of screaming nerves, crushing the man utterly, both in body and mind.

Those men, prematurely aged and broken, who have passed through the hands of the Gestapo, or the Cheka, and have lived to tell the tale, are haunted by the nightmare of what they have suffered and witnessed. The visions evoked by their words make the hearts of plain folk stand still—the mere photographs of Red Spanish torture-chambers and mangled victims of deliberate and Satanic Ger-

man cruelty in Russia, are enough to produce a sickening shudder.

It is becoming that we should recall, as we creep to the foot of the Cross on Good Friday, that all this, and more—ininitely more—was endured by the Son of Man Who died for men on Calvary. The prophecy of the Psalmist was fulfilled to the letter in the ghastly degradation inflicted upon Him: "I am a worm and no man, the outcast of men and the reproach of people."

His Body was a vast wound, and its sacred dignity and modesty had been torn to pieces equally with the Flesh itself. His mind was subjected to the torment of the blasphemous hatred and contempt of His own people, whom He passionately loved, and the treason and cowardice of His own chosen disciples. He was exposed, in His exhaustion and agony, to the full force of this spiritual offensive, as well as to a flooding of His inmost soul with bitterness and desolation such as we cannot conceive, until it was wholly engulfed in the black ninth hour of His dereliction.

Such was the Passion of Christ—the Passion whose approach threw Him into the dreadful sweat that goes with nameless fear and loathing. We have been warned by Him that

* 143-152 a'Beckett St., Melbourne C. 1, Australia, Apr. 22, 1943.

we, too, must drink the cup of pain, and "take up the Cross" if we would be His followers: but we need not fear—for our crucifixion can never be more than the palest shadow of what He bore for us. His servants can never know such desolation; since He is always near to give them rest and refreshment if they turn to Him. Nevertheless, the exemplar of Christians remains the martyr: our task is to fit ourselves for the ultimate sacrifice, if we are called upon to make it—and none, today, can be sure that the call may not come to us, as it has come to our brethren in Europe.

MUST CARRY OUR CROSS

But whether this be so or not, suffering is our lot—the means chosen by our Father in heaven for our redemption. It is in accepting this lot, and proclaiming it good, that the true Christian takes his stand in contradiction to the world: for the world, whether in ages of faith or unfaith, has been steadily determined to reject the Cross; and never more determined than today, when it lies groaning under its fearful weight.

"The Cross"—what does it mean to the plain man in his daily life? It means, first of all, a careful and constant keeping of the Commandments of God, with all the self-discipline which this involves. Secondly, it means the patient, and, if possible, cheerful acceptance of His Divine Will, as manifest in the fortunes of our own life: the "Cross-bearer" will

bless God alike in weal or woe, in wealth or poverty, through good or ill report—and, hardest of all, in those times of bitter loss and bereavement which have fallen upon so many homes in these last years of pain. Finally, it means the shouldering quietly and penitently of the consequences and memory of our own past misdeeds—the pain which is not God-given, but the reward of human folly.

To this we are called, and the condition of our earthly, as well as heavenly happiness, is the acceptance of our vocation—for "he who carries the Cross manfully is himself carried by it." But before us, as we toil along the way, there looms always the light of the everlasting dawn which began at Easter, when the sorrowful women, coming to the sepulchre, were met by the angels of the Resurrection. The Life of Our Lord sets the standard of our living: His sufferings give us strength to live according to that standard—which is the Cross; His Risen Life gives us the spirit of Christian confidence which is necessary to victory. As the Magdalen, and the two disciples of Emmaus, found Him near at the hour of their darkness and doubt, to turn their sorrow into joy, so it will be with us also. When He seems to be farthest away, we know that He is near at hand to uphold us, and to give His blessing to our eyes of faith which penetrate the veils that hide Him. "Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed."

He is Emmanuel, "God with us" all the time, for our strength and consolation—the same yesterday, today, forever. And, if He calls upon us to bear the Cross, how marvellously He sustains those whom He draws to Himself, and how He transforms their very pain into sweetness, as He unites Himself with them day by day in the Eucharistic Feast! Yet, all this is nothing to the joy which His risen glory promises: the joy which will be theirs in the eternal day of heaven.

His Resurrection is the pledge of ours: those who serve Him, His brethren, will live forever—not the diminished shadowy life of phantoms in Hades, as the pagan world believed, but the full, splendid life of the sons of God, transformed, both as to our souls and bodies, into the similitude of His glory. It is the seed of this Divine life already stirring within them, and the eager hope which they

possess of its flowering in eternity, which have given to the people of God a strength which has enabled them to survive the terrible tests of the ages—the successive perils of persecution, heresy, barbaric devastation, worldly corruption and the acrid criticism of spiritual revolt. "This is the victory that overcometh the world—our Faith."

Let us lift up our hearts, then, as His Risen Presence draws near to us through a world shattered, yet unrepentant, where the powers of death and hell seem to reign in contemptuous triumph. The scars of His Passion are upon His Immortal Limbs, but His Face shines like the sun, and He wears on His Head the crown of a conqueror. So shall He appear to us, please God, at the end of our pilgrimage, when we cast down our cross before His throne: "Mine eyes shall see the King in His beauty; they shall behold the land that is very far off."



Malice Toward None

Charity is needed to rebuild a broken world. If millions starve to death, and if more millions eke out a pitiful existence, are robbed, and raped, and fall prey to disease, it is bad for order, recovery, morale, the freedoms of democracy, and prosperous security. If the continent of Europe becomes a slum of tens of millions of pauperized people, neither prosperity nor peace can prevail. Charity must spear-head the way to a new and better order.—*Bishop Aloisius J. Muench, of Fargo, in his Lenten Pastoral of 1946.*

Promoting Communism

Reprinted from WORK*

THE Chicago *Herald-American* is doing more for Communism in Chicago than any other paper, including the *Daily Worker*.

The method used is simpler than you think.

Begin with a reactionary editorial policy (*i. e.* anti-labor, anti-social legislation, anti-CIO) like the *Herald-American's*. Then find a good piece of social legislation or economic reform which a reactionary will, of course, oppose. Label this measure Communistic.

Then write a flashy editorial which says that the full-employment bill "supporters in Congress and in the administration are enrolling themselves as Communists—or at least fellow travelers" (Jan. 20). Then reprint this editorial in Hearst papers throughout the country, giving the Communists a million dollars worth of free publicity and credit for a bill which is no more communistic than the Bill of Rights in the American Constitution.

A variation of this technique is to lump all strikes together by saying: "Revolutionary Strike Wave Guided By Communists" (Jan 24). This is easy. Find a few key Communists who are also on strike and red-label all the rest of the strikers, even though decency and justice are on their side.

If the editor is a little squeamish about smearing all the strikers as agents of Joe Stalin, it isn't too difficult to find some Southern reactionary in the Senate to act as your mouthpiece. Like Senator Eastland who says: "It is apparent to us that the present wave of strikes is engineered in Moscow . . ."

By this time you begin to realize that the *Herald-American* is putting itself in a ridiculous position. If the Communists come out for three square meals a day, the *Herald-American* is against it because it's Communistic. Bishop Francis J. Haas of Grand Rapids is a Communist, or at least a fellow-traveler, for supporting the full-employment bill. The U. S. soldiers who fought on the same side with Russian Communists against Nazi Germany are all Communists, too.

The technique is not to denounce the program or proposed law on its own merits, but to tag it with a pink label. The supposition is that Americans don't like Communism (which is true). If a smart editor

* 3 East Chicago Ave., Chicago 11, Ill., February, 1946.

can smear a bill or strike he doesn't like as "red," the public may disown it as "communistic."

The trouble is that there are millions of people who are not interested in labels but in results. This is where the *Herald-American* is pulling the wool over its own eyes.

The guy in the street who has a lot more common sense than many Hearst editorials can usually recognize a good thing when he sees it. When he finds the full-employment bill trying to keep the country prosperous, his logical reaction is that these Reds can't be so bad if they support a good thing.

If you're on strike for a decent wage for your wife and kids, a "red-baiting" campaign may convince you to give the Commies credit for helping you out.

While the *Herald-American* may scare a lot of people away from the full-employment bill with scarlet tirades, at the same time it is acting as an unwitting, but excellent promotional agency for Communism. Both the *Herald-American* and the *Daily Worker* agree that the Commies are the "brains" behind the present strikes. Both are dead wrong. Both are stretching the truth to fit preconceived notions. The *Daily Worker* wants to get credit for the strikes; the *Herald-American* to discredit the strikes. One's as bad as the other.



Peace and the People

When Mr. Bevin declared that "the common man is the great protection against war," and that "there has never been a war yet which, if the facts had been put calmly before the ordinary folk, could not have been prevented," he voiced a conviction constantly our own. Here, indeed, is one of the reasons why the Charter of the United Nations as it stands has been sceptically received by many who have given greatest thought to the problems of world-organization: it provides no protection for those natural rights and liberties, individual and communal, that enable the voice of the common people to be heard at home and abroad and are the surest guarantee of peace.—PEOPLE & FREEDOM, *London, December, 1945.*

God's Law and Social Order

MOST REV. RICHARD J. CUSHING, D.D.

Address delivered by the Archbishop of Boston at the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems, Boston, Mass., February 8, 1946.

PEACE and prosperity depend on the people as a whole, not on a few leaders. But all of us cannot be accommodated at a Potsdam, a San Francisco or a London Conference. We must not, on that account, leave any doubt regarding our deepest convictions. First and foremost we must make unmistakably clear that social and international justice can only be founded on the laws of Almighty God.

Let us make no unrealistic mistake about what that means. It means the revision of many political, economic and social concepts which have dominated the age of Nationalism, Imperialism and Liberal Capitalism; it means the reorganization, almost from their foundations, of many of the political, economic and social institutions which have been inspired by these concepts. Such a reorganization may be the work of decades; it cannot begin too soon.

The details of so colossal a task are beyond most of us; they must be left to experts. A Big Three or a Big Five, or, for that matter, a Big Fifty may decide the fates of nations while they are accomplishing it. Their primary task in the work of reorganizing society for future

peace is to put an end, once and for all, to the criminal game of war; to safeguard the vital rights and mutual obligations among the great and the small, the powerful and the weak nations.

This work, I repeat, is so complex and so technical that it must be left to experts. But there is one phase of this world problem with which we are all identified. It is to choose the right or the wrong way of life.

Either for God or against God. That is the fundamental choice confronting our society and every unit within it: every nation, every class, every person. Upon that choice hangs the fate of the world. In every department of life, in politics and economics, in sciences and the arts, in the State and in domestic life we follow God's laws to peace or bypass them into chaos.

The Ten Commandments, the most ancient laws ever designed to meet our most modern needs, are the guideposts of the Almighty. On the very threshold of creation, He gave them to His creatures. They antedated the Atlantic Charter, the San Francisco document and all our peace treaties and labor contracts by thousands of years. Yet they cover,

He is Emmanuel, "God with us" all the time, for our strength and consolation—the same yesterday, today, forever. And, if He calls upon us to bear the Cross, how marvellously He sustains those whom He draws to Himself, and how He transforms their very pain into sweetness, as He unites Himself with them day by day in the Eucharistic Feast! Yet, all this is nothing to the joy which His risen glory promises: the joy which will be theirs in the eternal day of heaven.

His Resurrection is the pledge of ours: those who serve Him, His brethren, will live forever—not the diminished shadowy life of phantoms in Hades, as the pagan world believed, but the full, splendid life of the sons of God, transformed, both as to our souls and bodies, into the similitude of His glory. It is the seed of this Divine life already stirring within them, and the eager hope which they

possess of its flowering in eternity, which have given to the people of God a strength which has enabled them to survive the terrible tests of the ages—the successive perils of persecution, heresy, barbaric devastation, worldly corruption and the acrid criticism of spiritual revolt. "This is the victory that overcometh the world—our Faith."

Let us lift up our hearts, then, as His Risen Presence draws near to us through a world shattered, yet unrepentant, where the powers of death and hell seem to reign in contemptuous triumph. The scars of His Passion are upon His Immortal Limbs, but His Face shines like the sun, and He wears on His Head the crown of a conqueror. So shall He appear to us, please God, at the end of our pilgrimage, when we cast down our cross before His throne: "Mine eyes shall see the King in His beauty; they shall behold the land that is very far off."



Malice Toward None

Charity is needed to rebuild a broken world. If millions starve to death, and if more millions eke out a pitiful existence, are robbed, and raped, and fall prey to disease, it is bad for order, recovery, morale, the freedoms of democracy, and prosperous security. If the continent of Europe becomes a slum of tens of millions of pauperized people, neither prosperity nor peace can prevail. Charity must spear-head the way to a new and better order.—*Bishop Aloisius J. Muench, of Fargo, in his Lenten Pastoral of 1946.*

Promoting Communism

Reprinted from WORK*

THE Chicago *Herald-American* is doing more for Communism in Chicago than any other paper, including the *Daily Worker*.

The method used is simpler than you think.

Begin with a reactionary editorial policy (*i. e.* anti-labor, anti-social legislation, anti-CIO) like the *Herald-American's*. Then find a good piece of social legislation or economic reform which a reactionary will, of course, oppose. Label this measure Communistic.

Then write a flashy editorial which says that the full-employment bill "supporters in Congress and in the administration are enrolling themselves as Communists—or at least fellow travelers" (Jan. 20). Then reprint this editorial in Hearst papers throughout the country, giving the Communists a million dollars worth of free publicity and credit for a bill which is no more communistic than the Bill of Rights in the American Constitution.

A variation of this technique is to lump all strikes together by saying: "Revolutionary Strike Wave Guided By Communists" (Jan 24). This is easy. Find a few key Communists who are also on strike and red-label all the rest of the strikers, even though decency and justice are on their side.

If the editor is a little squeamish about smearing all the strikers as agents of Joe Stalin, it isn't too difficult to find some Southern reactionary in the Senate to act as your mouthpiece. Like Senator Eastland who says: "It is apparent to us that the present wave of strikes is engineered in Moscow . . ."

By this time you begin to realize that the *Herald-American* is putting itself in a ridiculous position. If the Communists come out for three square meals a day, the *Herald-American* is against it because it's Communistic. Bishop Francis J. Haas of Grand Rapids is a Communist, or at least a fellow-traveler, for supporting the full-employment bill. The U. S. soldiers who fought on the same side with Russian Communists against Nazi Germany are all Communists, too.

The technique is not to denounce the program or proposed law on its own merits, but to tag it with a pink label. The supposition is that Americans don't like Communism (which is true). If a smart editor

* 3 East Chicago Ave., Chicago 11, Ill., February, 1946.

can smear a bill or strike he doesn't like as "red," the public may disown it as "communistic."

The trouble is that there are millions of people who are not interested in labels but in results. This is where the *Herald-American* is pulling the wool over its own eyes.

The guy in the street who has a lot more common sense than many Hearst editorials can usually recognize a good thing when he sees it. When he finds the full-employment bill trying to keep the country prosperous, his logical reaction is that these Reds can't be so bad if they support a good thing.

If you're on strike for a decent wage for your wife and kids, a "red-baiting" campaign may convince you to give the Commies credit for helping you out.

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in a broad way, the full round of life's relationships—our duties to God, to self, to one another. More, they are the very backbone of that western civilization of which we, as a World Power, have so suddenly and dramatically become the custodians. That civilization, in its moral and ethical elements, has its stable vitality from the Decalogue, the code of Ten Commandments which God Himself gave to Moses.

ANALYZING THE COMMANDMENTS

Analyze these Commandments and see the pattern of perfection that they unfold. They meet every contact between man and man, and regulate all the broader terms of every relationship. The first three solve the religious problems that trouble the world, above all the basic problem of man's place in the Universe and his relationship to the Source of his life and rights.

I am the Lord thy God. Thou shalt not have strange gods before Me.

Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord Thy God in vain.

Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath Day.

These three mandates recognize the right and duty to reverence, love and worship God. Hence, if the Ten Laws of God guide and direct the rulers of nations, they cannot compel people to go the dark ways of atheism, nor force them into the

worship of a state, a race, or any other created thing. In a society based on the Ten Commandments, authority must leave citizens free to worship only the God Who made them and Whom alone they are obligated to obey and adore. Banishing God from private, public and international life, and substituting for God the State or any other idol, violates these mandates of the Almighty. Under this divine covenant of world security, Red Fascism may not compel millions to become atheists on the false claim that religion is an opiate to social consciousness. Neither has Brown Fascism nor Black, nor any other form of dictatorship a sanction under this ten-point covenant to set up race worship as a substitute for God worship.

If these three Commandments of the Law were observed by the rulers of nations, there would be no religious problem, for the City of Man, rightly governed, would have no point of conflict with the City of God.

Three additional Commandments have for their objective the protection of the home and the family, the foundation of all society, civil and religious alike.

Honor thy father and thy mother.

Thou shalt not commit adultery.

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife.

Society is no stronger than the

family. One of the most tragic casualties of the late war was the normal home. Fidelity to the revealed Laws of God will bring it back to its pristine and powerful beauty. "And the rain fell, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and they beat upon that house, and it fell not; for it was founded upon a rock." The rock upon which society stands is the home; the foundation of the home is law, the Eternal Law of God.

The home is a school, that first and best school wherein the future citizen begins to learn of the Universe and the world. "Train up a child in the way he should go," writes the author of the Book of Proverbs, "and when he is old he will not depart from it."

The home is also the first of those natural societies which a democratic order must quicken with Religion and support with Law if either the family or society is to survive. Juvenile delinquency, parental delinquency, divorce, homeless children, broken homes, street life and night life are some of the modern evils born of the by-passing and the rejection of those precepts of the Decalogue which govern the sanctity of the home.

The remaining four of the Ten Laws of God may be said to embrace the economic and personal relations among individuals; they are called the "other-regarding" Com-

mandments because they are concerned with our neighbors.

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.

Thou shalt not kill.

Thou shalt not steal.

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's goods.

There is a whole world of implied obligations towards all our neighbors in these Commandments. For example, it is not necessary to perjure one's self in a court of justice in order to violate the law: *Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.* Any lie, any statement of untruth uttered with the intention of deceiving another, is a violation of truth. Calumny and slander, detraction and back-biting feed prejudice and violate God's laws. If we could remove from our midst the grief and misery, the prejudice, intolerance and hatred that exist in our society because of lies passed from individual to individual and group to group, this vale of tears would have a better chance of becoming, however slowly, a social paradise nearer to the heart's decent desire.

Murder, stealing, injustice, civil war between capital and labor and covetous designs on what belongs to another are outlawed by the three Commandments designed to protect life, rights and ownership. When individuals violate these mandates, the good order of society is upset and social injustice, insecurity and

community chaos are nigh. When nations violate them, international order is upset and *war* is nigh.

These laws of the Almighty would anticipate with their prohibition the sources of those social animosities which thrive in our midst today. Anger, hatred, envy, intolerance, quarreling, bigotry, abusive words and imprecations are all condemned by the law, *Thou shalt not kill*, just as much as is the taking of human life. They are the root sources of the prejudice and the "anti" movements which gnaw at the very foundation of peace at home as well as peace abroad. "You have heard that it was said to the ancients, 'Thou shalt not kill'; and that whoever shall murder shall be liable to judgment," said Christ. "But I say to you that everyone who is angry with his brother shall be liable to judgment."

RIGHT OF OWNERSHIP

The right of ownership, one of the inherent rights of man, is also protected by the Decalogue. Security can only be guaranteed when men possess enough of the world's material goods to be able to live without constant fear of want. There are those who seek to effect a better distribution of the goods of life by denying this right of ownership. But these visionaries are generally inspired by greed. Witness the systems of government in our day that would absorb to the State everything within its

domain. Under such systems, life in all its personal and social forms is reduced to slavery.

Under the divinely revealed Code of Laws regulating human life and happiness come also the dictates of justice, the observance of contracts, many other standards of good conduct and especially the right to work. In its developed definition this latter right means, in the case of an American workingman, the right to maintain a purchasing power for human necessities, for educational opportunity, for such luxuries as are deemed commensurate with American living standards.

Capital and Labor are now at war about their future relations. And a bewildered nation patiently waits and suffers. Employers are ill at ease because they cannot control the forces that disturb and tend to destroy their industrial relations. They will never find the remedy until they put aside human pride and bend low enough to enter the work shop of the Carpenter of Nazareth. Workmen are fearful of the future and the stability of their jobs and the protection of their homes and families. Evil men offer them malicious counsel. They, too, will never attain their goal until they learn to live and work in the spirit of Nazareth and of the laws of God.

Christ the Carpenter was neither an employer nor an employe, yet He was the master and model of both.

The working classes may strive for their rights with all the strength that they command, but they must base their demands on the principles of justice. A wage is *just* only when it supports the wage-earner and his family in reasonable, human comfort. In our country the ability of most managements to pay just wages cannot be questioned. The right to a just wage does not come from the charity and generosity of the one who employs labor. It is a dictate of the natural law, clarified and confirmed by the Master of all employers, Christ the Carpenter.

The laborer also has a natural right to unite with his fellow-employees so that they may bargain, not as individuals, but as a unit; and no man, be he the ruler of a nation or the economic dictator of a community, has any right to discourage hinder or prevent such collective bargaining. The workman has not only a right, but a duty to demand that the conditions, hours and other circumstances under which he is obliged to work be such that he can live, both on the job and at home, as a reasonable human being. It is difficult for any man to save his soul on an empty stomach, or unless the conditions of his existence are such that he may live with adequate comfort and respectability.

But if the workman has his inalienable rights, he also has duties. The first duty of the workman who

is a follower and fellow-worker of the Carpenter of Nazareth is to show to the world that he is a loyal follower of that Leader by an uncompromising and courageous life within the laws of God. In the home, at the shop, in his recreation, he lets the world know that his guide-posts are the Ten Commandments.

His attitude toward his employer is one of good will and cooperation, without malice, hatred or unreasonable conflict. He sincerely offers an honest day's work for an honest day's pay. When it is necessary to negotiate for new terms he limits his demands by the principles of justice and honestly endeavors to adjust wages and hours in a way that will not destroy the enterprise of those who are giving him work. He shuns the suggestions of atheistic agitators and conscientiously pledges his time and talent to the building of a strong, morally sound union organization that is honest from top to bottom. He respects the property of his employer and uses the tools of the owner with as much care as though they were his own. In a word, he looks upon Christ the Carpenter not merely as his Lord and his Leader, but also as his Model and Co-worker.

The employer, as well as the workman, has rights that cannot be denied him. He, too, has a right to a living wage. He has a right to run his business without wildcat threats on the part of constantly changing labor

agitators. We cannot blame an employer for refusing to bargain with a labor leader who he knows from experience would not scruple to ruin his whole business venture. His plant and his property belong to him; his business belongs to him; he has no obligation to carry on his payroll incompetent, uninterested and shiftless employes. In industrial relations neither the employer nor the labor leader has a right to be a dictator. Those relations must be carried on in a spirit of sincerity and honest cooperation, or continued conflict and hardship will be the result. It all adds up to the single truth that if we were all good, practical Christians, our relationships would be a source of blessing rather than friction.

THE COMMON GOOD

Since labor and industry are so interdependent in fact, it should be possible for them to work together, if not in a love feast, at least in rational cooperation. They need each other. The country needs both. Employers do not want to pay all that workers ask; workers do not want to accept what the employers are ready to give. The President seems to be trying to say that the best way out is for employers to agree to pay more and for workers to agree to accept less. That is a compromise which seems to be dictated both by common sense and by the common good. And since the common good

is involved, it must be frankly acknowledged that Government, as well as Capital and Labor, has rights and duties in the battle between employers and employes. Labor disputes cannot be settled by force, but Government surely has the right to compel efforts at settlement within law, especially when severe hardship will be imposed on the public as a result of the stoppage of a public utility or some other comparable service upon which the health and safety of a community depends.

A recognized authority recently argued the matter this way:

The Government has the right and duty to command all citizens to make every reasonable effort to settle their differences in a peaceful, orderly fashion before resorting to physical force and economic coercion.

The labor organization or the employer organization that is unwilling to attempt peaceful negotiation is unwilling to fulfil a public obligation. This obligation is not one to be voluntarily assumed or refused. It should be a legal obligation.

Any law intended to preserve industrial peace should begin by making it the duty of both parties to a labor dispute to make an honest effort to negotiate an agreement before they issue any declarations of war.

If negotiation fails, there should be full opportunity for mediation and conciliation by Government officials. If agreement cannot be reached, there should be

The records of the National Media-available a machinery for voluntary arbitration. tion Board prove conclusively that when

employers and employes accept a legal obligation to negotiate before they start fighting, the vast majority of labor disputes can be settled peacefully.

Legislation providing for such authoritative arbitration will need be administered by men conscious of the rights and the desirability of private initiative; but they must also be men who realize that capitalists are not entitled to the whole surplus of production after they have provided their workmen with the bare needs of subsistence. It would seem that capital and labor are both entitled to a fair share of the surplus product. Nor must we forget that neither can do without the general body of consumers, who are also entitled to benefit by being offered goods at fair prices, because justice, charity and right reason demand that industry be run for the common good of the purchasing community as well as the private good of the employer and the employe. The rights of all three groups will not be served unless there is:

1. a *family living wage* for the male worker;
2. a reward which the common estimation of just men and the fair competition of markets allow to capital, and
3. a just price for the commodity produced.

Of these three, the one which is traditionally most neglected is the *first*. We ask an absolute family

living wage: not a subsistence wage, but what would suffice for the reasonably decent maintenance of a worker, his wife and his dependent children. It is not an "individual" wage, considering the worker alone, nor "relative," considering the actual number of his children: but "absolute," reckoning the family a worker would have in the ordinary course of nature, if he exercised his right to found a family, for nature expects us to provide for what normally happens. And a reasonably decent maintenance allows for a truly human way of life for every member of the family: the care of body and soul, the provision for ordinary contingent sickness, old age and the education of children. A living family wage means a "saving wage," affording to the frugal worker the opportunity to acquire a modest fortune and the avoidance of a hand-to-mouth existence.

Many of these things may be provided by the State, but as a general principle the less the State provides and the more the worker pays for out of his wages, the better is the regime. It is right, indeed, that the rest of the family contribute according to their power towards the common maintenance But it is wrong to abuse the tender years of children or the weakness of women. It is an intolerable abuse that the mothers of families, because of the insufficiency of the father's wage,

are forced to engage in gainful occupations outside the domestic walls.

Like it or not, the settlement of our problems and the way to peace and happiness cannot be divorced from religion or from what religion tells us of God's Law for men.

LAW OF GOD

In his splendid V-J Day message, General MacArthur, supreme Allied Commander, drove home this idea when he said:

Military alliance, balance of power, leagues of nations, all in turn have failed, leaving the only path to peace the way of the crucible of war. The utter destructiveness of war now blots out this alternative. We have had our last chance. If we do not now devise some greater and more equitable system, destruction will be at our door. The problem basically is theological and involves a spiritual recrudescence and improvement of human character that will synchronize with our almost matchless advance in science, art, literature and all material and cultural developments of the past two thousand years. It must be of the spirit

if we are to be able to save the flesh.

In this atomic age it looks as if we had better start harnessing the forces of the Spirit, the powers of Holy Writ and the electrons of the Golden Rule and the Ten Commandments. The only "atomic bombs" that will save mankind from now on are to be found there.

A little "splitting" of the rays of religion and a little "releasing of the energy" of the Bible seems in order. If we would only spend sums like the two billion dollars spent on our atomic bombs to harness the forces of God's teachings, what a blessing it would be for the human race.

No uranium is needed as a medium for that. Just the medium of the revival of eternal values and verities and the ablest, most forceful, most intelligent men in our citizenship aglow and aflame with the spirit of Christ, the spirit of the Ten Commandments, the guideposts of the Almighty to permanent peace and prosperity.



One World in Charity

Men have talked and written much of building One World. It will never be built by those who hate, and hating take their inspiration from the hard teaching of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. It will have to be built by those who believe in Christ's law of love. They shall be the builders of One World in Charity.—*Bishop Aloisius J. Muench, of Fargo, in his Lenten Pastoral of 1946.*

State Secularism

Statement of the French Episcopate, January 10, 1946

THE time has come to clear up an ambiguity which threatens to cause grave harm to the national unity. This ambiguity arises from an expression that is currently used in quite different meanings: "The Secular State."

If this term is understood to affirm the supremacy of the State in its temporal realm and its right to govern the whole political, judicial, administrative and military organization of temporal society and, in a moral way, everything that arises from political and economic techniques, then we declare plainly that this doctrine is entirely in conformity with the teachings of the Church.

The Supreme Pontiffs have many times declared that the Church has not the slightest intention of interfering with the political affairs of the State. They have taught that the State is supreme in its proper sphere. They have rejected as a calumny the notion spread by perfidious propaganda which ascribes to the Church an ambition to gain possession of political power and to dominate the State. They have reminded the faithful of their duty to submit to the established powers.

Notwithstanding these clear declarations, the worn-out spectre of "clericalism" is continually brandished be-

fore the masses. If clericalism is taken to mean the interference of the clergy in the political domain of the State, or the tendency on the part of any spiritual society to make use of the public power in order to satisfy its desire to dominate, then we declare decisively that we condemn clericalism as being contrary to the authentic teachings of the Church.

The "Secularist State" may also be understood in the sense that, in a country divided in the religious belief of its citizens, the State should leave to each citizen the free practice of his religion.

This second sense, if it is rightly understood, is also in conformity with the thought of the Church. Certainly, the Church is far from considering that this division of beliefs is in theory ideal, for we who love Christ wish that all might know Him and find in Him and in His Church their inspiration and their strength. But the Church, which desires that the Act of Faith be made freely without being imposed by any exterior restraint, takes cognizance of the fact of the division of beliefs: the Church asks, then, simply her liberty to fulfil her spiritual and social mission confided to her by her Divine Founder.

On the contrary, if the "secularism

of the State" is a philosophical doctrine which embraces a materialist and atheist conception of human life and of society, if these words seek to define a system of political government imposing this conception on functionaries as well as on private life, on the schools of the State and on the entire nation, we react with all our strength against this doctrine: we condemn it in the name even of the true mission of the State and the mission of the Church.

MISSION OF THE STATE

The mission of the State is to assure the common good. Now among the elements which constitute this common good must be included the beneficent influence of religion on the conscience of individuals in helping them to practice the moral and civic virtues, on families in rendering them fertile, more zealous in work and more united, on the whole of society to bring about the reign of justice and charity among men, and at the same time the greatest respect for the authority even of the State itself. A State that makes efforts to paralyze or ruin this action of religion works against itself and against the common weal.

The abundance of recent examples, whether in France from 1903 to 1910, whether in other countries where reigns the doctrine of the State we are discussing, shows that when a State betrays thus its true mission

and becomes an instrument of a philosophical system, it quickly becomes totalitarian and persecuting.

On the day after a war which cost so many sacrifices to free nations from these totalitarian doctrines, it is not possible to set forth in France a conception of secularism which violates consciences and destroys all hope of national unity.

This deadly error we also condemn in the name of truth and of the Divine mission of the Church. It is not from the State that the Church derives its constitution and its right of existence: it is from her Divine Founder. The Church has received from Him her triple power of teaching, of truth, of spiritual government for the sanctification of souls. "In virtue of an original right which she cannot abdicate" (Pius XI), the Church vindicates her absolute independence and her sovereignty within her proper domain.

Finally, if "State Secularism" signifies the intention of the State not to submit to any higher moral considerations and not to recognize any other guiding principles for its actions except the interest of the State, then we declare that such a conception is extremely dangerous, retrogressive and false.

It is dangerous because it justifies all the excesses of despotism and awakens among those who hold power—be it personal or collective power—the natural temptations of

absolutism: it leads straight to dictatorship.

Furthermore, so far from being an advance, as its proponents hold, this doctrine is retrogressive—a reversion to the pagan concept of the State from which the world was freed by Christianity: the concept of the emperor as absolute lord of conscience and of life. The progress of modern law has been in the direction away from State absolutism: in internal law, the State itself has come to admit recourse against its representatives and its authority when power is abused; in international law, it is increasingly evident that no order of peace and justice among nations can be established unless each agrees to abandon part of its sovereignty.

This truth we recalled in our 1944 declaration, when in the face of the occupying power we affirmed, as an essential principle of Christian civilization, adherence to a norm of right and wrong above the authority of the State and above the immediate interests of individual nations.

MUST RECOGNIZE MORAL JUSTICE

Lastly, the very basis of this doctrine is false. Nothing can outweigh moral justice. The State must recognize it and be guided by it even as the individual must. The State can write statutes, but mere legality does not constitute moral justice. The fact that a law has been approved by a majority, or even unanimously, does

not automatically make it right nor demand obedience. The law must conform to moral justice and must contain nothing contrary to the natural law.

The natural law is no human invention; it is based on the very nature of man and in this nature reason discovers it. It was recognized by the great philosophers of antiquity. It binds all men. And, lastly, it comes from God, Author of the natural world.

In professing an official atheism to avoid a slur on the unbelief of some individuals, the State offends the belief of the majority of its citizens—those who are members of the various religious bodies and the vast multitudes of others who believe in a Supreme Being.

Almost all modern democratic States have readily understood the strength they would draw from respect for the divine law, for their sovereigns and the presidents of republics, as well as their parliamentary assemblies, officially proclaim their respect for God's name and His law. In France one constitution after another has recognized God as the origin and the firm foundation of all law. Since the first constitution written by the Revolution, three constitutions were published or proclaimed "in the presence of the Supreme Being" (1791, 1793, 1795). Divine Providence, or God, is expressly mentioned in the Constitu-

tional Charter of 1814 and in the republican constitution of 1848.

All laws, even the best, will become a dead letter without a return to moral life. That fact most Frenchmen recognize today—even non-Christians. They agree that without moral life civic life becomes impossible: man becomes a mere animal

and cities fall to pieces. You cannot make a better race of men with worse men. The Church is not satisfied with merely pointing out the way to be followed: she gives men's souls the strength necessary to rise to new heights and to fulfil their destiny by moral living."



Abolition of Proletarianism

It must be made possible for the worker to contribute something personal to the common good of the enterprise and also to the general good, and to be conscious of his contribution. This can be accomplished to some extent through the participation of labor in profits and in the management and ownership of an enterprise. We want to encourage everything possible in restoring human dimensions to enterprise, or at least to its components. There is a limit beyond which an enterprise ceases to be according to the stature of man—a point at which management, and especially capital, can no longer be conscious of the human repercussions of acts. Man almost of necessity finds himself the slave of technical demands and is treated like a machine.

Anything that under normal conditions will assure to the worker a wage that will enable him not only to feed himself and his family but also to take the first step towards private ownership of furnishings, a house and a lot, and progressively to participate in ownership of the means of production, is worthy of praise.—CARDINAL EMMANUEL SUHARD, *Archbishop of Paris*.

Housing and Family Life

A Pastoral issued by the Scottish Hierarchy

*Reprinted from THE CATHOLIC TIMES**

AT PRESENT the thought of peace is uppermost in all our minds, but dread of the future fills every heart. At a recent meeting of the Hierarchy the Bishops felt constrained to make a declaration on a question closely connected with the preservation of peace—the housing of the people. The matter is one that calls for energetic action on the part of priest and people alike.

The Church has long been reluctant to interfere in this affair because the provision of houses is not her direct concern. Yet certain aspects of the problem have a moral bearing, and so bad have conditions become in recent years that these aspects have assumed an overwhelming urgency. The bishops felt that the opening of a new year, the first since the cessation of hostilities, was an appropriate moment to make a statement on this burning question.

First of all, we point out that every individual has a right to decent living conditions. The material wealth of the world was placed by God at man's disposal, not for the benefit of the few or the strong, but in order that conditions should be created in which every individual would be enabled to develop in accordance with the designs of the Creator. Such conditions imply as a minimum that adequate food, clothing and shelter should be available to everyone.

For this end men were equipped by nature with the faculty of acquiring and increasing wealth so that they could make provision for their present and future needs and for those of their dependents.

Partly for this end too nature designed that men should live in society and should choose for themselves a government which, among other things, would ensure that no individual, without fault of his own, should fall below this minimum standard of living, as long as there was sufficient wealth available to the community to make provision for all.

Now our country at the present time has ample resources at its disposal to make available to all its citizens not only the minimum but a considerably higher standard of life. That the country has not hitherto done so is a blot on our character as a nation. The most notable failure has been in the matter of housing.

* 173-5 Fleet St., London E.C. 4, England, Jan. 11, 1946.

Of the difficulties that have existed and do exist we are fully conscious, but justice demands that every family be adequately housed. The individual families whose need is so desperate can do little by themselves. Hence it is the responsibility of our rulers to overcome the difficulties and remedy the deficiency as quickly as is humanly possible.

The evils to which the present subhuman level of housing gives rise are almost a by-word, so glaring are they and so long with us.

The spiritual development of our people is retarded; in many cases efforts at educational improvement are rendered futile or at best seriously obstructed; home and family life, in the normal Christian acceptance of that term, is made impossible; marriage is discouraged and family limitation encouraged at a time when the survival of our race is dependent upon a large increase in the average size of the family.

Slums and overcrowding, too, are among the main predisposing causes of tuberculosis and constitute serious contributory causes to the spread of many other diseases. Finally, poor living conditions have a direct bearing on the increase of juvenile delinquency, a problem which is daily becoming more pressing.

THE LACK OF SANITARY CONVENIENCES

As well as contributing powerfully to these evils, bad housing is in itself a physical evil of the first magnitude. The serious inadequacy of the present situation needs no emphasis from us. Conditions are bad throughout the country but they are at their worst in Scotland.

Much of the trouble is no doubt due to the sad legacy we have inherited from the past. For in order to make provision for a rapidly increasing population in the last century and in the early part of this century, houses were built in the most hurried manner, far too little attention being paid to the type of houses built.

This resulted in houses that were little better than hovels, often devoid of even sanitary accommodation. Since 1918 public opinion as to what human standards of housing should be has undergone a welcome change and between the wars commendable efforts were made to improve matters.

In Scotland about 350,000 houses were built between 1918 and 1939 and, while some of the types and designs are open to criticism, they can at least be said to conform to the minimum standards. But great as this achievement was, it was not great enough, considering the urgency of the need and the volume of resources and labor available.

Of the 1,300,000 or so houses now occupied in Scotland about 900,000

were built before 1914, while over 400,000 have no sanitary conveniences. Three houses out of every five in the great cities of Scotland have no bathrooms and two out of every three in rural Scotland have no water at all inside the house.

In 1938 more than 66,500 houses were classified as unfit for human habitation but are still occupied, while in the same year 200,000 houses were estimated to be required to relieve overcrowding.

Perhaps the gravest aspect of all is the accumulated dearth of homes for the young men and women who have married during the war. Some 170,000 young couples have no homes of their own and the number is increasing every day.

No one can assess the social and spiritual detriment to our people and the personal anxieties and difficulties of these young people in the most vital period of their lives.

HALF A MILLION HOUSES URGENTLY NEEDED

These figures give us some idea of the immediate need. More than half a million houses are required to ensure that every family is provided with a dwelling which complies with minimum human standards. This is the primary target. The secondary target is to improve the standard of housing.

We must have homes, not just houses. Consequently all houses should be healthy, roomy and warm. Each house should be equipped with a bathroom and at least three bedrooms. Considerations of privacy would seem to require two living rooms; and the proposal that in addition at least one of the bedrooms should be adaptable as a sitting-room during the day is highly commendable.

This would seem to be a necessary provision for children who must study at home. The high proportion—70 per cent—of two-bedroom houses built in Scotland between the wars is to be deplored. For this reason we welcome wholeheartedly the recommendation of the Scottish Housing Advisory Committee which lays down the three-bedroom standard.

When planning new housing schemes, attention should be given not merely to the home as a little community, but also to the wider community aspect of the scheme as a whole. A new housing scheme creates a new community.

Consequently it is not merely a question of providing houses for so many individual families.

Everything that is likely to promote social and community life in the area should be considered. This implies a minimum provision in the way of churches, schools and recreational centers.

The achievement of these targets will present a formidable task. We are perfectly aware that in the immediate future there will be many other demands of pressing urgency on our limited resources.

Our war-scarred economy must be repaired and set in order; our export industries must be raised to the peak of efficiency in order to ensure the maintenance of food and other supplies; no pains must be spared to restore, and in time to increase, our pre-war standard of life.

But, unless there is to be chaos, an order of priority must be prescribed. And it seems to us that once our food supply has been assured no other commitment should take priority over housing for the people.

The many technical difficulties, especially of finance, must be overcome, not at some distant date, but immediately. It is the responsibility of the Public Authorities to see that adequate provision is made for every family. This does not necessarily mean that the Public Authorities must themselves build the houses, but it may mean that the Authorities—central or local—should bear some of the financial burden.

The policy of subsidizing housing has been accepted by successive governments in the last twenty years; but this policy must not be used as a veil for excluding efficient private builders. We welcome, therefore, the decision taken during the war to subsidize the provision of houses for all classes of the population.

NOT MERELY MECHANICAL PROCESS

Our statesmen have proclaimed their intention of treating the problem with the same degree of imagination, drive and efficiency as would be applied to a military operation. As Catholic citizens we for our part must not forget that the provision of homes is something more than the mechanical process of putting up buildings, however efficient and smooth the process may be made.

The home is the heart and core of family life and the creation of homes is one of the means of fulfilling God's purpose. It is with this as our ideal and motive that we should all approach this vital task. The scheme before us calls for united action on the part of the Government and the Local Authorities, on the part of the contractors and employers, on the part of tradesmen and laborers.

It is the social duty of those engaged in the industry to lend all their

energies to the production of homes, even if it means sacrificing more congenial work. Likewise there must be unselfish support at the hands of the public at large, who should refrain from any action which might appear to turn the present grave situation to their own personal advantage. Without the cooperation of all, the work cannot be accomplished.

In particular we would remind the clergy that this evil is so closely knit with the spiritual well-being of the Faithful that no priest can afford to be apathetic in its regard. It is the obvious duty of every priest to give close consideration to the difficulty and to exert all his energies in an endeavor to remove the flagrantly unjust conditions which at present prevail so widely in this country.

Already public conscience is uneasy. When once the nation is thoroughly roused, we may look for the speedy removal of an evil which stains our social system so deeply with disgrace. Given adequate provision of suitable dwellings we may look for the restoration of family life on which the future of the country must depend.

We may also look forward in all confidence to a day in the not remote future when in happy homes throughout the length and breadth of Britain the Angels' Christmas message will be received with sincerity and understanding, that message which for weeks past has been ringing in our ears: "Glory to God in high heaven, and peace on earth to the men that are God's friends."

Given at Blairs College, Aberdeen, this First day of January, 1946, and directed to be read in Churches and Chapels on Sunday, January 6, 1946.



Negro Spirituals

The only distinctively American music we have is the Negro spiritual, which sprang spontaneously from the musical soul of the erstwhile Negro slaves. What other race could have produced the beauty of song from the horrors of slavery? The American Negro did exactly that. Untutored, unlettered, harshly oppressed as he was, he gave way not to despair, but to the creation of music!—*From MISSION FIELDS AT HOME, Cornwells Heights, Pa.*

Rights of Children

Reprinted from THE SOUTHERN CROSS*

A RECENT decision in a Federal court, which is said to be unprecedented, defends the right of children to normal family life. The situation which occasioned the court action is all too common on the American scene today. The father of growing children became involved with a woman and forgot his responsibilities toward his home and his family. A suit was filed in the interest of four children—all minors—and the court was petitioned to assess damages against the offending woman.

A United States Circuit Court of Appeals in Illinois reversed the findings of a lower court which had dismissed the suit. In announcing its decision the Court of Appeals summarized the rights of children in this statement:

A child today has a right enforceable in a court of law against one who has invaded and taken from said child the support and maintenance of its father as well as damages for the destruction of other rights which arise out of a family relationship and which have been destroyed or defeated by a wrong-doing third party.

People will find nothing strange in the thought that children are entitled to the support and maintenance which it is the duty of their father to provide. The reference, however, to

"other rights which arise out of a family relationship" is opportune because it is a reminder of a phase of parental responsibility which is too often forgotten. A man might be most generous with his check book and still be a complete failure as a parent.

The actual presence of a father in the home is essential for the welfare of his children. The children rightfully look to the father for good example; he must warn and counsel them and, when necessary, correct and punish them. The conscientious father is as liberal in providing for the spiritual necessities of his children as he is in satisfying their physical needs. Companionship with his children is essential if the father is to fulfil these vital responsibilities.

The sinful association of a married man with another woman is a favorite theme of modern literature. The writers who develop this theme are not restrained by regard for any moral considerations. Undisciplined and unrestrained passion is presented as something glamorous. It is described as such a noble emotion that it becomes its own justification. The obligations which either of the principals might have toward others are studiously ignored.

Children are introduced to the

* 1528 Fourth Ave., San Diego, Calif. Nov. 16, 1945.

reader in these tales as annoying and embarrassing circumstances. That they have rights which are being jeopardized is never mentioned. Even the right to have questions answered about the continued absence of their father is denied them. Nobody stops to explain to them that dad is finding a satisfying expression of his personality in the company of another woman.

The thoughtless reader is unconsciously affected by this type of literature. What the author ignores, the reader soon forgets. His mind, with no awareness on his part, absorbs the false standards which make unlawful indulgence a romantic thing to be accepted with sympathetic understanding. A steady diet of such reading will result in warped judgments about parental responsibility, the sanctity of the home and the sacredness of marriage. Possibly more than any other single factor, this kind of writing is responsible for the immoral ideas which are so generally accepted in this country as sound thinking on the subjects of marriage, divorce and the care of children.

In introducing new books to the public, publishers always promise something very much worth while. The unwary reader too often forgets that a publisher's appraisal of a book should be judged with the same caution that one exercises in accepting the claims which any merchant puts forth when he is pushing his wares. Reviewers comment favorably on the style and the development of the plot. No one condemns the immoral standards which the author not only condones but justifies. The reader too often, in accepting the book, accepts the standards.

The published decision of the Federal court in Illinois is timely. It is an authoritative reminder to the unthinking that children have rights and that parents have duties. Any interference by an outsider with the exercise of these rights and duties is criminal and actionable. The court saw no romance in this case and no glamor in the woman who had wrecked a home. In the restrained legal language of the summation she was "a wrong-doing third party."



America and the Missions

Before the War America supplied only five per cent of the Church's Foreign Missionaries. Europe has no priests to send, and will not have them for some years to come. But the War has opened undreamed-of opportunities in the Missions. The harvest is indeed ripe. The laborers? The Church looks to America.—*From the JESUIT SEMINARY NEWS, St. Andrew-on-Hudson, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.*

THE EDITORIAL MIND

Catholics and Jews

THE old standby phrase of the anti-Semitic, namely, "Some of my best friends are Jews, but . . ." comes in for a biting attack by Rev. Gregory Feige in a pamphlet written for the Catholic Association for International Peace. Throughout 104 pages of the pamphlet, Father Feige gives a realistic picture of Catholic-Jewish relations, disposes of several anti-Semitic accusations, and appeals for appreciation of the fundamental unity of Catholics and Jews, this unity consisting first in a definite religious bond and secondly in a sharing of persecution.

Father Feige wants a realistic approach, an end to wild charges. He points out specifically, for example, that the radical movement in this country is not led by Jews, as some would have us believe. Leaders of the Communist Party are of Christian origin. Quite recently, one came back to the Catholic Church, and one of the main-stays, one-time candidate for president, William Z. Foster, is supposed to have been a Catholic.

There are few charges made against individual Jews, however just the charges may be, that cannot be leveled

with at least equal accuracy against non-Jews. This indicates that before hurling brickbats on a religious basis, non-Jews ought to clean up their own houses. And any Jew will agree that Jews too could do a little house-cleaning.

On one point Father Feige does dwell, and that is on the matter of Russia. He thinks that the natural bond between Catholics and Jews could be strengthened by a clear-cut and public declaration advocating full and unrestricted freedom of worship in Soviet Russia and in those regions of Europe dominated by Russia. Lack of such a statement implies a certain lack of sympathy for the Catholic Church in her perilous situation in those areas.

Tolerance has become so sentimental in the hands of some promoters of so-called brotherhood as to be offensive to the groups tolerated. Indeed, persons who really feel deeply the common unity of mankind under God, despite superficial and even major differences, hesitate to express themselves for fear of being regarded as professional uplifters. Those who have the courage to undertake the task sincerely, deserve high praise. Certainly Father Feige does not mean

that he considers the Jewish religion a part of or of the same quality as Catholicism. Rather he seeks a basis for the side-by-side existence of each until the ultimate conversion of the Jews. The magnificent record of conversions and the distinguished careers of converted Jews both attest to a fundamental relationship that often escapes the notice of the casual or careless observer. Christ started the conversion of the Jews by mingling with them, by becoming one of them. Our first task is to take them into the family and then win them to our ways.—*The PROVIDENCE VISITOR, Providence, R. I., Jan. 31, 1946.*

The "Commie" Line

LOUIS WEINSTOCK, secretary-treasurer of District Council No. 9 of the Brotherhood of Painters, is being brought up on charges by an anti-Communist group within his union. Weinstock is reported to be a member of the national committee of the Communist Party.

He is charged with violating the Brotherhood's constitution, which prohibits a member of the Communist Party holding office in the union.

If Weinstock is a Communist—and everything points to the fact that he is—the Painters' organization has only one alternative, they must kick him out. Taking half-measures about the Communist issue

has never paid off. It is about time that the Painters got around to seeing that their constitution is rigidly enforced. We've had enough talk. For a change, let's get some action.

Communists have long been believers in slogans. Frankly, when bigger and better slogans are dreamed up, the Commies will invent 'em.

Remember the days when Hitler and Stalin were such good pals and Hitler was running all over every country in sight? Then the Communist slogan was: "The Yanks Are NOT Coming."

Then came the pay-off. Hitler invaded Russia. Things changed—in a helluva hurry. The Communist cry went up for "A Second Front." At the same time, the National Maritime Union, a communist-controlled outfit, adopted the slogan: "We Keep 'Em Sailing." That, of course, was because the NMU was helping to ship lend-lease material to Uncle Joe and his boys.

Came the end of the war. The Communists in China were trying to take over. American troops were stationed in China. Then, a new Communist cry went up: "Get the Yanks Out of China."

It's not at all confusing, is it?

Sure, we are in favor of peaceful relations with Russia. Who, in the name of the atomic bomb, isn't?

But when the Russians attempt to pull this sort of phony stuff right here in America, when Stalin breaks

27 distinct and separate treaties in six years, when the whole world is on the brink of self-destruction, we have to call a spade a spade.—THE CLEVELAND CITIZEN, (AFL), *Cleveland, Ohio, Jan. 4, 1946.*

Need for Objective Standards

IT WOULD be fair to say that, apart from some movements of reaction, the prevailing thought of Europe in the past two centuries has been *subjective*. The individual thinker has fixed and formulated what is to be the truth instead of recognizing humbly an objective truth, imposing itself upon his mind. The major “-isms” of today, in so far as they can be said to have a philosophy, are essentially subjective. For the Nazi, truth was whatever fitted into his *Weltanschauung* or general outlook on life, just as right and wrong, to him were terms relative to his national interest. The truth for the Communist is equally *subjective*. In his eyes, that is true which happens to fit in with his general view of life; this means, with the orthodox line of Marx and Lenin. Should you be unfortunate enough to be born a bourgeois or a Catholic, you are precluded from arriving at the truth because you lack the necessary “proletarian” consciousness; you are not in the right subjective disposition to reach the full Communist truth. This is why Com-

munist is a quasi-religion rather than a set of reasoned opinions, a matter of acceptance rather than intelligence. Hence too the fury and fanaticism of Communists in what they imagine to be *subjectively* their holy cause.

Fundamentally, there is the reason why all negotiations between the Russian authorities and ourselves run the serious danger of breaking down. As Communists, these authorities have only the one point of view; they cannot compromise, they can merely adapt themselves for tactical purposes, postponing some particular objective till a more favorable time. Yet, on the very face of it, genuine cooperation between nations is possible only when there exist objective principles or, at the minimum, mutually accepted methods of behavior that will be loyally observed and not misinterpreted for any selfish advantage. In the last resort, these principles can only be those of the Natural Law, clarified and given in greater detail in the Christian teaching.

The principles of the Natural Law are the reflection in human minds and consciences of the mind of God Himself; they are in conformity with the character of man as a creature of God, endowed with reason and the subject of moral responsibility, so that men behave in fullest harmony with their human nature when they observe this Natural Law. The Christian revelation, safeguarded and perpetuated within the Catholic Church, further

illuminates and makes explicit these objective principles. Nor are these principles concerned merely with man's conduct as an individual or as a citizen within one State; they should control also the behavior of States to States and peoples to peoples. International law is no arbitrary construction but an attempt to codify the duties of States and their dealings with one another, on the basis of this Natural Law. Any *subjective* approach to truth, as was that of the Nazis and is that of the Communists, is a barrier to genuine international cooperation.—*The MONTH, London, Sept.-Oct., 1945.*

Racism in the Colonies

IN a notable address in London this month, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Geoffrey Francis Fisher, top-ranking Anglican prelate, called for an end to racial discrimination in the British colonies. There are many indications that church leaders in England have become increasingly alert to the threat to world security inherent in the denial of democratic rights—Christian rights—to Britain's subject peoples, particularly in South Africa.

The problem of interracial justice in the colonies, however, had been underscored by Catholic leaders in England with considerable emphasis long before Dr. Fisher made his

public stand on the issue. Ever since its formation by the late Cardinal Hinsley in 1940, the Sword of the Spirit has been especially active in seeking to keep public attention focussed on interracial conditions overseas.

In one of its early leaflets, for example, Britain's leading Catholic organization declared: "We believe that the colored peoples are not only fellow-subjects of King George VI but of Christ the King. As Our Lord looked down from Calvary, He saw all nations made up of individuals profoundly different but equally precious to Him. When He ordered His disciples to preach the Gospel to *all* nations, He made no distinctions. He never said it would be easy: He only said it must be done."

This is only a brief quotation from the Sword's pamphlet; but in these 70-odd words is compressed much of the essence of Catholic teaching on interracial justice. It is not so much because the denial of rights to great numbers of people in many lands is a risky as well as a foolish policy, but because it is an implicit refusal to recognize a God-given fiat that Catholics, in ever-growing numbers and with an articulateness and confidence born of their supernatural Faith, are boldly attacking the heresy of racism wherever it is found.—*THE INTERRACIAL REVIEW, New York, N. Y., June, 1945.*

Free Trade in Ideas

EMMET LAVERY

Reprinted from COLUMBIA*

MY FATHER used to say that every man should cheer for his native country whether he was born there or not.

So perhaps I may be forgiven for setting down a few words about the study forums of Los Angeles Council No. 621, even though I am not a Knight of Columbus.

I have seen these forums at work and I am convinced that they are a sure key to a deeper and a more informed Catholic life in America.

We are living in a complex civilization and the issues get a little more complex every day. The basic truth of an idea, whether it be in politics or in sociology, is not so easy to isolate as once it was. (Perhaps it never was.) No longer is it enough to ask who is for a proposition and who is against it. Peace no less than war will make for strange bedfellows. We shall have to study public issues with the patience and the precision of a scientist at a microscope.

Even for professional men trained to weigh and analyze issues, this will mean a certain amount of readjustment. For even the so-called professional men among us have been accustomed to do our so-called think-

ing during "office hours" and to turn off the thinking apparatus as we start for home in the evening. Yet thinking is becoming a twenty-four hour business. And not just for the scholars either.

There was a time perhaps when only a few picked champions met on the field of battle in behalf of an idea. But the radio, the films and television have changed all that. The ideas, good or bad, challenge us now at every turn of the road, every moment of the day. There isn't always time to run to the library, to call up an informed friend or to watch the latest turn of the Gallup poll. There isn't even time, quite frequently, to wait for the professors in our universities or the doctors of theology in our seminaries. Life is truly spinning by with the speed of light and now, more than ever before in history, each man must meet life with something more than just a clear conscience. He must meet it with an informed conscience.

This of course becomes something of a lifelong career, for it means that the average Catholic has to grow up to something more than the average Catholic. He has to devote him-

* New Haven 7, Conn., January, 1946.

self to the issues of the day with some of that intensity which heretofore he has reserved for the great doctors of the Church. He has to think what he is living—and he has to live what he is thinking.

THE MAN ON THE STREET

Personally, I welcome this kind of day. For I believe with Maisie Ward in a native intelligence of people as well as in an educated intelligence. I concede the necessity always for trained leadership, for sound orientation with the best teaching traditions of the Church. But I see no reason why the so-called "man on the street" can not take his place at the council tables of the day with as much grace as the most articulate Ph.D.

I believe all this because I believe in people as people. Because, perhaps, I also believe in grace as grace. And a little bit because I have never been able to evaluate the pseudo-intellectual hunch at any higher level than the best guess of the "man on the street."

I am willing to admit, naturally, that there is room for improvement on both sides. The best guess of the "man on the street" can be raised several notches. So can the crystal gazing of even our best-informed commentators. But let us not mistake glibness for soundness. Words are a writer's trick in trade. The fact that he can put them together like bits of tinsel on a Christmas tree does not

per se give his words any more validity than those of the "man on the street." The test in each case is the process by which the trained observer and the "man on the street" arrived at their opinions.

All of which will explain the contemporary importance of the study forums of Los Angeles Council No. 621. When men of all trades and professions sit down for an evening here with men like Harry Flannery or Dr. Chan, they don't just talk a thing through. They think it through. And not merely for one evening, but for several. Whether the subject is China, Japan or Germany, these men look at the material from a variety of angles. With the aid of trained observers, they undertake some firsthand thinking. The results, needless to say, are impressive. For the untrained observer has something to contribute as well as the trained observer. If he is a man with a clear head and a good heart, he has a capacity for going straight to the root of a problem with that wonderful sense of direction which we find in children when they are very young. If he is a man with a fuzzy set of prejudices, he soon learns to set sail on a new course. For in the frank give and take of a discussion period, these men really get down to cases. Facts are scrutinized, motives are analyzed. A hunch is no more than a hunch and a guess is thrown out the window.

Sometimes it isn't so easy. Lots of the problems facing us today do not bob up equipped with ready answers. The truth of a thing is not always a matter of clear-cut black and white. Even when a basic principle is soundly established, it is not always a simple matter to work out the right course of action. After all, a man carries his environment with him a long time before he meets up with a discussion group. The uses of sweet reason won't always dislodge a prejudice that has been accumulating for a lifetime. Yet the Catholic scheme of things being what it is, it's a rare man who refuses to reexamine his basic thinking. He knows that the search for Truth is a continuing and a growing process. He knows that, by the very law of averages, he may not have acquired all the answers to all the questions. So he is at least curious. And if a man is curious, there is always hope for him. For if, as the ancients used to say, the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, then surely curiosity is the pursuit itself.

Call it free trade in ideas if you like, but these groups are getting closer to the nature of the thing we call Truth than most of the folks you meet in a day's journey. They are discovering, with Newman, that Truth is the sum total of deducible evidence, that it is whole and never partial, and that it is *not* merely the best face we put upon a proposition. Above and beyond this, they are see-

ing more and more clearly that the quest for truth must be objective and not subjective. It's not a case of what we'd rather believe or what is more pleasant to believe. It's a case of finding what the plain facts are—and facing them. Finally, they are learning that even an enemy or an opponent can speak the truth at times. Two times two, for instance, still equals four whether you add it up in German or English. The Communists, upon occasion, can speak up for the rights of the Negro—and mean it, as was pointed out at the recent CIO convention in Boston. Catholics, on the other hand, have no monopoly on Truth. They can be, and frequently are, guilty of some very sad mistakes. For Truth is not something we carry around with us like a tailor made suit of clothes, guaranteed to fit because we are Catholics and therefore its natural custodians. Truth is both the voice and the gift of the Holy Spirit. Like the sun, it shines on both sides of a street. A little more on one, perhaps, than on the other, but it spills over occasionally even into the dark places.

All of this and a lot more the forums in Los Angeles are learning. I like to think it's the same kind of free trade in ideas that Newman so admired in the mediaeval universities. Some people might even call it adult education. Personally, I think it's something much more important. I call it adult living.

The World Today

THE HON. JERRY VOORHIS, of California

Address delivered on the floor of the House of Representatives, December 20, 1945.

Reprinted from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

MR. SPEAKER, as Congress recesses for the season of Christmas it should be possible for us to devote a few moments to taking stock of our own and our Nation's duties in the light of the principles of the first Christmas day.

Every soldier, sailor, and marine who gave his life in World War II believed as he died that he was doing so to make a better world. He left to us the task of building that better world. Before God and the souls of these departed heroes we must be about that task. Nothing short of the very highest statesmanship will be adequate to accomplish it.

For we live in a world where by the advancement of science and the cold intellect of man we have placed ourselves in a position to commit race suicide, to destroy civilization, even to blow up the world if that is what we want to do. The only kind of statesmanship that can meet this danger is one that can release in the world a power stronger than the hates, prejudices, fears, and suspicions of men in all nations, stronger than anything known to man throughout all history. Just what that power is I shall tell before I am through. That

it exists and is available to us if we will only commit ourselves to it I have not the slightest doubt.

Like a terrible curse there hangs over this chamber and over every home in the world today the shadow of the atomic bomb. Fear grips the hearts of men and among those who know most about it the fear is greatest. And yet the scientists who made the bomb had first to find a way to release from the very matrix of the universe a latent power placed there at the beginning of time by the hand of God himself. We are afraid only because of the evil in the hearts of men, only because we ourselves are not good enough people to live so that we need not fear death.

Some day mankind is going to have to make a fundamental choice and some nation will have to make it first. That time had best be now; that nation our own. It will take courage, vision, and a willingness to suffer abuse on the part of the people who urge the right choice.

This choice is between two diametrically opposite courses of action. The first of those courses of action can be described in rather specific terms about as follows: Another

war is inevitable. No matter what we do, we must expect that sooner or later there will be another world conflict. No matter what the consequences to our own people, we must be prepared to destroy whatever enemies there may be in that war. We must seek further development of the atomic bomb and try to develop bombs which will destroy greater and greater areas, penetrate deeper and deeper below the surface of the earth, have more and more explosive power, and more and more power to destroy human life by radioactivity. Meanwhile we must also develop bacteriological warfare and must call it "military progress" when we find new ways to snuff out human life by scattering disease germs around the world. All this we must keep secret from other nations, knowing full well that they will do likewise and only hoping that their so-called progress will be less rapid than our own. We must likewise maintain all the traditional sorts of military establishments and armament not so much because they will be useful in an atomic war as because first we have always had them and second they will make us look bigger and more powerful to the other nations of the world. Oh, we must make efforts to have peace, but while we do so we must realize that they will fail and put our main effort into preparing for the war that is going to come.

With all due respect to the good statement issued on atomic energy by the President and the Prime Ministers of Britain and Canada and with all due respect to other sincere efforts on the part of our country to help build a peace, it must be said that so far the point of view which I have just outlined has been predominant in this Nation and probably in other nations since the day on which Japan surrendered.

ANOTHER COURSE

But there is another course of action which has recommended itself in the past and been consistently rejected by the nations of the earth. It is one which today offers the only alternative to the armament race in atomic weapons culminating in the atomic war. Now, mankind does not desire to commit suicide. The common people of the earth in all countries, including even countries whose policies and practices we do not like, desire nothing so much as to live out their lives in peace and safety, raise their children in hope, and teach them the precepts of right and wrong and religious truth. Briefly, this second course of action, which it is altogether in the power of mankind to choose in this hour, rests upon the following considerations:

That another war will destroy even in victorious nations everything their people might previously have valued. That in order to fight that war suc-

cessfully it will be first necessary to destroy every vestige of democratic institutions in the nation which proposes to win it. That while it may be possible to destroy an enemy nation, it is inconceivable that that can be done without exposing the women and children of one's own nation to death. That, therefore, to follow such a course is to sacrifice for the sake of possible military victory the lives of a very great portion of the peoples of the earth. We are impelled, therefore, out of considerations of common humanity, to consider following a course involving certain risks from a military standpoint in order to put efforts to establish peace at the forefront of our minds and to place primary reliance instead of secondary reliance upon such efforts. We know this will mean the abolition of military secrecy and the sacrifice of some national sovereignty. We know it will require the drastic reduction of the world's armaments in all nations and their control for the common good of all mankind. The atomic bomb has made the entire world one defense area. It has put mankind into a rowboat in the midst of a great typhoon. It has put the whole human race in the position where it will either survive together or perish together and where there are no alternatives but these two. Therefore, this second course of action holds that we shall choose to survive in the only way left open to us, be-

lieving it to be the will of God that His powers as contained in the natural universe were intended for life rather than death.

But many people will say: "This is all far too idealistic. Look at the kind of world we are living in, hunger and suffering almost everywhere, unstable governments and sometimes corrupt ones, great nations and little ones where the freedom of the human spirit is still denied. There is civil conflict in China, oppression and injustice in the East Indies. And at home industrial strife and a serious disregard for the general public welfare."

And these same people will say: "These problems are greater and more serious than the world has ever faced before. How can we expect a new and better world to be built on such foundations?"

It was said in the Old Testament: "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom." And the key to releasing in the world that power stronger than the hates, prejudices and fears of men of which I spoke at the beginning is for us to place the fear of the Lord first and the fear of the atomic bomb second in our minds.

There is a course of action which can be followed by both men and nations which can overcome even the problems of the present world. But there is only one gateway that leads to it. It is set before us over

and over in the teachings of Our Lord in the New Testament. That gateway is repentance. Nor will it do to require repentance of others before we are willing to practice it ourselves.

I am conscious and proud of the record of my country through the years. But if she and her people are to be big enough of soul to take leadership in times like these, we must begin our task with the kind of forthright recognition of our own national wrongs which will show the world that a new power is at work among men.

DUTY OF AMERICANS

The first step then toward releasing that power is for us to confess that though others began the war, it was our own United States that developed the most devastating means of bombing not only military objectives but also cities and civilians. It was we who released atomic energy—we who reached for the power of the sun; we who dared God himself when we did so. And so it is we Americans who must assume the duty of seeing that atomic energy is used in accordance with as basic a law of justice as the power in the atom is basic to the natural universe.

Nor need we be moved wholly by idealism and sense of duty. For no man who believes that there is a law of God at work anywhere will doubt that, when a nation unlocks

the fundamental power in God's storehouse of energy, it necessarily will face a terrible retribution unless it is willing to run every necessary risk and exert the highest possible leadership in seeing that that greatest of God's natural gifts is used for the benefit of all mankind and made an instrument of lasting peace.

The problems which we face today may seem terribly confusing but the solution to them need not be so confusing. That solution is to do what is right. To find in the moral law of the universe a guide for our action and to follow it resolutely wherever it may lead, knowing that the least we can gain from such a course is a freedom from fear and the peace in our hearts which passes all understanding. And we shall also know that we have at least a chance to gain the kind of world for which those who lie dead upon the battlefield fought so hard and so valiantly.

There is the principle—simple, direct and understandable. Let us see if it can be applied to the problems that beset us and to our doubts and concerns about the future. And having done this, then let us see if it cannot be applied also to the problem of the atomic bomb.

Let us begin at home. It is clear, is it not, that what we need is to overcome the forces of division among our people and to exalt the common welfare of all citizens above the special interest of any particular

group? The need is for more understanding and less greed, for more fact and less prejudice, for the development of a greater desire to serve in order that the lot of the humblest among us may be raised. The ideal of America was a nation which should give refuge to the oppressed and burdened of the world. They have come here from almost every part of the world to enrich the national life of our country. It is true that it would be unfair to those already here to fling wide the gates to immigration. It is also true that emigration has never solved the problem of any nation, however crowded it might be. Therefore a more helpful thing to other nations is to assist them to build their own economies so that they may support their people rather than to burden those already in America with an insoluble problem presented by a large number of new arrivals to our shores. But here we must forge a genuine national community among all citizens of this great Republic. For Americans of every sort there must be equality of educational opportunity, a break-down of hate and prejudice, a readiness to recognize the innate worth of every human being in the sight of God. These things are right. That is all we need to know.

Again one of our great problems in America has arisen because we did not have the intelligence or the un-

derstanding to find ways to bring the benefits of the bounty of God to those who needed them. Another way of stating the same thing is to say that when the farmers of our country have produced an abundance of food, we have many times permitted that very abundance to become the means of depressing farm prices to ruinously low levels and of causing large amounts of precious foodstuffs to go to waste. Meanwhile, millions of America's children have been in need of a sufficiency of food to enable them to grow into the kind of strong and healthy citizens which our country needs and which they have an inherent right to be.

The principle which we have started rather feebly to apply and which could give in large part the answer to this problem is this: That as long as the farmers of America produce an abundance of foodstuffs there should be no school children in the country who are hungry or undernourished. It should hardly be necessary to argue the rightness of such a principle, but it must be implemented by the establishment of a school-lunch and penny-milk program of sufficient breadth so that at one and the same time we can make a substantial contribution to the worth-while disposal of farm surpluses, and, what is more important, guard the health and the educational alertness of our children. Only in this way can America's great system

of education be enabled to make its maximum contribution to the future strength and welfare of the Nation.

For a long time Congress has been temporizing with legislation to establish on a sound basis a school-lunch program which will be locally sponsored and initiated and to which the Federal Government can make worth-while contribution in the form of food. This is only one example of a manner in which the principle can be applied that there shall be no unnecessary need as long as there is an abundance of production, but it is an important and basic one and worthy of being included, I believe, with the other questions of great importance which I am attempting to discuss.

DIVIDED PUBLIC OPINION

We now come to what may well be the very heart of the political problem in our country. For, generally speaking, political opinion divides itself between those who believe that our salvation lies in governmental action and those who believe on the contrary that it is necessary to restrict all types of governmental action of whatever sort and for whatever purpose instituted to the least possible scope. Is there an irreconcilable conflict represented in these two points of view? Or is it possible that reasonable people can find an answer which will go far toward reconciling this political conflict and

building up a solid core of middle-of-the-road opinion in our country which can be the truest safeguard of our free institutions and our constitutional form of government? I believe very earnestly that this conflict is not irreconcilable, for I think it is altogether possible for us to recognize that there are certain functions of government which can contribute to the advancement of economic as well as political liberty, reduce the economic insecurity from which our country has suffered in the past, and make possible a continuous expansion of both consumption and production.

Such governmental action lies in the field of monetary controls, a true national system of social security and insurance against universal hazards of life, forthright action to prevent the growth or continuance of monopolistic power, a program for the orderly development in the interest of industry, agriculture and consumers of the natural resources of our country and a general fiscal and tax program which can be used as a regulator of the flow of the people's buying power and a means of guarding against the possibility of inflation and deflation, unhealthy booms and depression. None of these things need interfere with the fullest possible development of individual initiative and private enterprise. The better government does its job in these particular fields the less will be the likelihood of recurring periods of bankruptcy,

failure of the market and ruination of farmers and businessmen alike. On the basis of a proper functioning of our Government in its proper field, we can build an assurance that it will not venture beyond that field but will leave to competitive business the major task of production and distribution in the United States.

I have only said enough to briefly indicate a central principle for political discussion and the determination of political policy. It is the principle of reason as applied to the central problem of our day but it ever there was a time when it was important and right for reason to be used instead of prejudice, name-calling and narrow pursuit of doctrinaire ideas, that time is now.

But now we come to another problem on our home front upon the solution of which the future even of our democratic institutions may, in part, depend. It is the conflict between those who own and those who work, between capital and labor, management and workers. Can we find keys to that problem? By the application of the simple principles that I have given, I believe we can.

The first of them is to develop and know the facts, to enable all the American people to judge industrial controversy on its merits rather than on the basis of prejudiced propaganda on behalf of one side or the other. One reason, as is currently being pointed out, why the

Railway Labor Act has been so successful is because of its provisions for the appointment of fact-finding bodies as a last resort. For this means that both labor and management know that ultimately the true facts in the situation will be revealed to all the American people. The good will of one's fellow citizens is still the thing most cherished by all men and the strength of an informed public opinion can be made the most powerful of all influences making for speedy settlement of industrial disputes.

In the second place there are right answers to the wage problem—answers already suggested in the Congress itself. Very roughly those answers are to base collective bargaining upon two fundamental principles; first, that a living wage shall be the first charge upon industry and second, that a fair percentage of the actual earnings of a corporation should rightfully go to the workers who make its success possible. On this basis there can be developed a common interest on the part of both labor and management in increasing production for the welfare of the whole community. We will not solve this industrial labor problem by passing legislation which is aimed in inequitable fashion at one side only. We will help to solve it by eliminating wrong action on the part of anyone, whether it be labor, management, or anyone else. But most of all we can find the master key to its

solution in the right principle that wages above a fair living wage shall bear a constant and fair relationship to the earnings of the employing corporation.

With this all too brief discussion of only a few of our fundamental problems at home, let us turn to the world and see how the application of the principle of doing right and following the law of God will shape the foreign policy of this country.

What have been the forces to bind together the communities, states and nations of the world? Fundamentally, they have been those institutions which have ministered best to the needs of the people. Today America has an opportunity, unparalleled in all history, to fill that role. If we give our friendship, in generous spirit, with the relief we supply, we can build good will around the whole world. That world is a desperately needy one. Its roads are clogged with homeless people. Whole cities are almost childless simply because there has not been food enough to keep their children alive. During the war we have asked American farmers to push their production to the limit for the purpose of supporting the war, and they have done their job despite the lack of machinery and shortages of labor. Will we now ask them to reduce their production? Or will we assure them that if they once more aim for the maximum possible pro-

duction, we will purchase the food they produce beyond America's needs at fair prices and send it forth to meet the needs of the hungry peoples of the world?

FREE WILL OFFERING

The task will not be finished when we have made our full contribution to United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. That we are pledged to do. And we will keep, though tardily, our pledge. The very most desperate of the need UNRRA may meet. But there remains the opportunity to send, through public or private agencies, ships of food to the hospitals or the children of Italy and France and Holland, the Philippines and China as a free-will offering to our fellow human beings. Thus we may prove again the great heart of this democracy of free people. Thus we may grasp an opportunity which no other nation in all the world can grasp. It is our chance to prove that victory to a Christian Nation means an obligation to minister to the suffering more than it means the right to rule. Nor can the conquered peoples be forgotten.

It is, in the last analysis, the moral leadership of the world that counts the most. And the acid test of that moral leadership will come in our treatment of the common people of the conquered countries. I would agree that their needs should come after those of the nations which

fought by our side and which were overrun by the forces of tyranny. But it is inconceivable that democracy, which, after all, is the flower of a plant which is rooted in hope, can flourish in either Germany or Japan if there is evidence of a desire on the part of conquering nations to see the common people of those two nations suffer needlessly. It is true that most Americans have been against a ruthless policy in Germany. Many of us are today standing aghast at the suffering of millions of people in that part of the world. But we still permit barriers to exist against even the work of churches and other private organizations seeking to bring aid and relief to stricken, defenseless people there. What I am really calling for here is an effort as great as that made during the war to feed the armies of our own country and our allies. For such an effort can be an all-important instrument in building a better world on the right principle of the relief of stark human need wherever it exists. "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto Me."

Over and over I have heard it said that Uncle Sam cannot continue to be a Santa Claus to all the world. With that statement I agree. Nor would it do the world any good for us to attempt such a role. The rebuilding of the economies of other nations may be assisted in some ways by this great

Nation. But that job in the last analysis can only be done by the people of those nations themselves. The best we can do, perhaps all we should try to do, is to give them the strength now so they can carry on tomorrow.

And what about military policy? We know, do we not, that we ourselves fear the intentions of other nations when by their unilateral action they build armaments and develop their military strength? It is too much to expect that over the long run, at any rate, other nations will take a different attitude toward ourselves. The right military policy for America seems to me not difficult to find. It should include first and foremost the most forthright effort to bring about universal reduction in armaments and international control of heavy armaments in order that what will otherwise undoubtedly become an insupportable burden of ever-increasing military expense for all the peoples of the world may be escaped. America has a duty to perform in helping to bring a war-torn world to peace. It is true that American military strength can be one of the most potent forces making for justice for small nations and for peace. But is it not clear that if this is to be the function of whatever military establishment this Nation maintains, the size and scope of that establishment should be determined not by our own will to power but, rather, on the basis of the peace-keeping tasks which our country may

be commissioned to perform by the nations meeting together as they soon will do in the United Nations Organization? For then America's military strength would clearly be seen by all peoples as one of the instruments for the maintenance of peace.

PEACETIME CONSCRIPTION

And before we change the fundamental institutions of our country by adopting a peacetime conscription system, certainly we should try with all the statesmanship at our command to secure the abolition of conscription systems in all the nations of the world. Perhaps we shall fail in such an attempt, but even in that failure we would win, I believe, the heartfelt gratitude of the simple people of all nations and we could then undertake such program of military training as we felt necessary, having made it absolutely clear that we were doing it not out of a desire for military strength for its own sake but only because other nations were not ready as yet to follow the constructive leadership which we had offered. And at the very least we should at once stop the manufacture of atomic bombs, experimental or otherwise, as demonstration of our faith that peace is possible.

Our country must be prepared to stand with resolute determination against any tendencies anywhere in the world to revive the aggression by military power which, begun by Japan when she entered Manchuria, finally

led step by step to World War II. We cannot afford appeasement of such aggression by any power. But we shall not effectively prevent it by placing ourselves in a position so envied and predominant as to cause other powers to seek to balance our strength. We can accomplish it by cooperative leadership of international peace forces.

It is one thing for America to expect to hold bases in the Pacific won by the blood of our men which are truly important to the defense of our own Nation. But it is quite a different thing for us to refuse to place under the control of international trusteeship areas or islands where considerable populations live. For there we should be asserting the same principle which we know will afford the right answer in the Dutch East Indies and many other parts of the world. We know, too, if we are honest, that when we oppose, as we should oppose, domination by Soviet Russia over smaller countries, our own record will be the test by which our sincerity is judged. And so we come back to the principle of doing right ourselves first and then standing before the world with clean hands, to protect the rights of smaller nations and demand that other great nations do likewise.

The basic moral principle of life is the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Whatever binds people together is right. Whatever divides them is wrong. Do we believe in these

principles or do we not? That is the great question of this hour. Will we pursue a course which will make us so certain that we are ourselves following the will of God—that the influence of the United States will be able consistently to win the allegiance of people who have suffered under the cruelty and unreasonable domination of the armies of other countries?

Perhaps the outcome of the elections recently held in Austria is a part of the answer to this question. No cause is well served unless the welfare of the common people in the areas affected is well served. If others forget this, let it never be said that America has done so.

And now we come to the greatest event in at least a thousand years, namely, the coming of the atomic bomb. Let us remember that when that first atomic bomb exploded on Japan, mankind was catapulted into a brand new age—an age which for better or for worse will inevitably be dominated by the presence of atomic energy in it. All the rest of our policies put together must pale into comparative insignificance compared to what we do about this all important matter.

One of the greatest poets of the First World War was Herman Hagedorn. He has sent me a poem which he has written about the coming of the atomic bomb. It has not yet been published but I am sure he will not mind my quoting from it four

lines whose power will be evident at the first reading. Here they are:

We are little people and we must learn overnight to be great!

Our fathers built a nation on the determination of peoples from many lands to get along together.

We ourselves have dreamed of a world of nations learning to get along together.

And we have made a thing that has opened a chasm deeper and wider than the Grand Canyon between us and all other peoples!

The great question of this hour is whether we can bridge that chasm. A bridge half way across it will crumble and fall. The bridge must be thrown clear across the chasm which separates the United States as the possessor of the atomic bomb from other nations which under present circumstances are quite certainly endeavoring to develop these terrible weapons themselves.

The statement regarding the atomic bomb issued by the President and the Prime Ministers of England and Canada was a good statement so far as it went but it fell short of the transcendent greatness which these times demand. It should have been a statement which could have been concluded with ringing words somewhat like the following:

Let us be done with suspicion of one another. Let the world devote this most terrible of all weapons to the forging of a human unity. Let us make of the release of atomic energy a positive force for peace rather than a thing to be

fearfully used in continuing international rivalry. America and Britain stand ready to join with any other nations in building a peace machinery so strong and with such universal effective authority that to it may be given the exclusive control over atomic weapons and the exclusive right to possess them.

No halfway measures will suffice. Our choice is between good and evil, between right and wrong, between life and death. In the columns of the great Catholic magazine *America*, which has so often asserted truths which others feared to state, we find in the issue for November 17 an article entitled "Control of Atomic Energy," written by Father John LaFarge, S.J. From it I take the following paragraph as setting forth the proposal of the author for the action which the United States and Britain ought to take in this hour of decision:

They would issue an invitation to the nations of the world to undertake the custody not only of the bomb but of all atomic energy, all developments, scientific, commercial, military, etc., while leaving complete liberty for independent scientific research. The will of the people would once and for all be expressed by a completely international agency representative of the peoples of the world with no special interests, national, commercial, or otherwise. It would be open to all peace-loving peoples without exception. The foundation stone of this agency's policy would be not only the outlawing of the bomb as such, but outlawing of war, international war. Since war is declared an outlaw, it must suffer the penalties of an outlaw. The international

agency would be equipped with the right to pursue offenders, to investigate violations, to inspect possible sources of danger, etc., and to punish violators of peace, present or future.

TOTAL WAR OR TOTAL PEACE

Mr. Speaker, only a man with faith in the purposes of God could advance such a proposal. But only such men and such proposals can possibly be adequate to the needs of our time. Unless national sovereignty is modified and subordinated to the law of peace, there can be no peace. Unless there is universal international control of armament, there can be no safety from the atomic bomb. Unless military secrecy is abolished everywhere, there will be ever-growing suspicion, fear and distrust until at last the atomic war bursts upon us. We must choose now between total war and total peace. And the irreducible minimum of the requirements for peace is that all peoples everywhere shall from now on know what every other nation is or is not doing to prepare for war. For on such a foundation and on it alone can be built a firm structure of international disarmament agreements which can be enforced and kept. Without such agreements, indeed without an agreement that no nation in the future may possess any atomic bombs at all, it will be but a few short years before many nations will be armed with atomic weapons. And the universal testimony of every witness, military

as well as civilian and scientific, is that from that day forward every advantage will lie with the most ruthless aggressor, the most crafty users of the sneak attack. That means that the advantage cannot lie with our country. In such a situation peace will have become a psychological as well as a military impossibility. A few short years remain in which we can, if we will, prevent world disaster.

Ever since Christ lived and died upon His cross for the salvation of mankind, men and women have known in their hearts that the motive force which is more powerful than armies and navies—yes; more powerful than all the atomic bombs that ever will be manufactured—is the readiness of men and the readiness of nations to sacrifice something of themselves and their special interests for the common good. The sacrifice that is now called for is the sacrifice of a portion of national sovereignty—the common good is the peace of the world. By the employment of that motive force we must, and we can, secure justice and peace. Nothing less will be equal to our task. Someone will say "but such a policy has never succeeded." And on the international scale, perhaps that is right. But if such a policy has never succeeded, the reason certainly is obvious. It has not succeeded because it has never been tried. The time to try it is now.

Humanity through the centuries

has been waiting for some great nation to stand forth in the hour of its most profound crisis for a sincere attempt to be made to try that method. It is rooted in every fundamental religious principle that mankind has ever known and it will embody the moral progress which can match the scientific progress represented by the atomic bomb.

Here then in the central precept of the religion of humble folk we can find, if we will, that power which is stronger than the hates and prejudices and fears and suspicions of men in every nation. Stronger than anything known to man throughout all history. Mightier than the atomic bomb.

And even if in the pursuit of such a policy we should fall short and war should again visit the earth, our children would nonetheless be able to face that disaster with the courage and faith that comes only to those who strive earnestly to live by eternal principles. It is better to risk physical death in a bold attempt to build a new world of peace than to face the certainty of spiritual and moral death, as well as physical death in the rut of the tradition of the war system.

The one thing above all others with which we must equip succeeding generations is a simple all-absorbing principle by which they can live and, if necessary, die, without fear. That principle is the moral law of the universe: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

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And we have made a thing that has opened a chasm deeper and wider than the Grand Canyon between us and all other peoples!

The great question of this hour is whether we can bridge that chasm. A bridge half way across it will crumble and fall. The bridge must be thrown clear across the chasm which separates the United States as the possessor of the atomic bomb from other nations which under present circumstances are quite certainly endeavoring to develop these terrible weapons themselves.

The statement regarding the atomic bomb issued by the President and the Prime Ministers of England and Canada was a good statement so far as it went but it fell short of the transcendent greatness which these times demand. It should have been a statement which could have been concluded with ringing words somewhat like the following:

Let us be done with suspicion of one another. Let the world devote this most terrible of all weapons to the forging of a human unity. Let us make of the release of atomic energy a positive force for peace rather than a thing to be

fearfully used in continuing international rivalry. America and Britain stand ready to join with any other nations in building a peace machinery so strong and with such universal effective authority that to it may be given the exclusive control over atomic weapons and the exclusive right to possess them.

No halfway measures will suffice. Our choice is between good and evil, between right and wrong, between life and death. In the columns of the great Catholic magazine *America*, which has so often asserted truths which others feared to state, we find in the issue for November 17 an article entitled "Control of Atomic Energy," written by Father John LaFarge, S.J. From it I take the following paragraph as setting forth the proposal of the author for the action which the United States and Britain ought to take in this hour of decision:

They would issue an invitation to the nations of the world to undertake the custody not only of the bomb but of all atomic energy, all developments, scientific, commercial, military, etc., while leaving complete liberty for independent scientific research. The will of the people would once and for all be expressed by a completely international agency representative of the peoples of the world with no special interests, national, commercial, or otherwise. It would be open to all peace-loving peoples without exception. The foundation stone of this agency's policy would be not only the outlawing of the bomb as such, but outlawing of war, international war. Since war is declared an outlaw, it must suffer the penalties of an outlaw. The international

agency would be equipped with the right to pursue offenders, to investigate violations, to inspect possible sources of danger, etc., and to punish violators of peace, present or future.

TOTAL WAR OR TOTAL PEACE

Mr. Speaker, only a man with faith in the purposes of God could advance such a proposal. But only such men and such proposals can possibly be adequate to the needs of our time. Unless national sovereignty is modified and subordinated to the law of peace, there can be no peace. Unless there is universal international control of armament, there can be no safety from the atomic bomb. Unless military secrecy is abolished everywhere, there will be ever-growing suspicion, fear and distrust until at last the atomic war bursts upon us. We must choose now between total war and total peace. And the irreducible minimum of the requirements for peace is that all peoples everywhere shall from now on know what every other nation is or is not doing to prepare for war. For on such a foundation and on it alone can be built a firm structure of international disarmament agreements which can be enforced and kept. Without such agreements, indeed without an agreement that no nation in the future may possess any atomic bombs at all, it will be but a few short years before many nations will be armed with atomic weapons. And the universal testimony of every witness, military

as well as civilian and scientific, is that from that day forward every advantage will lie with the most ruthless aggressor, the most crafty users of the sneak attack. That means that the advantage cannot lie with our country. In such a situation peace will have become a psychological as well as a military impossibility. A few short years remain in which we can, if we will, prevent world disaster.

Ever since Christ lived and died upon His cross for the salvation of mankind, men and women have known in their hearts that the motive force which is more powerful than armies and navies—yes; more powerful than all the atomic bombs that ever will be manufactured—is the readiness of men and the readiness of nations to sacrifice something of themselves and their special interests for the common good. The sacrifice that is now called for is the sacrifice of a portion of national sovereignty—the common good is the peace of the world. By the employment of that motive force we must, and we can, secure justice and peace. Nothing less will be equal to our task. Someone will say "but such a policy has never succeeded." And on the international scale, perhaps that is right. But if such a policy has never succeeded, the reason certainly is obvious. It has not succeeded because it has never been tried. The time to try it is now.

Humanity through the centuries

has been waiting for some great nation to stand forth in the hour of its most profound crisis for a sincere attempt to be made to try that method. It is rooted in every fundamental religious principle that mankind has ever known and it will embody the moral progress which can match the scientific progress represented by the atomic bomb.

Here then in the central precept of the religion of humble folk we can find, if we will, that power which is stronger than the hates and prejudices and fears and suspicions of men in every nation. Stronger than anything known to man throughout all history. Mightier than the atomic bomb.

And even if in the pursuit of such a policy we should fall short and war should again visit the earth, our children would nonetheless be able to face that disaster with the courage and faith that comes only to those who strive earnestly to live by eternal principles. It is better to risk physical death in a bold attempt to build a new world of peace than to face the certainty of spiritual and moral death, as well as physical death in the rut of the tradition of the war system.

The one thing above all others with which we must equip succeeding generations is a simple all-absorbing principle by which they can live and, if necessary, die, without fear. That principle is the moral law of the universe: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Consumer Approach in Co-ops

DR. M. M. COADY

Reprinted from *The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD**

I THINK I can best illustrate the necessity of the consumer approach in our cooperative ventures by portraying to you the difficulties that cooperative marketing will run into when it gets under way.

Let us make it very simple. We shall take the farmers, for example. They hear, we will suppose, for the first time about this new technique of cooperation. It is, they are convinced, the green light on the economic highway of life. It beckons them to follow. They decide to form a marketing cooperative. When they begin to bring in their commodities, wheat, meat, or anything else, they are suddenly stopped on the first intersection on the road by the red light; a traffic cop rushes out, blows a golden whistle, holds up a threatening left hand and stops the traffic.

Who is this man with the golden whistle? He is the representative of the first hierarchy of business. He is the merchant, the dealer, the wholesaler, or the representative of the market.

He promptly tells the farmers that they cannot cross this golden line, they must stay back on their farms. These men are everywhere and our

would-be cooperators are going to experience great difficulties in the beginning if all the people are not thoroughly indoctrinated with the cooperative philosophy. He can smash the farmers' ranks. He can do this because his economic position gives him influence. He stands high in the political and social life of the community. He is thus a potential danger to any movement of the people to invade, even in this simple way, the field of business.

The reason for this power is to be found in the fact that he owns economic institutions in the consumer field. He owns stores, wholesales or credit institutions. Were he and his kind out of the way, then the road would be easy. Thus, what so many people here in Canada consider the first step in cooperation is encountering an obstacle that can be solved only by the consumer approach.

We can come to the same conclusion from another angle. The farmers, and all primary producers for that matter, should not be satisfied with selling their raw material. You western wheat growers could manufacture your wheat into flour. The green-lighted highway that leads

* Washington, D. C., December 19, 1945.

east to the Atlantic Ocean is thronged with people who would love to join with you and own co-jointly these milling plants.

But you would look down that long way in vain for a chance to do this as long as your fellow countrymen are not organized on the consumer end. Even if you milled your wheat you would still have to give it to your fellow Canadians through old-line profit business and that would not make it much better for you or for them.

CO-OPS AND CITY DWELLERS

In the Maritime Provinces we have 120 cooperative stores—we do about \$8,500,000 retail business a year. We have three wholesales which do a \$5,000,000 business. Now, suppose that we had, in our part of the country, at least one cooperative store in every community and the wholesales set up in all the region, we could go in with you in joint ownership of flour mills and thus give an easy outlet for this manufactured commodity.

And let us remember this does not apply just to the rural areas of Canada; it applies with greater force to the urban communities. The only way that you can carry on cooperative business with the city dwellers of this country is to have them organized in cooperative consumer societies of all kinds.

City people want the farmers' flour, bacon and other processed com-

modities, but you can't get them to them cooperatively unless they have consumer societies. But the population in an urban center should not be looked upon as mere consumers—they, too, are producers. If cooperation is to become universal in this country, I might say if it is to survive in this country, then the city dweller must come into the picture. If we are to sell to him, we must buy from him.

This could be done not by separate organizations of city people against rural people but by cooperative associations in which all are members. We feel proud of the fact that in eastern Canada, on account of our insistence on this universal philosophy from the very beginning of our movement, there is a complete understanding between coal miners, steel workers, industrial workers generally, and the fishermen and farmers.

They are not antagonistic. They sit on the same boards of wholesalers and federations of other consumer cooperative societies. They are moving on all fronts together and are looking forward to the day when they will conjointly own manufacturing plants to supply their needs. This should be the ideal of all co-operators in Canada.

But there is still a greater reason why the primary producers need the industrial workers in the cooperative movement. When through the industrial revolution the domestic system

was swept away and manufacturing was concentrated in factories located in industrial centers, the masses of the world's people lost control of their economic lives. Consumer cooperation is the instrument which will give us back this control.

The consumer institutions were not swept away from the local communities. Men will always need stores, wholesales, banks and service institutions. These must and always will be located where people live.

When the people own, cooperatively, enough of these institutions and when the volume of demand grows they can federate into wholesales and either build or take over the manufacturing plants in the distant industrial centers. Here is where the city man is needed most. We need the volume of his business. We will need him as a worker. But he will be something more than a worker and wage earner in the new set-up. He will be joint owner with the primary producers of the manufacturing plants that cater to the needs of all the people. He can become joint owner of a business whose greatness is only limited by the will of the people.

Here we have the key to the new control and ownership of the productive processes in modern society. This is a clever technique. Nothing can stand up against it. Let the people of North America control their consumer institutions and they own America. That is the road back for the masses of the world's people. That is the road that will lift the people from being mere primary producers who do the world's dirty and hard work to full-fledged citizenship.

We are dead men if we cannot see that our manifest destiny here in Canada is to be a great people; we have the country. We should be as broad as Canada—4,000 miles broad; we should be as virile as the North Wind, realistic as the rocks of Ontario, as serene as the waters of the Great Lakes, secure in our stride as the lordly flow of the St. Lawrence, energetic and active as the infinitely turbulent Atlantic, artistic as the island fringes and green slopes of British Columbia, imperturbable as the everlasting, majestic Rockies. If we don't build here a great civilization we will contradict all human history.



To understand the Sacred Heart—that would be heaven! To seek to know that Heart even a little better, and to love It a little more—that is heaven begun.—*V. Rev. Paul Waldron in The FAR EAST, St. Columbans, Nebraska.*

The Left-Right Fallacy

CHRISTOPHER DAWSON

*Reprinted from THE CATHOLIC HERALD**

I AM very glad to have an opportunity of explaining the reasons why I object to the current terminology of Left and Right, most of all so far as Catholics are concerned.

It is obvious today that we are faced with the prospect of a return to barbarism. The ancient tradition of Western Christendom which was founded on the three pillars of Faith and Freedom and Law is withering away before our eyes, and in its place there is arising an enormously powerful but completely inhuman system of social organization, which is usually known as totalitarianism.

This system is destroying all the forms of civilized life and moral behavior which had been developed by a thousand years and more of continuous strenuous effort, and it is not only bringing back the old evils of barbarism—like slavery and massacre and torture—but also introducing new forms of organized evil and injustice which the old barbarisms could never have imagined or devised.

It is our duty at the present time to do all in our power to preserve every existing breakwater against this flood of barbarism.

If we can maintain islands of

civilization, then there is a chance that the tide may turn and that the submerged forces of Christian culture will be able to reassert themselves.

This task far transcends politics; but it has its political side, and if we surrender our political judgment and allow ourselves to be hoodwinked and blinded by the political tactics of totalitarianism, we lessen our powers of resistance on still more important issues.

Now the traditional Western political order was founded on law and liberty. The common bond of loyalty to the State did not exclude all kinds of lesser loyalties and corporate rights through which the rich diversity of Western Culture was developed. And this two-fold tradition has been inherited by Western democracy, by which I understand not an abstract ideology, but simply the historic system of self-government by representing institutions and ministerial responsibility and free elections and free discussion, which has been worked out in this and other Western countries in modern times.

This system, like the older system from which it is derived, cannot work unless there is a common bond of

* 67 Fleet St., London, E.C.1. Nov. 9, 1945.

loyalty and a will to cooperate in essentials, in spite of all disagreements and divergencies of interest. This agreement is essential to the existence of a free society and consequently it is the key-point against which the totalitarian attack on Western Culture is directed.

THE TOTALITARIAN TACTIC

The tactics of totalitarianism are to weld every difference of opinion and tradition and every conflict of economic interests into an absolute ideological opposition which disintegrates society into hostile factions bent on destroying one another.

In this campaign of disintegration the Right-Left mythology is a perfect god-send to the forces of destruction. It provides them with a crude and simple but highly effective instrument which can be applied to almost any situation and by which any number of different issues can be merged together in a mass of confusion and ideological clap-trap.

For example, there are Liberals and Conservatives, there are Republicans and Monarchists, there are anti-clericals and clericals, there are Communists and Fascists, there are Socialists and Individualists, there are Semites and anti-Semites. All of these are different oppositions, which have no necessary connection with one another, yet all of them are brought under the Left-Right headings and thus forced into ideological alliances

which may be unnecessary and absurd. Moreover, when you have got your opponents all neatly ticketed you can then repeat the same process on any section of them—dividing the Socialists into Socialists of the Left Center and Socialists of the Extreme Left, or the Liberals into Moderates or Progressives, so as to submit them to the same process of confusion and disintegration.

Now the fault—or, if you like, the advantage, of the method of division is that it has no rational basis. It grades men and ideas according to their relation to a central point; which, as a rule, has no existence.

Yet in spite of this irrational character, Left and Right become the center of fierce ideological loyalties and enmities which overpower men's reason and sense of justice and drive them to acts of violence and inhumanity which would disgrace a tribe of cannibals.

The process of social disintegration by political faction has been spreading like an epidemic in modern society.

It is transforming Europe, the most highly civilized region in the world, the home of Christian culture, into an inferno of hatred and suspicions.

It can only be checked by a great moral effort on the part of all those who have not yet been dragged down into this whirlpool of destruction.

The obvious remedy for these evils is to be found in the old natural and

political virtues which have been denied and discarded by the new barbarians: the virtues of justice and goodwill, the virtues of truth and patience, above all the virtue of prudence which Aristotle defines as a truly rational and practical state of mind in the field of human good and evil. It is only by the exercise of these virtues that it is possible to save society from the political disintegration that threatens it, and maintain an island of society amidst the rival barbarians of Left and Right.

For what we are faced with is not a false ideology which can be met with rational argument, but a kind of contagious social malady which may be deliberately encouraged by cold-blooded political schemes, but which is in itself a thoroughly irrational thing.

SOURCE OF LEFT-RIGHT SPLIT

It is true that the Left-Right division existed long before the rise of modern totalitarianism, but from the beginning it was tainted with similar moral evils. For it originated in the French Revolution under the shadow of the guillotine and the reign of terror, at a time when politics were merged in civil war and when the totalitarian techniques of purges and liquidations and single-party dictatorship were first evolved. Where such conditions exist, the irrational dualism of Left and Right is natural enough,

since every man is forced to take one side or the other, and he stakes his neck on the victory of his party.

Today the whole thing has become infinitely more serious owing to the breakdown of Western civilization and the rapid spread of social disintegration in continental Europe. But this situation makes it all the more necessary that we should keep our heads and refuse to allow our own political vendetta of Left and Right. That way leads to destruction. The way of life is the way of justice which turns neither to the Right nor to the Left.

The political order of the Christian State was founded on the belief in a law of justice which did not depend on the right of the stronger or the will of the majority, but on the eternal law to which kings and peoples alike were subject. And this belief in justice still survives today, though its spiritual foundations are often forgotten, so that "law and order" seem no more than a tiresome convenience that we take for granted.

Nevertheless, it is the most precious thing we have, and there are countless thousands in Europe today who are perishing for lack of it. And so long as there are men who stand for justice and truth against the violence of party passion and the lies of party propaganda, there is still a hope for Europe and for Christian civilization.

America's Duty to the Missions

RT. REV. MSGR. THOMAS J. McDONNELL

National Director, Society for the Propagation of the Faith

*Reprinted from JESUIT MISSIONS**

REGARDLESS of the opinion of those who are engaged in planning for future peace, Catholics of America must give personal and deep consideration to that problem. This war has proved, without the shadow of a doubt, that no nation can be so self-contained that it can afford to disregard events and trends, needs and aspirations of other sections of the world. Americans constitute but one portion of humanity, but they represent a branch in the eternal brotherhood of man in the Fatherhood of God. Perhaps this will be one of the lasting principles which will survive the ravages of the conflict now ended. As a matter of fact it must remain one of the abiding truths to be remembered by our Catholic people.

Before me on my desk at this moment are letters from every section of the war areas, written by chaplains and laymen in the armed forces of our country who are forced, so to speak, by the evidence of their senses, to give frank and unsolicited testimony of what has been accomplished by the Catholic Church in all sections of the world. This is particu-

larly true of conditions in the Orient and the Pacific theatre of operations. No section was too remote, no undertaking too hazardous for the bishops, the priests, the brothers and the sisters who answered the call to the mission apostolate.

While this has been the principle of the Church since her foundation, it is only today that America is privileged to view the scene in its entirety. Now, with that knowledge, comes a sense of responsibility never before experienced. This is now our business—this task of saving souls. The mandate uttered over 1900 years ago, "Go ye into the whole world and preach the gospel to every creature," was addressed to every member of the Catholic Church, to every American who acknowledges the Sovereign Pontiff as Christ's Vicar on earth.

Today we know that no man or woman who has viewed the Church in action, particularly in the action of her mission apostolate, can fail to be filled with admiration for the magnificence of the task accomplished. The sincere faith evinced by the once savage tribes of Oceania proves with-

* 962 Madison Avenue, New York 21, N. Y., October, 1945.

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out a doubt that the blood of the martyrs for the past one hundred years has watered well the plant of Catholicity. The unswerving devotion of the missionaries in China, who, regardless of personal risk, have followed and more often led their frightened flocks to safety, has aroused the admiration of every man in the armed forces who has witnessed their work. The high cultural development found as a consequence of the Church's activities in the Philippines has given our troops a totally different aspect of what mission work may achieve.

On the other hand there has come the knowledge that this devastating war has wrought untold damage upon the great foundations which have taken decades, nay, centuries, to erect. The devastation in Africa, while limited to the northern section, caused great property as well as incalculable spiritual loss through the internment of many missionaries designated as enemy aliens. None need be told of the ravages inflicted upon China after eight years of warfare, while the Indies, scene of once flourishing mission activity, Indo-China and Burma have passed through a baptism of fire which would seem to prostrate the Church for the present at least. Japan, a mission country, after almost continual bombing for months, must face a long era of reconstruction. The Philippines, known as the Pearl of the Orient, must set to the task of

rebuilding upon the ruins of some four hundred years of painstaking labor. In addition the war stopped for five long years the sending of replacements of personnel from the great mission centers in Europe.

A PERIOD OF TRIAL

Certainly, therefore, the missions of the Church may be said to have gone through one of their periods of trial. Once more the stark tragedy of Good Friday would seem to have descended upon them as it did upon the Queen of the Missions and the tiny group that sought refuge in the upper room. However, we know that had there been no crucifixion there would have been no resurrection, and it is this thought which must dominate, our plans for the future peace of the world, and act as the measuring rod of our real Catholicity.

This conclusion is not the result of wishful thinking but the real and true evaluation of events of the past and the possibilities of the future. Nineteen hundred years ago the work of the great Missionary was apparently destroyed by His ignominious death upon the cross. Sixteen long centuries ago the followers of the prophet Mohammed, overrunning the Near East, apparently killed the growth of the Church in Africa. Defections within the Christian fold decimated the ranks of the faithful throughout Europe, while persecutions threatened the life of the new-

born Faith in distant lands. But anyway, phoenixlike, Catholicity has risen from its funeral pyre to a greater and more glorious growth.

Now the glimmerings of the Resurrection morn streak across the darkness of yesterday's Calvary. Pushed back from the coastal cities of China the seminaries have been opened; cavelike, far in the interior, the hospitals have been functioning, orphanages were maintained and the natives have learned to appreciate the missionaries as the true shepherds who never desert their flocks. The depleted staffs which manned the bombed hospitals and orphanages in Africa have been increased by a slow

but steady stream of recruits from America. In addition German prisoners of war are studying for the priesthood in an improvised seminary outside Algiers, and the opening of a Catholic university for South Africa has just been announced. The only plea heard from the lips of evacuated Oceanic missionaries in Australia or America is a speedy return to the beloved natives who have proved the worth of their Catholic teaching. Newcomers have been leaving regularly for the once desolate mission areas of South and Central America, while interest in the home apostolate has been revived by an increase in America's mission interest. The work must go forward.

THE CATHOLIC MIND

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