



Re-founded

# pax romana journal

International Movement of Catholic Students  
International Catholic Movement for Intellectual and Cultural Affairs

## MAN... SOCIETY... STATE

by Fr. M. ARTHUR F. UTZ, O. P.

### Against totalitarianism

In his encyclical, *Quadragesimo Anno*, Pius XI called attention to the serious distortion of community life brought on by the Individualism of the 19th century. Once the individual became the last unit vis-à-vis the State, the possible existence of various social groups was necessarily excluded. In other words, the political doctrine of individualism led to the disappearance of intermediary bodies. It is true that (owing to their monopolistic tendencies), these intermediary bodies were the cause of much social tension in the Middle Ages. But today, when only the individual and State are left face to face, all the tasks of the community have reverted directly to the State. "This deforming of the social order has grievously harmed the State upon whom has fallen all those functions no longer exercised by social groups, and it is consequently submerged and overwhelmed by an infinity of affairs and duties"<sup>1</sup>.

Pius XI was referring to this situation when, for the first time, he exposed the principle of subsidiarity, since famous for the controversy it aroused. Pius XI conceded to the modern State certain powers which, in former times, were not associated with its activities. However, he sees untold danger in appealing solely to the State for all questions which concern the life of society. He therefore lays down the fundamental law which governs the structure of human society: first the individual, then from small to more powerful social groups and finally the State. "Just as it is wrong to withdraw from the individual and commit to the community at large what private enterprise and industry can accomplish, so, too, it is an injustice, a great evil and a disturbance of right order for a larger and higher organisation to arrogate to itself functions which can be performed efficiently by smaller and



The Belfry at Bruges,  
symbol of civic history

lesser bodies . . . the true aim of all social activity should be to help individual members of the social body, but never to destroy or absorb them"<sup>2</sup>.

Pius XI called this fundamental law "the principle of subsidiary function" (*subsidiarii officii principium*). To understand the principle, we would first point out that it is essentially limiting. Every negative principle presupposes a positive principle and a positive norm. We shall come back to this point.

### Struggle for the principle of subsidiarity

The principle of subsidiarity had already been discussed before 1931, date of the Encyclical. For instance, under the Weimar Republic, the role of the State in giving social aid to youth was widely debated. In 1922, it

was stated that the sole function of the State lay in helping those on whom the task of education was incumbent, in the first place therefore the parents. This law was abrogated by the Third Reich. In 1953, a new promulgation defined the subsidiary functions of the State where education was concerned. The Bundestag expressly mentioned the principle of subsidiarity. The State should first stimulate private bodies, and provide the requisite help; only in the final instance, if private effort fails, should the State itself establish the necessary institutions.

The socialists strongly opposed this formulation on the grounds that the role of the State in education was primordial.

They took the same stand against the principle of subsidiarity in the debate on social reform. Society, they said, should forestall private initiative, before it had gone into action. This would eliminate inequality by ensuring equal opportunity for all.

### Reply to Socialist objections

The principle of subsidiarity in no way asserts that action by the State cannot, in certain cases, anticipate private initiative. It is based on the fundamental idea that society or the State must step in where individual effort is inadequate. The State may interfere, but must not do so unless it is absolutely necessary. It must acknowledge the fact that, by their essence, liberty and the personal responsibilities that flow therefrom, rank before State intervention. In fact, State intervention may take the form of preventative measures. But in spirit, the State should only aim to protect personal liberty and responsibility. The norm for State intervention is always the common good. Here we reach the crux of the dispute between socialists and Christians. For the Christian, the common good lies in the institutions which allow every individual to achieve material and spiritual happiness, by his own efforts and within the limits of personal responsibility. But from the socialist's point of view, society is so empty and impersonal that moral and religious perfection may no longer be considered as an element of the common good. That is why socialism is incapable of understanding private initiative as it is expressed in the principle of subsidiarity.

<sup>1</sup> Q. A. para. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Q. A. para. 79.

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## Papal Teaching:

## CIVISM AS A MORAL VIRTUE

*The timeliness and importance of the subject pursued and meditated by His Excellence, Msgr. Angelo Dell'Acqua, Substitute at the Vatican Secretariat of State, in this letter to the 32nd Semaine Sociale in Canada makes it incumbent upon us to reproduce it here for our members. Not only is this a message from the Vatican, but it is a clear description and definition of the Civic Responsibility of Catholics.*

One of the most striking features of our time is undoubtedly the rapid extension of the powers of the State, which was suddenly faced with a spate of new problems and hence began to intervene in spheres which, till then, had lain outside its direct control. Consequently relations between government and governed were often modified, while on the other hand, the power of mass communications and propaganda bound men more and more closely together and roused the community as a whole to take a greater interest in public affairs. That this condition of the modern State "invading and invaded" "divided and overwhelmed" might have provoked a crisis in the concept of civism is precisely what the *Semaine Sociale de France* set out to analyse last year; the directives which His Holiness was pleased to give on this occasion will be helpful during your discussions<sup>1</sup>.

This meeting which will consider the Christian in the different walks of public life, will especially try to create or re-create in him, in accordance with the lofty and unyielding requirements of Christian morality, a sense of civic responsibility. By this we mean an awareness of his rights and duties in the Body Politic — rights and duties that in the final analysis flow from general or legal justice which philosophers and theologians take to be the most perfect of the human virtues since it coordinates all human activities towards the common good.

The full importance of a task which will benefit not only individuals but society itself is therefore obvious. Indeed once individuals and private groups begin to lose the civic virtues, the national community tends to disintegrate under pressure from partisan dissensions or rival interests and the normal exercise of authority is quickly compromised. "As they are established on this same foundation (of the moral order), the person, the State, the government, with their respective rights, are so bound together that they stand or fall together"<sup>2</sup>.

#### Man, basis and end of Society

By teaching participants the moral laws which direct civic life, the organisers of the *Semaine Sociale* in Canada 1955 should remember that man "far from being the object and so-called passive element in the life of society, is on the contrary, and always should be, its subject, basis and end"<sup>3</sup>. This declaration of the Holy Father is of the utmost

importance. It shows how every call to civism, that is every request to adhere actively and reasonably to civic order is in the long run, a call to respect and serve man who is himself the subject, basis and end of the life of society. The practice of civism asks the members of the community to overcome the narrow exclusiveness of personal ideas and even to sacrifice immediate gain to the common good, only in order that those responsible for the Body Politic may direct it towards its real ends which rigourously respect man's destiny.

Pius XI remarked in his Encyclical on Education, of which we have just celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary, "the State can exact, and take measures to secure that all its citizens have the necessary knowledge of their civic and political duties, and a certain degree of physical, intellectual and moral culture, which, considering the conditions of our times, is really necessary for the common good." And yet, if the State can "provide what may be called civic education not only for its youth, but for all ages and classes", it is evident that



Only vestiges of public life remain in Ostia...

Therefore, far from setting up the personal liberty of citizens in false opposition to the needs of society, true civism recognises the absolute order established by God; it therefore honours authority as a service to the individual, and gives rein to legitimate liberties provided they are in keeping with the common good. "Free men, but the liberty you enjoy is not to be made a pretext for wrong-doing; it is to be used in God's service"<sup>4</sup>.

Harmony and balance between the excesses of totalitarianism and the disorders of anarchy, both of which despise and destroy man, civism is the essence of a strong and healthy society. It calls for free continuous contact between the members of the national community and their leaders; thus the latter are aware of the clear unhesitating expression of thoughtful, and informed public opinion, while the former understand the structure of an order designed for the common good and accepted as such. A keen appreciation of the unity of the State, despite the division of work and the diversity of conditions, voluntary obedience, "not only for fear of punishment, but in conscience"<sup>5</sup> and just control which renders service to the community and to the person these are the characteristics of a civic sense founded on the moral order.

A nation of loyal citizens with sound principles is not built up in a day. Indeed, as

this work can have no other basis than the rights of which the Church is the divinely appointed guardian. Moreover, is there any need to recall the very grave and even more basic obligation of parents to give their children the civic education to which they are entitled? This training forms an integral part of the educative mission of the family and of the Christian school which is its extension. "The family is the cradle of civil society, and it is for the most part in the surroundings of the home that the destiny of states is prepared"<sup>6</sup>.

Like their Master, the disciples of Christ are not of this world, and yet they live in the world<sup>7</sup>. God grant that the next Social Week may help Catholics in Canada to reflect on this truth of their faith: its standards of justice and charity urge them to reject isolation and indifference to the affairs of their country; but its teaching also reminds them that man does not live by bread alone and that the temporal good of the Body Politic should allow its members to pursue the noblest ends for which man was created.

Vatican, 29th August 1955.

A. Dell'Acqua,  
for the Secretariat of State.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Pont. Letter* 14 July 1954.

<sup>2</sup> Christmas Message of the Holy Father, 1944.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> I PET. II, 16-17.

<sup>5</sup> *Rom.* XIII, 5.

<sup>6</sup> LEO XIII, *Sapientiae Christianitatis*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. JOHN XVII, 11-14.

# The Catholic in the Political Order

by VITTORINO VERONESE

We cite here some excerpts from Mr. Vittorino Veronese's address to the 21st World Congress of *Pax Romana*, Amsterdam 1950.

It is possible that history with all its variations and its institutions can be represented in diagram form, and couched in statistical terms. But, in reality, there is a strong subterranean current which shapes the external evidence of legal and political history. It is this current which regulates the flourishing or decline of a state, although this seems due only to the exertions of a gardener working on the surface.

To discover the deep and permanent reasons which serve as bases for our *mores* and institutions; to search that subterranean influence; and finally to advance the orientation of ideas and legal formulae on which the future community will be modeled - these three tasks I call *the duty of anticipation and foresight by the intellectual*.

I hope we can now examine together three different aspects of this anticipatory role, this function of precursor which we have entrusted to the intellectual.

For several decades, the world has talked about the deep and decisive crisis of humanity and even civilisation: from the anguished perplexity of Huizinga, we have come as far as the philosophic negation of existence. On the other hand, the rapid succession of world wars is merely the pathological symptom of the crisis, which is — alas — not only a thinker's hypothesis, but is a tragic reality for every human being.

And this crisis is especially — from the viewpoint which interests us — *one of stabilisation of social structures*. It becomes evident in the search for an horizontal dimension. Even looking at life superficially, we tend to identify the boundaries of society with the boundaries of our planet. To use the words of the Holy Father to the delegates at the recent Congress for the Unification of Private Law: "Would preceding generations ever have believed it possible, would they even have dreamed of the technical progress in communications which has, in such a short time, brought all men together to the point where the expression "it's a small world" has been fulfilled to the letter? It is becoming smaller, and will become more so". This littleness, which is still in relation to ourselves an immensity, necessitates universal dimensions. It is, in the true sense of the word, a political task. But what soul, if not a universal soul, can we give to this universality which the social community is now assuming?

We can only conclude that for the first aspect, we must reaffirm that the unknown capital to be used for a new society is Catholicism: doctrine and ethics, philosophy and sociology. We must add in this connection, that every search for unity by those who are approaching the Church, or even those who

without knowing it follow the trail opened by Christ, is a Catholic activity.

Now we must consider another aspect of our responsibility. The anticipatory role, the formation of the precursor which is attributed to the intellectual, consists not only in the discovery of permanent capital for the perpetual basis of a new polity, but also in the definition of *principles of guidance* for the route to follow.

To use another example along the same lines, the task which consists in giving a fertilizing principle to the new world (which we have described before) can be compared to the discovery and protection of pure water in the mountains. In the end someone must ensure the irrigation and distribution of the water throughout the countryside: this is the role attributed to the militant politician (the "artists of reality") who must realise the concrete formulae on which to build the structures of the social community.

Between these two functions, there is much evidence of the need for a median or mediator: to ensure the transport of this pure water from the mountain to the valley in all its freshness. In other words, one must build an aqueduct, or lay the foundations for the erection of a new building.

We should return in thought to the long, difficult and sometimes risky work of those socially-minded Catholics who, since the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, have renewed their efforts to adapt the doctrine of the Church and pontifical teaching to the formulae of Christian social action for labour, management, and directors of the economic and industrial world.

Now our task at the present time is to renew this same effort in the special field of law and constitutions. We must show *where* and *how* the Church's doctrine offers a mediating formula between the two principles of authority and liberty, that is, to indicate the vital synthesis which frees us at the same time from anarchy and dictatorship, such as we have seen arising in labour-management struggles.

Democracy can only be built on a single rock: Christian ethics, and on this basis and this basis only, can we state that "democracy is Christian, or it isn't". The same words were used by Sir Stafford Cripps in his book.

We have already said that the intellectual, whose duties we are now analysing and studying, is, and fundamentally remains, a man. Therefore, his function of anticipation, his role of precursor must be equally evident in the preparation and formation of *new men*. The intellectual must play a role as exemplar since he is considered by Providence to be "the salt of the earth": he is called to the apostolate of training and orienting his brethren.

While we are speaking of the essentially personal value of such a role, I would like to cite once more the words of the Sovereign Pontiff who, at the 8th International Congress of Administrative Sciences spoke as follows:

"The present period is a time of luxuriant flourishing of "plans" and "Unification". We willingly recognise that, within just limits, they can be desirable and even required by circumstance, but We repeat that we reject once again what is only excessive State interference. Who cannot see, under these conditions, the damage that will result from the

(continued on page 4)



... but the Palazzo Municipale in Perugia still animates the city

# The Political Order

(continued from page 3)

last word on State affairs being reserved to purely organizational technicians and planners? No, the last word belongs to those who see in the State a living entity and those who in the name of the State, administer not men immediately, but the country's affairs in such a way that individuals are never, either in private life or in society, smothered by the heavy hand of State administration. The last word belongs to those for whom Natural Law is something other than a purely negative rule, a frontier closed to the encroachments of positive legislation, or a simple technical adjustment to contingency. It belongs to those who revere Natural Law as the soul of positive legislation, the soul which gives it form, life and meaning. Therefore, let the last word, the decisive word in the administration of the *res publica* be the legacy of such men.

"More even than boundless energy, what they need is experience, the fidelity to uphold the exact notion and promote the true ends of the State, initiative and perseverance, and a sense of the objectivity and courage of responsibility."

After having thus *animated* the political sphere and contributed to its renewal, the Catholic intellectual must now live there and breathe life into it. Therefore, I propose certain ideas to be considered for this life as exemplar:

1. We must see, and help others to see, the disproportion between the necessities of modern life on the one hand, and the psychology and culture of modern man on the other.

Modern man must amplify his spiritual stature till it is on a par with the reality which forces him to this effort. Towards the end of his Pontificate, Pius IX wrote, "No one is permitted, in this epoch, to be mediocre."

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2. We must understand exactly the essential elements in the Catholic view of life on the one hand (what our German colleagues call "Weltanschauung") and at the same time, recognise the characteristic elements of historic contingency.

These two factors must meet.

The Catholic intellectual must foresee the points of this meeting, indicate them, and prepare them.

3. We must acknowledge and serve Truth, through intimate adherence and by professing her outwardly to the world. The Hierarchy brings us this Truth and is her authentic interpreter. Thus, we feel ourselves to be living members of the Communion of Saints. From this point, we can better take on our own responsibilities, and our personal tasks in an activity that is necessarily limited in time but which must be sure, opportune, efficacious and audacious.

If the Church corrects us from time to time, it will be all the easier to submit to her judgment since it is the public testing ground of our fault and does not compromise the highest values which must be safeguarded for all time.

4. We must constantly respect, understand and tolerate spiritual trials and the honest opinions of our fellow-men. Antichrist, who tries to erect barriers of slavery and bloodshed in the world and to hide the Light of Christ, cannot prevail: of that we are sure. And yet — even if they do not fit in exactly with current military and political blocs — we must be

aware of the existence of two blocs whose frontiers are gauged by the advance of anti-Christian slavery.

What is important is that there is no *Iron Curtain* in our hearts.

We shall avoid this danger by turning to the Supernatural, that is to say, to the virtues of Faith, Hope and Charity, through the cardinal virtues of Justice, Fortitude, Prudence and Temperance; virtues of which the intellectual must deepen his theological knowledge and practise with generosity.

5. It is very necessary to clarify our ideas on the relation between Catholic action and the political activity of Catholics. And here we take words "Catholic action" not merely in the formal sense of the term but also in the wider meaning of every organisation which cooperates in the apostolic work of the Hierarchy.

This Catholic action is sometimes called to take part in political life, if we can extend the term to action which aims at forming the integrated Christian who then — by taking part, in the different organisms of community life — in accordance with his professional and social standing and professional qualifications, breathes life into these parts by the light of his faith and the power of his love. It is in this sense that Catholic action is political, in that it forms Christians who will contribute to the political life of society.

It is also "political" — and rightfully and properly so — whenever religious and moral problems are at stake — the freedom of the Church, public morality, marriage and the family, the school and education, work, etc...

Here it is a question of so called "mixed" problems. Finally there are certain exceptional circumstances, certain given situations in which Catholics as such may take up the cudgels in spheres normally closed to them for confessional reasons. Atheistic Communism has created exceptional circumstances which permit exceptional reactions from Catholic peoples; only ecclesiastic authorities may determine these reactions.

But apart from the three cases I have exposed above, theoretical knowledge and practical evaluation of the relation between the spiritual and the temporal, between religion and politics, should foster prudence in all matters and respect for impassable frontiers.

6. Lastly, we must strengthen the bonds of unity between the militant workers in the apostolate; this will be all the easier if we try to overcome not only difficulties arising from differences of race and language, but also certain spiritual nationalisms, tenuous perhaps but real nonetheless, which poison loyal collaboration between Catholics of different countries.

Let us build this unity, as we have already said, on the primacy of spiritual values and on the will to serve the Church (and not to make use of it, like certain last minute fellow-travellers); but, above all, let us build this unity on a positive, triumphant concept of Catholicism. To remain on the defensive is to lose half the victory; we can sally forth from a city besieged by strong forces if we are bold enough to attack those who thought they had imprisoned us for ever.



# THE CATHOLIC SPEAKS ON POLITICS

by CHARLES JOURNET

Extracts from Monsignor Journet's "Exigences chrétiennes en politique".

"The individual has a natural tendency to live in society and to social intercourse. This is so not only because of the needs of human nature by virtue of which each one depends on his neighbours for his material, intellectual and moral life, but also because this intercourse facilitates the development of the intellect and of the love which is proper to it, and which demands contact with other persons.<sup>1</sup>"

A deep rooted instinct which should prolong our free initiative, *instinctus naturalis cum humana industria*, leads man to seek the society of his fellows. Whence arises the community of the family which ensures the simple transmission of life, *ea quae sunt vitae necessaria*, then groups of families, villages, etc., and finally the City, the civic society or perfect society, which guarantees the full development of human life.

Thus political society has been willed by God for the development of human life. It is both the result of a natural instinct and a decision of our free-will.

Political society is a unity. But a unity is not a mere agglomeration of parts. It is the result of a number of parts *plus a definite order*. And since it has an existence all its own, this unity will have an activity peculiar to it; it will be capable of doing things of which the individual parts are incapable. Thus it follows that the common good of the Body Politic differs from the good of individuals, not only quantitatively, but qualitatively.

## Man in the Body Politic

Man therefore forms part of the unity which is the Body Politic. *Quaelibet persona singularis comparatur ad totum communitatem sicut para ad totum*. The part exists for the sake of the whole. Individual perishable "goods" are less important, less "divine" than the perishable "goods" of society: they must be subordinated to each other, even sacrificed if necessary; this explains why it is an obligation in conscience, which can ennoble man, not to break the law but to render to his country the spiritual and material contribution which justice requires. Now we can go one step forward: "Human society may demand that its members sacrifice their lives for it, as in the case of a just war. How is this justified? It is justified because the general temporal welfare of an earthly society is not a purely temporal good. Even the common temporal good includes supra-human values, because it is indirectly related to the final end of man, to the eternal destiny of the individuals of which society is composed. . . . If the common good of human society were solely and exclusively the aggregate of temporal benefit or

It is the Holy Father's divine mission to direct his subjects; not to be encouraging or intelligent

in their stead

success such as the common good of a hive of bees or a colony of ants, then the sacrifice of human life on its account would be senseless.<sup>2</sup>"

But man has an immortal soul. And in this sense, he is superior to the Earthly City. He can do what society cannot do. There is, within man, something which transcends the political order, and which is ordered directly towards God. *Homo non ordinatur ad communitatem politicam secundum se totum et secundum omnia sua*. The perishable good of political society is, in its order, less important, less "divine" than the imperishable good of the human person; therefore, society must subserve the individual good.

## There is a Christian Political Theory

When St. Paul asked Philomen to consider a runaway slave "as a well beloved brother" he did not exteriorly affect the ancient law of slavery, but he proclaimed an attitude which could not but abolish it at some future date, and with it the whole Roman world. The Church which is the visible expression of the Christian spiritual order, the Kingdom of God already established in time even though in a temporary, persecuted fashion, is the bearer of that spirit and wherever it is intense and vital, it cannot fail to influence temporal affairs: just as the great climatic variations of the beginning of the Quaternary epoch modified the flora and fauna of our lands.

Doubtless when charity is heroic, as in a St. Paul, a St. Francis of Assisi, and in the many "poverellos" and martyrs, it can exist within the framework of a suitable temporal order or it can survive equally in a hell upon earth. But in a world which is fundamentally disorientated from man's supernatural end, the masses are lost, and as Péguy has said, "hell overflows the earth". To allow the proletariat to crush itself in the inhuman machinery of a capitalist system and then ask it to practise voluntary continence, as did Malthus, was strangely ironic but it was irony of which the Vicar of Haileybury seemed well aware.

On the other hand, when the world becomes more and more human and when the demands of man's supernatural destiny are recognised, then thousands of Christians of good will be able to live and die in the spirit of love: they are strong enough to march together along the path of duty and, at certain exceptional moments, to perform acts of heroic virtue; but they would be too weak to battle alone day by day against the current of a hostile world. We must therefore work, and it is Christianity which urges us, for the restoration of the

Christian order in the world. "The Catholic who is not social minded is a strange type of parishioner."

You will not find the word "Christian political theory" in St. Thomas, but better still, the reality. There are many points in which, without adverting to the fact, he purifies, adapts, perfects the politics of Aristotle; withdraws it from the harmful sun of Satan to place it in the light of Christ.

What we call Christian political theory is in itself natural, human, but purified, perfected and illumined by Christian influence. In its mode of existence, it is Christian. In substance, it remains natural, temporal, human. It is indeed the one fully human political theory, if it is true that our fallen nature cannot even begin to heal without the help of divine grace. And this explains why non-Christians, provided they have a sufficiently noble, true and generous conception of human nature, can become, if not perfect heads of a Christian political system, at least allies of most of its aims, especially when this Christian political system develops along pluralist lines, as we believe it should in the future.

Abandon the world of politics to the devil, hold that a "Christian political theory" doesn't exist, "but simply Christians who take part in politics", believe that Christianity should limit itself to sanctifying the lives of individuals who are immediately swallowed up by a political and economic system where the law of the jungle prevails and despair reigns, despair which may be "salutary", but which may also perhaps . . . in our opinion, this is an inhuman attitude; it prepares the way for marxism and racialism; above all, it is a failure to understand the power and the ennobling standards of the religion of the Incarnate Word.

The divine political theory is the ordering of the City of God. Christian political theory seeks to direct the Earthly City in accordance with Christian teaching. The union of political and spiritual authority was the first attempt, however inadequate, at building a Christian political order, an earthly city constitutionally composed of Christians. It has disappeared along with its splendours which it owed to the Gospel and its misery which it owed to men. Let us not try to resurrect it, but rather call Christian political theory quite simply an essentially new application of the eternal principles of the Gospel to the temporal order. Nothing should be copied but a whole system must be rediscovered.

<sup>2</sup> J. MARITAIN, *Sort de l'homme*, Fribourg, 1943, p. 32 (note). The Theologian expresses the same idea: We should render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, for the sake of God.

<sup>1</sup> JACQUES MARITAIN, *Les droits de l'homme et la loi naturelle*. New York, 1942, p. 18.

(continued on page 9)

## Editorials : CIVISM... and VISITORS

Why are we talking so much about civism and the civic duty of our university people in this issue? "The Civic Responsibility of the Student" is this year's study theme for IMCS, but why was such a theme chosen?

We see around us in the university, and in our communities, people who are responsible for the well-being of these circles. They are not the guardians of the law, nor the civil administrators — but our neighbours and ourselves. However, there are many difficulties which beset these good people in the exercise of their civic duty. They may have become so "standardised" that they have lost the ability to think for themselves, or emphasis on material goods may have reduced these people to mere passiveness which fears the slightest improvement or risk of change.

The form of government under which we live may be so bad that it is impossible to carry out civic duties. Yet we are not excused by this fact from constant effort to better our processes of government. Perhaps our people are so under-nourished and have such a reduced standard of living that it is unthinkable they could carry out their civic duties. These three problems, and others, are the dangers and obstacles to civic responsibility in all the social structures in which we live; local, national and international.

But how does this affect the University?

Even when the University abandons one of its basic aims — that of forming leaders of society, or when its teaching no longer forms men "with a scientific mind, the possibility of acquiring knowledge by themselves and not merely receiving from others knowledge previously formulated", or even when the University is in no way preoccupied with the search for Truth — even then it makes a decisive contribution to the common good. Whatever their formation, university graduates, even in highly specialised professions, are in the key positions to solve the problems concerning the common good. *And the University, whether it wishes or not, is by the very fact of its existence, a vital element in the civic life of the community.* Its contribution to the ideas which guide society, its impartiality, its independence viz. a viz. political parties, the very example of its community life, are the most striking aspects of its positive role in this field. Ignorance or unfulfilment of its role contradicts the very essence of the university as an institution.

In the University, the Federations of *Pax Romana* which group Catholic students, have a specific contribution to make to the civic life of the community.

First, the Federations must awaken in their members the need for a well-developed civic conscience. Youth today has only known a world in constant turmoil — it is therefore only too ready to lose faith in the possibility of changing the world and in the effectiveness of individual effort. Among Catholics, this leads to a third false idea — that the Heavenly City of which we are the builders, has nothing in common with the life and structures of the earthly city. The Federations must revise this attitude among students by specific orientation and adequate instruction.

Success depends on how far the Federation gives an orientation attuned to reality. The students

in our groups are not cut off from life and all its complex issues.

Our research for the 1957 meetings will show up the character of the situation in which we are working, will help us to decide which programmes to follow and how best to form our members as *whole persons*, rounded people who live in a society that comprises culture as well as technical advancement.

Bearing in mind the uncompromising search for Truth, and the spirit of criticism which university education presupposes, we shall urge our member Federations to first concentrate on their civic responsibility in the university, and then — either now, or when graduated — to move out into the world with that same spirit of dedication, social justice and Divine charity which they are acquiring.

M. L. P. and P. M.

\*



**Machiavelli, for all  
his intelligence, lacked  
the virtue of civic ethics...**

*Pax Romana* is moving more and more into the nations of Asia and Africa. Students groups are to be found in almost every university in these two continents and this augurs well for the foundation of graduate circles in a few years. Yet, frequently, the majority of educated people in a given country will have been to university abroad — and may or may not have come in contact with our members, and the Intellectual Apostolate.

There are 700 students at the University College of Ibadan in Nigeria — but 2000 more Nigerians in England alone! The University of Ghana has an enrollment of 400, with another 500 Ghanese students in the United States to mention only one country! Do we know these "visiting" students (to use the phrase coined in the U. S. A. to better describe the status of these guests)? Certainly any one

of us who studies in Europe or North America must have seen them in passing. Even in Asia, there is much swapping of students and no continent is without its exchange programmes.

Two important meetings on the needs of these students are taking place this year. The first was held at Easter time by the Overseas Students Coordination (OSCO), a group set up by visiting Catholic students to help themselves, and their colleagues. As Fr. Haas says in the last OSCO Bulletin, "The Acts of the *Pax Romana* Asian Seminar in Madras, 1954, clearly show that Catholic students and intellectuals in Asia are often "overwesternised", on the defensive and ill at ease in their own country and their own culture.

"Therefore, almost in compensation, we have placed the whole accent on the supernatural and spiritual, in such a way that the piety and devotion of these people is often impressive, but their social, intellectual and political influence is minimal. (We are back to civism) I When Catholic students arrive here from mission countries, we can see the effects of this."

In *Social Compass*, Fr. Haas demonstrated the necessity for these students to have their own centres, their national Catholic groups and fulfillment of other special human and sociological needs. Their centres and groups can then stand open for the non-Christian compatriot who is often drawn to this spot of home, and who may never come in contact with Catholics again.

In this respect, OSCO tries to be the meeting place of the national groups, not a super-structure englobing everyone. OSCO members come from mission countries, young nations and young Churches; for a certain period they are studying in Europe where they can see and understand the old Christian cultures which is more and more rejuvenated. It is this contact which we must not miss, whether we be hosts or visitors.

On September 28 - October 2, the 12th international Missionary Congress for University Students will be held in Angers, France under the auspices of *Pax Romana*. One of the topics scheduled for discussion is the "Welcome to Foreign Students". The general theme, *Unbounded Brotherhood*, certainly recalls the personal responsibility of each student in Europe and North America in this regard. It also reminds us of the fruitfulness and joy which contacts between people of differing backgrounds can provide.

And our visiting students should try to recognise the opening of minds, hearts and doors to them as a sincere effort to know them and love them. As student visitors, we seek contacts on a personal and equal footing.

In the charity of our university Apostolate we of this generation can build together the Church flung throughout the world in the mutual discovery of our different cultures. Everything depends, however, on the personal attitude of every Christian student. No organisational structure, no international meetings can replace the personal friendship made in lecture or common-room, Union building of Newman Club.

P. M.



# Our Civic Duties as Catholics

We have taken this excellent resumé on civic duties of Catholics from the review, *RELATIONS* published in Montreal. The Canadian periodical had adapted the text from *Initiation civique*, edited by the Chronique Sociale de France with Frs. Michel Chartier and Henri Vial, as well as Gilbert Bardone and Joseph Folliet as authors. Although the article deals firstly with the French situation, it seems most appropriate for study by our Federations everywhere.

It would be peurile to think that only Christians can heal the lack of civic thought in France. But, at the least, can't the Christians — indeed, *mustn't* they — play the role of the yeast in the dough?

It would be naive to think that it is sufficient to instruct in simple moralism, moral matters and sermons to suppress apathy in France. *Irresponsibility towards Civism has impersonal and historic causes.* It must be attacked here.

We see this as a triple duty for Christians: — the necessity of being "present" in civic life; — the necessity of restoring good and efficient political structures; — the necessity of educating public opinion.

## A. Presence in Civic Life

### 1. Personal presence :

The Christian has the duty to protest against civic irresponsibility (with stubbornness and violence if necessary):

a) *with words*, through independent, clear and fair judgments;

b) *by actions*, negative (refusal of compromise) or positive (personal work in civic and community service).

The Christian must remember that civic heroism is a type of sanctity — and particularly, of lay sanctity.

These duties become all more the incumbent as the responsibilities of our position and work multiply.

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sterling area subscriptions only to

Professor O'Neil, 8 Eden Avenue

Uplands, Swansea, Great Britain

...whereas

King Louis IX

possessed it

to the degree

of sanctity



### 2. Presence as a group :

Civic irresponsibility is a *failing of society*. One person cannot combat it alone. Christians must band together to be present as a group and to facilitate individual activity; whether it be :

— *between Catholics* (Catholic councils, Catholic Action, specialised groups in particular);

— *with neutral groups* of good will (political parties, guilds, unions, professional organisations).

The presence as a group can be carried out :

— *violently*, and even scandalously;

— *humbly, silently and efficiently* through group action.

In every instance, Christian civism, whether personal or group action, must distinguish its programme by its *Charity*...

## B. Educating public opinion

### 1. The Aims :

We must re-awaken :

a) *the social conscience* : the sense of the repercussion of one's personal actions on groups in society, and the repercussions of organisations and *mores* on personal life;

b) *public spirit* : a mixture of a healthy spirit of criticism and intelligent obedience of the Law and its representatives; a consideration and consciousness of the common good;

c) *idea of the State* : its nature, its ends, powers, authority, and its limits — giving to Caesar;

d) *the civic conscience* : political honesty, the sense of fair-play in party politics, just use of

means towards ends and not of means as ends; initiative and dedication to the common good...

### 2. The Methods :

Nothing is more dangerous than "baloney" or "bla-bla-bla" which is more or less eloquent. We must talk, write, and above all, *act together* thoughtfully for the common good.

Pure moralism will not suffice. We must remember morality, but *learn it by practicing it together*, through the vivid knowledge of experience.

We must urge the French to *act together for the common good*, to think on and to discuss their activity. We must create *civic habits*, almost *civic reflexes*.

It seems we must start on the *local level* — parish, district, precinct or council, and then, on the *municipal or para-municipal level*.

This is a long-term task, and it must be accomplished with *patience and persistence*.

## Conclusion

The place for Christians — especially Catholic laymen — is at the line of civic combat, as citizens and educators at the same time.

*Charity*, in the modern world, must take on its true dimensions in *social and civic works* (cf. activity of the pioneer, Giorgio La Pira, mayor of Florence).

The world awaits the "saints of Civism"; new knights, new founders of guilds and fraternities (true ones!). It needs Catholics on the lines of St. Louis, Joan of Arc, Thomas More — saints held up by the Church for our admiration and imitation.

# The Basis of Academic Freedom

by JOHN COGLEY

*The difficulties encroaching on the university in certain parts of the world, notably in South Africa where the government hopes to impose a racist philosophy on the university, remind us of the correlation between Truth as the Word of God, and the Universal Truth which universities seek. In this connection, we reproduce an essay by a former editor of Commonweal and an executive for the Fund for the Republic, John Cogley. We thank the United States National Student Association for allowing us to reprint the text which appeared in their Student Government Bulletin.*

The university, along with the church, has been a prime target for every totalitarian movement in the 20th century. This is no accident. For in these two venerable institutions free men express their belief in a truth that lies beyond the reach of the state. As long as the professor and the churchman are at liberty to be themselves, there will be voices to speak for Man. The totalitarians know this well and will stop at nothing to silence the opposition that comes from the pulpit and the university podium. It should not be too surprising then to learn that Hitler, Stalin and all the others have filled their concentration camps with harmless pastors and powerless professors, or to understand why free men react so quickly when religious or academic freedom is threatened.

Robert M. Hutchins once summed up the case for the university in a free society this way: "The best definition of a university that I have been able to think of is that it is a center of independent thought. Such centers are indispensable to the progress, and even to the security, of any society. Perhaps the short lives that dictatorships have enjoyed in the past are attributable as much to this as to any other single thing: dictatorship and independent thought cannot exist together; and no society can flourish long without independent thought."

## The Mission of the University

Mr. Hutchins defined the university as a center of independent thought. If this definition is accepted, it is clear that the freedom to think, and to think independently, is essential. Without such freedom, the university is simply impossible.

True, the university has duties to society. Like every public institution it is obliged to serve the interests of the community. But these obligations are founded first and foremost on the university's being what by definition it should be — a center of independent thinking. It is the obligation of the community of scholars who comprise the university to serve the truth above all else and to protect the methods by which truth is reached. A university which has given up, or has been deprived of, its freedom cannot fulfill that obligation, simply because it has ceased to function as a university.



University of Witwatersrand, South Africa

The Nazi university which put its seal on Hitler's race theories, absurd as they were, was a university in name only. The Soviet universities which lavishly echo the Party line on genetics, music or the meaning of history have given up the pursuit of truth. They can no longer honestly claim the privileges of academic freedom. For it is of the very nature of the university that it should not look beyond itself for the authority under which it does its work. The university which turns to the State, to a political party, to ideological orthodoxy, or even to public opinion for its authority has already given up the claim to be a center of independent thought. It has actually given up its right to be called a university, for it has ceased to be a community of scholars organized to discover and disseminate truth.

Few have spoken as firmly on the freedom of the university as the great Catholic Cardinal, John Henry Newman. In his classic *Idea of a University* Newman insisted that the university must remain independent to do its researches. "I say . . . it is a matter of primary importance in the cultivation of those sciences in which truth is discoverable by the human intellect that the investigator should be free, independent, unshackled in his movements; that he should be allowed and enabled, without impediment, to fix his mind intently, nay exclusively, on his special object, without the risk of being distracted every other minute in the process and progress of his enquiry, by charges of temerariousness, or by warnings against extravagance or scandal."

Newman, of course, was answering those who, in the name of prudence and propriety, would severely limit the range of the professor's interests. These same arguments are echoed in the controversies that rage over academic freedom today. But, I think, the

arguments must be rejected out of hand. The only limits on the thinking of the professor are the laws of logic. The only limits on his advocacies are the laws of the land. To say this, of course, is to leave room for academic freedom's producing not only wisdom and truth but utter folly and even pernicious error. I am aware of that. But as long as academic freedom is safe there will be scholars and thinkers around to counteract nonsense and dispel error.

## A Mockery of Freedom

To take the opposite view, to limit the professor to some non-academic authority's notion of what is good for us to hear is to deprive the university of its only real reason for existence. It is like telling a church it is free to seek and promulgate religious truth on condition that it first subject that truth to some non-religious authority. This would be a mockery of freedom of religion. To set up a non-academic authority over the university would mock academic freedom.

But to argue for the independence of the university is not to approve of all that is said or done under the claim of academic freedom. Fools and knaves alike have worn the professor's gown and will undoubtedly continue to do so. But academic freedom is surely worth the price of suffering fools gladly. And I would say too that it is worth the price of coping with those who would use freedom in order to destroy it. Persons who fall into this latter classification have to be dealt with, but dealt with by the academic community itself. For the layman or the non-academic body to take on the disciplinary function in the university amounts to a usurpation of authority that must remain the prerogative of the academic community itself.





There have been, and will probably continue to be, efforts on the part of misguided, however well-meaning, groups to usurp such authority. They are outrageous of course but for the university to succumb to the pressure — in the interests of good public relations or even in order to satisfy trustees and benefactors — seems equally outrageous, and may be even more so. Some excuse can be found for the watchdog groups. They are usually acting in ignorance and from an excess of patriotic or religious zeal. It is hard though to find excuses for the university which does not send them packing when they start poking into campus affairs. The university which does not insist on its own prerogatives betrays an historic trust. It is not merely a question of losing its individual integrity; it is a matter of playing hob with a sacred tradition, a tradition essential to the free society.

In the sizzling controversies over academic freedom during the last five or six years people who never thought about it before have some understanding of why it is so important for universities to stay free. Therefore, the controversies cannot be counted as loss. If the controversies inspired the universities themselves to a fresh awareness of their true purpose and a renewed desire to maintain their independence and use its responsibly, the prolonged arguments — which occasionally bordered on brawls — were not without point.

From the ordeal many things were learned. We learned, for instance, that many people do not have the vaguest notion of what a university is, or at least *why* a university is. One popular idea seems to be based on the concept of the university as a kind of indoctrination center charged with no more than passing along to the younger generation, the values generally accepted in society, as a grade school teacher is expected to teach the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic.

### Misconception of Learning

The essential critical function — the role of the university as evaluator of accepted values and stimulator of new ideas — was barely considered. The traditional cold eye the professor cast on the household god was deemed an impertinence or even a shocking impiety.

The honorable and ancient notion of the university as an intellectual center where old truths are tested, new truths are discovered and all truths are disseminated, regardless of their current acceptability, was far from the thoughts of those who wanted to turn America's universities into civilian West Points turning out commissioned officers for the army guarding the "safe" and familiar.

In a word, the controversies over academic freedom revealed that many well-intentioned people simply misunderstood what a university is all about. And, misunderstanding, they could not see why the separate "heresies" of individual professors should be tolerated. They were further confused by the fact that Boards of Trustees are usually highly placed, conservative folk. The willingness of such boards to accept the universities' wilful claim to a dubious "freedom" confounded them all the more. In time the whole university set-up — trustees, administration, faculty and students — came to be regarded by the more suspicious as sinister and by the more charitable as simply addeledated.

Why, it might be asked, was ignorance of the role of the university so widespread? Much of the blame, I am afraid, must be shouldered by the universities themselves. Many of them had been so taken up with vocationalism for a generation or more that their traditional function as scholarly communities had been hopelessly obscured. People had ceased to think of them as centers of thought and came to regard them as giant enterprises merchandising degrees and diplomas.

My point, of course, is that the university which claims the benefits of academic freedom can do so persuasively only as long as it gives some indication that it is truly devoted to the search for truth. When that purpose seems to play a minor part in campus life, or none at all, the university's demand alone loses much of its effectiveness. Certainly, many who reside

in universities must ask themselves why in all truth they should be endowed with special immunities.

From such meditations might come a keener awareness of how dependent a free society is on the universities' remaining first of all universities, in fact as well as in name.

For it is only when we stop to think of why academic freedom should be protected that we realize that the universities stand as symbols of the highest natural powers and aspirations of mankind. Religious men may ascribe a higher calling to their churches. But on the natural level the last best hope of free men is their universities. For free men everywhere know that they must rely on reason to guide them; instinctively they recognize that in the last analysis it is the truth which makes and keeps them free.

## CATHOLIC ON POLITICS

by Msgr JOURNET

(continued from page 5)

Christian political theory aims at building up political unity among the inhabitants of a region, a country; at giving them full citizen rights, accepting them as they are, whatever their religious belief but directing them effectively under the inspiration of the true spirit of the Gospel towards the *temporal and political ends* which Christianity does not disown and whose legitimacy it can recognise.

### Necessity for a Christian civic consciousness

The Holy Father's divine mission is to direct his subjects throughout the world and, by his intelligence and courage, remind them of the eternal demands of the Gospel; but it is not his mission to be courageous or intelligent *in their stead*. The Papacy is not a dictatorship. If, one day, the civic consciousness of Christians achieves the degree of clarity and strength to which we allude, then Christians will engage less and less in civil or interpolitical strife inter se. The prophetic words of Pius XI are often quoted: "The scandal of the Church in the nineteenth century was the loss of the working classes." Every century brings its scandal for the Church of Christ. The scandal of the twentieth century will not be the loss of her essential Catholicity which is a divine impossibility; but, perhaps because she lacked a sufficient number of faithful with an heroic degree of civic consciousness, the failure to group together freely and spontaneously for justice's sake, the hierarchy and the faithful in opposition to perverse ideas and propaganda. Has it thereby failed, perhaps for many years to come, to prepare the way for that social-temporal cooperation between nations, with due respect for the law and justice which future Christendom will demand.

If it is eminently desirable that Christian political theory be recognised, then *Christians must everywhere engage in political life, so that this theory be widely known*. No party, even though it be composed entirely of Christians can

adequately represent the Christian political ideal.

It is quite clear that the Christian cannot belong to a political party which demands that its members support an immoral policy: anti-Christian policy, state-worship or racialism. Apart from these extreme cases, when we consider the position of Christians in a political party — either they form a majority or else they are a minority group; in both cases, they must either work closely with their party or dissociate themselves from it; this will depend on whether the party recognises or refuses to recognise the concept of Christian political theory in the fundamental sense of the term as already defined. In other words, their Christian political consciousness should be constantly on the alert.

Perhaps we have thus answered the question of a friend in a distant canton: "Is it possible in our democracy, for Socialists and Liberals to become good Catholics, if, in the inner-council of their parties, they defend the Christian concept of politics? It is an extraordinarily important question, because if one replies in the affirmative, one arrives at the transformation of political errors from the inside, as a result of the spiritual efforts of the citizens, and in my humble opinion, it is much more important to transform and purify than to destroy with the intention of rebuilding. The Liberal ideal, the Socialist ideal and the Conservative ideal contain in imperfect form the seeds of practical truths: these seeds are needed if we wish to create a Christian political order. Why force a young man who has just got to know Christ, to leave his party, if he will be an influence for good among his former comrades? Am I right then in replying to the Conservative who denies a Catholic the right to belong to a party whose leaders are personally hostile to the Church, by saying that, after what we have said, neither may a good Catholic belong to a party whose leaders make use of the cross to hide the injustice and indifference of their activities?"

# Pax Romana at a Glance...

**The Vatican:** His Holiness, Pope Pius XII, has once more stressed the importance of *Pax Romana's* special mission in His response to *Pax Romana's* homage on the occasion of His birthday. The text of the telegram reads: "The Sovereign Pontiff, taking to heart the filial vows of the unswerving attachment and activity of the students and graduates in *Pax Romana*, thanks them deeply by sending His pledge of Divine light and strength in their work, through his paternal and apostolic benediction."

**Engineers — Professional and Student**  
The third international congress of the *Pax Romana-ICMICA* Secretariat for Catholic Engineers, Agronomists and Industrial Economists (SIIAEC), will be held in Bergamo, Italy on July 25-28. The theme, *Integration of the Technologist into his Firm* carries on the series of congress themes dealing with human relations and the technologist. Other aspects will be covered by the following lecturers:

1. Dr. Dir. Az. Enrico de Gennaro (Italy) on "The problem as it affects the technologist concerned with design and research".

2. Dipl. Ing. Ludwig Conrad (Germany) will talk on "The problem as it affects the technologist in the production and operation field".

3. Ing. Dr. André Troesch (France) on "The problem as it affects the technical and non-technical executives concerned with administration, sales and economics".

4. Mr. Albert Evers, Managing Secretary of the Belgian Boerenbond, will deal with rural aspects of "The attitude of the Catholic agricultural scientist towards cooperatives".

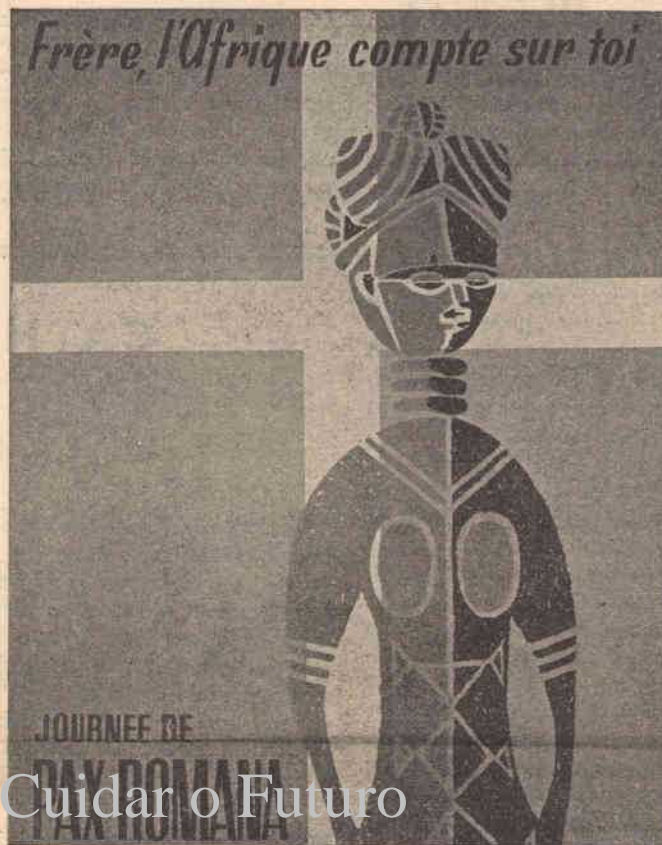
The detailed programme is available from: The Secretary, SIIAEC, rue de Varenne 18, Paris 7.

27 July - 3 August will be the dates of the fourth Congress for Catholic engineering students, also to take place in Bergamo, Italy. The meeting is arranged by the International Sub-Secretariat for Catholic Engineering Students of IMCS and all students in this field throughout the world are invited to attend. The theme, to be discussed in commissions is: The Student Community. Further information from: W. Cooreman, blvd. de Smet de Naeyer 474, Jette, Belgium.

**South East Asian Magazine:** This marks the second issue of the *Lumen de Oriente*, a supplement to the South East Asian Catholic students' federation's magazines. It is the regional bulletin of the South East Asian region of *Pax Romana-IMCS*. The task of publishing it has been taken on by the PMKRI, Indonesian Federation, as part of the follow-up of the Leadership Training Conference held last July in Singapore when delegates of all the nations concerned voted to establish this magazine. All members of *Pax Romana* offer their prayers and best wishes for this new-comer. Special thanks are due to the Editor, J. Oei Hak Liang, at 2 Djalan Pos, Djarkarta, Indonesia.

## Your Aid to the African Seminar?

... don't put it off another day



Fundação Cuidar o Futuro

**Italian Art Meeting:** The *Pax Romana-IMCS* Sub-Secretariat for Art has scheduled meeting in Assisi on "Old and New Approaches to Italian Sacred Art", June 8-12. Arranged in conjunction with the FUCI, the Italian Federation affiliated to IMCS, the study sessions will include discussions on St. Francis and Giotto (with a visit to the Giotto frescoes); Liturgy and Modern Church Architecture; and Sacred Art in Italy today. Although there will be some administrative sessions as well, ample time will be allowed to visit the Portiunculla and other shrines in the district. Full details are available on the *Pax Romana* Art Study Week from Dr. Leonhard Küppers, Director of Art Sub-Secretariat, Duisburger Strasse 82, Dusseldorf Germany.

**University Mission Congress:** The 12th International Missionary Congress for University Students will be held in Angers, France on September 28-October 2 under the auspices of the *Pax Romana-IMCS* Mission Secretariat. The general theme, *Unbounded Brotherhood* will include discussion on the Welcome to Foreign Students, the Intermingling of Cultures, and Lay Missionaries. Full information is available from the Mission Secretariat, rue de Namur 9, LOUVAIN, Belgium.

### News of other International Organisations

**OSCO:** The annual Congress of the Overseas Students Coordination (OSCO) has seen held

**Pax Romana Accounts:**  
Banque de l'Etat de Fribourg  
OR Prof. O'Neill, 8 Eden Avenue  
Uplands, Swansea, Great Britain  
for sterling area

at Easter in the Abbey of St. Andrew near Bruges, Belgium, from April 18-23. The Congress was attended by delegates of the Catholic students groups from Africa and Asia in Europe. *Pax Romana-IMCS* was represented by an observer, Mr. Jaime Cordova of the General Secretariat staff. The aim of the meeting was to examine the main points of the situation of foreign students as a whole, and to study the OSCO-Movement in itself in view of the future.

**ISC:** The seventh International Student Conference will be held at the University College, Ibadan, Nigeria during September 1957, as announced by the Supervision Committee of the Conference. *Pax Romana* hopes to be represented by an observer.

**Work Campers:** The Tenth conference of organisers of International Voluntary Work Camps was held at Venusberg, near Bonn, Germany, on March 20-22. *Pax Romana* was represented by Miss E. Nassen of the German IMCS Federation, KDSE.

### Gay faces at the March meeting of the IMCS Art Sub-Secretariat in Denmark



## FEDERATION NEWS

**Argentina:** The National Study Week for leaders in Catholic Action was held the 17-23 January in Buenos Aires. Discussions centred on the creation, maintaining and orientation of Catholic Action in rural areas.

**Germany:** The Katholischer Akademiker-verband, affiliated to *Pax Romana-ICMICA*, will hold a University Week in Bonn on June 12-16. The theme will be, "The Mystery of Evil and Spiritual Confusion".

The Katholische Deutsche Studenten-Einigung (KDSE), member of IMCS was 10 years old on March 24. It was founded by first German Catholic Student Congress in Limburg in 1947. Congratulations to KDSE!

**Great Britain:** The Annual General Meeting of the Newman Association of Great Britain, member of ICMICA, will take place in London on May 18. At this meeting officers of the Association are elected for one year.

**Indonesia:** Catholic Youth Organisations throughout Indonesia held a Congress in Jogjakarta on April 28-May 2. *Pax Romana* was invited to attend the Congress.

**Latvia:** February 2 was the tenth anniversary of the Latvian Catholic Students Association "Dzintars", which was founded and affiliated to *Pax Romana-IMCS* in 1947. On this occasion all groups of the Federation exiled in various countries attended Mass with the intention of spreading the ideal of *Pax Romana* throughout the society. A group at the University of Louvain organised a concert of Latvian artists and music, of which the proceeds were given to Hungarian student relief. Congratulations to Dzintars, and may the next ten years see their return to their native land.

**New Zealand:** The Ninth Annual Congress of the University Catholic Society of New Zealand was held at Lincoln College, Christchurch, N. Z. The meeting, on the 18-21 January, centred on discussion of *Religion, Culture and University Education*.

**Ukraine:** The Federation of Ukrainian Students, OBNOVA, is organising a Study Week in early August on the Lay Apostolate. The meeting, to be held in Louvain, Belgium, will be conducted in Ukrainian, and will serve as preparation for the 2nd World Congress for the Lay Apostolate in Rome, October.

**U. S. A.:** The Biennial National Convention of the Theta Kappa Phi fraternity, affiliated to *Pax Romana-IMCS*, will be held at Ohio State University from June 20 to 23, 1957. One day of the meeting will be devoted to a Leadership Training Course conducted by the national officers of the federation.

**Switzerland:** The annual meeting of the Association of *Renaissance*, a *Pax Romana-IMCS* affiliate from Switzerland, will be held

on June 1 and 2 in Bern. The theme will be: *Swiss Supremacy and European Union*.

**Women students:** The International Camp for Catholic Women Students organised by the Swiss Federation of Catholic Women Students will be held this summer under the patronage of *Pax Romana-IMCS*. From 4-17 August in Hof Obkirchen near Sachseln (on Lake Sarnen), canton of Obwalden, the women students from all faculties and all countries will explore the area and discuss *The Church in our Lives*. 25 students can be accommodated. High in the mountains, Hof Obkirchen offers numerous excursions, in particular to the Lake of the Four Cantons. All information and registration from:

Fédération Suisse des Etudiantes Catholiques  
Herbergsgasse 7  
Basel, Switzerland.

The cost will be approximately 85-90 Swiss francs (£ 8 or \$ 22).

## International Catholic Organisations

### *The Apostolate: the International Tasks for Men of Good Will*

From 12th to 15th April 1957, the annual assembly of the Conference of the International Catholic Organizations was held in the historic town hall in Bruges. For four days, 130 leaders, representing about 30 International Catholic Organizations, discussed the problems which are facing Catholic lay people in the world today, and drew up the principles which will guide their common activities.

In a letter addressed to Mr. Raoul Delgrange, President of the Conference, His Excellence Monsignor Dell'Acqua, Substitute at the Secretariat of State, informed the Assembly in unmistakable terms of the Holy Father's directives on the formation of Catholics for international life.

"It seems highly desirable", said the Holy Father "that an increasing number of Catholics devote themselves to the many international tasks which cry out for people of good will. For example, whole countries need the fraternal and disinterested help of experts and technicians, Catholics should gladly collaborate in these splendid enterprises. Their professional competence and Christian spirit will render inestimable service, and thanks to their efforts, Christian thought and morality will be the seed of civilisation in the new world".

Inspired by the encouraging words of the Holy Father, and after having listened to an excellent "bird's eye view" report by Mr. Dubois-Dumée, on international events and problems, the Conference broke up into several *affinity groups*. This new arrangement gave organizations with similar activities a chance to study plans for more positive action on the international level.

It was very gratifying to see many Asian and African students who had come from Louvain to be initiated into international Catholic activities.

The *Pax Romana* delegation, IMCS and ICMICA, consisted of the two General Secretaries, Messers. Thom Kerstiëns and Ramon Sugranyes de Franch, as well as Messers. Jaime Cordova and Tadeusz Szmit-

kowski. The International Federation of Catholic Doctors and the International Federation of Catholic Pharmacists, members of *Pax Romana-ICMICA*, were represented by their respective General Secretaries, Dr. Raymond Verly and Mr. Maurice Parat. The latter is member of the Council of *Pax Romana-ICMICA*.

*Pax Romana*, which up till now had been represented on the *Comité de Continuité*, executive organ of the Conference, reached the end of its term of office. However, Mr. Sugranyes de Franch, General Secretary of ICMICA, is a member of the *Bureau de Gestion* of the Conference. This organ is particularly responsible for financial matters. Mr. Thom Kerstiëns, General Secretary of IMCS, is also a member of the Programme Commission.

Since the President of the Conference, Mr. Raoul Delgrange, president of the International Catholic Child Bureau, had reached the end of his term of office, Mr. J.-P. Dubois-Dumée, general secretary of the International Federation of Catholic Journalists, was unanimously elected President. Also, Mr. Mieczyslaw de Habicht, permanent Secretary of the Conference, who has carried out his duties with the utmost competence for several years, was re-elected.

### ICMICA Leaders visit Belgium

The meeting of the Conference of the International Catholic Organizations gave the General Secretary of ICMICA and Mr. Szmitkowski, a chance to spend two days in Brussels and Louvain, and to meet the leaders of the Belgian federations affiliated to ICMICA.

These contacts were all the more opportune since a national Centre of *Pax Romana-ICMICA* had just been set up in Belgium, and its first committee elected with Canon Jacques Leclercq, Professor at the University of Louvain, as President. The ICMICA delegation was warmly welcomed by our Belgian friends.



# NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

## Their Nature, The Advantages and Limitations of Consultative Status

(Concerning the work of Mr. B. Pickard: *The Greater United Nations.*)

The great private organizations, international and even national, baptized "Non-Governmental Organizations", have acquired, in virtue of Art. 71 of the Charter of the United Nations, the right to participate officially in the sessions and the activities of the Economic and Social Council. The constitutions of most of the specialized agencies contain corresponding provisions, and just recently, the secretariat of the International Labor Organization, heretofore reluctant to grant anything like consultative status, has drawn up a "List," inclusion on which will amount to roughly the same thing.

This participation of the non-governmental world in the work of the "family of United Nations" seems to be fundamental to the very tasks which that organization claims. If one adheres strictly to the nature of the case, one cannot see in Art. 71 of the Charter and in the similar provisions of the Specialized Agencies, only a purely gratuitous, unilateral concession on the part of the governments. The great government bodies, as they have taken form since the last World War, have set as their aim much more than the mere solution of political problems and the handling of matters traditionally dealt with by negotiation between Governments. Seeing themselves as an emanation of Mankind's profoundest aspirations, these organizations claim to take care of the totality of the World's needs by the best means. They attack problems of food as well as those of health, problems of money as well as of labor, that vast sphere of improvement of the standards of living and the whole field of education and culture, not to mention the definition of the fundamental rights and duties through which all responsibilities originate and by which their exercise is controlled. How then, can it be contended that preferential treatment should not be given to those who have pursued these same ends since long before the creation of the United Nations, doing so outside of the political orbit, on a level and in an atmosphere closer to the innermost thoughts and feelings of men, though rarely achieving a noteworthy success?

But if the theory is as we say it to be, in the practical order, the collaboration of Non-Governmental Organizations in international work is strongly marked by that purely negative name with which they have been endowed. The tri-partite structure of the International Labor Organization has unfortunately never been imitated, and most of the great international organs gravitating around the United Nations are governmental and nothing but governmental. Their decisions and their policies are decided only by governments, midst — as experience has only too well shown — all the preoccupations that governments have. To hope for better is perhaps utopian, and I do not intend here to discuss theories on the nature and duties of the State as they bear upon the situation which I have described. To assert the facts remains, nevertheless, the first step in any study of the

exercise of Consultative Status. The NGO's, in taking advantage of the Status, are not unaware that the role in which they are cast is looked upon by the member governments as a favor, or at most as purely secondary. However valuable their interventions, they will not be given a hearing unless a government delegate takes them up as if they were his own. Participation in the activities of the Agency depends not on an acquired right, but on the gracious consent of the delegates or of the Secretariat. No doubt the NGO's can take initiatives, but no secret is made of the fact that they are expected to answer when spoken to and march when mobilized. Such a state of affairs is all the more distressing in that sometimes the Government body encroaches on their fields of activity and in so doing threatens their very *raison d'être*. In brief, the reasons for the presence of the NGO's in the international agency seem in principle to derive from the purpose for which the latter was established, and the same reasons, despite the drawbacks of Status, make it advantageous for the NGO's to accept it.

It is in view of these basic facts that the NGO's will study with the utmost care the pamphlet just written about them by Mr. B. Pickard, who, until recently, was responsible for liaison with the NGO's in the European Office of the United Nations. The NGO's will see themselves here in a fairly true light, for Mr. Pickard writes with a frank simplicity of what is being thought of them "on the other side of the fence". Doubtless the strong personality of the author, and the fact that he himself came from the ranks of the NGO's affects some of the judgments which one could never attribute to the United Nations or even to the department of NGO's. Nevertheless, it remains that Mr. Pickard, having been among the first to organize and take charge of liaison with the NGO's, has marked it with his own stamp and is better informed than anyone else on what is expected of such a service in the bosom of the Organization. With unflinching keenness of understanding and an ever lively humor, he traces the history and fate of the NGO's during the past decades. And on reading him, the reader becomes aware that if the international society were divided over the NGO's into those who are distrusting or would at least hold reservations in their regard, and those favoring candid and confident collaboration, then Mr. Pickard belongs unequivocally to the latter. The NGO's have in him a convinced advocate and they will do well to take note of it. The choice of such a man for the post he holds is clear evidence despite the adverse circumstances mentioned above, that the United Nations does not intend merely to keep the NGO's "in their place".

There is one certainly disappointing part of Mr. Pickard's essay. His classification and evaluation of the reasons for the existence of various NGO's is a bit summary, and he scarcely rises above a few general considerations which are obvious or taken to be obvious. He confounds certain profound inspirations or theoretical options with the proper

ends of an NGO which confer on it its real nature. Thus all of the Catholic organizations are lumped together, with a kind of off-handedness which we hope is unintentional, in the same category with the Communist organizations ("No one will be shocked at this combination", the author tells us.) and presented as a complex of sectarian organizations with a "universalist" aim, that is, striving for "Christian hegemony on a universal basis", backed up by that political trump which is the Vatican. There is no concealing the fact that the Catholic organizations are anxious to take council together whenever their fundamental position is at stake. Moreover, the Conference of International Catholic Organizations unites many organizations which do not have and never hope to have Consultative Status. It is also known that close to the great international organizations, this Conference has Information Centers available for the convenience of its members. Far from being the "executive boards" of the Conference, these are nothing more than subordinate offices of liaison and information serving the individual catholic organizations.

### Neutral Activities

These member organizations, meeting on the common ground of their religious position, represent a great variety of purposes and formations which means that each of them is bound on a different plane with other organizations, other fields of activity and of collaboration in the International World. Some of them are great mass movements, others are professional organizations, still others have well-defined, specialized aims. That the Catholics, and they are not alone in this, should prefer autonomous organizations to the complete fusion of all for purposes of "technica" and "professional" orientation does not alter the picture. It gives rise to that very "pluralism" which, in a famous debate evoked by Mr. Pickard, the majority of Member-States, and not "Catholic diplomacy", officially proclaimed as the wholesome consequence of principles cherished at heart by all free peoples.

It has been necessary to speak of these things, since in a work otherwise entirely remarkable for its spirit and its evenness, Mr. Pickard has deemed it worthwhile to stress the subject and to disclose his own personal opinion of it. I say advisedly "his" opinion for here more than ever, we are called upon to make some reservations: Mr. Pickard's brochure is not an entirely faithful expression of the opinion of International Organizations themselves. And after having so highly praised the author, it is a pity to have to deplore the fact that we are the only ones who have not benefitted in this work from his spirit of impartiality, and that his long experience has not taught him to rise above preconceived notions of the Catholic organizations.

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