

Issued for private circulation only among those actively engaged in the study of problems affecting world peace and a new social order.

MEMORANDUM

ON THE

FURTHERANCE OF PEACE AND SOCIAL JUSTICE THROUGH A WORLD
AUTHORITY

INTRODUCTION

The object of this Memorandum is to submit to an honest and fearless examination the obstacles to an enduring peace, and thereby to determine the nature of the institution which appears best calculated to furnish the most comprehensive and practical remedy. It is desired, through the constructive criticism of those persons and organizations intimately concerned with various aspects of world problems, to clarify the issues involved, and to reach conclusions capable of being expressed formatively.

The Memorandum goes so far as to suggest an instrument, which, if the contentions of the writers be valid, would, ideally at least, answer to all the essential requirements of a positive peace force. Should it be found after a searching scrutiny that the claims urged on behalf of this concept can be justified, it will then be necessary to consider all the implications of giving it concreteness and reality. What, in fact, is to be its character politically and constitutionally? What are to be its guiding principles, and what particular policies is it to advocate? What are to be its premier functions? To what extent should it seek to employ existing machinery? To these questions specific answers in the form of recommendations are invited, as well as careful comment on the basic thesis.

It is understood that some of those for whom this document has been prepared are already sponsoring plans designed to remove flagrant inequities and barriers to harmonious international relations. Where this is the case it is hoped that a spirit of goodwill and co-operation may prevail over any a priori prejudice in face of the gravity of the situation. Divergencies, when studied in this spirit, will usually be found not to be fundamental and incapable of reconciliation, especially when due regard is paid to the importance of progress by stages. Sometimes an imagined short-term policy may prove to have overlooked a vital intervening stage which ultimately may obtain for that policy a more secure establishment.

The Memorandum appeals for a sane survey of the general position as distinct from any question of war aims or the peace settlement, and seeks to focus attention on those dominant factors and tendencies with which every attempt at New Order building will have to contend.

OBSTRUCTIVE AND RETARDING ELEMENTS AND INFLUENCES

For agile minds imbued with humanitarian sympathies and equipped with technical qualifications there has rarely been any difficulty in putting the world right on paper. It does not seem to be appreciated, however, by the advocates of the majority of these plans that the prospect of being able to try them out is very remote and probably altogether vain. The conditions are not the same as for theories which are open to local and small-scale test. World willingness to submit to an obviously revolutionary

process is practically unthinkable; yet organizations continue to press for the adoption of universal policies when quiet reflection would convince them of the impossibility of their task. Policies on the world-scale only become acceptable very gradually, and then usually if they have first achieved regional success. Without any criticism of the Communistic idea, one may instance Communism as a world plan which so far has failed to secure a mandate for universal experiment, and must depend for its wider commendation on agreement as to the beneficial results of its limited practice for a sufficient period. It is of no service, therefore, to express the wish that "if all the nations, or all persons, would adopt our system salvation would be assured," and to proceed on the assumption that there is a chance that they might be induced to do so. Once we are rid of this delusion, if we have suffered from it, we can honestly face the external barriers to universal concord.

1. POPULAR APATHY AND IGNORANCE.

The large majority of the men and women who form the populations of the world's countries have need of and desire social security, for which a state of peace is essential. But the present day problem of how to reach such security has become so complex and involved, far beyond the average capacity for comprehension and investigation, that the condition of the masses is almost wholly one of complete dependence on governments and parties to attain their ends for them. It is a fallacy, even in democracies, to say that governments represent the will of the people: they do not: they impose their policies on the people and seek to make them acceptable by a frequently fraudulent propaganda, specially noticeable at election times. In this respect, the principal difference between democracy and totalitarianism is in the nature of the propaganda appeal and the fact that democracy admits of an opposition counter-propaganda. The net result, however, is very much the same, that the people are the slaves of the propagandists on those occasions when it is necessary to appeal to the people, and otherwise they remain in a state of passivity bordering on political apathy. Parochialism too is still a force to contend with, and there is little real sympathy with or understanding of alien problems. There are frontiers of the mind and will as restraining as geographical boundaries. Science has overstepped these frontiers, but education has not yet removed them. Popular feeling is primarily occupied with petty concerns, and in major issues the trend of affairs is towards increasing dependence. It is quite unsound, therefore, to believe that the peoples of the world, or even the workers of the world, would unite on any grounds of a common humanity, brotherhood, or other lofty universal ideal. If governments decide to go to war, they will still carry their people with them. Consequently we must count popular inertia among the obstacles to an enduring peace.

2. THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION.

That peoples may and should determine their own national future was accepted as a principle for which a victory was won in the war of 1914-1918. It is still widely recognized, and there is much to be said in its favour. In advocating this principle it was the small nation which was in view, and it must be admitted that it is the small nations which are most tenacious of their national rights and privileges. There are very few indications to-day that the small nations, many of them still medieval in texture, have changed their attitude. However one may indict national sovereignty as a fruitful cause of war, one has to face the fact that the majority of small states, especially the European ones, are not prepared except by force to abate one jot of their sovereign rights. Rather do they want them guaranteed by the larger Powers. Any peace policy, to be practical, must take this fully into account. It is no use saying, "That is where

we went wrong last time," when, if we did do so, the wrong is certain to remain for a long time to come without any prospect of our remedying it.

We are also faced now with a principle of self-determination for larger peoples, a principle involving spheres of influence with a number of great Powers attaching to themselves a group of smaller ones as subservient satellites. If the principle prevails we must mould our policy accordingly.

Self-determination may be an obstacle to an enduring peace; but for so long as there is an accentuated nationalism we must meet it on its own ground. We gain nothing by defying it, and only bring our peacemaking to futility.

3. THE SURVIVAL OF TRADITION.

It is doubtful whether sufficient consideration is given in peace programmes to the innate conservatism of most states. Few places in the world are without their historic traditions, and we find venerable customs and primitive folklore elements persisting in the midst of modern ideas and achievements. In the national codes there are curious survivals and the life of to-day is still influenced to an extraordinary degree by racial relics. All these tend to separateness and to very marked differences both in the meaning and measure of civilization. They are so deep-rooted that they cannot be dislodged, even if that were desirable. Yet except for some provision for what are essentially backward races we incline to think in terms of a common level and an easy fusion. We need to remind ourselves of the colour problem, and of the racial gregariousness and traditionalism prevailing within the United States among ostensibly one hundred per cent. Americans of foreign origin. There has never been any wholesale assimilation of the Jews. Cultural distinctions, as we know, can be potent troublemakers, and we have to find a way to give them their proper and valuable place without causing friction. Neither international laws, pacts or treaties, are in this connection of any fundamental worth.

What has been said here regarding states applies with equal force to what are called class distinctions, where tradition also plays a part. Such distinctions cannot be eradicated by violent revolution or even by wholesale changes in economic policy. In this connection customary standards of living and modes of living have also to be considered, those for instance represented by Polynesians, Chinese, and Britons. We cannot contemplate an extended system of Racial National Parks, Reservations, and Concentration Camps, for those whom we cannot carry with us.

4. THE IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT.

No hope of enduring peace can be based on the belief in the possibility of imposing any particular concept of the state or method of government on the whole world of nations. The regime that can ultimately be accepted universally of freewill has probably not yet appeared or been defined. We must be prepared to recognize at least the semi-permanence of ideological diversity, and even protracted conflict. Certain adjustments are in process arising out of the psychological reactions to the results of great scientific and mechanical advances, and these are bound to cause political upheavals and eruptions. There never was a time when power could more easily be acquired by those who would misuse it, and the wedding of the ruthless hand to the trigger of the tommy-gun is a conjunction that does not permit us yet to see an end of the murderous exploitation of inevitable unrest. It is tempting fate to advocate the transference of armed authority to an international body before the proof of time has attested its wisdom and integrity. When that time arrives it may be found that the transference has need to be symbolic rather than actual, like the Lord Mayor's

presentation of his sword to the monarch at his entrance into the City of London.

The pouring of oil on troubled waters does not still the tempest; so that it may surely be held that a redistribution of wealth and possessions as between "haves" and "have-nots" will not alone remove the causes of the ideological conflict. The tempest must blow itself out. Our business is with the good ship Civilization, to make her seaworthy, and enable her to weather the storm. In this vein of reasoning the parable of King Canute and the Tide is a salutary one for peacemakers. Independence is going to serve better than interference, and its fruits will be more lasting.

5. THE LACK OF A COMMON MORALITY.

Among obstacles to peace must certainly be reckoned the absence of any universally accepted and practised spiritual and moral principles of social and national conduct. It seems sometimes to be assumed that they exist in fact because they exist in the minds of a number of well-intentioned persons. The illusion is carried so far that international contracts and engagements not only take it for granted that such a common morality is the mainspring of action, but put its obligations on record—e.g., in the preamble to the Covenant of the League of Nations. High Contracting Parties freely employ high-sounding phrases, and later are profoundly shocked at the conduct of one or more of the said Parties which does violence to every letter of the liability.

We are not concerned with degrees of culpability; but we are concerned with the overwhelming evidence that there are no Christian states, or even ethical states. We must therefore abandon belief, if we still have it, in the efficacy and magical properties of exalted expressions of concord and mutual obligations. We must appreciate that national and international morality is in its infancy, and it is no good to continue treating it as mature. It should be one of the urgent tasks of the leaders of religion to formulate standards of state and interstate conduct and to require adherence to them at times of crisis. But until institutional religion inculcates such principles as part of its mission and responsibility, and is prepared to use to the full its powers of veto, we are bound to recognize that such religion is itself not on the side of the angels. In Britain alone there are still too many prelates ready to set haloes on the heads of warmongers, and piously to exclaim, "Non angli, sed angeli." And this attitude is universal: witness the zeal to discover and codify "the just war." Consideration of immediate peace policies must be guided by the knowledge that the present world flag is the Jolly Roger.

6. THE CONFLICT OF LOYALTIES.

The dilemma of representatives of many religious bodies when confronted with national and international problems inevitably invites attention to other conflicts of loyalties which constitute a barrier to peace. A true concert of all the Powers is out of the question as long as unilateral interests prevail. In this connection we may do well to remember the words of Signor Madariaga¹ with reference to affairs at Geneva. "More deplorable," he writes, "indeed, almost unpardonable — is the sight of League of Nations experts, paid by League of Nations funds, trusted to give evidence as free and good men, who twist their advice to suit the policy of their own Governments." He claims that "the Secretariat should be, not an equitable and well-adjusted group of nationally-minded people, but a unit of world-minded officials." The picture may be overdrawn for emphasis; but no one would deny that there is a considerable measure of truth in it. Recognizing to the full the nobility and world-mindedness of many persons in public life, both in the League and out of it, it still holds good that their

¹ *The World's Design.*

work for mankind can only be carried on within the limits of the permission and freedom accorded them by their own states. In certain circumstances it can be and is circumscribed and often perverted in the name of patriotism. From this position of " Pull devil, pull baker " there would seem to be no escape except into some form of legalized world-citizenship. But a proper regard for the inherent weaknesses in any form of collaboration, except where self-interest can be rigidly excluded, should prevent the building of high hopes for peace on future Council Table guarantees.

7. THE LACK OF AN IMPARTIAL WORLD AUTHORITY.

Conspicuous among the deficiencies in our international system is the lack of any impartial world authority capable of administering international law and exercising functions of mediation and trusteeship. How grievously to-day is felt that lack! Look where you will in other human relationships there is provision for appeal by disputants to a mutually accepted impartial authority, a disinterested arbitrator. Only the nation-states have found no such authority to serve them; for even the Hague Court is a praiseworthy makeshift.

Between the nation-state, or confederated-state, and the distant ideal world-state there is no acknowledged intermediate superior, no external body which can justly claim at the councils of nations, " We speak as the guardians of the rights of Man." It seems impossible to contemplate any real progress towards world unity until such an authority can be created and invested with special powers. Without it there may be many improvements, but there can be no New World Order. It is on this problem, therefore, that peace-seeking statesmanship should concentrate its utmost energies. Only by solving it can all the other obstacles be overcome.

ADDENDUM

Since the first part of this Memorandum was drafted the writers have found that nearly all the arguments they have employed have been formulated independently by the International Consultative Group of Geneva, and are contained in their studies entitled: *Causes of the Peace Failure 1919-1939*.² This Group, as Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler states in his Preface, "are unique in that they represent the results of discussion during a period of months among citizens of all the States at war as well as of many neutral countries, including Americans. The members composing the group are mainly officers of international organizations with headquarters at Geneva, who meet together in their personal and not in their official capacities, and are able to contribute freely their ideas and knowledge." Confirmation from such an authoritative body not only strengthens greatly the case which is here presented, and must help to commend it, but also establishes that honest assessments of the situation lead inevitably to similar conclusions. This is further borne out by the quotation which opens the section which follows immediately.

THE SEARCH FOR A NEW UNIVERSALISM

"As it becomes increasingly evident that the crisis of Western civilization is in the last resort a spiritual crisis which is due to the absence of great common and compelling convictions, and that none of the ideologies which are at present in control can pretend to be able to bring about a true integration, men everywhere are searching for a new universalism."³

2 Published in *International Conciliation* (No. 363), October, 1940, issued by the Division of Intercourse and Education of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

3 *Ibid.* p. 367.

This search for a new universalism is really identical with the quest for that impartial world authority to which reference has already been made. In many ways the search is very like that of the Thibetan priests for a new Dalai Lama. We seek a new earthly incarnation of the highest spirit of man; but we seek it in a group rather than in an individual. The quest will not be in vain: but before we can visualise and plan to constitute the framework within which this spirit can take up its abode we have clearly to discern its necessity, its character, and the functions it is to perform. It needs to be said that occupied with such a momentous task of discovery and construction time is of no importance. Those who will, like the Wise Men from the East, devote themselves to the location of an infant Saviour cannot afford to be hasty or impatient else they may lose their way; and they may expect to be led to strange places. Others may be concerned with short-term theories and policies, and patchwork remedies; but not the men and women of the Quest. Theirs is a sacred and self-denying mission, which sets them apart from the hurlyburly of temporary conditions.

1. THE NECESSITY FOR A WORLD AUTHORITY.

The necessity for an impartial world authority can only be realised fully if it is first viewed in the abstract. Those measures, already taken or envisaged, which represent attempts to create such an authority. must for purposes of argument be left on one side. When this has been done it will be easier to judge how far they can be successful, or, where they fall short, what contribution their incorporation—in whole or in part—in the ideal authority can make.

It may be useful to tabulate the chief reasons why a world authority is seen to be a necessity. The list is formidable.

- (a) To stand above all races and religions, parties, classes, and exclusive ideologies.
- (b) To give expression to the idea of world unity and the mutual interdependence of states.
- (c) To act as the recorder of man in his spiritual, physical and social development.
- (d) To act as the advocate of man in all that pertains to his rights, responsibilities and corporate relationships.
- (e) To furnish a pattern and example of community-living based on the principles of love and service.
- (f) To foster and promote education, experiment and research for the benefit of all men everywhere.
- (g) To act as trustee for all discoveries and inventions useful and necessary for the welfare of humanity.
- (h) To act as guardian of minorities and backward races,
- (i) To act as custodian and administrator of international law.
- (j) To act as registrar for all international agreements.
- (k) To provide a disinterested and impartial tribunal for the purposes of international mediation and arbitration.
- (l) To provide a legally constituted body, permanently neutral, with full diplomatic privileges and rights of extraterritoriality.
- (m) To act as controller of international air-routes and waterways, and protector of world flora and fauna.

- (n) To furnish an international police service to supersede all national fighting forces.
- (o) To supply machinery for the encouragement of international trade and travel, and to secure a just balance between world production and distribution of manufactured goods and raw materials.
- (p) To form a bridge, and the mechanism of gradual transition, from the nation-state to the world-state.
- (q) Generally to assume such plenary powers as may be delegated by the free will of all nations.

It is because all these functions require performance that we need a world authority. They represent the essentials of a New World Order. It is not of consequence that all the functions should come into simultaneous operation: indeed, they could not. There are short-term and long-term activities. What is of importance is that the world authority, when it is constituted, should be of such a character as to have in it the potentiality and the capacity to carry through the whole programme, even if it takes a millennium. There can be no swapping horses in midstream for such an enterprise. Progressively though it may and must develop a world authority is a *world authority*: it is unique, and must fulfil its destiny until the world-state be born.

Perhaps, when the table given has been studied, criticised, and added to, we shall think less in terms of the failure of existing organisms. We shall instead think of them as definite forward steps and partial fulfilments. We shall even see possibilities of fusion, and the initiation of a new integrating process. What is evidently lacking is a framework into which all the pieces can fit, and which will supply a unity and coherence. Our world authority cannot like the lady in the song, dance a fandango " all over the place." It is the lack of a framework, lack of any wholly satisfying organic objective, that hitherto has been largely responsible for many movements ploughing a lonely furrow, and worse, competing as rivals. We must clarify the character of the world authority.

2. THE CHARACTER OF A WORLD AUTHORITY.

As we begin to define the authority we first come up against its world character, its universality. This implies a representation of all mankind and a coverage of the whole globe. It excludes at once any league of nations, except of all nations, or any federation of states, except of all states. It excludes no less any attitude or philosophy, any religious or political concept, which outlaws, hereticizes, or deprives of common rights and security, any race, faith, class, or stratum of society, or any individuals composing the human brotherhood. It involves an interpenetration, both vertical and horizontal, so as to make representation real and understanding.

MORAL CHARACTER. The world authority must have a profound moral basis : it would be unacceptable without a widespread recognition of its righteousness. Self-denying service, justice, and benevolence, must be the keynotes of its character. It must have the spiritual power to evoke a responsive goodwill and bring out the best in men and nations. The world authority must be disinterested and impartial. It cannot, therefore, be any of the existing states, or, indeed, any state as hitherto constructed. Neither for the same reasons can it be a council of members of states, or other inter-national body.

INDEPENDENCE. The world authority must be completely detached, free and untrammelled. It must be able to establish and maintain itself as a sacred and inviolate institution independent of the vicissitudes of states and empires. It must be supremely neutral so as to be able to carry out effectively its functions of mediation and

arbitration. It must be the final court of appeal for nations, and the custodian and administrator of international law. It must be incorruptible, and incapable through its ubiquitousness of destruction in case of war. There can be no question of its members owning allegiance to any bounded state: they must be in a true and legal sense world-citizens.

CONSTITUTIONAL CHARACTER. The world authority cannot be vague and formless. It must have a clear, open, and easily understood constitution, which, while it demonstrates its uniqueness and defines its special status, makes it also the peer of the nation-states. This is necessary, not only for the usage of diplomatic machinery, but also to retain the sound principle of judgment by peers.

3. THE FUNCTIONS OF A WORLD AUTHORITY.

Under this heading there is little that need be added to the table given in division 1 of this section. Broadly speaking, the functions of the world authority may be grouped as, those that relate to the welfare of mankind as a whole, and those that concern the relations of states. Nearly all the items in the list, as will be appreciated, can easily be expanded into a full and detailed programme of valuable service. The functions of the world authority may indeed be summed up in that word service, service given devotedly, unstintingly, and sacrificially. The power of the authority resides in service, an instrument mightier than any weapon of force, accomplishing what neither aggression nor coercion can achieve. Service binds, while force rends asunder. Service heals, while force wounds and destroys. Service knows no enemies, entertains no jealousies, accepts no distinctions. Service melts where force hardens. Service proves where force promises. Service convinces where force threatens. Service brings light into darkness, order into chaos, hope into despair. Service is the only quality which can make authority enduring and endure.

APPOSITE QUOTATIONS

" If we do want real world peace, we must create, strengthen, respect and obey world institutions."⁴

" National life has succeeded because out of loyalty to the nations its members have worked together for their common benefits, with the common resources. So it must be in the international community. We must have a loyalty to it as citizens and as nations and our common effort with the common resources will rehabilitate the world."⁵

" The world community is in need of its own form of loyalty. Without this the world can never become a governed body."⁶ ,

" Were there in existence a universal Church in which men of all races and ways of thinking could find their spiritual home and unite in one fellowship of loyalty and goodwill, it would be unquestionably the world's most valuable institution."⁷

"It is only in view of the idea of a nation as a unit of service that Christianity can co-exist with a world of nations."⁸

" In the first Christian generation men saw the vision of the Heavenly City coming down upon earth. We need the same vision, but expressed in accordance with the problems of our time. ... It is a vision of sovereignty realized through the attainment of

4 Madariaga, *The World's Design*.

5 Karlin Capper-Johnson, *Looking Towards Peace*.

6 G. M. Stratton, *International Delusions*.

7 L. P. Jacks, *Co-operation or Coercion?*

8 Howard Masterman (Bishop of Plymouth), *Christianity and the Crisis*.

a world-union which will make possible the control of all the relations of mankind by God's methods of freedom and goodwill. . . . We must learn to live already in the world-union of the future. We are to be a " colony of heaven " in this sense, pioneers and outposts of the world-order which we are trying to build."⁹

DESIGN FOR A WORLD AUTHORITY

" No society can learn to think of itself as a whole which does not believe in its own future. Still less can it realise its own capacity for improvement and the structure it ought to attain, and so work on a plan. The growing confusion of the world is due to this failure, and will only be ended by those who face the question where it is going or ought to go. We talk of planning as the great panacea; but intelligent planning can only begin when men have asked and answered the question, what is the ultimate structure they mean to attain for human society? It is only by reference to such a conception that the steps which practical statesmen are taking from day to day can be judged. No political science can guide men far on their journey through life until it can say what is the goal to which the journey should lead."¹⁰

This question may not have been faced sufficiently. We rather shy away from ultimates in world planning except in millennial visions and Utopian dreams. Yet it must be acknowledged that all the grandiose talk of a New World Order is nothing but vanity and deception unless it is associated with a consistent and comprehensive design and a settled and honourable intention to work for the end in view. We are not thinking in terms of encouraging propaganda but of a grave and urgent responsibility. If a world commonwealth is the final objective, let us not be afraid to say so; and let us then consider by what stages we can reach that goal, and especially what foundation we must begin to lay in the immediate future. We have said already what we deem to be essential " that the world authority, when it is constituted, should be of such a character as to have in it the potentiality and the capacity to carry through the whole programme," however long it takes. Our terminus a quo is the present world anarchy. Our terminus ad quem is the world-state or commonwealth. We have to devise an authority that will be able to carry us over by a gradual transition from the one position to the other through an expansion in function without a fundamental change in the nature of the authority.

In requiring so much of the world authority as we have done we may seem to have set a riddle that is unanswerable. We have, however, given more than one vital clue. What has really obscured the issue and made the problem appear difficult is the belief that the world authority has to be international. We have been pre-occupied with the quest for an international authority and devising international organizations to forward its creation. In so doing we have been impeded at every turn by all those obstacles set out in the first section of this Memorandum, by apathy, ignorance, non-co-operation, and active hostility. To work with the nation-states is possible, to work through them is impossible. There can be no near prospect of setting all the national ninepins on end at the same time: while we are putting up some the others are falling down again. It is a Sisyphean labour.

9 John S. Hoyland, *The World in Union*.

10 Lionel Curtis, *Civitas Dei*.

We are driven inexorably to the conclusion that unless we can create a world authority independent of the existing nation-states there can be no world authority. To quote the International Consultative Group of Geneva: " The gravity of the present situation is precisely that, humanly speaking, we do not see how our disintegrated civilization may come to a new unity."

Therefore we must accept as a postulate the constitution of a body the members of which do not owe allegiance to any other state or limiting authority. This can only be done by divesting a sufficient number of high-principled, dedicated, and world-minded men and women of their present nationality and furnishing them in a legal form with world-citizenship. There is no other way. Yet world-citizenship in itself is too nebulous a status. Is there any known concept to which we can give a new significance which will meet our requirements? Yes, there is a very familiar concept, which has behind it a venerable spiritual tradition, the idea of a " people of God " or " holy nation."¹¹

It is not our purpose here to discuss the several accepted meanings of these terms. Our business is to conceive a design for a world authority, and these terms are very suggestive and rich in possibilities.

Let us try to imagine the coming into being of a new nation, composed solely of world-citizens drawn from every race and class and clime. Let us conceive of this nation as universal, not localised but distributed, separated from the problems of boundaries, and raw materials, and living-space, intimately affected through its members by all the vicissitudes of states and yet so broad in outlook and sympathies as to be able to transcend the exclusiveness of more limited sovereignties. Let us think of this nation as a service-nation sitting at the councils of the nations as the representative of mankind. Let us visualise this nation as a microcosm, a symbol, guarantee, and anticipation of ultimate world unity. Let us suppose in this nation an example, a visible demonstration of the ideal and pattern of true nationhood. Such a nation could surely fulfil in ever wider measure all those exacting functions which we have seen to be necessary in a world authority. It would be the absolute neutral, and as the peer of the nation-states its capacity for mediation and arbitration would be unique. Whichever functional test we apply the concept of a " holy nation " meets them all with complete satisfaction.

We are living in a world of nations, and for a long time to come national divisions must prevail. At the same time there is a paramount demand for a new universalism, a new integration, a new redemptive agency. Will not our problem be solved by the advent of a messianic nation, the birth of which involves no dislocation or friction between states, which gives to them all and takes from none?

There could be no valid objection to the constitution of this world authority. There are thousands of able men and women with a world outlook in all walks of life who, for the good of humanity, would be ready to accept legal membership. Neither, except in point of nationality, would any state be deprived of the usefulness of these people, seeing that for the most part they would remain in it contributing their quota towards its prosperity and wellbeing. They would be more than friendly aliens, they would be a conscience and an inspiration.

¹¹ The idea of a "holy nation" was apparently first promulgated in this sense in modern times in a paper written in 1924 for the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship (see extracts in *The Plough*, July, 1938, Vol. 1, No. a). More recently and independently the theme has been presented by Hugh J. Schonfield in two pamphlets, *The Divine Plan of World Government* and *The Holy Nation and its Mission* (Peace Book Company, 1940).

The world authority, as vested in a " holy nation," would assure the realisation of a New World Order. Its inception would not require revolutions or sudden conversions, or any preliminary of world conferences, covenants or pacts.

QUID OBSTAT? What prevents?

This Memorandum has been prepared for purposes of information and comment at the request of the Executive Committee of the Society for the Constitution of a Holy Nation, 5 The Riding, London, N.W. 11. Communications and criticisms should be addressed to the Secretary, and will be treated as confidential. Further copies of the Memorandum may be obtained from the Society, price 4d. each, post free.

OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE CONSTITUTION OF A HOLY NATION

To create, by the will of God, as an instrument for the promotion of world peace and justice, a free nation, pervasive and universal, dedicated to the service of humanity, to the function of international mediation, and to the demonstration of a pattern of nationhood.