RACE: THE REFLECTIONS OF A THEOLOGIAN

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Preface

Since the beginning of this century the human family has seen startling changes in many fields. In the department of the physical sciences, the achievements have been awe-inspiring, and the aspirations of the scientists still seem to be unlimited. In the political arena, too, there has been a great awakening: two world wars have changed the pattern of world alignments, lost to Europe her predominant role in world affairs and provoked a ferment among the smaller nations.

During the first World War propaganda was focused on the freedom of small nations; the end of the peace negotiations saw many emerge independent states. That gave a fresh stimulus to the ideal of self-determination; the fight of national groups against empires was on. In the welter of speeches, essays, manifestos, books and pamphlets which have formed part of this movement during the intervening fifty years, we have had a wide range of political, social, ethical, and ethnological terms. While these terms are well-nigh legion, their use is far from precise: race, nation, people, and state, for example, are freely interchanged.

Father Bonaventure Hinwood OFM, noting this confusion of terminology and the confusion of thought it necessarily implies, has taken upon himself the difficult task of analysing the situation in order to give us a clear picture of one corner of this tangled field. Better still, he has done this as a theologian in terms of a full Christian view of the world.

This work is a thesis of a degree; in other words, it is primarily an essay in methodology. In it the author reviews the use of the word *race,* starting with a brief sketch of what the physical sciences have to say about it. Then he takes up the pronouncements of the various individuals and organs of the Catholic Church, also referring occasionally to non-catholic writers who have illustrated some point particularly well.

These directives and opinions, which express the mind of a wide range of popes, prelates, priests, and lay people in different circumstances and in many countries over a period of years, are clearly set forth, discussed in the light of the basic truths of Christianity, and evaluated with praiseworthy insight and discretion. The conclusions which Father Hinwood has reached in the course of this excellent synthesis are sound and balanced, expressing as they do the views current in the Church rather than his own opinions. But perhaps even more valuable than this scholarly theological examination of the doctrinal foundation for the Catholic attitude on racial matters, is the careful documentation of every statement made. This essay, therefore, will be most useful as a work of reference on questions of race, and as a source book for anyone who wants to make a special study of particular racial problems.

We hope that the pioneer work done by Father Hinwood will serve as a basis for many monographs dealing with specific situations in different countries. For a fuller and clearer knowledge of the racial question is bound to lead in some small way to racial understanding and interracial harmony.

17th November, 1963

JOHN E. MCBRIDE OFM

Bishop of Kokstad.

Preamble

When, in everyday parlance, men ask questions about the existence and nature of the races of mankind, and how these are related to one another, they automatically turn to the natural scientist for enlightenment. For this reason the title of this work will undoubtedly cause a certain raising of the eyebrows among not a few of those who come across it for the first time. And doubly so, because, on those not so rare occasions when theologians, and in particular, bishops, do in fact deal with the problem of different races, it is almost always to expound some aspect of social justice in order to counteract the rationalized excesses of the racists in unfairly discriminating against some group or another.

By what right, then, does some one dedicated to the speculative sciences, and above all a dogmatic theologian, presume to enter into the discussion of the abovementioned matters? This is the question which, by way of introduction to this study, we shall endeavor to answer.

Before we embark on this task, however, it may be useful to give some idea about the object of our discussion, namely, races.

The origin of the word "race," with its similar forms in other modern Western languages,[1] is somewhat obscure.[2] Some have thought that it came from the Arabic "ra's" which means a head or source;[3] others, from the Latin "ratio" in the sense of an order of things, a category, or a species, which in the Middle Ages also came to have the meaning of descent.[4] The Latin term for race used in Church documents is "stirps," found more frequently in its Italian form "stirpe," which signifies the trunk of a tree, the lower part of the tree which is immediately joined to the roots and whence the branches spring forth. In an adapted sense it was used even in ancient times to signify the ancestral origin of a group of families, hence a genus or class.[5]

1 "Ras" in Dutch, "Race" in French, "Rasse" in German, "Razza" in Italian, " Raça" in Portuguese, "Raza" in Spanish, "Ras" in Swedish.

2 Murray J. and others, *Oxford English dictionary* (Oxford 1933) VIII, 87a.

3 Kluge F., *Etymologisches Woerterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (Berlin 1957) 584.

4 Robert P., *Dictionnaire Alphabétique et analogique de la langue française* (Paris 1962) V, 745 a.

5 Forcellini A., *Lexicon totius latinitatis, rev., ed.* (Patavii 1900) IV, 493 c.

In the *Oxford English Dictionary* a race is described as "a group of persons, animals, or plants, connected by common descent or origin," or "one of the great divisions of mankind having certain physical peculiarities in common."[6] Robert gives the more technical meaning of the word as used by natural scientists for both animals and human beings as "the subdivision of the species, which is itself further divided into sub-races or varieties, constituted by individuals united by common hereditary characteristics."[7] Rightly he remarks that its use to designate cultural groups or nations, and political groups or states is an abuse.[8]

6 Murray J., *Oxford English dictionary* VIII, 87 a.

7 Robert P., *Dictionnaire alphabétique* V, 745 b: "la subdivision de l'espèce, elle-même divisée en sous- races ou variétés, constituée par des individus réunissant des caractères communs héréditaires."

8 Robert P., *Dictionnaire alphabétique V,* 746b.

To return now to the main purpose of this Preamble, namely, the justification of a dogmatic theologian's entry into the field of race, we must turn first of all, as in any theological discussion, to the teaching organ of the Church, composed of the pope and the bishops. More than once the supreme catholic teaching authority in Rome has sent out an appeal to specialists in various theological and other sciences to give their serious attention to the question of race. Thus the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities, of which Pope Pius XI was at the time President, in its *Instruction on the errors of racism,* issued on the 13th April, 1938, exhorted catholic scholars to adequately and learnedly refute the absurd principles of the doctrinaire racists then current.[9] A further stimulus in this direction was given personally by the Pope when on September 8th of the same year he told the directors and teachers of Catholic Action that the relation between race and race was a matter of the greatest importance to both religion and philosophy.[10] Again, fifteen years later, Pope Pius XII, pleading for a more profound investigation into those problems which were too complex to be answered simply by "yes" and "no," placed at the head of the list the questions of race and blood with their biological, psychic, and social consequences.[11] Before it is possible to say what the relations between races should be on the level of morality and law, it is first necessary to find out what races are and what is the relation between them on the level of actual existence.

9 S.C. of Seminaries and Universities, *Instruction on the errors of racism,* in *Actes* 18 (1938-39) 87.

10 Pius XI, *Address to the teachers of Catholic Action,* 6.9.38, in OR 78, 208 (8.9.38) 1.

11 Pius XII, *Address to the Union of Catholic Jurists,* 6.12.53, in *AAS* 45 (1953) 796.

It is in dutiful response to these appeals of the popes that we wish to offer this study, in union with and building upon the work already done by those theologians who in the period immediately before the last world war consolidated and carried a stage further the doctrine which they received through the declarations of the popes and bishops and the initial investigations of theologians during the preceding ten years. In the post-war period, unfortunately, the far more numerous official interventions of the Church in this matter do not seem to have aroused the same theological interest. At the present time, then, there is a backlog of about twenty years of source material from the teaching authority of the Church alone awaiting theological reflection, not to mention the progress made in the meantime in scriptural exegesis and the new theological perspectives, which can likewise be brought to bear on our subject matter. It is in order to fill this gap that we have here sought to gather together the fragments, and having weighed them carefully, to systematize them, and make them available to the public.

The confusion of terminology which exists in the discussion of matters racial, both in the speculative and practical order,[12] is another compelling reason for undertaking this work. This confusion is in no small measure due to various presuppositions, frequently and for the most part unconsciously present in people's thought processes, of which the following most readily come to mind: the physical differences between people are so superficial and unconnected with their personalities that they can be simply ignored; unity implies uniformity; the identification of culture with the European way of life; group differences between men, for instance race or culture, can be wiped out without any moral stigma; and consequently the policy of enforced acculturation as something amoral, that is, outside the domain of ethics; equality among men is measured by the possession and enjoyment of

material goods, rather than by the relationship of mutual integral acceptance of each other; charity eliminates natural differences between men in the Church.

12 Haselden K., *Racial problem in Christian perspective* (London 1960) 14. See also page 11.23 of this work.

These presuppositions cannot be justified, as it is sometimes done in fact by appealing to a vague "charity" or "respect for the individual" considered in a vacuum. Because in the last analysis, as the metaphysicians teach us, the good and the true are interchangeable, it behoves us to seek to know what is the truth about men, considered both individually and collectively, so that we may "do good to all men especially those who are of the household of the faith."[13] Real and authentic love, whether natural or supernatural, must in fact always operate according to the true and objective order of things as created by God. As Fromm so aptly expresses it: "Love is union under the condition of preserving one's integrity."[14] Hence,[15]

13 Gal. 6, 10.

14 Fromm E., *Art of loving* (New York 1956) 20.

15 Haering B. CSSR, *Macht und Ohnmacht der Religion, Religionssoziologie als Anruf* (Salzburg 1956) 126: "Die Überwindung der Spaltungen, die durch die gesellschaftlichen, politischen, nationalen und rassischen Gegensätze in die Christenheit hineingetragen oder durch sie wenigstens mitverschuldet sind, kann nicht durch den Rückzug auf das Nur-Religiöse geschehen."

> The fissures introduced into, or at least partially caused in the Christian community by social, political, national, and racial diversities, cannot be surmounted by the attempt to return to the purely religious plane.

Consequently it is of primary importance to ascertain as exactly as possible what is the real order of things created by God, in order precisely that Christian charity may be more truly and fruitfully practiced.

In this connection it is worth while recalling Thils' useful observation that whatever in creation can be considered under the aspect of sin merits also to be viewed in the light of faith, for the reason that men are not only bound to know the norms to which they should conform their actions in this world, but also what this world is in the eyes of God.[16] There is no doubt at all that the relationships between men of diverse races can be considered from the moral viewpoint, as this has been the constant and universal practice of the popes and bishops for the past thirty years and more. It follows, therefore, that the attempt to see these relationships, and hence races themselves which form the poles of these relationships, in the context of the totality of Catholic truth is highly desirable.

16 Thils G., *Theologie des realites terrestres* (Tournai 1946-49) I, 51.

All the things of this earth, and all terrestrial values, whether individual or collective, whether material or spiritual, do in fact belong to the universe created by God, upon Whom they depend completely and absolutely for the fact that they are, that they continue to be, and that they evolve. For there is nothing which is, and which is good, but that which has God for its author and perfector. Yet in the Christian view of the universe, while the world and all that it contains is essentially good, as being made by God, nevertheless it is not an end in itself, nor has it any final purpose when considered as a closed and isolated system. Placed in the total context of reality, creation is for the sake of salvation; it is the seed from which mankind grows up into a sharing of the life of God.[17]

Hence the whole of creation reaches out towards the "new heaven and a new earth"[18] from a deep internal necessity,[19] placed in it by Him who said "Behold I make all things new,"[20] into Whom also the entire universe will be drawn up as into its Head in the total reintegration of all things in the ultimate and perfect order.[21]

17 Haes P. de, *Schepping als heilsmysterie, onderzoek der bronnen* (Tielt 1962) 53-56. 250; Hulsbosch A. OESA, *Schepping Gods, schepping, zonde en verlossing in het evolutionistisch wereldbeeld* (Roermond 1963) 13. 44.

18 II Peter 3, 13. See also Apoc. 21, 1.

19 Rom. 8, 19-23.

20 Apoc. 21, 5. See also II Cor. 5, 17.

21 Benoit P. OP, *Horizon paulinien de l'Épître aux Ephésiens,* in *Revue biblique* 46 (1937) 354.

From this it follows that theology, whose secondary material object[22] is all creatures, especially those possessing reason, and their activities, in so far as they come from God and tend towards Him,[23] does not only deal with terrestrial reality in general, nor with individual creatures solely in abstract, that is to say in their constitutive principles, as for instance body and soul in man.[24] No, on the contrary, it treats of the whole, real, living man of flesh and blood, under whatever aspect you like, the racial not excluded. For, to borrow the words of St. Thomas: "All that a man is, or is capable of, or has, must be directed towards God."[25]

22 The material object of any science signifies in scholastic terminology the thing or things studied. This is divided in theology between God, with Whom both in Himself and in His creatures and salvific operations the theologian is principally concerned, and Who therefore is called the primary object; and creatures in as much as they constitute the term of these operations, which consequently comprise the secondary object.

23 Tanquerey A., *Synopsis theologiae dogmaticae fundamentalis,* 26 ed. (Paris 1949) 3.

24 For an explanation of what is meant by constitutive principles confer Steenberghen F. van, *Ontologie,* 3 ed. (Louvain 1961) 97-99.

25 St. Thomas, *S. theol. I-II q.2 a.4* and 3 (656b).

All this, therefore, legitimately belongs to the material object of theology.

This is doubly true of a matter which has been explicitly dealt with in the documents of the Church, even if only for a few decades, as is the case with the questions we propose to discuss.

There is a final difficulty which deserves attention before we proceed. It may be formulated thus: granted all that has been said, the fact still remains that revelation and salvation are only concerned with man in so far as he is related to the supernatural order. As the physical structure of the world, including race in the human sphere, is not directly implicated in this, but only the spiritual dimension of man, or his soul, they are not the concern of the theologian, but rather of the philosopher.

The parry to this thrust will be made fully in chapter three, where the catholic doctrine of the unity of the human composite is discussed.[26] Suffice to say here briefly that a man is one being, one substance, one person, at once and inseparably spiritual and corporeal while on this earth. The spiritual or soul, and the corporeal or body in man are not two separate and distinct entities coexisting and cooperating in a certain harmony. No, they are two correlative principles of being[27] of the one single undivided reality which is the human person as he exists here and now. So it is the

whole man, who in virtue of his material principle is part and product of the world and subject to that determinedness which rules the whole of physical reality, who is at one and the same time undetermined or free in virtue of his spiritual principle.[28] He is that anomaly - an incarnate liberty.[29] But it is precisely this man, this incarnate subjectivity, to whom God reveals Himself, and who as such responds to the revelation of God.[30] If earthly bodiliness is confined to the natural order, then the human person as an animated body[31] is irrevocably confined to the natural order,[32] a conclusion which no Christian could possibly accept, because all men are called by God to a supernatural destiny.[33] If the human person is supernaturalized, and made a partaker in the divine life, then in his full dimensions, spiritual and physical, he falls within the scope of the science of the supernatural.

26 Page 38f. (N/A)

27 For the philosophical meaning of correlative principles of being consult Steenberghen F. van, *Ontologie* 97-99

28 Schoonenberg P. SJ, *Gods wordende wereld, vijf theologische essays* (Tielt 1962) 46.

29 Ricoeur P., *Philosophie de la volonté* (Paris 1949) I, 455.

30 John XXIII, *Mater et magistra,* in AAS 53 (1961) 402; Hulsbosch A. OESA, *Schepping Gods 59*.

31 Cnl. of Ephesus, *Second letter of St. Cyril to Nestorius* (DR 111 a; DS 250); Cnl. of Constantinople II, *Anathemas on the three chapters canon 4* (DR 216; DS 567); Lateran Cnl. 649, *Secretarial acts V* canon 2 (DR 255; DS 502).

32 Hulsbosch A. OESA, *Schepping Gods 22-23*.

33 John XXIII, *Mater et magistra 453; Pacem in terris,* in *AAS* 55 (1963) 289.

It is further worth remarking in the light of the aforesaid objection that the church has no hesitation in intervening in the sphere of the positive investigation of the physical world when She feels that the hypotheses proposed by the natural scientists endanger traditional Christian doctrine. These doctrinal decisions may be disciplinary like that of Pope Pius XII with regard to polygenesis,[34] or terminitive as we consider the *Instruction on the errors of racism*[35] to be. Likewise in the realm of natural law, which has always been considered the preserve of the philosopher, the Church has many times asserted her competence to make authoritative interpretations, not least of all in the person of Pope John XXIII.[36] This is evidenced by the long line of social encyclicals, and the fact that the "spiritual mission" of the church embraces even an international public authority.[37] We consider this to be another indication that the difference between theology on the one hand, is not constituted by each having as its province a distinct field of reality with a clear-cut boundary separating them; but consists rather in each viewing the whole man, at least in so far as their respective methods will permit, yet in a different perspective, that of theology in the light of revelation, that of the natural sciences and philosophy prescinding from the data of revelation.

34 Pius XII, *Humani generis,* in *AAS* 42 (1950) 576. For references to various interpretations of this document, see page 120 of this work (N/A).

35 Page 83

36 John XXIII, *Pacem in Terris 301*.

37 Paul VI, *Address to U Thant,* 11.7.63, in *AAS* 55 (1963) 653.

In the light of the above there does not seem to be any need further to justify the attempt of a dogmatic theologian to bring the data and methods of his science[38] to bear upon the problem of race.

38 For a brief outline of theological method consult Henry A. OP, *Theologie, science de la foi,* in *Initiation theologique, par un groupe de theologiens,* 4 ed. (Paris 1957) I, 264-84; Schillebeeckx H. OP, ' *Theologie',* in *Theologisch woordenboek* (Roermond 1958) III, 4495-4513; Schmaus M., *Katholische dogmatik* 6 ed. (Muenchen 1960) I, 23-30. 44-54.

That there can be no conflict between the valid conclusions of theology and the authentic findings of the natural sciences, has already been clearly brought out by Pope Leo XIII.[39] Hence it is our sincere desire that the light that we may be able to shed upon the question of race, using the principles of faith, and placing the matter in the context of catholic theology, may suggest to positive scientists useful lines of investigation in their own fields, since that which we are all endeavouring to elucidate is the same, even though our several viewpoints may differ. It is precisely this similarity and this difference which the title of this study is intended to express.

39 Leo XIII, *Providentissimus Deus* (DR 1947; DS 3287).

Not indeed without prolonged reflection upon the material which we had been able to gather in one place or another over a number of years, did we eventually decide upon the division of this work, and the method of organizing the fragments collected. So many and diverse problems presented themselves, so many possible aspects of the question, that there seemed to be no limit to the paths which could be pursued. We decided eventually to endeavour to answer one question, and one question only, which can be expressed in this way: when a theologian, as a theologian, comes across the word "race," in the sense of different races, what does it mean for him in the light of the documents of the teaching Church and the writings of theologians? There has been no attempt on our part to create a theology of race, but much more humbly to try to find out what has been the concept of race current in the Church, since the problem came to the fore a little over thirty years ago. Reference will be made from time to time to documents going as far back as the sixteenth century. As the categories used and the questions asked at other periods, however, were not those of our own age, the literature of those times is useful only on a few selected points. From what has just been said, it will be clear that this is not a work of original genius, but simply an attempt to collect, coordinate, synthesize, and make available to others, scattered and often inaccessible material dealing with the problem of race.

The first matter which it seemed desirable to touch on was the origin and universality of the racial problem, so that both the importance and difficulty of the discussion thereof might be brought home, lest it should be considered by some that an awful lot of fuss and bother was being made about a relatively insignificant problem affecting one or two isolated spots on the globe. What the positive scientists have written on matters racial presented a vast mass of material which had to the best of our ability to be examined next, even if only selectively. There seemed to be an obligation to do this, in order to find out if there was in reality such unanimity among positive scientists about the facts concerning race, that it would be an act of rashness on the part of a devotee of the speculative sciences not to give them his whole-hearted assent. As is obvious, these two discussions are by the way, preparing the ground for the specifically theological part of the investigation.

Since races, by any definition, are groups of men, it seemed necessary to commence the theological treatment of the question with an exposition of Christian anthropology, or at least those aspects of it which directly bear upon our problem. The aspects selected for special mention are first of all the two principal external, or social unities: mankind as such, and the community of redeemed men made partakers of the divine life in the Mystical Body of Christ. Alongside these there is the internal

oneness of the human person: the composite of soul and body, or man's psycho-somatic totality. Both the internal and external unities basic to the human person must be kept constantly in mind in any logical and scientific theological consideration of race, since they form the structure within which the theologian must needs work. Moreover one or other of them is always misconceived by both the racists and the extreme antiracists. On the one hand, between the human groups constituted by heredity that the unity of mankind is seriously jeopardized; the antiracists, on the other hand, very often have such an abstract and over-simplified vision of human solidarity that collective differences can scarcely be fitted into the picture at all. Likewise, the opponents of racism often enough divide the psychic from the physical in man to the point of endangering the unity of the human person; while the racists by contrast so exaggerate the deterministic influence of hereditary racial factors that both the existence and transcendence of man's spiritual activity seem to get lost in the process. It seemed preferable not to omit, as an adjunct to these considerations, a brief treatment of the doctrines of the theology of history which would help to throw light on our subject, since races, like all other human collectives, are not fixed and static entities, but rather evolving realities in a constant state of flux. Mankind is on the march, even if not always forward, nor consistently in the same direction.

Having thus laid the foundations, the exposition of the Church's doctrine bearing on races as such opens with an examination of the racist propositions condemned by the teaching authority of the Church. Naturally while indicating what excesses are to be avoided, this negative doctrine also gives an inkling of the positive catholic position. For this reason it is vitally important to ascertain exactly what has been condemned, so that it can be refuted, and what has not fallen under censure, lest our view be excessively narrowed by rejecting too much.

Turning now to the positive side of the study, the first question we are logically bound to ask is: do distinct races exist at all? Since our sources provide an affirmative response, the next stage is to determine the nature of the racial factor and its influence in the structure of the whole person. Since we hold with the scholastic aphorism that in so far as a thing is it is good[40] there was no escaping the question of the value of race both for mankind as a whole and for the individual; and consequently, what rights arise from these values. Because our sources consistently postulate some sort of a relationship between race and culture, the next stage of our discussion of races is an investigation of this relationship and its consequences.

40 St. Thomas, *S. theol.* I q.5 a.3 (25b-26a). For the philosophical explanation of this consult Smith G. SJ, *Philosophy of being, metaphysics I* (New York 1961) 350-359.

As we have indicated earlier in this Preamble, in the Christian vision of the world the created order is essentially orientated towards the supernatural order of reality. It behoves us, therefore, next to examine how race, and culture with which we have said it appears to be somehow connected, are related to the supernatural order as it presents itself to us in the Mystical Body, which constitutes the purpose and consummation of the whole earthly course of mankind in the actual, concrete process of history.

Holding the diversity and complexity of the material in balance, it has seemed possible to come to some unified idea of what is understood by race in contemporary catholic thought. In this way some small contribution may have been made to the rapidly developing theology of terrestrial realities.[41]

41 A basic work in this field is Thils G., *Theologie des realites terrestres* (Tournai 1946-49) in two volumes.

The whole work is consequently divided as follows. In chapter one a brief sketch is given of the origin and universality of the racial question; not omitting in chapter two the views thereon put forward by the positive scientists. Chapter three is devoted to an examination of the theological doctrines particularly necessary to our study, namely, the unity of mankind, the unity of the Mystical Body, the unity of the human composite, and certain aspects of the theology of history. The ground for the specific treatment of our problem having thus been prepared, this latter begins with chapter four, which is entirely given over to an elucidation of the *Instruction on the errors of racism*. This leads on to the positive aspect: chapter five deals with race as such; its relation to culture occupies chapter six; and in chapter seven race and culture are both considered from the viewpoint of the Mystical Body. The various strands of thought are knit together in a general conclusion.

With regard to the bibliography, only those works which were personally consulted, and which pertain to the argument of chapters four to seven, have been mentioned. To the exclusion of more general books and those of lesser importance, which are, nevertheless cited with full bibliographical details in the footnotes. This limitation was forced upon us by the impossibility of appending to a work of this size a complete bibliography, since, owing to the controversial nature of the problem, this would by far have exceeded the length of the treatise itself.

Finally it must be added that we do not consider that the subject matter of which we have treated has been either fully or exhaustively investigated. No doubt there are judgements which more profound investigation will modify, and aspects which may have to be added so as to have a more complete picture of the whole question. Our conclusions, therefore, should be considered as stepping stones toward further and more adequate studies. Should these indeed be stimulated by the shortcomings of this tentative treatment, we shall consider our five years' labour of searching through papal pronouncements, tracking down bishops' pastorals, and ferreting out obscure publications more than amply rewarded.

There remains now only that most pleasant task of expressing our heartfelt thanks to all those who have aided the growth and completion of this treatise. In the first place grateful mention must be made of the professors of the faculty of theology at the Pontifical Athenaeum of Saint Anthony's, Rome, and above all of Father Eligius Buytaert OFM whose aid and encouragement have been invaluable. Nor is our gratitude any the less deep towards those many others all over the world, too numerous unfortunately to mention by name, who have helped in various ways, particularly in sending us material otherwise not available, or in reading over the manuscript at various stages of its development and suggesting necessary emendations.

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Abbreviations

AAS - Acta Apostolicae Sedis.

abp. - Archbishop

Actes - Actes de S.S. Pie XI.

ASS - Acta Sanctae Sedis.

bp. - Bishop.

BWB - Bijbels woordenboek, 2 ed. rev. A. van den Born and others.

card. - Cardinal.

CC - Civilta cattolica.

CChr - Corpus christianorum.

CFTC - Confédération Française des Travailleurs Chrétiens.

CMec - Collectanea Mechliniensia.

cnl. - Council.

CSEL - Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum.

DC - Documentation catholique.

DR - Denzinger H., *Enchiridion symbolorum,* 31 ed. rev. C. Rahner SJ.

DRM - Discorsi e radiomessaggi di Sua Santità Pio XII.

DS - Denzinger H., *Enchiridion symbolorum,* 32 ed. rev. A.

Schoenmetzer SJ.

DT - Divus Thomas.

ed. - Edition, editor, edited by.

ETL - Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses.

FWA - French West Africa.

GCS - Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte.

hier. - Hierarchy of.

KADT - Kirchlicher Amtsanzeiger fuer die Diocese Trier.

M - Mansi J., *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio.*

ms. - Manuscript.

n. d. - No date of publication given.

NKS - Nederlandse katholiek stemmen.

n. p. - No place of publication given.

NRT - Nouvelle revue théologique.

n. s. - New series.

OR - Osservatore romano.

PG - Migne J., *Patrologiae cursus completus,* Greek series.

PL - Migne J., *Patrologiae cursus completus,* Latin series.

prop. - Proposition.

rev. - Revised, revised by.

S. C. - Sacred Congregation.

SCr. - Southern cross.

SZuk - Schoenere Zukunft.

tr. - Translation, translator, translated by.

UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

UNO - United Nations Organization.

UNRRA - United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

USA - United States of America.

Chapter 1. The Universality of the Racial Question

The question of different races, with the accompanying problems in both the practical and speculative fields, are confined neither to our own times, nor exclusively to a couple of isolated corners of the globe. Nor yet can they be said to have arisen only in protestant countries, with particular reference to those in which calvinism in some form or another is the predominant religion of the people, such as South Africa and some of the southern states of the American Federation, although it is these two regions that have been most in the news in recent times.[42] Rather for approximately five centuries, and in every continent of the globe, similar difficulties have arisen at sundry times and in diverse manners. Yet in the past decade the problem seems to have become more explicit and more acute, to the point that the official periodical of UNESCO recently went so far as to declare that "racism is the social cancer of our times".[43]

42 There is no need here to go into detail about the difficulties which exist in these two areas, as they have so frequently been the topic of newspaper reports and periodical articles in the post-war period.

43 *Racisme, cancer social de notre temps,* in *Courrier* 13,10 (Oct. 1960) 4: "Racisme est le cancer social de notre temps."

The current concept of race appears to have had its remote origin in the last few decades of the fifteenth century, when the various countries of Europe began to establish colonies in the newly discovered lands beyond the sea, with the concomitant revival of slavery, which had been largely unknown in the West since the fall of the Roman Empire. Nevertheless only very gradually were both the concept of race and the principles of racism explicitly formulated. Indeed in their modern form they do not appear to antedate the works of Kant[44] and Montesquieu[45] in the eighteenth century. During the past century each of these aspects of the racial question underwent its own development, until the present day ideas were evolved.

44 Kant E., *Bestimmung des Begriffs einer Menschenrasse,* in *Werke* (Berlin 1922) IV, 225-40.

45 Waardenburg P., *Rassenvraagstuk in onzen tijd, een biologische toelichting* (Arnhem 1937) 7.

From as early as the year 1533 bishops and missionaries in South America were sending a constant stream of letters to both the Pope and the Spanish Emperor complaining about those who considered the Indians as brute animals destined for the service of the European settlers.[46] It was in response to these complaints that Pope Paul III in 1537 published three documents rejecting this fallacy and declaring all children of Adam to have social right and to be capable of receiving the Christian religion. Hence all those who deprived the Indian of freedom of property were condemned.[47]

46 Hanke L., *Pope Paul III and the American Indians,* in *Harvard theological review* 30 (1937) 68-70; Janto S. OFM, *Three friars, a queen and a cardinal in New Spain,* in *Franciscan studies* 18 (1958) 191, 383.

47 Paul III *Sublimis Deus,* in MacNutt F., *Bartholomew de las Casas his life, his apostolate, and his writings* (London 1909) 426-30; *Veritas ipsa,* in Wadding L. OFM, *Annales minorum,* 3. ed. (ad Claras Aquas 1933) XVI, 482-83; *Brief to Card. Juan de Tavera,* 29.5.1537, in S.C. de Propaganda Fide, *Appendix ad bullarium pontificium Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide* (Romae n.d.) I, 26-27.

In spite of these clear statements, however, the opinion about the natural inferiority of the Indians pertinaciously continued to hold sway. As a result, in 1551 and 1552 the most learned among the scholars of Spain were called by the Emperor to a public disputation on the matter at Valladolid. The main groups in the controversy having at great length propounded their views on the equality or

inferiority of the Indians, and no agreement having been reached, the matter was eventually left undecided, each party persisting in its own opinion.[48]

48 Hanke L., *Aristotle and the American Indians, a study in race prejudice in the modern world* (London 1959) 38-61. 74-75.

So both in theory and in practice the notion of the natural inferiority of the natives of South America continues its unfettered course. Thus, for example, the jurist Solorzano in his book *De Indiarum iure* went so far as to deny human nature to the Indians;[49] and right up to the end of the Spanish rule not a few priests refused to administer the eucharist to them on the same grounds.[50]

49 Solorzano Pereira J., de, *Disputatio de Indiarum iure, sive de iustitia Indiarum occidentalium inquisitione, acquisitione ac retentione* (Matriti 1629) I.

50 Hanke L., *Pope Paul III and the American Indians* 96; Haring C., *Spanish empire in America* (New York 1947) 56.

Whatever the reason, it seems to be a fact that the Indians were to all intents and purposes excluded from both the religious and priestly states throughout this period;[51] and the interracial marriages were but rarely solemnized, even though the offspring of miscegenation were not quite so rare.[52] Indeed even in our own century this opinion has not been without its supporters. Suffice to recall what Pope Pius X was forced to write in 1912 in his encyclical *Lacrimabili statu Indorum*[53] against the protagonists, the philosopher Alejandro O. Deustua (1849-1945) who largely inspired the Peruvian educational policy that "the Indian is a machine and cannot be anything else."[54] Corroboration can further be found in even more recent statements.[55]

51 Hanke L., *Aristotle and the American Indians* 105; *Pope Paul III and the American Indians* 95; *Janto* S. OFM, *Three friars, a queen and a cardinal in New Spain* 212.

52 Höffner J., *Christentum und Menschenwürde, das Anliegen der Spanischen Kolonialethik im goldenen Zeitalter* (Trier 1947) 134.

53 St. Pius X, *Lacrimabili statu Indorum,* in *AAS* 4 (1912) 521-25.

54 Hanke L., *Aristotle and American Indians* 105.

55 Hanke. L., *Aristotle and the American Indians* 115; Idenburg P., *Rassenverhoudingen in de praktijk in deze tijd,* in Locher G. and others *Beschouwingen over het rassenvraagstuk* (Amsterdam 1960) 43; Metraux A., *Panorama des contrastes en Amérique Latine,* in *Courrier* 13, 10 (Oct. 1960) 21-22.

The case of the Portuguese is scarcely better. Besides the papal documents dealing with South America in general, there are two which specifically castigate the "adherents of the orthodox faith" in Brazil.[56] Latterly too, accusations of racial discrimination have come not only from outside;[57] the government of Brazil itself has acknowledged the increasingly wide-spread and bitter forms of discrimination, and has even taken legal steps to restrain them.[58] Likewise in Africa, whatever about the law, similar practical difficulties have not been unknown.[59]

56 Benedict XIV, *Brief to the bps. Of Brazil,* 20.12.1741, in *Bullarium* (Prati 1845) I, 123b-25b; Leo XIII, *Letter to the bps. of Brazil,* 5.5.1888, in *ASS* 20 (1887-88) 545-59.

57 Simpson G. and Yinger J., *Racial and cultural minorities, an analysis of prejudice and discrimination,* 2 ed. (New York 1958) 7.

58 Wagley C., *Race and class in rural Brazil* (Paris 1952) 8.

59 *Dossier sur l'Angola,* in *Tam-tam* 11, 3-4 (April-May 1961) 15-126; Hanke L., *Aristotle and the American Indians* 108-09.

When one turns to the northern Europeans, whether catholic or protestant, to list their erstwhile colonial possessions is simultaneously to enumerate the places where doubts and problems arising

from racial differences have preoccupied the minds of all. Since professor Hanke has already more than amply documented this assertion,[60]there is no need to give further examples here. The underlying cause of this, however, has perhaps not been better put than by a Congolese, who recently said: "You have given us hospitals and schools; but yourselves, never."[61] This same thought has been very aptly put by Bavinck in the following Pauline form: "Even if I give a hundred million dollars to build homes and schools and sports fields for people of another race, and have not charity, it profits me nothing."[62]

60 Hanke L., *Aristotle and the American Indians* 99-103.

61 Friedenburg D., *Congo pattern,* in *Commonweal* 60 (1954) 480.

62 Bavinck J., *Rassenvraagstuk, probleem van wereldformaat* (Kampen 1956) 51: "Al gaf ik honderd millioenen dollars om voor de mensen van het andere ras woningen te bouwen en scholen en sportsvelden en had de liefde niet, het bat mij niets.

Similarly in other places, which one does not normally associate with this question, racially determined social attitudes are not absent. Thus the migration of Negroes into the northern states of the American Federation, and their accompanying social and economic progress, has at times stirred up virulent racism almost within the shadow of the United Nations' headquarters.[63] Nor is this attitude confined to Negroes, it extends also to Asiatic immigrants.[64]

63 Cronin J. SS, *Social principles and economic life* (Milwaukee 1959) 325; George W., *Race, heredity and civilisation, human progress and the race problem* (London 1961) 23-24; Haselden K., *Racial problem in Christian perspective* 131-32. 162; Lambert R., *Attitude of the Negro towards the Church,* in Archdiocese of Chicago, *Catholic Church and the Negro in the archdiocese of Chicago, clergy conference,* 20-21 Sept. 1960 (Chicago 1960) 18; Richards J., *Growth and spread of the Negro population,* in Archdiocese of Chicago, *Catholic Church and the Negro in the archdiocese of Chicago* 8. See also *Catholic herald* 3893 (10.8.62) 7.

64 Simpson G. and Yinger J., *Racial and cultural minorities* 5.

Elsewhere in the world the havoc wrought upon the Indians in North America by the white man has passed into the limbo of forgotten things. Yet the fate of the Indians has in fact been far worse than that of the Negroes. The latter have merely been depressed; the former, however, were for a long time subjected to a policy of genocide:[65] Up to 1887 physical genocide by a long succession of slaughters and forced expulsions from their homelands;[66] from that time onward by a type of social genocide by which their spiritual and moral vitality was debilitated, and their acculturation vigorously pursued under the slogan of "americanization."[67] It was not until a change of heart overtook the United States government in 1934, that it began slowly to turn towards the conservation of the Indian culture and the restoration of their socio-political structure.[68] Nevertheless this has not impeded the same government from pursuing its "integration" policy in Mexico and Puerto Rico.[69]

65 The general notion of genocide is well put in the United Nations resolution on this matter, which together with an outline of the various proposals is given in *Yearbook of the United Nations* 1948-49 (New York 1950) 958-62 The best discussion of this resolution in a Christian context is the unpublished thesis of Cisnero V., *Nocion de genocidio en la convencion de las Naciones Unidas, estudio juridico y reflexion etica del problema* (Roma 1961: Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, Institutum Scientiarum Socialium, n. 3231, 1961). How cultural genocide works in practice can be seen from two recent studies: Gilbert R., *Genocide in the USSR, studies in group destruction* (London 1959).

66 Baldwin L., *Adult's American history, pragmatic democracy in action* (Rindge 1955) 179-81. 366; Bassett J., *Short history of the United States,* 1492-1934, 3 ed. (New York 1939) 318. 322. 465-68. 683- 89.

67 Baldwin L., *Adult's American history* 364. 367. 711; Bassett J., *Short history of the United States* 468. 690-91.

68 Bassett J., *Short history of the United States* 691.

69 Yinger J. and Simpson G., *Integration of Americans of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and oriental descent,* in *Annals of the American Academy of Social and Political Science* 304 (1956) 124-43.

Nor does it seem irrelevant in this context to ask to what extent the prohibition of immigrants from Asia and the West Indies enforced by the government of Australia and Canada constitutes a form of racial discrimination.[70]

70 Mason P., *Essay on racial tension* (London 1954) 19; *Uncertain commonwealth,* in *Tablet* 215 (1961) 271.

Even in the older countries of Europe in recent times the so-called "colour" question has produced some unhappy results, especially in Great Britain,[71] France,[72] and Russia.[73] And who can forget the terrible calamity which overtook the Jews now three generations ago on account of racist theories. Indeed it was precisely to counteract these errors that the teaching authority of the Church was compelled to commence its series of declarations on matters racial.

71 Bertram G., *West Indian immigration* (London 1954) 23; Gray R., *Race relations and the Church in Britain, a difficult and urgent problem,* in *Dublin review* 478 (winter 1958) 324-26; Potter R., OP, *Genesis, Church, and colour,* in *Blackfriars* 39 (1958) 504.

72 Cronin J. SS, *Social principles and economic life* 325.

73 Bennigsen A. and Carrère d'Encausse H., *Russes et Musulmans en Asie centrale, in Civilisations* 5 (1955) 3; Shlomo F., *Panarabisme, nouvelle menace raciste,* in Comité d'action de défense démocratique, *Racisme et panarabisme, une conspiration contre les libertés humaines* (Paris 1960) 11; Soustelle J., *Racisme est un bloc qu'il faut combattre sans en dissocier les éléments coalisés,* in Comité d'action de défense démocratique, *Racisme et panarabisme* 5.

On the other hand, however, the members of the "white" race do not enjoy the monopoly of racist misdemeanors. The All African Conference held in Accra in 1958, for example, excluded the Europeans from any part at all in the Africa of the future.[74] None the less firmly, even though with less vehemence, a Negro Citizens' Committee in the United States has come out against interracial marriages.[75] Finally, prescinding altogether from the Europeans, there is no lack of tension spots with a racist look about them involving the peoples of Asia and Africa.[76]

74 *African racialism,* in *Tablet* 212 (1958) 531-32.

75 Link H., *Rediscovery of morals, with special reference to race and class conflict* (New York 1947) 127.

76 *East Africa: exodus* 1963, in *Newsweek* 62, 21 (18.11.63) 27; Idenburg P., *Rassenverhoudingen in de praktijk in deze tijd* 40; Mason P., *Christianity and race, the Burroughs memorial lectures* 1956 (London 1956) 17; *Essay on racial tension* 21; Shlomo F., *Panarabisme* 11; Soustelle J., *Racisme est un bloc qu'il faut combattre* 4.

Hence it is not without reason that Bishop Chappoulie has suggested that interracial strife has in recent times taken that place in human affairs throughout the whole world which was previously occupied by conflicts between nations and classes.[77]

77 Chappoulie Bp. H., *Address,* 2.10.55 (Angers 1955) 2; *Address,* 8.4.56. In *DC* 53 (1956) 568.

Chapter 2. Race according to the Positive Sciences

Before we come to what is actually the real purpose of this work, namely to take a look at race in the light of theology, it seems to be necessary to review briefly what the various positive sciences have to say about the matter. For it is by no means uncommon to find people citing "fact," "proved" as they will tell you by positive investigations, in favour of their own opinions drawn basically from other sources. These "facts" they then wish to impose on the speculative sciences as being incontrovertible and compelling universal assent. Yet these same "facts" are not only at times questionable, but may even lead to contradictions, precisely because different natural scientists have arrived at disparate conclusions as a result of their investigations.

What is urgently required at the present time in the positive scientific discussion of races is a juxtaposing and synthesis of the information collected by the various branches of science. Because this has not adequately been done, the several pictures presented are incomplete and one-sided. Unfortunately the limits of this essay have prevented us from making even a gesture in that direction, though we should have liked to do so. Wherefore, after suggesting some of the difficulties which lie in the way of the positive scientist in his study of races, we shall merely sketch in broad outline the principal data and the diverse hypotheses proposed in relation to the races of mankind by the natural scientists.

1. The Difficulties of the Natural Scientist

The difficulties which beset the natural scientist in his racial investigations are both extrinsic and intrinsic. These latter arise from the very nature of human thought itself, influenced as it is by the socio-political environment in which it matures, and are personal to the investigator; the former come from the nature of the material to be examined.

The first series of difficulties, as we have said, comes from the researcher himself, who, as the investigating subject, does not perceive things simply as if they were images imprinted on a clean sheet. His whole process of knowing is predetermined not only by the cognitive structure common to all men, but by the unique character of his own system of thought. He does not observe reality from some pinnacle of perfect indifference; but from the very beginning his observations, and the syntheses into which he moulds them are permeated by his mental formation, shaped both by his social environment, and by his scientific methods, coupled with his philosophico-theological presuppositions. Since subject and object mutually penetrate and transform each other in the act of knowing, a man must necessarily find his own image to some extent stamped on everything he observes.[78] This is especially true when the object is man himself, and more particularly so when he is being considered under some aspect fraught with social consequences, as in the case of the racial matters under discussion.[79]

78 Acerbo G., *Fondamenti della dottrina fascista della razza* (Roma 1940) 18; Corte N., *Origines de l'homme* (Paris 1957) 79; Teilhard de Chardin P. SJ, *Phenomene humain* (Paris 1955) 26.

79 Boas F., *Race, language and culture* (New York 1940) 250; Corrigan Bp. J., *Preface,* in Catholic University of America, *Scientific aspects of the race problem* (Washington 1941) v; Manquat M., *Races humaines et racisme,* in *Revue des questions scientifiques* 115 (1939) 49; Waardenburg P., *Rassenvraagstuk in onzen tijd* 194.

Hence it is that convinced of racism like Teilhard de Chardin, Feber, Kephart, and Marcozzi do not hesitate severely to castigate those in general who by denying the existence of races fall into the opposite "illusionism".[80] Others again direct their criticism in particular at the UNO and UNESCO publications on race, because in these scientific evidence is abused for the justification of socio-political theories. This type of action, although it is in favour of the opposite party, does not ultimately differ in kind from the justly condemned attempts of the racists.[81]

80 Feber L., *Opstand der rassen* ('s Gravenhage 1958) 75; Kephart C., *Races of mankind, their origin and migration* (London 1961) viii; Marcozzi V. SJ, *Uomo nello spazio e nel tempo* (Milano 1953) 116; Teilhard de Chardin P. SJ, *Unités humaines naturelles, essai d'une biologie et d'une morale des races,* in *Etudes* 240 (1939) 27.

81 Bertram G., *West Indian immigration* 6; UNESCO, *Race, concept, result of an enquiry* (Paris 1952) 26f.

The second lot of complications pertain to the object to be investigated. Man, under the aspect of his human heredity, cannot be studied without considerable difficulty, for the following reasons.

First and foremost it is impossible to have systematic, experimental, human breeding, regulated according to the will of the researcher, which for a thoroughly scientific understanding of heredity is absolutely necessary. In the second place, compared with lower organisms, human generations are too long to be readily observable: this factor is more telling at present than it may be in the future, because the systematic investigation of human heredity only began a few decades back, and hence there is a lack of accurate records regarding past generations. But, at any time, it will probably be as

difficult as it is now to get completely satisfactory information that can be controlled about past generations: psychological data because it frequently depends on impressions and hearsay; physiological details, because the organic parts, which are of paramount importance, rapidly and completely disappear. Thirdly human families are numerically too small for the hereditary proportions to be determined with certainty. The fourth difficulty arises from the relatively large number of chromosomes in man, with the resulting increased multiplicity of possible combinations.

To these must be added the complication introduced into the already difficult situation by the profound influence which environment has on the hereditary characteristics of man, with numerous variations, disorders, and abnormalities which may follow as a result; so that at times it seems almost impossible to discern exactly what comes from heredity and what is the product of environment. In addition psychic characteristics, which are the most susceptible to these external influences, are vague and not sufficiently well defined, so that the measurement thereof is not wholly satisfactory. The final difficulty arises from the lack of certainty about the relation between psychic characteristics and bodily structures and organs.[82]

82 Boas F., *Race, language and culture* 250; Berger C. SJ, *Human psychological inheritance,* in Catholic University of America, *Scientific aspects of the race problem* 79; Bertram G., *West Indian immigration* 19; Jennings H., *Laws of heredity and our present knowledge of human genetics on the material side,* in Catholic University of America, *Scientific aspects of the race problem* 4-5. 57-58; Morant G., *Significance of racial differences* (Paris 1952) 46.

It is worth noting, before we conclude, that for each several positive science things are defined according to the exigencies of that particular science, so that the descriptions proposed by specialists in various fields are rather methodic determinations than definitions of the things themselves.[83]

83 Renoirte F., *Éléments de critique des sciences et de cosmologie,* 2 ed. (Louvain 1947) 125-26. 165. 170-71.

Whence it seems reasonable to accept Morant's summing up of the situation, which is, that though the study of the differences between the human groups constituted by heredity is of the greatest importance in the practical ordering of human life, nevertheless it is most intricate, and as yet in its infancy.[84]

84 Morant G., *Significance of racial differences* 7.

2. Are there really Different Races?

Very few indeed of the authors consulted, speaking from the positive scientific point of view, either deny the existence of races distinct from each other, or else call their existence so much in question that they can be disregarded for all practical purposes. Those who do these appear to be motivated either by preoccupations with social justice;[85] or by the scientific presupposition that interfertility between all human groups forbids us to distinguish them racially, whence they conclude that "race" is nothing more than a classificatory device of biologists by which they are enabled the more easily to pigeon-hole their information.[86]

85 Guardini R., *Chrétien devant le racisme,* 4 ed. (Paris 1939) 60; La Farge J. SJ, *Interracial justice, a study of catholic doctrine of race relations* (New York 1937) 11; McCarthy E. CPPS, *What about the Negro race?* In *Interracial review* 12 (1939) 22.

86 Rocker R., *Nationalism and culture,* tr. R. Chase (London 1937) 301.

By far the greater number of specialists, on the contrary, do not hesitate to openly and explicitly affirm the existence of diverse races.[87] Indeed some even go so far as to compare racial with sexual differences.[88] Nevertheless simultaneously with this affirmation, they insist upon the unity of the human "species"[89] or "genus,"[90] of which races are subdivisions.

87 Barge J., *Ras morphologisch beschouwd,* in Rijks Koninklijke Charitatieve Vereeniging voor Geestelijke Volksgezondheid and Rijks Koninklijke Universiteit te Nijmegen, *Ras morphologisch, physiologisch en psychologisch beschouwd* 20; Boyd W. and Asimov I., *Races and people* (London 1958) 1589; Brunhes J. and Delamarre J., *Races* (Paris 1930) 16-17; Constantin Colonel, *Problème biologique et physiologique des races,* in Groupe Lyonnais d'Etudes Médicales, Philosophiques et Biologiques, *Heredite et races* (Juvisy n.d.) 227; Cruysberghs K., *Problemen van Kerk en volk* (Averbode 1938) 25; Dobzhansky T., *' Races, nature and origin of',* in *Encyclopedia americana* (New York 1959) 23. 107-11; Feber L., *Opstand der rassen* 75; Forst de Battaglia O., *Race et racisme,* in *Nieuwe gids* 54 (1939) 660; Hagedoorn A., *Erfelijkheid en rasvorming* in Steinmetz S. and others, *Rassen der menschheid, wording, strijden, toekomst* (Amsterdam 1938) 166. 179; Kephart C. *Races of mankind* viii; Kerken G. van der, *Métis aux points de vue de l'anthropologie, de l'ethnologie et de la sociologie,* in Congrès International pour l'Etude des Problèmes Résultant du Mélange de Races, Bruxelles 1935, *Compte rendu* (Bruxelles 1935) 4; Kluckholm C., *Mirror for man* (New York 1948) 103; Luykx T. *Inleiding tot de rassen- en de Germanenkunde* (Leuven 1938) 9; Mason P., *Essay on racial tension* 9; Morant G., *Significance of racial differences* 46; Teilhard de Chardin P. SJ, *Unités humaines naturelles* 13; Waardenburg P., *Biologische zijde van het rassenvraagstuk,* in Locher C., *Beschouwingen over het rassenvraagstuk* 32; Walter P., *Race and culture relations* (New York 1952) 5. 7. 10.

88 Marcozzi V. SJ, *Uomo nello spazio e nel tempo* 116; Schulte J., *Ras psychologisch beschouwd,* in Rijks Koninklijke Charitatieve Vereeniging voor Nijmegen, *Ras morphologisch en psychologisch beschouwd* 65-67.

89 Dunn L., *Race and biology* (Paris 1951) 5; Galli A. OFM, *Biologia delle razze umane* (Milano 1942) xii; Boyd W., *Genetics and the races of man,* in Garn S., *Readings on race* (Springfield 1960) 24; Hagedoorn A., *Erfelijkheid en rasvorming* 165; Herskovits M., *Man and his works, the science of cultural anthropology* (New York 1949) 142; Marcozzi V. SJ, Uomo nello spazio e nel tempo *124; Vallois H., Razze umane* (Milan 1957) 5.

90 Lenz F., in UNESCO, *Race concept* 37; Teilhard de Chardin P. SJ, *Phenomene humain* 194.

All those who hold this majority opinion agree that the racial phenomenon is so rooted in the biological constitution, that none but physical elements properly belong to the definition of race.[91]

91 Barge J., *Anthropologie,* in Steinmetz S. *Rassen der menschheid* 3-4; *Ras morphologisch beschouwd* 9-10. 19; Campenhout E. van, *Problème des races au point de vue anthropologique,* in NRT 66 (1939) 193; Comas J., *Racial myths* (Paris 1951) 12; Dunn L., *Race and biology* 6; *Fascismo e i problemi della razza, a un gruppo di studiosi fascisti docenti nelle università italiane e sotto l'egida del Ministro della Cultura Popolare,* in CC 89, 3. (1938) 275; Forst de Battaglia O., *Race et racisme* 660; Hrdlicka A., *Races of*

man, in Catholic University of America, *Scientific aspects of the race problem* 161-61; Kephart C., *Races of mankind* 63; Marcozzi V. SJ, *Uomo nello spazio e nel tempo* 124; Schroeder C., *Rasse und Religion* (Muenchen 1937) 6; Teilhard de Chardin P. SJ, *Unités humaines naturelles* 12; UNESCO, *Race concept* 15. 102; Vallois H., *Razze umane* 6; Walter P., *Race and culture relations* 6.

They are divided, however, in their fundamental concept of race. Some consider this statically, others dynamically, very often depending on the needs of their particular departments of study.

One group prefers the static concept, or "stereotype," in terms of which races are classified both according to their bodily characteristics as they appear externally, among which are included such things as colour or the form of the head; and according to organic functions such as metabolism and their proclivity to certain diseases.[92] The more recent authors of this school insist that the greatest possible number of the above mentioned characteristics should be considered and coordinated, so that the groups distinguished thereby may be the more accurately delineated.[93] This approach is rather more artificial and abstract than its counterpart, and to this extent less useful for the study of human heredity. This is mainly so because all the potentialities of the hereditary constitution shared by a group do not develop to a visible and measurable extent in the concrete of each individual of the group.[94]

92 Barge J., *Ras morphologisch beschouwd* 18; Galli A. OFM, *Biologia delle razze umane* xii; Lapparent A. de, *Fragilité scientifique du racisme,* in Bressolles A. and others *Racisme et christianisme* (Paris 1939) 65; Mason P., *Essay on racial tension* 9.

93 Barge J., *Anthropologie* 6; Lapparent A. de, *Fragilité scientifique du racisme* 65; Vallois H., *Razze umane* 6.

94 Benedict R., *Race: science and politics* (New York 1943) 56; Hagedoorn A., *Erfelijkheid en rasvorming* 174.

For the above reason many scientists in recent times prefer to base their investigations on a dynamic concept of race, that is, on the "genotype," where the hereditary constitution is considered in the actual line of generation. In this case the thing itself, and not merely its visible effects or appearances, is studied. A race, therefore, comes to be considered as a group of individuals possessing many genes of the same type, or, in other words, having a similar genetic constitution. By this common possession it is distinguished from other groups.[95] Here again, from the point of view of the examination of this genetic constitution, the matter is complicated by the fact that potentialities transmitted by heredity may lie hidden for one or more generations, and only reappear again in subsequent offspring.[96]

95 Boyd W., *Genetics and the races of man* 19; Galli A. OFM, *Biologia delle razze umane* 36; Garn S., *Readings on race* 7; Hagedoorn A., *Erfelijkheid en rasvorming* 174-75. 181; Jennings H., *Laws of heredity* 70; Lasker G., *Human evolution in contemporary communities,* in Garn S., *Readings on race* 152-54; Waardenburg P., *Biologische zijde van het rassenvraagstuk* 26.

96 Hrdlicka A., *Races of mankind* 162.

Setting out from the genotype, however, certain things can be accounted for satisfactorily, which otherwise are rather puzzling.

Genes, and the characteristics for which they are responsible, are more or less plastic. Hence they are capable of developing in different ways under the influence of diverse environments.[97] In this way a solution is offered to the seeming contradiction between the relative stability of races and their characteristics,[98] and the slow but continuous mutation of their genetic complexes,[99] on the one hand; and on the other, that between the constancy of the physical structure, and the variability of reactions and behavior.[100]

97 Dunn L., *Race and biology* 6; Rocker R., *Nationalism and culture* 301; Waardenburg P., *Biologische zijde van het rassenvraagstuk* 34; *Rassenvraagstuk in onzen tijd* 35.

98 Hagedoorn A., *Erfelijkheid en rasvorming* 175; Hrdlicka A., *Races of mankind* 163; Waardenburg P., *Biologische zijde van het rassenvraagstuk* 34; *Rassenvraagstuk in onzen tijd* 37.

99 Dobzhansky T., *'Races'* 110b; Galli A. OFM, *Biologia delle razze umane* 7; Hagedoorn A., *Erfelijkheid en rasvorming* 203; Hrdlicka A., *Races of mankind* 162-63.

100 Kafka G., *Was sind Rassen? Eine Kritik an dem Grundbegriffen der modernen Erblichkeitslehre* (Muenchen 1949) 22.

Although every race, which as we have already seen is the subdivision of a species,[101] is capable of evolving in its unique way to the point of becoming itself a separate species, it does not follow that any or all do in fact evolve to this extent. Mankind, for instance, although its racial diversification commenced quite early in its history, has never reached this point of disgregation.[102] This is one of the reasons why the races at present existing have remained interfertile. Yet it does not follow from this latter fact that races of men are less distinct from each other than many good races of plants or animals.[103]

101 Page x. 13 (N/A)

102 Dobzhansky T., *'Races'* 111a. See also Bone E. SJ, *Polygénisme et polyphylétisme,* in *Archives de philosophie* 23 (1960) 136; Fischer E., *Racial differences of mankind,* in Bauer E. and others, *Human heredity,* tr. E. and C. Paul (London 1931) 172; Kephart C., *Races of mankind* 29. 57.

103 Hagedoorn A., *Erfelijkheid en rasvorming* 117. 185.

Hence, while on the one hand one must condemn the racists' attempt to erect race into a concrete reality as if it were a physical person, since men are not just moments in a race, but rather carry within themselves the race or genotype;[104] on the other hand, as Teilhard de Chardin insists, there is a need for a collective mode of thought in biology, because the group constituted by biological heredity is just as objective as the individuals of which it is composed.[105]

104 *Uomo secondo la vera scienza antropologica,* in *CC* 90, 4 (1939) 103.

105 Teilhard de Chardin P. SJ, *Phenomene humain* 275. See also Hrdlicka A., *Races of mankind* 162.

Granted then that these races exist, the question arises: where do they come from?

In opposition to those who hold for the scattered origin of man and his development from the beginning in separate groups,[106] many positive scientists prefer the monophyletic hypothesis, according to which all men are held to come from one original stock.[107] There does not, however, appear to be any possibility that positive science could ever produce evidence that there had been only one single and unique pair from whom all other human beings are descended. Monogenesis, in its strict theological sense, therefore, seems to introduce into the discussion a factor which is not within the grasp of the natural scientist as such.[108]

106 Bone E. SJ, *Polygénisme et polyphylétisme* 107-23; Corte N., *Origines de l'homme* 116.

107 Boelaars H. CSSR, *Rassisme en rassenkunde,* in *NKS* 30 (1939) 106; Corte N., *Origines de l'homme* 74. 116; Kephart C. *Races of mankind* 1; Lopes P., *Poligenismo e antropologia teologica,* in *Revista eclesiástica brasileira* 21 (1961) 30; Nachtsheim H., *Biologie und Totalitarismus,* in *Veritas, iustitia, libertas, Festschrift zur* 200 *Jahrfeier der Columbia University* (Berlin 1954) 299; Walter P., *Race and culture relations* 10.

108 Bone E. SJ, *Polygénisme et Polyphylétisme* 137; Corte N., *Origines de l'homme* 118; Overhage P., *Problem der Hominisation,* in Overhage P. and Rahner K. SJ, *Problem der Hominisation, ueber den biologischen Ursprung des Menschen* (Freiburg im

Breisgau 1961) 185.

The present age of mankind is estimated by different authorities at between four hundred and seventy thousand, and two million years.[109] And, as has already been noted, some scientists hold that the process of separation into distinct races began very early on in history. It would appear then that the races at present existing are the product of a long process of specialization.[110]

109 Corte N., *Origines de l'homme* 62. 75; Feiner J., *Ursprung, Urstand und Urgeschichte des Menschen,* in *Fragen der Theologie heute,* 3 ed. (Einsiedeln 1960) 230; Kephart C., *Races of mankind* 19. 37; Lopes P., *Poligenismo e antropologia teológica* 25.

110 Benedict R., *Race* 31.

All those authors who endeavor to account for the divergence and peculiar evolution of races agree that this was in some way due to their developing in isolation from each other. Some attribute these variations primarily to a process of genetic transformations.[111] Others prefer the hypothesis of adaption to the physical environment.[112] This latter explanation, however, is assailed by those who hold that the racially determining elements are not subject to serious influence from the external physical surroundings.[113] In the last resort, however, a large number of authors, even though they may tend towards one or other of the hypotheses outlined above, do not consider that these constitute an adequate explanation. Consequently they hold that at present there is no certain knowledge which adequately explains the origin of different races.[114]

111 Barge J., *Anthropologie* 121; Boelaars H. CSSR, *Rassisme en rassenkunde* 107f; Garn S., *Readings on race* 7; Montandon G., *Etat actuel de l'anthropologie raciale,* in *Scientia* 65 (1939) 39.

112 Hrdlicka A., *Races of mankind* 165. 167; Kephart C., *Races of mankind* 54-55; Krout M., *Race and culture, a study in mobility, segregation, and selection,* in *American journal of sociology* 37 (1931) 184; Lakhovsky G., *Civilisation et la folie raciste* (Paris 1939) 14; Waardenburg P., *Biologische zijde van het rassenvraagstuk* 34.

113 Kolenberg J., *Ras als biologisch begrip,* in *Racisme, universitaire bijdrage tot het rassenvraagstuk* (Leuven 1939) 60; Schmidt W. SVD, *Rasse und Volk, eine Untersuchung zur Bestimmung ihrer Grenzen und zur Erfassung ihrer Beziehungen* (Muenchen 1927) 30; Waardenburg P., *Rassenvraagstuk in onzen tijd* 37; Wilber C., *Physiological regulations and the origin of human types,* in *Human biology* 29 (1957) 329-36.

114 Bavinck J., *Rassenvraagstuk* 11; Bertram G., *West Indian immigration* 17; Bibby C., *Race, prejudice and education* (London 1959) 19; Corte N., *Origines de l'homme* 77-79; Galli A. OFM, *Biologia delle razze umane* 55; Hagedoorn A., *Erfelijkheid en rasvorming* 207; Kafka G., *Was sind Rassen?* 179; Kephart C., *Races of mankind* 47; Marcozzi V. SJ, *Uomo nello spazio e nel tempo* 413-28; Overhage P., *Problem der Anthropogene, biologische Hypothesen ueber den Ursprung des Menschen,* in Haas A. SJ, and others, *Stammesgeschichtliche Werden der Organismen und des Menschen* (Basel 1959) I, 313; Simpson G. and Yinger J., *Racial and cultural minorities* 53.

3. The Characteristics of Races

From what has been said, it is clear that those authors who hold for the existence of distinct races, likewise maintain that their diversity is founded in differing hereditary physical constitutions. But this immediately raises the question as to whether or not these hereditary physical constitutions bring with them differences on the psychic level. The positive scientists give three divergent replies: some simply deny any correlation; others say that they do not know one way or another; and the third group assert the existence of some positive connections between the physical and the psychic.

Those who hold the first mentioned view base their conclusion on three main arguments. Firstly it is impossible to establish a correlation between the physical complex and the operations of the individual organs, among which latter are included psychic and mental operations. In addition they seriously censure those who, they say, unjustifiably apply conclusions from individual heredity to racial heredity. Whence they conclude that psychic characteristics, as well as culture, are entirely determined by the influence of environment.[115]

115 Kastein G., *Rassenvraagstuk* (Amsterdam 1938) 66; Klineberg O., *Mental testing of racial and national groups,* in Catholic University of America, *Scientific aspects of the race problem* 284; *Race et psychologie* (Paris 1951) 26. 40-42; UNESCO, *Race concept*.

The supporters of the second position object to the above conclusion on the grounds that unwarrantedly apodictic conclusions are drawn from uncertain evidence by unduly forcing the scientific data, possibly in order to prop up some political theory.[116] They defend their own non-committal attitude on the basis that the physical and psychic complexes and operations are so intertwined that as yet no method has been devised by which they can be distinguished with certainty and measured, and perhaps none ever will be. Thus, since the group psychic diversities can be accounted for either by the hypothesis of racially determined properties, or on the assumption of the influence of environment, or by a combination of the two, no one can be compelled to give unqualified assent to any single one of these possibilities in preference to the others.[117]

116 Coon C., in UNESCO, *Race concept* 28; Genna G., in UNESCO, *Race concept* 28.

117 Barge J., *Anthropologie* 4. 15; Bibby C., *Race, prejudice and education* 59; Boas F., *Race, language and culture* 247. 250; Boyd W. and Asimov I., *Races and people* 163; Campenhout E. van, *Problème des races au point de vue anthropologique* 193; Leonet Doctor, *Hérédité et psychologie,* in Groupe Lyonnais d'Etudes Médicales, Philosophiques et Biologiques, *Hérédité et races* 94; Morant. G., *Significance of racial differences* 46; Simpson G. and Yinger J., *Racial and cultural minorities* 64; Steinmetz S., *Sociologische rasproblemen,* in Steinmetz S., *Rassen der menschheid* 308; *Uomo secondo la vera scienza antropologica* 106; Walter P., *Race and culture relations* 12.

Of the third group, some hold it as certain,[118] others as most likely,[119] that there is a racial determination both on the physical and psychic levels. From the negative point of view they argue that while it is perfectly true that only the biological elements, and not any psychic factor, properly belong to the definition of race, nevertheless from this it cannot be concluded, as some do, that the latter do not accompany the physical complex.[120] The more positive reasons adduced can be summarized under three heads.

118 Boelaars H. CSSR, *Rassisme en rassenkunde* 102-03; *Fascismo e i problemi della razza* 275; Fischer E., *Racial differences in mankind* 181; Haas A. SJ, *'Rasse',* in *Staatslexikon,* 6 ed. (Freiburg 1961) VI, 593; Luykx T., *Inleiding tot de rassen en de Germanenkunde* 8; Mazzei V., *Razza e nazione* (Roma 1942) 33; Schulte J., *Ras psychologisch beschouwd* 82. 84; Steinmetz S.,

Sociologische rasproblemen 308; Teilhard de Chardin P. SJ, *Unités humaines naturelles* 13-14; Vallois H., *Razze umane* 6; Vansteenkiste C. OP, *Rassenvraagstuk* (Brugge 1945) 55; Volpe R., *Problema della razza e problemi dello spirito* (Salerno n.d.) 11.

119 Barge J., *Ras morphologische beschouwd* 20; Boyd W. and Asimov I., *Races and people* 163; Folliet J., *Racisme devant la raison et devant la foi,* in Poirier J. and others, *Probleme racial* (Lyon 1960) 34; Lowie R., *Intellectual and cultural achievements of human races,* in Catholic University of America, *Scientific aspects of the race problem* 226; Marcozzi V. SJ, *Uomo nello spazio e nel tempo* 117; Mason P., *Essay on racial tension* 73; Morant G., *Significance of racial differences* 46-47; Vernon P., *Race and intelligence,* in Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland and Institute of Race Relations, *Man, race, Darwin* (London 1960) 63; Waardenburg P., *Rassenvraagstuk in onzen tijd* 86.

120 Barge J., *Ras morphologische beschouwd* 9-10. 19; Bibby C., *Race, prejudice and education* 12f; Fischer R., in UNESCO, *Race concept* 56; Marcozzi V. SJ, *Uomo nello spazio e nel tempo* 116-17. 124; Muller H., in UNESCO, *Race concept* 53.

Some in the first place are convinced that the diverse genetic complexes, which account for the differing bodily characteristics, equally produce congenital psychic inclinations and modulations. Whence they conclude that as races differ in a not inconsiderable number of their genes, so they will be subject also to variation on the psychic level.[121] To these may be added others who, without going into the ultimate causes so deeply, yet assert the dependence of psychic operations upon the respective physical organs. Since these latter are racially diversified, so also the psychic operations dependent upon them.[122] The third argument is provided, finally, by those who advocate and defend the fundamental human psycho-somatic unity. Whence, rejecting the dissolution of man into the two isolated planes of the physical and the psychic, they opt for a parallel racial determination on both levels;[123] yet not as though the psychic characteristics were inherited immediately, but rather as coming through the directly inherited physical determinations.[124] It is worth noting by the way that the natural scientist, even when holding for this psycho-somatic unity, cannot as such conclude to the strict ontic unity of the entire human person on all levels of its being, including the spiritual,[125] which is traditional in Christian thought.

121 Boyd W. and Asimov I., *Races and people* 163; Gates R., *Biology of mental health and disease* (New York 1952) II, 277; Lenz F., *Inheritance of intellectual gifts,* in Bauer E., *Human heredity* 624; Vernon P., *Race and intelligence* 63; Waardenburg P., *Biologische zijde van het rassenvraagstuk* 28.

122 Berger C. SJ, *Psychological inheritance* 82-83. 86-92.

123 Barge J., *Anthropologie* 4; *Ras morphologische beschouwd* 19; Marcozzi V. SJ, *Uomo nello spazio e nel tempo* 116; Schulte J., *Ras psychologische beschouwd* 62; Teilhard de Chardin P., SJ, *Phenomene humain* 60; Waardenburg P., *Rassenvraagstuk in onzen tijd.* 86.

124 Nora G. dall, *Condizionatori biologici della personalità, biologia e educazione* (Torino 1956) 155.

125 Pius XII, *Address to the first International Symposium on Medical Genetics,* 7.9.53, in *AAS* 45 (1953) 603.

All the members of this third group, whichever of the three arguments they prefer, are agreed that it is false to emphasize either heredity or environment exclusively. They prefer to consider the human person as a whole to be determined in himself and in his operations by both simultaneously, yet in such a way that now one, now the other, will be in the ascendant.

An apt conclusion to this discussion is provided by the aphorism of Waardenburg, who, bearing in mind the common nature and fundamental similarity among human beings, wrote: "it is not a matter of *what* a man actualizes, but rather *how* he actualizes it."[126]

126 Waardenburg P., *Rassenvraagstuk in onzen tijd* 93: "Het gaat niet om *wat* de mensch verwerkt, maar *hoe* hij het verwerkt." See also Mason P., *Essay on racial tension* 73.

4. The Classification of Races

Arising from the above divergence of opinion, and aggravated by further disagreement as to exactly what criteria to work on, we find that specialists, using different standards, have calculated the number of human races at anywhere between two and two hundred.[127] This has led some to despair of unanimity ever being reached on this question.[128] Yet, according to Walter, even this lack of agreement does not as such debilitate the basic concept of race, for despite all the difficulties of classification the obstinate fact of racial differences persists.[129]

127 Campenhout E. van, *Problème des races au point de vue anthropologique* 193; Dunn L., *Race and biology* 33; Garn S. and Coon C., *On the number of races of mankind,* in Garn S., *Readings on race* 9; Kluckholm C., *Mirror for man* 103; Rocker R., *Nationalism and culture* 299.

128 Mason P., *Essay on racial tension* 7.

129 Walter P., *Race and culture relations* 10. See also Dobzhansky T., in UNESCO, *Race concept* 81.

Notwithstanding this wide divergence of opinion, however, by far the greater part of the authors consulted, reserving the use of the word "race" exclusively to the very large groups of humanity,[130] hold that there are three races,[131] namely the European or Caucasoid, living mainly in the West; the Negroid, spreading towards the South; and the Mongoloid, who occupy the East. In common parlance these are called the white, black, and yellow races. To these some add other "primitive" groups, as they call them.[132]

130 Dunn L., *Race and biology* 33; Mason P., *Essay on racial tension* 7; Teilhard de Chardin P. SJ, *Unités humaines naturalles* 12; UNESCO, *Race concept* 11-12.

131 Acerbo G., *Fondamenti della dottrina fascista della razza* 20; Ashley Montagu M., *Man's most dangerous myth, the fallacy of race,* 2 ed. (New York 1945) 31; Barge J., *Anthropologie* 18; *Ras morphologische beschouwd* 14; Bavinck J., *Rassenvraagstuk* 10; Benedict R., *Race* 26. 31. 34; Benedict R. and Weltfish G., *Races of mankind,* bound with Benedict R., *Race* 170; Bibby C., *Race, prejudice and education* 11; Boas F., *Race, language and culture* 3. 157; Boyd W. and Asimov I., *Races and people* 158; Brunhes J. and Delamarre J., *Races* 19; Dunn L., *Race and biology* 12. 33; Eickstedt E., *Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit,* 2 ed. (Stuttgart 1937) quoted in Marcozzi V., *Uomo nello spazio e nel tempo* 127; Fischer E., *Racial differences of mankind* 172; Galli A. OFM, *Biologia delle razze umane* 81; Haas A. SJ, *'Rasse'* 592; Hrdlicka A., *Races of man* 117; Kephart C., *Races of mankind* 54. 57. 71; Kerken G. van der, *Metis aux points de vue de l'anthropologie* 4-5; Lapparent A. de, *Fragilité scientifique du racisme* 71; Lopes P., *Poligenismo e antropologia teologica* 26; Marcozzi V. SJ, *Uomo nello spazio e nel tempo* 128; Mayet L., *Races humaines préhistoriques et actuelles,* in Groupe Lyonnais d'Etudes Médicales, Philosophiques et Biologiques, *Hérédité et races* 176; Montandon G., *Etat actuel de l'ethnologie raciale* 36; Nachtsheim H., *Biologie und Totalitarismus* 299; *Race, law and religion,* in O'Toole G., *Race, nation, person, social aspects of the race problem* (New York 1944) 8; Rocker R., *Nationalism and culture* 299; Simpson G. and Yinger J., *Racial and cultural minorities* 50; Teilhard de Chardin P. SJ, *Groupe zoologique humain, structure et directions évolutives* (Paris 1956) 117; *Phénomène humain* 223; *Unités humaines naturelles* 18; Tsamerian I. and Ronin S., *Equality of rights between races and nationalities in the USSR* (Paris 1962) 9; UNESCO, *Race concept* 12. 82. 99-100; Vallois H., *Razze umane* 184; Vansteenkiste C OP, *Rassenvraagstuk,* in *Kultuurleven* 10 (1939) 39-40; Verdum M. SJ, *Problème racial, essai d'analyse et d'interprétation nouvelles des variations raciales de l'espèce humaine* (Colombes 1948) 82; Waardenburg P., *Biologische zijde van het rassenvraagstuk* 32; *Rassenvraagstuk in onzen tijd* 79-86; Walter P., *Race and culture relations* 7-8.

132 Acerbo G., *Fondamenti della dottrina fascista della razza* 20; Benedict R. and Weltfish G., *Races of mankind* 170; Boyd W. and Asimov I., *Races and people* 158; Dunn L., *Race and biology* 33; Galli A. OFM, *Biologia delle razze umane* 81f; Hrdlicka A., *Races of man* 177; Kephart C., *Races of mankind* 75- 76. 79; Kerken G. van der, *Metis aux points de vue de l'anthropologie,* 4-5; Marcozzi V. SJ, *Uomo nello spazio e nel tempo* 128; Montandon G., *Etat actuel de l'ethnologie raciale* 36; Teilhard de Chardin P.

SJ, *Unités humaines naturelles* 18; Vallois H., *Razze umane* 184; Vansteenkiste C. OP, *Rassenvraagstuk,* in *Kultuurleven* 10 (1939) 39-40; Verdum M. SJ, *Probleme racial* 82.

The variants which occur within these major groups are sometimes also called "races,"[133] but not without severe criticism from a number of experts, who prefer, for the sake of clarity, to use "subraces," "types," or "variations" for these smaller and more specialized groups.[134]

133 *Fascismo e i problemi della razza* 275; Vallois H., *Razze umane* 184.

134 Boas F., *Race, language and culture* 40-41. 45. 149. 157; Galli A. OFM, *Biologia delle razze umane* 27; Hagedoorn A., *Erfelijkheid en rasvorming* 179. 206; Kephart C., *Races of mankind* 92; Marcozzi V. SJ, *Uomo nello spazio e nel tempo* 124; Nachtsheim H., *Biologie und Totalitarismus* 299; Waardenburg P., *Rassenvraagstuk in onzen tijd* 26.

If one then asks whether or not these races are "pure," a large number of authors reply negatively,[135] having in mind the exaggerated assertions of the racists. An absolutely pure race is only possible on two conditions: firstly, that its origin should be unique, as in the polyphyletic hypothesis, according to which mankind began in several completely separated groups in different parts of the globe, having no direct ancestral relation to each other; and, secondly, the complete absence of subsequent interbreeding. Since neither of these circumstances, especially the second, can be adequately substantiated in connection with any existing human race, natural scientists are quite justifiably opposed to the notion of a race which is pure in this sense of the word.

135 Campenhout E. van, *Problème des races au point de vue anthropologique* 203; Forst de Battaglia O., *Race et racisme* 662; Waardenburg P., *Biologische zijde van het rassenvraagstuk* 34.

Nevertheless, as others point out, the matter cannot be dispatched quite so easily. Even those who reject the idea of pure races in the above sense sometimes speak of peoples of mixed racial origins. By this they seem to acknowledge the existence of at least relatively pure hereditary groups. So it is that not a few accept the use of the term "pure race" in this relative sense,[136] which Darlington has clearly explained as follows:[137]

136 Hagedoorn A., *Erfelijkheid en rasvorming* 175. 184; Kephart C., *Races of mankind* viii. 65. 74; Marcozzi V. SJ, *Uomo nello spazio e nel tempo* 255; Mason P., *Essay on racial tension* 8; Nachtsheim H., *Biologie und Totalitarismus* 307.

137 Darlington C., in UNESCO, *Race concept* 62.

> In an outbreeding organism like man there are not pure races of the same character as in self-fertilized or parthenogenetic organism. Nevertheless, in certain racial situations, as in Hawaii, it would be foolish to overlook the fact that the Japanese, the Hawaiians, and even the whites, are so-called pure races as compared with the offspring from the crossing of these races.

It is quite obvious that on the fringes of the pure races, in this relative sense, there are peoples of every type and grade of mixture. In 1960 Dejeux estimated that about two and a half percent of the world population consisted of persons of such mixed origins.[138] That this proportion is not higher seems to be due to two factors. In the first place peoples of different races living in the same area generally try to prevent interracial marriages by social artifices.[139] Secondly the offspring of these mixed unions, where they do occur, tend in the course of successive generations to revert genetically to one or other of the original races.[140]

138 Dejeux J., *Mariages interraciaux,* in Poirier J., *Problème racial* 118.

139 Darlington C., in UNESCO, *Race concept* 63. Dobzhansky T., *'Races'* 108a; Herskovits M., *Man and his works* 146.

140 Fischer E., *Racial differences of mankind* 180-81; Galli A. OFM, *Biologia delle razze umane* 55. 142; Hagedoorn A., *Erfelijkheid en rasvorming* 166-67.

To the question whether such racial mixture is favourable to the progeny thereof or not, the experts give divergent answers.[141] Some agree with the conclusion of the UNESCO report[142] that

141 Congrès International pour l'Etude des Problèmes résultant du Mélange de Races, *Compte rendu.*

142 UNESCO, *Race concept* 15. This opinion is held also in Benedict R., *Race* 51-52; Benedict R. and Weltfish G., *Races of mankind* 180; Galli A. OFM, *Biologia delle razze umane* 141; Mason P., *Essay on racial tension* 75; Nachtsheim H., *Biologie und Totalitarismus* 303; Simpson G. and Yinger J., *Racial and cultural minorities* 56; UNESCO, *Race concept* 14; Waardenburg P., *Biologische zijde van het rassenvraagstuk* 34.

> There is no evidence that race mixture produces disadvantageous results from the biological point of view. The social results of race mixture, whether for good or ill, can generally be traced to social factors.

Others again are not prepared to say "yes" or "no," because they consider the scientific evidence to be too uncertain for any general rule to be laid down.[143] Yet a third tendency exists among those who agree with Darlington's opinion, according to which different results in various parts of the world conclusively show that the offspring, resulting from intercourse between people of different races, in their innate potentialities differ from both the parents of the so-called pure races. These differences may in some cases represent an improvement in comparison to the parent stocks, in other cases a degeneration. For this latter reason it can sometimes be said that there are biological reasons which render interracial marriages undesirable.[144]

143 Bertram G., *West Indian immigration* 5. 19-20; Boas F., *Race, language and culture* 7. 51; Galli A. OFM, *Biologia delle razze umane* 143; Mason P., *Epilogue,* in Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland and Institute of Race Relations, *Man, race, Darwin.* 135.

144 Darlington C., in UNESCO, *Race concept* 63. See also Comas J., *Racial myths* 15; Hagedoorn A., *Erfelijkheid en rasvorming* 211. 259; Jennings H., *Laws of heredity* 72; Klineberg O., *Race et psychologie* (Paris 1951) 32; Lenz F., *Inheritance of intellectual gifts* 692.

Against the racist assertions about the natural superiority or inferiority of the different races, the positive scientists object that there are no adequate standards according to which this can be evaluated and judged. The establishing of a gradation of races presupposes that there are clear and certain criteria, which are in addition reasonably easy to use. Since these are not available, it is impossible to establish a hierarchy of races. It remains an open question whether such an hierarchy does or does not in fact exist.[145] The authors mention that very often the supposed racial superiority or inferiority is a matter of cultural diversity rather than a question of race.[146]

145 Campenhout E. van, *Problème des races au point de vue anthropologique* 203; Folliet J., *Race, la raison, et le Christ,* in *NRT* 66 (1939) 215; Herskovits M., *Man and his works* 150; Hrdlicka A., *Races of mankind* 169; Mason P., *Essay on racial tension* 52. 55; Morant G., *Significance of racial differences* 46- 47.

146 Krout M., *Race and culture* 175.

For this reason it seems useful to deal briefly with the relation between race and culture, as it appears in the writings of the natural scientists consulted.

The term "culture" as used by anthropologists and sociologists means "the totality of group ways of thought and action which are widely accepted and followed by a group of people."[147] Diverse cultures

are not merely different grades of development in the same line of human evolution. Rather, as Boas says, "cultures differ like so many species, perhaps genera, of animals, and their common basis is lost forever."[148] Hence it is impossible to reduce them to one continuous series.[149] Just as in the case of races, so also the experts are disinclined to discuss the question of the superiority or inferiority of cultures, and for the same reason that there are no norms apt for making the judgement.[150]

147 Walter P., *Race and culture relations* 17.

148 Boas F., *Race, language and culture* 254.

149 Gregorius OFM Cap, *Belang van het culturele antropologie en godsdienstwetenschap voor de theologie,* in *Tijdschrift voor theologie* 1 (1961) 329.

150 Bavinck J., *Rassenvraagstuk* 16; Kerken G. van der, *Metis aux points de vue de l'anthropologie* 8; Lamberty M., *Kritiek van het racisme* (Antwerpen 1939) 29; Leiris M., *Race and culture* (Paris 1951) 38; Locher G., *Inleidende beschouwing over het rassenvraagstuk van het standpunt van de culturele anthropologie,* in Locher G., *Beschouwingen over het rassenvraagstuk* 10-11.

As regards the relation existing between cultures and races, there is a wide divergence of opinion among the authors. Some simply deny the connection.[151] Others, expressing themselves negatively, state that a connection between the two is not yet proven.[152] Yet others consider a positive link between race and culture to be probable, but in practice of little or no importance.[153] The fourth opinion maintains that they are positively connected. Among the supporters of this latter view there are some who, while holding for a correlation between race and culture, are not certain if there is a causal dependence of one on the other.[154] The remainder, however, do assert a direct influence of race on culture, either because the psychic operations are to some extent determined by the physical characteristics, particularly the genetic complex of the group concerned, or because culture is built upon physical nature in general, which includes among other elements the factor of race.[155]

151 Simpson G. and Yinger J., *Racial and cultural minorities* 65.

152 Herskovits M., *Man and his works*. 169. 428-29; UNESCO, *Race concept* 12-24.

153 "Cultural interpretations of behaviour need never deny that a physiological element is also involved. Such a denial is based on a misunderstanding of scientific explanations. Biology does not deny chemistry, though chemistry is inadequate to explain biological phenomena. Nor is biology obliged to work according to the chemical formulae because it recognizes that the laws of chemistry underlie the fact it analyzes. In every field of science it is necessary to stress the laws and sequences that most adequately explain the situations under observation and nevertheless to insist that other elements are present, though they can be shown not to have a *crucial importance* in the final result. To point out, therefore, that the biological bases of cultural behavior in mankind are for the most part irrelevant is not to deny that they are present. It is merely to stress the fact that the historical factors are dynamic." Benedict R., *Patterns of culture* (Boston 1934) 235. See also Benedict R., *Race* 89-90. 98; Leiris M., *Race and culture* 31; Locher G., *Inleidende beschouwing over het rassenvraagstuk van het standpunt van de culturele anthropologie* 20-21; Lowie R., *Intellectual and cultural achievements of human races* 192.

154 Acerbo G., *Fondamenti della dottrina fascista della razza* 18; Boas F., *Race, language and culture* 150. 265; Reuter E., *Handbook of sociology* (New York 1941) 59; Teilhard de Chardin P. SJ, *Groupe zoologique humain* 116; *Phénomène humain* 193-94; *Unités humaines naturelles* 15; *Uomo secondo la vera scienza antropologica* 102.

155 Bibby C., *Race, prejudice and education* 12. 76; Boelaars H. CSSR, *Rassisme en rassenkunde* 105; Lenz F., *Inheritance of intellectual gifts* 659. 697; Rife D., *Myth of the melting pot, genetic variability, and racial intermixture,* in *Eugenics quarterly* 1 (1954) 252; Scherer R., *'Kultur,'* in *Staatslexikon* V, 166; Waardenburg P., *Biologische zijde van het rassenvraagstuk* 36; Waesberghe H. van SJ, *Nederlands rassenboek,* in *Studien* 30 (1938) 515.

So far as religion in particular is concerned, the division of opinion are identical.[156]

156 Campbell C., *Race and religion* (London 1953) vii. 2; Hauer J., *Religion und Rasse,* in *Archiv fuer Religionswissenschaft* 34 (1937) 94-95; Schroeder C., *Rasse und Religion* 276. 299.

From the outline presented in this chapter it is clear that there is sufficient disagreement on so many points among those who have written about race in the light of positive scientific study to preclude any conclusions being tendered at present as certain beyond a reasonable doubt, and so demanding the assent of all. If then in the theological treatment of the matter, which follows, some viewpoint is adopted which conforms to one or other of the abovementioned opinions, this will not be solely for reasons drawn from positive investigations, but rather because it is more in harmony with the teaching of the Church.

Chapter 3. Theological Doctrines Especially Connected with the Problem

Because the positive sciences, faced with the racial situations which have arisen in different parts of the world at different times, have so far not given a clear and unanimous response about the nature of races, it behoves us to see what light theology can shed upon the whole matter. In a sincere spirit of cooperation, therefore, the task will now be undertaken of setting forth what the bishops of the Church and their collaborators in the sacred sciences have offered towards a clarification of these questions.

Since, however, a house built upon sand cannot stand, it has seemed necessary by way of preparation for our theological reflection upon the doctrine of the Church, to lay firm foundations by giving a succinct account of the main principles upon which the ulterior exposition will be built.

1. Various Types of Human Unities

When authors, of whatever persuasion that may be, take up the discussion of the racial question, whether it be an enquiry into the nature of race, or in order to solve difficulties arising on the level of social justice, they not infrequently invoke the aid of some concept of the universal social unity of mankind. Hence we find works with titles such as *Science and brotherly love*.[157]

157 Graubard M., *Science and brotherly love,* in Bryson L. and others, *Learning and world peace, eighth symposium* (New York 1948) 138-53.

Our own interest here is naturally this oneness of mankind seen through the eyes of a theologian. All the catholic authors who have treated of this matter are unanimous in insisting on two fundamental doctrines, which can hardly be better stated than in the words of the celebrated Father La Farge:[158]

158 La Farge J. SJ, *Catholic viewpoint on race relations,* 2 ed. (New York 1960) 77.

1. All men, since they are created by the same God, are sons of the same eternal Father and hence enjoy the same fundamental human dignity and rights. 2. Jesus Christ lived, died, and rose from the dead in order to redeem all men and confer upon them the same supernatural dignity and rights as members of His Mystical Body.

In the last few decades there has been such a vast output of literature in many languages on the doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ,[159] especially since the publication of the encyclical of that name by Pope Pius XII,[160] which is likewise available in many vernacular translations, that it seems useless to try to add something new in a work of this scope. A certain knowledge of this doctrine will therefore be presumed.

159 A readable presentation of this doctrine will be found in Woolen C., *Christ in His Mystical Body* (London 1948). For a scholarly treatment consult Malmberg F. SJ, *Een Lichaam en een Geest, nieuwe gezichtspunten in de ecclesiologie* (Utrecht 1958).

160 Pius XII, *Mystici Corporis Christi,* in *AAS* 35 (1943) 193-248.

The unity of mankind regarded from the point of view of creation, however, has not received the same detailed attention. It is not infrequently reduced simply to a discussion of the question of monogenesis, as in the recent article by Alberti on the unity of mankind according to the teaching authority of the Church.[161] For this reason the subject will have to be discussed in some detail, because this unity is given such importance in many official documents of the hierarchy that the mere bond of physical generation alone does not seem to adequately explain its emphatic assertion.

161 Alberti O., *Unità del genere umano nell'insegnamento del Magistero della Chiesa,* in *Divinitas* 3 (1961) 735-801.

To these must be added another doctrine, far less frequently mentioned and then only cursorily, that, namely, of the internal unity of the human person. This aspect is strictly correlative to the other, because his internal integrity and his social interrelatedness are two essential and equally important dimensions of the human person. As this doctrine has been largely neglected in recent theological literature, it will have to be gone into fairly minutely; and this not least of all, because some authors, preoccupied with the social unity side of the question, in their endeavor to secure interracial justice, play down the influence of physical elements on the personality to the point of disintegrating the human composite, so that the integral whole, which the human person is, all but vanishes.

2. The Unity of Mankind

Coming now to treat of the doctrine of the unity of mankind, we can hardly find a better scheme in theological literature than that outlined by Pope Pius XII in his encyclical *Summi pontificatus*.[162]

162 Pius XII, *Summi pontificatus,* in *AAS* 31 (1939) 426-28.

All men have the same ultimate origin, God, Who created mankind according to His image and likeness, and Who alone without the aid of any intermediary creates each individual human soul.[163] It is further the traditional teaching in the Church that the rest of humanity also has one single proximate source in the first human pair from whom all are descended by physical generation. This is the doctrine of monogenesis.[164]

163 Sagues I. SJ, *De Deo Creante et elevante* III c.4 a.1 thesis 26, in *Sacrae theologiae summa, patrum Societatis Iesu facultatum theologorum in Hispania professorum,* 3 ed. (Matriti 1958) 717-27.

164 Fraine J. de SJ, *Bible et l'origine de l'homme* (Tournai 1959) c.3 'Enseignements de l'Eglise' 101-121; Sagues I. SJ, *De Deo creante et elevante* III c.1 a.2 thesis 21, 658-68. Theologians are not in agreement about the degree of doctrinal authority which this tenet enjoys. A list of their various opinions is given in Sagues 664-65.

As we have already hinted above, however, these doctrines alone do not provide a sufficient basis for establishing the deep solidarity of mankind. In the first place, all creatures are created by God, both as regards the group characteristic of their genus and species, as well as in their individuality, at least in the sense that the knowledge of God is the cause of all things, and the Supreme Being is the common ground of being of all other beings. In the same way, granted for the moment the evolutionary hypothesis, the same solidarity, though perhaps differing in intensity, exists by virtue of physical generation between men and other living creatures, indeed even within the whole of material reality, as Teilhard de Chardin logically concludes.[165] Leaving this controverted question aside, it is difficult to see why, when physical generation in the restricted field of the family does not affect a far- reaching organic unity, physical generation as dispersed as that of humanity considered as a whole should produce any profound solidarity.[166] Monogenesis, therefore, does not seem adequately to explain the fundamental unity of mankind. This does not mean to say that, because physical generation taken in isolation is not sufficient to account for the intense unity of mankind, the bond of descent can be despised or neglected as though it contributed nothing at all. Indeed the collective solidarity arising from a common heredity, both as regards mankind as a whole, and particular groups taken singularly, appears to effect an entity sufficiently concrete enough to be the subject of rights, as we shall see later.

165 Teilhard de Chardin P. SJ, *Phénomène humain.* For a brief and unified exposition of this way of looking at the created universe consult Smulders P. SJ, *Visioen van Teilhard de Chardin, poging tot theologische waardering,* 3 ed. (Brugge 1963) 49-73. From a completely different starting point a similar conclusion is reached by Huby J. SJ, *Saint Paul, epître aux Romains,* 16 ed. (Paris 1940) 279-98.

166 Hulsbosch A. OESA, *Schepping Gods* 53. 55.

The Pope further puts forward the argument that mankind is one because it shares the same dwelling place, namely the earth, whose abundance all have the natural right to enjoy in order that they may sustain and develop life. This argument might have been assessed in much the same way as the first, had the Pope with profound insight not prefixed the statement that mankind is one because each is

bound to pursue the same proximate end, and contribute to the same common mission during this earthly life.[167] Here we have a unity of cooperation, arising from a common task which has to be fulfilled, in terms of which the human community is bound to cultivate the earth and build it into a house fit for the sons of God.[168] This necessity for cooperation beyond any doubt induces in men, nations, races, and states, a sense of solidarity on the psychic level, and manifests that profound ontic unity in which this is grounded, namely, their common human nature.[169] This sharing in the same nature, therefore, is proposed by Pope Pius XII as a further reason for humanity's oneness.[170]

167 Pius XII, *Summi pontificatus* 427. Different aspects of this solidarity were dealt with by the Pope in various addresses, of which the most important are: *Broadcast message,* 24.12.44, in *AAS* 37 (1945) 21; *Broadcast message,* 23.12.50, in *AAS* 43 (1951) 56; *Address to the ninth International Congress of Agricultural Industries,* 29.5.52, in *DRM* 14 (1952-53) 169-70; *Broadcast message,* 24.12.52, in *AAS* 45 (1953) 39-40.

168 John XXIII, *Mater et magistra* 440-41; *Pacem in terris* 296. 033; *Broadcast message,* 11.9.62, in *AAS* 54 (1962) 682-83; *Broadcast message,* 14.3.1963, in *AAS* 55 (1963) 344-45; St. Bonaventure, *Apologia pauperum* c.10 n.13 (VIII, 309a).

169 John XXIII, *Mater et magistra* 439; *Pacem in terris* 291-92.

170 Pius XII, *Summi pontificatus* 427.

Man, by his very nature a person, participates in the personal being of God, Who is three Persons in a community of charity, a divine community of perfect love. Hence, man is likewise by his very nature social[171] and oriented towards life in community.[172] As the sacred writer indicates,[173] it is mankind as such that is created in the image of God, Who is in fact a triune community of Persons. For this reason human persons naturally tend to mutual interpretation and mutual completion in community, interchange of ideas, and the love of friendship, which in fact are indispensable for their development and perfection;[174] and for their divinely appointed task of building the world into a home fit for the sons of God.[175]

171 Pius XI, *Quadragesimo anno,* in *AAS* 23 (1931) 215.

172 John XXIII, *Mater et magistra* 453; *Pacem in terris* 292; *Hulsbosch A. OESA,* Schepping Gods *54-55.*

173 Gen. 1, 26-27.

174 Brauns M. SJ, *Geheim der goddelijke persoonlijkheden, een drieëenheid dogmatiek* (Brugge 1958) 346-57; Malmberg F. SJ, *Een Lichaam en een Geest* 172; Schmaus M., *Vom Wesen des Christentums* (Westheim bei Augsburg 1947) 103-04. 159; Schoonenberg P. SJ, *Geloof van ons doopsel* ('s Hertogenbosch 1955f) I, 199-200; Trinick J., *Creavit Deus hominem ad imaginem Suam… masculum et feminam,* in *Bijdragen* 22 (1961) 34.

175 Schoonenberg P. SJ, *Gods wordende wereld* 64.

Since, therefore, human community is founded in that of the Trinity, it is by no means true that man's natural powers of loving are exhausted by his love of wife, children, friends, and fatherland. Rather, because ultimately it is founded in the divine love of the Trinity,[176] human love is potentially and in its compulsive urge without limit. Indeed it is not fully mature until it has become universal.[177] Short of this universal love the personality is always immature and frustrated by the surrender to some narrower collective egoism.

176 Schoonenberg P. SJ, *Gods wordende wereld* 64.

177 John XXIII, *Broadcast message,* 11.9.62, 683; Teilhard de Chardin P. SJ, *Phenomene humain* 295-96; Messineo A. SJ, *Internazionalismo cosmopolita e l'essere nazionale,* in *CC* 90, 1 (1939) 16-17; Schmaus M., *Vom Wesen des Christentums* 171.

For the above reason, the basic human solidarity, which is not breached either by distance in space or in time, is so deep that men are capable of almost unlimited interfecundity in almost every field of human endeavor. Likewise the wounds of discord and the ruptures of disaster and conflict never for very long hinder the fruitful exchange of goods, endeavor, and thought, as history bears witness repeatedly.[178] For, if we may borrow an observation from Pope John XXIII, human society ought to be regarded above all else as a spiritual reality.[179] It is interesting in this connection to recall the tradition in Christian thought, which holds that the existing rupture in the unity of mankind is the product of sin, without which human solidarity would reveal itself both in the consciousness of men and in the existence of a world-wide society.[180] The perfect world society is not only one of nations, but of men as individuals also.[181] Finally Pope Pius XII asserts that mankind is one in the unity of its supernatural end, God Himself, to Whom all should tend; and in the unity of the means to secure that end.[182]

178 Baily M. CSSR, *Biblical man and some formulae of Christian teaching,* in *Irish theological quarterly* 27 (1960) 191; Teilhard de Chardin P. SJ, *Phénomène humain* 268; Lubac H. de SJ, *Catholicisme, les aspects sociaux du dogme,* 4 ed. (Paris 1947) 186; *Person and society* in O'Toole G., *Race, nation, person* 217.

179 John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 266.

180 St. Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos* XCV n.15 (Chr 39, 1352-53); St. Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarium in Ioannem VII* in 11, 54 (PG 74,69); St. Maximus Confessor, *Epistola 2, ad Ioannem cubicularium de caritate* (PG 91, 396); *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* introduction and q.64 (PG 90, 256, 724-25); Origen, *In Ezechielem homilia* 9 n.1 (GCS 33, 405-06); Feast of Christ the King, *Collect*.

181 John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 290, 296.

182 Pius XII, *Summi pontificatus* 427.

It is worth noting that in this respect we are dealing with a unity of mankind so deep that by the sin of one man all others are born in a state of sin.[183] The solidarity of all men, therefore, is something which must extend to the ultimate ontic relations by which they are constituted in their being.[184] This does not appear to be achieved if we interpret man's relation to his final end according to the following words of Saint Thomas:[185]

183 Cnl. of Trent, *Decree on original sin* (DR 789-90; DS 1512-13); Hulsbosch A. OESA, *Schepping Gods* 53-55; Schoonenberg P. SJ, *Geloof van ons doopsel* IV, 142-200.

184 Schoonenberg P. SJ, *Geloof van ons doopsel* I, 196-97.

185 St. Thomas, *S. theol.* I q.65 a.2 in corp. (310b): "Totum universum cum singulis suis partibus ordinatur ad Deum sicut in finem, in quantum in eis per quandam imitationem divina bonitas repraesentatur ad gloriam Dei. Quamvis creaturae rationales speciali quodam modo supra hoc habeant finem Deum, quem attingere possunt operatione cognoscendo et amando. Et sic patet quod divina bonitas est finis omnium corporalium."

> The whole of the universe with each of its individual parts is ordered towards God as towards its end, in so much as in them the divine goodness is reflected, by a type of imitation, to the glory of God. Yet rational creatures in addition have God as their end in some special way, because they are able to come into contact with Him actively through knowledge and love. And so it is clear that the divine goodness is the end of all corporeal beings.

The fact that men are ordered towards union with God by knowledge and love, does not induce among them that close metaphysical bond for which we are looking, and which exists even prior to the voluntary action of the individuals.

If on the other hand we have recourse to Saint Paul's doctrine of the primacy of Christ,[186] it follows that, according to the divine plan of the universe, mankind is one: on account of its prototype, Who is the divine Man, the first in the order of divine intention, the firstborn of all creation;[187] by reason of its being, "because in Him all things were created in heaven and on earth";[188] in virtue of its proximate end, which is that, by man's tending and cultivating of the resources of his physical and social environment, the abundant riches of human nature should be evolved and perfected in the world, so that the Incarnate Word may be filled up,[189] and provided with a fitting cortege,[190] by which mankind will be gathered up into perfect union with its divine Head, whence it came forth.[191] For, as Pope John never tired of reminding us, all men are bound to each other by the common fellowship of origin, Christian redemption, and supernatural end, and are called to be joined together in one Christian family.[192]

186 Bello L. OFM, *Littera encyclica de universali Christi primatu atque regalitate,* in *Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum* 52 (1933) 293-311; Bonnefoy J. OFM, *Place du Christ dans le plan divin de la création,* in *Mélanges de science religieuse* 4 (1947) 237-84; 5 (1948) 39-60; *Primato di Cristo nella teologia contemporanea,* in *Problemi e orientamenti di teologia dommatica a cura della Pontificia Facoltà Teologica de Milano* (Milano 1957) II, 123-235; *Primauté absolue et universelle de N.S. Jésus-Christ et de la T. S. Primauté du Christ selon l'ecriture et la tradition* (Roma 1959); *Raison de l'Incarnation et primauté du Christ, réflexions sur une controverse,* in *DT* (Piacenza) 46 (1943) 103-20.

187 Col. 1, 15; St. Athanasius, *Oratio contra gentes* n.34 (PG 25, 68-69); Bonnefoy J. OFM, *Primato di Cristo* 217; *Primaute du Christ* 301-05; Julian of Norwich, *Revelations of divine love shewed to a devout ankress,* ed R. Hudleston OSB, 2 ed. (London 1952) 120; Tertullian, *Liber de resurrectione carnis* c.6 (PL 2, 848).

188 Col. 1, 16; Pius XII, *Summi pontificatus* 427. See also Mouroux J., *Mystere du temps, approche théologique* (Paris 1962) 82-83. 192.

189 Malmberg F. SJ, *Een Lichaam en een Geest* 170-77.

190 St. Bernardine, *Sermo LIX* a.1 c.2 (II 434); Julian of Norwich, *Revelations of divine love* 118.

191 Eph. 1, 10. See also St. Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* q.64 (PG 90, 621); St. Thomas, *S. theol.* III q.8 a.3 in corp. (1914b).

192 John XXIII, *Mater et magistra* 453; *Pacem in terris* 289. See also Hulsbosch A. OESA, *Schepping Gods* 20-21.

> These are supernatural truths which form a solid basis and the strongest possible bond of union, that is reinforced by the love of God and of our divine Redeemer . . . In the light of this unity of all mankind which exists in law and in fact, individuals are not seen as isolated units, like grains of sand, but rather joined together by a harmonious organic order and mutual needs varying with changing times, in virtue of a natural and supernatural driving force and destiny.[193]

193 Pius XII, *Summi pontificatus* 428: "Haec supernae veritatis capita ima constituunt fundamenta arctissimaque communis omnium unitatis vincula, Dei divinique Redemptoris amore solidata… Quamobrem, si hanc iure ac reapse datam totius humani generis unitate intente consideramus, non seiuncti nobis singuli cives, quasi arenarum grana, videntur, sed inter se potius apto compositoque ordine ac mutua variaque ob temporum diversitatem necessitudine congregati ex naturali ac superna impulsione destinationeque."

3. The Unity of the Human Composite

But in addition, one and the same God, Who created human beings for life in society so that mankind, extensively one, might manifest His unitary community, at the same time endowed each man correlatively with a profound internal unity by which His own substantial unity might be reflected. The necessity for treating this doctrine at length is twofold. In the first place it is impossible to discuss the question of distinct races adequately without it, yet it has been left singularly undeveloped by writers on matters racial. Then, as has already been pointed out, it is needed to correct the lack of balance of those writers who tend so to disjoin the human organism that the unitary totality can scarcely be salvaged. This unbalance arises both among positive scientists who set out from the defective principles of cartesianism and idealism,[194] and among theologians who in their efforts to secure social justice or refute the fallacies of the racists, play down or deny altogether the influence of the physical constitution, including the racial factor, in determining the personality and actions of men.[195] As against this tendency, the whole Hebraic-Christian tradition, standing for the closest possible compenetration of the physical and the psychic, the material and spiritual, body and soul in man, has borne witness to the total unity of the human composite. There have been those among theological writers, especially the manualists, who excessively preoccupied with scholastic theories, assert that in the Genesis account of the creation of man as an individual,[196] God created the human body from the slime of the earth, and breathed into it a spiritual soul, thereby showing that the hylomorphic composition of man[197] is found even in Holy Scripture. This distinction, however, is unknown in Hebrew anthropology, and is in fact not present in the text referred to, where God is shown making man, not merely his body, from the slime of the earth, after the manner of a potter, so as to inculcate the truth of man's absolute dependence upon Him,[198] an image used elsewhere in the Bible with the same intent.[199] Likewise the image of God's breathing into man's face the breath of life is part of the plastic image of God as the complete artificer of man. The human person is wholly and utterly a creature whose very life depends on God.[200] At any moment God can take away the breath of life, and man dies.[201] Indeed the entire biblical concept of man is devoid of dualism or any other form of pluralism. Always conceived as a whole, man is above all living flesh, a unit of vital energy, so that the Hebrew words for flesh, mind, spirit, and person all refer to the integral living being, to the point at times of being used interchangeably; even the "spiritual" activities are associated with bodily organs as emanating from the totality.[202] Yet, although the essential corporeity of man is emphasized, nevertheless the fact that he is radically different from the animals is not passed over in silence. Man, in his total unity, stands apart with God over against all the rest of material creation, especially the animals, over which he is lord and master.[203] Even when later under the influence of hellenistic thought a word for body, as against living flesh, was introduced into the biblical vocabulary, it was also used to express the totality of the human person.[204] So Saint Paul in the same letter interchanges the concept of the whole man and that of the body, writing: "Know you not that you are the temple of God?, and "Know you not that your members are the temple of the Holy Ghost . . . Glorify and bear God in your body."[205]

194 Folliet J., *Racisme devant la raison* 3; Hoeltker G. SVD, *Was ist Rasse?*. in *SZuk* 9 (1933-34) 461b; Schulte J., *Ras psychologisch beschouwd* 62; Thils G., *Theologie des realites terrestres* II, 68.

195 Guardini R., *Chrétien devant le racisme,* 4 ed. (Paris 1939) 20-21; Synnott F. OP, *Church and the colour question,* in *Blackfriars* 31 (1950) 582-83.

196 Gen. 2, 7.

197 For a brief outline of the hylomorphic theory according to St. Thomas confer Copleston F. SJ, *History of philosophy* (London 1946f) II, 324-32. 375-76.

198 Fraine J. de SJ, *Bible et l'origine de l'homme* 35-36. 42-43; Haes P. de, *Schepping als heilsmysterie* 62.

199 Job 10, 7-12; Eccu. 33, 13-14; Is. 29, 16; 45, 9; Jer. 18, 1-9; Rom. 9, 19-24.

200 Bussche, H. van den, *Godsdienstige boodschap van de oergeschiedenis, Israël peilt naar de zin het bestaan* (Gen. 1-3), 2 ed. (Tielt 1959) 17; Renckens H. SJ, *Israels visie op het verleden, over Genesis* 1- 3, 4 ed. (Tielt 1960) 141.

201 Job 34, 14-15; Ps. 104, 29-30; Is. 42, 5.

202 Baily M. CSSR, *Biblical man* 178-200; Imschoot P. van, *'Geest' 'Mens,'* and *'vlees',* in *BWB* 540-44. 1114-17. 1796-1801; *Theologie de l'Ancien Testament* (Rome 1956) II, 2-5; Pedersen J., *Israel, its life and culture* (London 1946) I, 171; Renckens H. SJ, *Eeuwige mens in zijn oudtestamentische gestalte,* in *Theologische Week over het mens, voordrachten gehouden te Nijmegen,* 1958 (Nijmegen 1958) 64; Schoonenberg P. SJ, *Geloof van ons doopsel* I, 157.

203 Renckens H. SJ, *Israels visie op het verleden* 85, 87-88.

204 Imschoot P. van, *'Lichaam'* in *BWB* 1014-15.

205 I Cor. 3, 16; 6, 19-21.

Although Greek philosophy provided the Church with a valuable instrument for the clarification of Christian thought in many ways, its dualistic terminology as regards man became a constant source of danger. For, the distinction between body and soul having been introduced, there has always been a tendency on the part of some to exalt the latter beyond due measure at the expense of the former: the image of God is seen in the soul alone,[206] which is unfortunately trammeled and defiled by "brother ass".[207] In the process the integral unity of the human person suffers serious damage.

206 From the time of St. Augustine onwards, and especially under the influence of the great scholastic doctors, this was the common view on the matter. It is only in very recent times that biblical exegesis has shown that the sacred writer could not have intended to convey such an idea, and in point of fact did not do so.

207 Thomas of Celano OFM, *Vita secunda S. Francisci Assisiensis* II c.82 n.116 (ed. ad Claras Aquas 120). See also Baily M. CSSR, *Biblical man* 174; Haes P. de, *Schepping als heilsmysterie* 170.

For this reason the teaching authority of the Church, mainly spurred on by the necessity of preserving the truth about Jesus Christ, truly God and truly man,[208] has acted vigorously against this threat, clarifying its terminology in the process. Synthetically it has taught about the human person, that every man consists in two substances, a body, and a soul,[209] equally.[210] Of these two elements, the parents transmit the body from the material sediment, but not the breath of the living soul,[211] because the catholic faith insists that human souls are created directly by God.[212] Yet these two principles are so intimately united that they serve as the basis of comparison for the perfect union of the divine and human in Christ.[213] Whence the unity which is man is described as a body animated by a rational and intellectual soul,[214] which is single and unique, because man has not many, but only one soul, and that rational and intellectual,[215] which alone is truly, of itself, and essentially the form of the human body,[216] without the aid of any intermediary.[217]

208 Cnl. of Chalcedon, *Creed* (DR 148; DS 301).

209 Cnl. of Toledo XV, *Declaration on the Trinity and the Incarnation* (DR 295; DS 567).

210 Lateran Cnl. IV, *Chapter I 'The catholic faith'* (Dr 428; DS 800).

211 St. Anastasius II, *Letter to the bps. Of Gaul,* 23.8.498 (DR 170; DS 360).

212 Pius XII, *Humani generis* 575. For an explanation of this truth which guards against the potentially dualistic appearance of the terminology consult Schoonenberg P. SJ, *Gods wordende wereld* 35, 49-50; Smulders P. SJ, *Visioen van Teilhard de Chardin* 110-19.

213 *Creed 'Quicumque'* (DR 40; DS 76).

214 Cnl. of Ephesus, *Second letter of St. Cyril to Nestorius* (DR 111a; DS 250); Cnl. of Constantinople IV, *Session X* canon 11 (DR. 338; DS 657).

215 Cnl. of Constantinople IV, *Session X* canon 11 (DR. 338; DS 657).

216 Lateran Cnl. V, *Session VIII* (DR 738; DS 1440). See also Cnl. of Vienne, *Constitution 'Fidei catholicae'* (DR 480; DS 900).

217 Pius IX, *Letter to Card. de Geissel,* 15.6.1857, in *Acta Pii IX* I-II, 587; *Letter to Bp. Forester,* 1860, in Katschthaler Card. J., *Theologia dogmatica catholica specialis* (Ratisbonae 1877) I, 422.

This final definition of the Councils of Vienne and Trent completed by Pope Pius IX is aimed solely against the theory that the intellectual soul is the form of the body by means of the sensitive element, or through the activity of some agency extraneous to itself, and not by its own substance directly.[218] It is not incompatible, therefore, with the strict hylomorphism of Saint Thomas, or the "form of bodiliness" of the Subtle Doctor, with the inferior forms subsisting in composite beings taught by Saint Albert, or the atomistic theory advocated by Tongiorgi and Palmieri.[219]

218 Janssens L. OSB, *Summa theologica* (Romae 1918) VII-I, 175; Mulders A., *Wat leerde het Concilie van Vienne omtrent de menschlijke ziel?,* in *NKS* 25 (1925) 236-38. See also Holy Roman Inquisition, *Decree condemning propositions from the works recently edited under name of Anthony Rosmini-Serbati,* 14.12.1887, n.22 24 (DR 1912. 1924; DS 3222, 3224); Provincial Cnl. of Vienna 1858, *Title I* c.14 (M 47, 779).

219 Pius IX, *Letter of Mgr. Czacki to Mgr. Hautcoeur in the name of Pope Pius IX,* 5.6.1877, in Zigliara T. OP, *De mente Concilii Viennensis in defendendo dogmate unionis animae humanae cum corpore* (Romae 1878) 192-93; Janssens L. OSB, *Summa theologica* VII-I, 175-76; Mulders A., *Wat leerde het Concilie van Vienne?* 233; Vacant J., *Etudes théologiques sur les constitutions du Concile du Vatican* (Paris 1895) I, 256.

When we turn to modern catholic thinkers, we find that even the minimum of dualism remaining in the hellenistic modes of expression as purified by the Church's definitions has vanished. A strict unity of the human person, similar to that of the Hebrews,[220] is emphasized by the assertion that man has not got a body but is a body, does not possess a soul but is a soul.[221] For, prescinding from the body, the human person in this world neither is nor is able to do anything: not even the heights of the mystical life can be experienced unless they begin with the body, develop in the body, and are expressed by the body on the one hand, and on the other, no physical activity however insignificant is performed without the single vital energy of the whole person being involved; indeed even the supernatural life is given and nourished sacramentally.[222]

220 Hulsbosch A. OESA, *Schepping Gods* 58.

221 A fuller indication of how this way of thinking and writing is used by modern catholic authors can be found in Schoonenberg P. SJ, *Gods wordende wereld* 42; Troisfontaines R. SJ, *De l'existence à l'être, la philosophie de Gabriel Marcel* (Namur 1953) I, 173-86; *Je ne meurs pas* (Bruxelles 1960) 60-66. It is further used in the discussion of ancient Hebrew thought by Renckens H. SJ, *Eeuwige mens in zijn oudtestamentische gestalte* 64.

222 Pius XII, *Address to the Roman nobility,* 5.1.41, in *DRM* 2 (1940-41) 364; Vonier A. OSB, *Human soul,* in *Collected works of Abbot Vonier* (London 1953) III, 48).

This whole tradition, biblical, dogmatic, and philosophico-theological is succinctly drawn into one paragraph by Schoonenberg when he writes:[223]

223 Schoonenberg P. SJ, *Geloof van ons doopsel* I, 157: "Dezelfde ziel immers die geest is, is tevens de wezensvorm die met de 'materia prima' intrinsiek element is van het lichaam, als sensitief en vegetatief is zij erin opgenomen, maar een en dezelfde ziel is intellectief, sensitief, en vegetatief. Daarmee is het mensenlichaam echter ook in zijn lichamelijkheid zelf verschillend van dat der dieren, want het is juist lichaam door een ziel dies tevens geest is. De sensitiviteit of het psychische zijn daarmee opgenomen in het geestesleven van de mens als aanzet en uitdrukking. Er is een menselijk waarnemen, begeren of afweren, een menselijk uitdrukken dat eigen vormen heeft als de glimlach, een voortbrengen van geluidstekens dat taal is."

> The same soul which is indeed spirit, is simultaneously the essential form which together with the primary matter is an intrinsic element of the body. As spiritual or intellectual the soul transcends the body, as sensitive and vegetive it is included in it, but one and the same soul is intellectual, sensitive, and vegetive. For this reason the human body even in its corporeity differs from that of the animal, because it is a body precisely in virtue of a soul which is at the same time spirit. The sensitive or the psychic together with this body is caught up into the spiritual life of man as stimulus and expression. There is a peculiarly human way of perceiving, of desiring or recoiling from; peculiarly human expressions, which are unique, like smiling; and peculiarly human productions of vocal sounds which are language.

4. The Hereditary Constitution and the Whole Man

Granted then that the soul of itself is the true, immediate, and essential form of the body, it is necessary to proceed further and enquire if and how the hereditary corporeal constitution of the body which it informs, imparts some particular stamp to the whole person.

Pope Pius XII has already expressly given a response to the first part of the question by affirming that the hereditary constitution does determine the whole human composite and influence its psychic operations. According to the Pope it can no longer be held that the rational soul informs a primary matter which is entirely undetermined, as if all characteristics of the resulting person were entirely the product of the rational soul created directly by God, without any influence on the part of the genetic constitution. Philosophical reflection in the sphere of psychology must remain rooted in reality.[224]

224 Pius XII, *Address to the Symposium on Medical Genetics* 7.9.53, 603.

For the answer to the second part of the question, we shall turn to the perennial philosophy. All the scholastic doctors agree that human souls differ from each other, though each pursues his own line of thought.[225] In the interests of clarity and brevity it seems advisable to follow the Angelic Doctor's explanation about how the hereditary bodily constitution plays its part in the production.

225 Marcos V. OMI, *De animarum humanarum inaequalitate,* in *Angelicum* 9 (1932) 452.

Saint Thomas gives the key to his solution in one sentence: "The difference which exists in souls of the same species must be reduced to a diversity in their matter,"[226] because in the matter there is an undeterminedness to be determined by the form, that is the soul, which is the reason for the common character of the species which the particular being possesses; and, likewise, in this form which determines the matter there is a certain indeterminateness which has to be determined by the peculiar quality of the matter, which is the reason for the individual diversity of things of the same kind.[227]

226 St. Thomas, *II Sent*. d.32 q.2 ad 3 (II, 840): "Oportet quod diversitas quae est in animabus eiusdem speciei, in diversitatem materiae reducatur." See also *II Sent*. d.17 q.2 a.2 in corp. (II 432); *S. theol*. I q.85 a.7 in corp. (174b); III q.69 a.8 ad 3 (417b).

227 St. Thomas, *II Sent*. d.32 q.2 a.3 in corp. and ad 6 (II, 839-40); *S. theol.* I q.85 a.7 ad 3 (417b).

Since whatever is received by something is received according to the character and capacity of the receiver,[228] it follows that the material principle, or the body, in receiving the soul, the spiritual principle, receives it according to its own character and capacity. Hence in the substantial order the peculiar qualities of the body determine the characteristics of the soul. It must be remembered all the time in this discussion that neither body nor soul exist as concrete human entities before the actual existence of the individual person of whom they are the constitutive correlative ontic principles.[229] In other words, we are here talking metaphysically.

228 St. Thomas, *S. theol.* I q.75 a.5 in corp. (347a).

229 Steenberghen F. van, *Ontologie* 97-99.

It follows, therefore, that although, as has been said above, souls are the substantial form of the individuals on whom they confer the common character of the species, there is in each one something not merely accidental which is not common to the others, namely, that which makes it the correlative principle of being of the particular body, in union with which it constitutes this particular, individual human person.[230] Thus the human soul, which brings substantial and specific being to the whole composite, has an essential relation to its own body, so that the soul, which united to this body constitutes this person, could not inform and perfect another body.[231] This relationship is indeed something accidental to the soul insofar as it is the form conferring the common character of species; it is not accidental, however, in its role as the correlative principle of being of this individual, because what constitutes the very being of any individual must be something substantial.

230 St. Thomas, *I Sent.* d.8 q.5 a.2 ad 6 (I, 231-2); *II Sent.* d.32 q.2 a.3 in corp. (II, 839).

231 St. Thomas, *II Sent.* d.17 q.2 a.2 in corp. (II, 432).

Since the soul is one of the constitutive correlative principles of the being of the individual,[232] it must be proportioned to the body as it is at the moment of receiving the soul. Because it is an incorruptible and substantially unchangeable reality, the soul retains this configuration not only in this earthly life, but also, having been temporally disassociated from the body in death, each soul retains the stamp of its body with all its affections and dispositions, since this still remains for it its correlative principle of being.[233] Now everything which the person receives from heredity is contained in the matter to be informed as it is at the moment of the union of body and soul by which the person comes into being. Hence the characteristics which the soul receives on account of its body are those inherent in the matter posited by the parents.

232 St. Thomas, *S. theol.* I q.76 a.6 in corp. And ad 1 (359b).

233 St. Thomas, *I Sent.* d.8 q.5 a.2 ad 6 (I, 231-32).

Since, however, the matter is receptive of the soul, and therefore not of itself active in the union, the moulding of the soul to inherent dispositions of the matter it informs cannot come from the matter itself. It can come only from God,[234] Who as we have seen creates each soul directly without the aid of any intermediary. The matter, therefore, with its hereditary dispositions presents to God the occasion for creating this particular soul with its apposite determinations.[235]

234 St. Thomas, *S. contra gent.* II c.75 (175b); *S. theol.* I q.118 a.2 ad 3 (548b).

235 Marcos V. OMI, *De animarum humanarum inaequalitate* 462; Vonier A. OSB, *Human soul* 38.

Going on now to consider the actions of these human persons, whose ontic structure has just been discussed, it is useful to give the gist of the argument by means of another text from Saint Thomas: "All the powers of the soul, whether their subject be the soul itself, or the whole human composite, flow from the essence of the soul, as from their source."[236] This is only natural, because, as we have seen, in the Angelic Doctor's hylomorphic system the soul is the active partner in the combination. In as much, therefore, as souls differ because of the bodies they inform, to the same extent their faculties[237] will differ in their intrinsic constitution, and not merely in their operations. This difference is innate, not acquired. Wherefore, because the actions of any being are necessarily in conformity with its nature and individual characteristics,[238] the operations of these faculties will be determined by the inherent characteristics of the faculties, and not merely by the dispositions of the physical organs through which they operate.[239]

236 St. Thomas, *S. theol.* I q.77 a.6 in corp. (677a): "omnes potentiae animae, sive subiectum earum sit anima sola, sive compositum, fluunt ab essentia animae, sicut a principio."

237 For a brief account of St. Thomas' doctrine concerning the faculties of the soul confer Copleston F. SJ, *History of philosophy* II, 376-78.

238 St. Thomas, *S. theol.* I q.4 a.3 in corp. 23a.

239 Marcos V. OMI, *De animarum humanarum inaequalitate* 466-67; Vonier A. OSB, *Human soul* 38.

It follows then that inasmuch as people have bodies of similar or differing hereditary complexion, their souls will have similarities and differences, which in turn will transmit their tonality to the faculties, whose operations will likewise be tinged with similarity and difference.

According, therefore, as members of a particular human group possess similarities of genotype, or physical constitution arising from heredity, to the same degree their souls will be of similar configuration. On the other hand, insofar as the genetic complex of members of a particular group differs from that of another group, their souls in their being, powers, and operation of their faculties will differ. This would appear at least to be one possible way of explaining Pope Pius XII's assertion that what is said of direct individual heredity can be applied in a modified sense to groups constituted by less immediate heredity.[240] Those who do not accept these conclusions[241] seem to reason as follows. That which is immediately created by God has no structure, but is a simple substance. The human soul is created directly by God. Therefore the human soul has no structure, but is a simple substance. Hence the human soul cannot undergo any influence on the part of hereditary factors since this implies that the soul is structured. It suffices, however, to consider how the whole of earthly creation is structured and organized for the principle on which this reasoning is based to be rather doubtful. Also, as has been indicated, it is necessary not to interpret this direct creation by God in an oversimplified and dualistic sense.[242]And in any case the beginning of this article,[243] it is impossible in the light of modern research to deny outright all hereditary influence on the character of individuals.[244]

240 Pius XII, *Address to the International Society for Blood Transfusion,* 5.9.58, in *AAS* 50 (1958) 731.

241 Schmidt W. SVD, *Rasse und Volk* 15.

242 Schoonenberg P. SJ, *Gods wordende wereld* 35. 49-50; Smulders P. SJ, *Visioen van Teilhard de Chardin* 110-19.

243 Pius XII, *Address to the Symposium on Medical Genetics,* 7.9.53, 603.

244 Waesberghe H. van SJ, *Nederlands rassenboek* 513-14.

5. Human History

Before we draw these preparatory observations to a close, it will be useful to add a few points culled from the theology of history, which will shed light on some of the later exposition, since the matters with which we are dealing, namely race and culture, are not fixed and static phenomena, but rather human entities in a constant state of flux. They cannot therefore be divorced from the context of the passage of time.

Neither scholastic theology, more concerned with the structure of things than their evolution, nor the subsequent rationalism and individualism, developed under a theology of history. So it is that only in recent times, under the impetus of contemporary modes of thought, has the present historical movement in theology commenced. Naturally it has not yet come to the point of producing a definitive and complete system of doctrine. Nevertheless some points of view have been elaborated which will help to throw light on our problem.

It has been a truth traditionally taught in the Church that God by His universal power and according to His divine providence rules all things,[245] including rational creatures,[246] and that without intermediary,[247] yet in such a way as not to exclude the contingency of things,[248] free will,[249] things taken individually,[250] or secondary causes.[251] More frequently this same absolute causality has been applied also to the course of human events,[252] as was done previously in patristic times.[253]

245 St. Thomas, *S. contra gent.* III c.64 (289-91a); *S. theol.* I q.22 a.2; q.103 a.7 in corp. (121a. 484b).

246 St. Thomas, *S. contra gent.* III c.111 (355a).

247 St. Thomas, *S. contra gent.* III c.76 (306a-08a); *S theol.* I q.22 a.3 in corp. (122b).

248 St. Thomas, *S. contra gent.* III c.72 (301b-02b); *S. theol.* I q.22 a.4 in corp. (123a-b).

249 St. Thomas, *S contra gent.* III c.73 (302b-03b).

250 St. Thomas, *S contra gent.* III c.75 113 (304a-06a. 357a-58a); *S. theol.* I q.22 a.2 in corp. (121a).

251 St. Thomas, *S. contra gent.* III c.77 (308a-b); *S. theol.* I q.22 a.3 ad 2 (122b).

252 Pius XI, *Address to the consistory,* 20.12.26, in *Actes* 3 (1925-26) 297; Pius XII, *Summi pontificatus* 428; John XXIII, *Broadcast message,* 11.9.62. 681; Bea Card. A., *Address,* 1.4.63, in *DC* 60 (1963) 732; Pieri Bp. F., *Pastoral,* 15.2.61., in *Lettere pastorali 1961* (Cittadella 1961) 1730; Bovis A. de SJ, *Philosophie ou théologie de l'histoire?* In *NRT* 81 (1951 458; Feret H., *Apocalypse de Saint Jean, vision chrétienne de l'histoire* (Paris 1943) 327-28; Flick M. SJ, and Alszeghy Z. SJ, *Teologia della storia,* in *Gregorianum* 35 (1954) 276. 294; Thils G., *Theologie des realites terrestres* II, 69. 103.

253 St. Augustine, *De civitate Dei* V. c.11 (Cchr. 47, 141-42).

Hence, according to Cardinal Van Roey, our faith teaches us that God so governs the universe, mankind, and every single human affair, that nothing whatsoever escapes His divine providence. The course of history must not be seen as chaotic, but as regally well-ordered and upheld in the hands of the infinitely intelligent Cause. Despite the partial calamities and momentary upheavals human history has been endowed with a splendid goal.[254] The Ruler of the flow of events is not some impersonal fate which neither knows nor cares, but the personal God Who in the power of His infinite love directs all things wholly and completely.[255] "Bold is His sweep from world's end to world's end, and everywhere His gracious ordering manifests itself."[256] He orders indeed not only the general lines of history, but also the vicissitude of each single people, nation, and group.[257]

254 Roey Card. J. van, *Address,* Aug. 1937, in *In den dienst van de Kerk, leerstellige en herderlijke geschriften en toespraken* (Turnhout 193f) II, 222-24.

255 Pius XI, *Mit brennender Sorge,* in *AAS* 29 (1937) 148; Schmaus M., *Vom Wesen des Christentums* 142.

256 Wis. 8, 1.

257 John XXIII, *Broadcast message,* 11.9.63, 683; Hier. South Africa, *Pastoral,* 2.2.60 (Pretoria 1960) 3; Hier. USA, *Declaration,* 11.11.43, in *Our bishops speak* (Milwaukee 1952) 119.

There is no lack of catholic thinkers who, in virtue of the doctrine of His absolute and universal Kingship, vindicate to the Incarnate Word, the historical Christ, the governance of the times and seasons of mankind;[258] for to Him "all power is given . . . in heaven and in earth."[259]

258 Bovis A. de SJ, *Philosophie ou théologie de l'histoire?* 451; Haering B. CSSR, *Macht und Ohnmacht* 47; Joaquin de Encina OFM Cap, *Visión cristocéntrica del hombre,* in *Naturalezza y gracia* 5 (1958) 47- 48; Schmaus M., *Vom Wesen des Christentums* 83. 145; Thils G., *Theologie des realites terrestres* I, 158.

259 Mat. 28, 18.

Because he alone is the true and absolute Lord of ages, "Jesus Christ is not only the stable support of mankind in its social and historical life,"[260] but is also the pilot standing at the helm, having every creature as His instrument, every event and happening serving His will.[261] At the conclusion of this earthly creation therefore, He alone is the Lamb, apt and worthy to open the book, by which the whole course of history will be drawn to its close and have its meaning made clear.[262]

260 Pius XII, *Broadcast message,* 24.12.55, in *AAS* (1956) 35: "Gesu Cristo non e soltanto il saldo sostegno della umanita nella vita sociale e storica."

261 Schmaus M., *Vom Wesen des Christentums* 83.

262 Apoc. 5, 6-7.

The history of the world and the history of salvation starting from the same initial point of man's creation, and running together the course of mankind's duration, reach out towards the same final consummation. Yet it does not follow from this that they can be identified with one another, since each has its own significance and value.[263] They are none the less closely interconnected, because mundane history serves the cause of the history of salvation, which is the growth of the Mystical Body of Christ, according to the words of Pope John XXIII:[264]

263 Danielou S. SJ, *Essai sur le mystère de l'histoire* (Paris 1953) 21; Flick M. SJ, and Alszeghy Z. SJ, *Teologia della storia* 288-89. 292; Schmaus M., *Vom Wesen des Christentums* 205.

264 John XXIII, *Address to Vatican Cnl. II,* 11.10.62, in *AAS* 54 (1962) 789: "In praesenti humanorum eventuum cursu, quo hominum societas novum rerum ordinem ingredi videtur, potius arcana Divinae Providentiae consilia agnoscenda sunt, quae per tempora succedentia, hominum opera, ac plerumque praeter eorum exspectationem, suum exitum consequuntur, atque omnia, adversos etiam humanos casus, in Ecclesiae bonum sapienter disponunt."

> In the present course of human events, in which human society appears to be entering a new order of things, above all the mysterious workings of divine providence must be acknowledged, which, through successive eras, and the works of men, though often beyond their expectations, achieve their ends, and wisely arrange all things, even human misfortunes and calamities, for the good of the Church.

From this it follows that the whole course of this world is disposed in Christ, by Christ, and for the sake of Christ, the Word made Man, to Whom the whole of mankind is intimately related as its Head.

Hence men, in all their physical and spiritual relations, plus the whole of material creation of which they form an integral aspect,[265] are predestined, by a spiritualizing and divinizing transformation,[266] to be made partakers of the New Jerusalem, in which, by new and incorruptible bodies, a new earth and a new heaven will be created as a dwelling place for man.[267]

265 Rabbitte E. OFM, *Cosmology for all* (Cork 1956) 110-21; Smulders P. SJ, *Visioen van Teilhard de Chardin* 110-19.

266 Huby J. SJ, *Saint Paul, epître aux Romains* 297-98; Joaquin de Encimas OFMCap, *Visión cristocéntrica del hombre* 79; Optatus OFMCap, *Theologie der geschiedenis in het algemeen,* in *Katholiek archief* 8, 14-15 (3 and 10.4.53) 271; Schmaus M., *Vom Wesen des Christentums* 213; Thils G., *Theologie des realites terrestres* I, 84-89. 120-21.

267 St. Isidore, *De ordine creaturarum liber* c.11 n.6 (PL 83, 943).

A final refinement may be added to this. In the post-Ascension period both the Church as a whole, and each of its members singly, are conserved and grow in the supernatural life, and are led on towards their eternal end by the nourishing and strengthening of the Holy Spirit.[268] This sanctifying influence of the Holy Spirit is not confined, however, to the accomplished messianic Kingdom, but was operative also during the long ages of preparation stretching back to the beginning of mankind.[269] So likewise it is to the impulse of the same Spirit that the evolution of human history is attributed by some.[270] For this history, like the growth of the Christian community and its progressive sanctification, is oriented towards the age of the measure of the fullness of Christ, which is the purpose of the external mission of the Spirit. It is precisely because He in fact does direct the course of ages that the aphorism of Cardinal de Faulhaber is verified: "The voice of the time, is the voice of God."[271]

268 St. Irenaeus, *Contra haereses* IV c.83 n.3 (PG 7, 1108).

269 Leo XIII, *Divinum illud* (DS 3329); Manning Card. H., *Temporal mission of the Holy Ghost, our reason and revelation,* 3 ed. (London 1877) 53-54.

270 Haering B. CSSR, *Macht und Ohnmacht* 330; Thils G., *Theologie des realites terrestres* II, 66-67.

271 Faulhaber Card. M. de, *Zeitrufe, Gottesrufe* (Freiburg im Breisgau 1932).

God has indeed

> made, of one single stock, all the nations that were to dwell over the whole face of the earth. And He has given to each the cycles it was to pass through and fixed the limits of its habitation, leaving them to search for God; would they somehow grope their way towards Him? would they find Him? And yet, after all He is not far from any one of us; it is in Him that we live, and move, and have our being . . . For indeed we are His children.[272]

272 Acts 17, 26-28.

Therefore, to borrow the words of Saint Gregory of Nyssa,[273]

273 St. Gregory of Nyssa, *De anima et resurrectione dialogus* (PG 46, 106): "frustra vos afflictatis et excruciatis atque offendimini et angimini serie necessariae rerum vicissitudinis et consequentiae, ignorantes ad quodnam propositum atque consilium singulatim res quaeque referantur, quae in universitate administrantur, quoniam oportet omnia ordine ac vicissitudine quadam secundum artificiosam creatoris et auctoris sapientiam divinae conciliari atque coniungi naturae."

> In vain are you anxious and torment yourselves, in vain are you taken unawares and distressed by the chain of the necessary vicissitudes and consequences of things, not knowing to what

plan or purpose individual things are related; because all things, by methodical arrangement and by change, according to the skillful wisdom of their Creator and Author, are to be brought together and united with the divine nature.

Chapter 4. The Officially Condemned Fallacies of Racism

Unhappily all do not accept this Christian vision of the universe, according to which mankind, intimately one, is directed by the Holy Spirit towards the filling up of the measure of the age of the fullness of Christ to the glory of the Father, so that the personal and transcendent Trinity may be glorified both in individuals and in particular groups, as well as in mankind as a whole, by the realizing of the latent possibilities of development embodied in the structure of the universe by Him Who created it. It is not surprising then that at one time or another erroneous teachings should have made their appearance, combatting one or more of the aforesaid truths which go to make up the Christian vision of the world. Rather than by an outright rejection of the truth, these fallacies have generally produced a distorted picture of reality by exaggerating one element out of due proportion, and consequently underplaying other factors. With regard to our particular material these distorted visions are known collectively by the name "racism." All the preparatory stages having already been completed there would seem to be no better way to commence our theological reflection than by clearing the ground of erroneous notions about race, insofar as these have been officially rejected by the Church. This will serve the double purpose of delimiting and highlighting the ideas which are definitely irreconcilable with Christianity, and at the same time indicating by contrast some of the positive tenets about race which are compatible with the truth, in preparation for the subsequent detailed study of these in later chapters.

1. The Instruction

In order to avoid losing sight of the general context of the discussion in the course of the detailed analysis of particular points, it will be useful at the start to outline what in general is meant by the term "racism." Racism is a vision of the world in which there is an exaggerated division of mankind into distinct races, which are then treated as if they were the central and predominant factor in social life and human history. The consequence of this unbalance is that those who belong to a particular ethnic group are considered bound to regard the vigour and values of their race as the primordial perfection, deserving of their love and sacrifice before all things. Hence they are expected to protect these characteristics with devotion and resolution, giving them concrete expression in the social and political structure of their society, whatever the cost.[274] Further, racism, whether it be Hegelian and pantheistic, or materialistic, whether it be positivistic, or arising from the exaggerated collectivism of our times,[275] or yet that found among Christians which has been mentioned in the first chapter, is always vitiated in practice by a threefold error: one race is proposed as being naturally superior to others, the members of which should be subservient to their superiors; race is exalted as the fountain-head and cause of rights more potent than any other source; and the state is considered to be the incarnation and organ of the race.[276]

274 Coulet P., *Catholicisme dans le monde en proie aux faux dieux II* (Paris 1937) 57; Gregoire F., *Wat is het racisme?,* in *Racisme, universitaire bijdrage tot het rassenvraagstuk* (Leuven 1939) 9; Guardini R., *Chrétien devant le racisme* 36; Orban M., *Nouvelle idole, l'etat raciste et totalitaire* in *Collatuines diocesis Tornacensis* 34 (1939) 2; Wey A. van der Ocarm, *Ideologische ondergrond en uitbouw van het national- socialisme,* in *Kultuurleven* 9 (1938) 436.

275 Hildebrand D. von, *Mythe des races,* in *Archives de philosophie du droit et de sociologie juridique* 7 (1937) 128; Solzbacher W., *Rome en afgoden van onzen tijd, Pius XI als vergediger der menschlijke persoonlijkgeid,* tr. B. Hollants (Voorhout 194C) 133.

276 Tansill C., *Racial theories in Germany from Herder to Hitler,* in *Thought* 15 (1940) 453-68.

As is clear from this brief outline, such a concept as this cannot be reconciled with the Christian religion,[277] as Pope Pius XI has succinctly stated in denouncing "the myth of blood and race."[278] This official condemnation and rejection of the fallacies of racism contained in the encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge* of 1937, was reiterated in epitomized form on 13th April 1938 in the *Instruction on the errors of racism* published by the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities, of which the Pope himself had been prefect since the death of Cardinal Bisleti in September 1937. This document, of which the full text is given below, signed by Ernest, now Cardinal, Ruffini in his capacity as secretary to the Congregation, was circulated to many rectors of institutes of higher learning all over the world.

277 Pius XII, *Address to the Congress of Gymnastics and Sports,* 8.11.52, in *AAS* 44 (1952) 871; Hier. Germany, *Pastoral,* 19.8.38, in Hofmann K., *Zeugnis und Kampf des deutschen Episkopats, gemeinsame Hirtenbriefe und Denkschriffen 1933-45* (Freiburg im Breisgau 1946) 62; Gfoellner Bp. J., *Pastoral,* 23.1.33, in *SZuk* 8 (1932-33) 431b; Gonçalves-Cerejeira Card. M., *Address,* 18.11.38, in *Obras pastorais* (Lisboa 1943) II, 146; Kakowski Card. A., *Pastoral,* 11.8.38, in *Wiadomosci archidiecezjalne Warzawskie* 28 (1938) 355; Rummel Abp. J., *Pastoral,* Oct 1958, in *American* 100 (1958) 97.

278 Pius XI, *Mit brennender Sorge* 151: "Mythus von Blut und Rasse."

Instruction on the Errors of Racism:[279]

279 *Actes* 18 (1938-39) 86-88: Instructio de Racismi Erroribus In Nativitatis Domini Nostri pervigilio, proxime elapso anno, augustus Pontifex, feliciter regnans, ad Eminentissimos purpuratos patres et ad Romanae Curiae praelatos de gravi, qua catholica Ecclesia in Germania afficitur insectatione, ut omnes norunt, moerens allocutus est. Id vero

Beatissimi Patris quam maxime opprimit animum quod ad tantam iniustitiam excusandam impudentes interponunt calumnias atque doctrinas perniciosissimas, falsi nominis scientia fucatas, longe lateque spargentes et mentes pervertere et veram religionem eradicare conantur. Quae cum ita sint Sacra haec Congregatio Studiorum Universitates Facultatesque catholicas admonet ut omnem suam curam atque operam ad veritatem contra grassantes errores defendendam conferant. Itaque magistri, pro viribus, e biologia, historia, philosophia, apologetica et disciplinis iuridico-moralibus arma sedulo mutuent ut praeabsurda quae sequuntur dogmata valide sciteque refellant: 1. Stirpes humanae indole sua, nativa et immutabili, adeo inter se differunt ut infima ipsarum magis distet a suprema hominum stirpe quam a suprema specie brutorum. 2. Stirpis vigor et sanguinis puritas qualibet ratione conservanda et fovenda sunt; quidquid autem ad hunc finem ducit eo ipso honestum licitumque est. 3. Ex sanguine, quo indoles stirpis continetur, omnes qualitates intellectuales et morales hominis, veluti a potissimo fonte, effluunt. 4. Finis praecipuus educationis est indolem stirpis excolere atque animum flagranti amore propriae stirpis, tamquam summi boni, inflammare. 5. Religio legi stirpis subest eique aptanda est. 6. Fons primus et summa regula universi ordinis iuridici est instinctus stirpis. 7. Non existit nisi *Kosmos,* seu Universum, Ens Vivum; res omnes, cum ipso homine, nihil aliud sunt quam formae, per longas aetates succrescentes, *Universi viventis.* 8. Singuli homines non sunt nisi per 'Statum' et propter 'Statum'; quidquid iuris ad eos pertinet ex Status concessione unice derivatur. Quisquis autem his infensissimis placitis alia facile adiicere poterit. Sanctissimus Dominus Noster, huius S.C. Praefectus pro certo habet Te, Excellentissime Domine, nihil intentatum relicturum ut quod a Sacra Congregatione praesentibus litteris praecipitur, ad effectum plene adducatur.

Last Christmas Eve the Pope spoke with great sadness to the cardinals and prelates of the Roman Curia about the serious persecution which the catholic Church in Germany is suffering, as you well know.

But what above all depresses the Holy Father is that to justify this injustice they shamelessly propose falsehoods and baneful teachings, disguised and decorated by what is falsely called science, which they have widely diffused, in the attempt to mislead the minds of men and eradicate the true religion. Since things have come to such a pass, this Sacred Congregation urges all universities and catholic faculties to spare no pains and effort to defend the truth against these prevailing errors. All teachers, therefore, are exhorted zealously, and to the utmost of their ability to lay hold on the weapons provided by biology, history, philosophy, apologetics, and the juridico-moral sciences, so that they may adroitly and effectively refute the following absurd tenets:

1. Human races, by their innate and immutable character, differ so greatly from each other, that the lowest of them is further removed from the highest race of men than from the highest species of animals. 2. The vigour of the race and the purity of its blood are to be preserved and fostered by every possible means; whatever, therefore, contributes to this end is, for that reason, good and licit. 3. All the intellectual and moral qualities of man flow from the blood, in which the characteristics of the race are contained, as from their principal source. 4. The primary end of education is the cultivation of the racial character and the enkindling of a burning love for one's own race as the highest good. 5. Religion is subject to the law of the race and must be adapted to it. 6. The instinct of the race is the primary source and supreme norm of the whole juridical system. 7. Nothing exists besides the *Cosmos,* or the Whole, which is a living reality; all things, including man himself, are merely various forms emanating from the *living Whole* through long ages. 8. Individual men do not exist except in virtue of the state and for the sake of the state; any rights enjoyed come to them solely as a concession from the state.

It is by no means difficult to add yet others to these destructive opinions. The Prefect of this Sacred Congregation, our Holy Father the Pope, is confident that you will leave no stone unturned to execute fully what has been enjoined by this letter.

2. General Observations on the Instruction

As will probably be observed, this instruction is not addressed expressly to theologians as theologians, but at most in their capacity as apologists. It was intended primarily to stir up apologetical activity, or in other words, to enroll the resources of reason and positive investigation in the service and defense of Christian truth. Nevertheless, as the instruction itself indicates in the preamble, these errors were being propagated with the intention of eradicating true religion. Their interest to the theologian, who by profession is the scientific exponent of the truths of religion, cannot therefore be underestimated, especially as every one of the propositions listed hits at the delicately poised complexus which is Christian truth. In addition, as has been mentioned, this instruction is an epitome of the encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge,* which is a doctrinal document of no small import, and deserving of greater attention than it has received in the post-war period.

When the question as to the weight of the doctrinal authority of this instruction is posed, there seems on the surface to be a lack of unanimity among catholic writers. Not a few expressly maintain that it is truly and properly speaking a doctrinal condemnation,[280] which in the form of a syllabus[281] censures certain heresies,[282] absurd tenets and baneful theories.[283] Others, however, appear to temper this judgement somewhat. De la Briere, on the one hand, asserts that these errors had already been categorically condemned with greater authority in *Mit brennender Sorge* than in this instruction.[284] On the other hand, Rosa considers that, rather than a document of doctrinal decisions, it ought to be considered simply as an exhortation to scientific labours aimed at refuting the fallacies of racism, demonstrating the harmony between rational truth and the faith, and giving a sound intellectual formation to students.[285]

280 Maritain J., *Droit raciste et la vraie signification du racisme,* in *Droit raciste a l'assaut de la civilisation* (New York 1949) 101; Orban M., *Nouvelle idole* 2.

281 Guardini R., *Chrétien devant le racisme* 8; Pfiffig A. Opraem, *God of ras? Beschouwingen over den 'Rassensyllabus' van 13 April* 1938 (Averbode 1938).

282 Guardini R., *Chrétien devant le racisme* 8.

283 Verdier Card. J., *Letter,* 17.11.38, in *Eglise contre le racisme, une hérésie antiromaine, déclarations des Cardinaux-Archevêques de Malines Paris, Milan et du Patriarche de Lisbonne, van Roey, Verdier, Schuster, Cerejeira* (Paris 1938) 38.

284 La Brière Y de SJ, *Histoire religieuse du temps présent, racisme et nationalités,* in *Etudes* 235 (1938) 804.

285 Rosa E. SJ, *Tesi della S. Congregazione dei Seminari* (13 Aprile 1938), *razzismo,* in *Monitore ecclesiastico* 50 (1938) 177.

These difficulties, however, are more apparent than real. Rosa elsewhere without hesitation equates the contents of this document with the erroneous propositions of the *Syllabus* of Pope Pius IX and the decree *Lamentabili* issued under Pope Pius X.[286] De la Briere, likewise, considers that the instruction contains in concise form the fallacies already denounced by the Pope in the preceding encyclical.[287] If this is so, then the instruction must be considered as complementary to the encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge* on which it depends and which it epitomizes. Consequently it carries the same weight of authority, not indeed of itself but in virtue of the encyclical of which it is a summary. In practice this brings us back to the conclusion of the first group of authors mentioned above.

286 Rosa E. SJ, *Tesi della S. Congregazione* 177.

287 La Brière Y. de SJ, *Histoire religieuse* 804-05.

This opinion is supported by the fact that several of the propositions condemned had already, even prior to *Mit brennender Sorge,* been solemnly rejected by the Church, as will be seen in the course of the later detailed commentary. Also the preamble to the instruction quotes the words of the Pope from his previous Christmas message in which he termed these errors "baneful teachings,"[288] but which further went on to lament the "total apostasy from Christianity inherent in the racist doctrine of Hitler."[289] The prefixing of the above mentioned words of the Pope's to a syllabus issued by a congregation of which he himself was prefect, certainly highlights the importance of what follows.

288 Rosa E. SJ, *Tesi della S. Congregazione* 177: Speaking about the reason for the persecution of the Church in Germany, the Pope said, "che a scusare una così grande ingiustizia vengono interposte della calunnie e della dottrine perniciosissime, suffragate da una scienza di falso nome ed intese a confondere lo spirito ed a sradicare la vera religione con una larghissima diffusione."

289 Rosa E. SJ, *Tesi della S. Congregazione* 178: The Pope spoke about the "apostasia totale dal cristianesimo inerente alla dottrina del razzismo hitleriano." Although these words are missing in the official summary of the speech, they fit very well into the context.

Considered simply as an instruction of the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities this document does not enjoy the prerogative of infallibility.[290] Because of its intimate relation with *Mit brennender Sorge,* however, the doctrine expressed in it must carry the same weight as when originally propounded in the encyclical. Yet as the encyclical does not invoke the pope's personal infallible teaching authority, the doctrine it contains is due no more than that assent proper to official papal pronouncements in encyclical form.[291] Hence the contents of the instruction cannot claim the prerogative of infallibility under this heading either. There are, as mentioned above, some propositions which express equivalently errors previously solemnly condemned. These naturally carry the force of the Church's infallibility. It is probable, also, that all the condemnations contained in the instruction do in fact enjoy infallibility from their consonance with the ordinary and universal teaching of the bishops; though this, as in most other cases, is not so easy to prove positively and conclusively.

290 Because infallibility is a strictly personal and incommunicable privilege of the pope's, "ne gli esperti ai quali e confidato lo studio di particolari questioni oggetto di futura definizione, ne le Congregazioni Romane, neppure quelle che hanno come prefetto lo stesso Sommo Pontefice, sono infallibili". Betti U. OFM, *Costituzione dommatica 'Pastor aeternus' del Concilio Vaticano I* (Romae 1961) 633.

291 Gallati F. OP, *Wenn die Paepste sprechen, das ordentliche Lehramt des apostolischen Stuhles und die Zustimmung zu diessen Entscheidungen* (Wien 1960) 166-67. 172-72.

Before proceeding to an analysis of the individual propositions it may not be out of place to indicate some of the principles of interpretation to be borne in mind, and some of the traps of misunderstanding which must be avoided.

Naturally the contemporary commentators on this document had very much in the forefront of their minds the national socialism of Hitler, from which their writings acquired a definite tone.[292] Yet it should be noted that national socialism as such is not so much as mentioned in the instruction. While it is true, therefore, that every ecclesiastical condemnation is occasioned by some particular error, so that it cannot be fully understood and adequately interpreted except by references to the error in question in its concrete circumstances, yet it cannot be limited to that special moment in

history unless some person or school or system is specifically mentioned. Since this is not the case with our instruction of racism, it seems quite legitimate to treat of the propositions it contains in a context wider than the narrow confines of the fallacies of national socialism.

292 Saint Denis A., *Pie XI contre les idoles, bolchevisme, racisme, etatisme* (Paris 1939) 88-96 cites the texts from the writings of Hitler and Rosenberg relevant to each of the condemned propositions.

For the same reason one must stifle the inclination to poke into all the nooks and crannies of national socialism in order to ferret out misdemeanors to be dragged by the ears under one or other of the propositions as if in fact covered by it. This tendency to unduly extend the condemnations of the Church must be curbed according to the salutary adage of the canonists: in unfavourable provisions of the law to follow the most restricted interpretation.[293] The lengths to which this looking for trouble can lead are observable in Messineo's article *Ordine giuridico nella nuova Germania.*[294]

293 *Codex iuris canonici* canon 19.

294 Messineo A. SJ, *Ordine giuridico nella nuova Germania,* in *CC* 89, 3 (1938) 506-19.

The use of inflammatory language and exclamatory modes of expression are also to be avoided, as they disturb the balanced judgement of the mind. This defect mars the otherwise very useful articles by Mancini on racism.[295] It is above all necessary to carefully ponder the Church's words, before giving a prudent and moderate judgement, so that the truth as presented by the official teaching authority may shine forth unobscured either by excess or defect.

295 Mancini A. SS, *A proposito di razzismo,* in *Palestra del clero* 17, 2 (1938) 252-55; *Dacché siamo in tema di razzismo,* in *Palestra del clero* 17, 2 (1938) 178-82; *Del razzismo,* in *Palestra del clero,* 17, 2 (1938) 63-67.

The other danger to be avoided is that of giving undue emphasis to the contradictories of the excesses condemned, lest one should end up with the equally false propositions of the opposite extremity. This warning has been memorably phrased by Pope Pius XI as follows:[296]

296 Pius XI, *Divini Redemptoris,* in *AAS* 31 (1937) 82: "Haec doctrina (Ecclesiae) aequo itinere abhorret, cum ab errorum exitiis, tum ab immodicis politicarum partium, quae eosdem amplectuntur, conatibus earumdemque rationibus atque propositis; quandoquidem ut nullo non tempore rectam veritatis et iustitiae aequilibritatem profitetur." See also *Address to* CFTC, 18.9.38, in *Actes* 17 (1938) 158, where with reference to doctrinal interpretation the Pope extolled the principle "in medio stat virtus." It is worth while recalling in this regard Rosa's warning to note well that "trattandosi di proposizioni erronee, la verità apposta sara quella della tesi contraddittoria, non già per se, od in qualsiasi caso, della contraria. Questa infatti può essere, ed e spesse volte, ugualmente falsa, come insegnano i logici, perché non si oppone semplicemente all'errore che nega, come fa la contraddittoria ma trascorre all'altro estremo, che in 'eodem genere maxime distat'. E sebbene insegnamento elementare, si deve questo tanto più tenere presente, quanto più facilmente si puo dimenticare da sinceri ma troppo facili o impetuosi apologisti. In altre parole, bisogna con ogni diligenza avvertire che da un errore estremo non si trascorra all'estremo apposto, che può essere del pari erroneo e pernicioso." Rosa E. SJ, *Tesi della S. Congregazione* 179.

> This doctrine (of the Church's) is equally remote from all extremes of error, as well as all exaggerations, actions, theories and programmes of parties or systems which stem from error. It maintains at all times a strict balance of truth and justice.

Although the instruction under consideration is invaluable because it is the sole, precise document we have from the Holy See referring specifically to racism, yet the propositions it contains represent a rather extreme position. This, on the one hand, does show how exaggerated the deviations in racial matters have to be before the Holy See considers them officially censurable. On the other hand,

however, it diminishes the usefulness of this instruction as an instrument for settling actual difficulties stemming from somewhat less virulent roots. Little of the racism either before or after national socialism would subscribe to the first, fifth, seventh, and eighth propositions in their entirety; or to "every" and "whatsoever," in proposition two; "all" and "principal" in three; "primary" and "highest" in four; "primary" and "supreme" in six. To these other and milder systems, therefore, the condemnation can only be applied with the utmost caution. For example: a moderate assertion of racial superiority and inferiority is not excluded by rejecting the first proposition. A repudiation of number two does not involve the denial of the value or right of conserving the vigour of the race and the purity of its blood within the limits of the moral order. After roundly condemning the third proposition one would still be fully entitled to hold that racial factors have some influence upon intellectual and moral qualities. Nor does the rejection of number four exclude from the scope of education the cultivation of a balanced love of one's race as one among the many good things of creation with its proper place in the hierarchy of values. The dialogue between religion and culture, granting for the moment that race does influence this latter, remains licit even after one has condemned the fifth proposition. One is not even restricted to the point of holding that races are merely the occasion of rights, and not a proper cause of them, provided the exaggerations of number six are avoided. These milder tenets have not fallen under the hammer of this instruction, and bearing in mind the words quoted from Pope Pius XI in the preceding paragraph, we must be careful not to violate the truth by overzealous heresy-hunting.

It is now time to examine the individual propositions more closely in light of the documents of the official teaching authority of the Church and the writings of theologians. As has been mentioned, the exhortation in the instruction was primarily aimed at stimulating apologists. The order of the propositions, therefore, was determined by this consideration. For a systematic theological exposition, however, it seems better to vary this order. Proposition seven concerning pantheism, which is the basic philosophical presupposition of the doctrinaire racism of national socialism, at least in Germany and which therefore in the historical context of the instruction should be treated first, is better dealt with at the beginning also because it is not common to all forms of racism, and hence is most conveniently disposed of early. The exposition proper, therefore, really gets under way with proposition one regarding the inequality of races, since this is in fact an element common to all forms of racism, and the basis of an intelligent understanding of what follows, even though theoretically some of the other tenets could stand without it. The extent to which this racial inequality affects the individual, as stated in proposition three, seems logically to be the next item for consideration. Then, since the state is the incarnation and organ of the race by which it acts collectively, the eighth proposition must be examined, followed by the sixth which gives the general norm for the operation of the racial state. Finally, there are the particular applications of this norm to the conservation and development of the race, to education, and the religion, in propositions two, four, and five respectively.

3. The Seventh Proposition

> "Nothing exists besides the *Cosmos,* or the Whole, which is a Living Reality; all things, including man himself, are merely various forms emanating from the *living Whole* through long ages."

As is apparent, it is not something inherent in the nature of race as such which has given rise to all these excesses. It is rather the exaltation of race into some sort of absolute, crowned with the aura of religion, which has led to exaggerations endangering the very existence of authentic religion itself. Even before the appearance of the instruction this had been condemned in *Mit brennender Sorge* in no uncertain terms:[297]

297 Pius XI, *Mit brennender Sorge* 149: "Wer die Rasse, oder das Volk, oder den Staat, oder die Staatsform, die Traeger der Staatsgewalt oder andere Grundwerte menschlicher Gemeinschaftsgestaltung - die innerhalb der irdischen Ordnung einen wesentlichen und ehrengebietenden Platz behaupten - aus dieser ihrer irdischen Wertskala herausloest, sie zur hoechsten Norm aller, auch der religioesen Werte macht und sie mit Goetzenkult vergoettert, der verkehrt und faelscht die gottgeschaffene und gottbefohlene Ordnung der Dinge. Ein solcher ist weit von wahrem Gottesglauben und einer solchem Glauben entsprechenden Lebensauffassung entfernt."

> Whosoever exalts the race, or the people, or the particular form of state, or those who bear the government of the state, or any other fundamental value of human society - even though in the present order of things these have an essential honorable place - whosoever exalts these notions above the order of their temporal value, making them the ultimate norm of all, even of religious values, and deifies them with an idolatrous worship, distorts and perverts the order of the world created and commanded by God. Such a one is far from true belief in God, and from the conception of life corresponding to this true belief.

This apotheosis of race, as we have said, is not necessary to racism. It arose among some of the leading national socialist theorists, especially Hitler and Rosenberg, as a result of their philosophical background, which was that form of emanistic pantheism known as biologico-materialistic monism,[298] in the tradition of Fichte, Hegel, Schopenhauer, and Nietzsche.[299] In this system the hierarchy of values is entirely subverted: the spiritual is subjugated to the savage forces of the material, and the supernatural is non-existent. Since none but earthly, material factors are significant, it is not difficult to see how it could be deduced that biology, "blood," was the cause of all "spiritual" potentialities, so that the race, incarnating the hereditary constitution of a large group, would be the supreme value.[300] With one blow, the transcendence of a personal God and the liberty of the human person are abolished, and blind fate usurps the place of divine providence in the ordering of affairs.[301] This system had already twice been officially condemned by the highest teaching authority of the Church, namely, in the *Syllabus* of Pope Pius IX,[302] and in the constitution *Dei Filius* of the first Vatican Council.[303] In a striking text Pope Pius XI reiterated this rejection and confirmed the Christian belief opposed to it:[304]

298 Holy Office, *Decree condemning the book 'Die deutsche Nationalkirche' by E. Bergman,* 7.2.34, in *AAS* 26 (1934) 94; Piazza Card. A., *Address,* 6.1.39, in *OR* 79, 15 (19.1.39) 2; Verdier Card. J., *Letter,* 17.11.38, 37; Boelaars H. CSSR, *Rassisme en rassenkunde* 93; Hildebrand D. von, *Mythe des races* 128; Rosa E. SJ, *Tesi della S. Congregazione* 183; Scheiwiller O. OSB, *Rassenprinzip wird Schicksal, der philosophische Gesichtspunkt,* in *Schweizerische Rundschau* 38 (1938-39) 68; Wey A. van der OCarm, *Ideologische ondergrond en uitbouw* 459.

299 Bressolles A., *Pour la vraie croix,* in Bressolles A., *Racisme et christianisme* 197.

300 Boelaars H. CSSR, *Rassisme en rassenkunde* 94; Wey A. van der OCarm, *Ideologische ondergrond en uitbouw* 459.

301 Pius XI, *Mit brennender Sorge* 148; Cazzani Abp. G., *Pastoral,* Lent 1939, in Brocchieri E., *Scritti pastorali di S.E. Mons. Giovanni Cazzani* (Cremona 1952) 285-86; Goncalves-Cerejeira Card. M., *Address,* 18.11.38, 141; La Briere Y. de SJ, *Histoire religieuse* 808; Mancini A. SS, Del *razzismo* 66; Messineo A. SJ, *Ordine giuridico* 509; *Racialist religion,* in *Tablet* 172 (1938) 524; Schmaus M., *Vom Wesen des Christentums* 142-43.

302 Pius IX, *Syllabus* prop.1 (DR 1701; DS 2901).

303 Vatican Cnl. I, *Constitution 'Dei Filius'* c.1 and canons 1-5 (DR 1782-84. 1801-05; DS 3001-03. 3021- 25).

304 Pius XI, *Mit brennender Sorge* 148-49: "Wer in pantheistischer Verschwommenheit Gott mit dem Weltall gleichsetzt, Gott in der Welt verweltlicht und die Welt in Gott vergoetlicht, gehoert nicht zu den Gottglaeubigen… Unser Gott ist der persoenliche, uebermenschliche, allmaechtige, unendlich vollkommene Gott, einer in der Dreiheit der Personen, dreipersoenlich in der Einheit des goettlichen Wesens, der schoepfer alles Geschaffenen, der Herr und Koenig und letzte Vollender der Weltgeschichte, der keine Goetter neben sich duldet noch dulden kann. Dieser Gott hat in souveraener Fassung Seine Gebote gegeben. Sie gelten unabhaengig von Zeit und Raum, von Land und Rasse."

> He who, in pantheistic vagueness, equates God with the universe, materializing God into the world, and deifying the world into God, cannot be numbered among the true believers in God… Our God is the personal, superhuman, almighty, infinitely perfect God, one in the Trinity of persons, tripersonal in the oneness of the divine essence, the Creator of all creatures, the Lord and King in Whom the history of the world finds its final fulfilment, Who will not, and cannot tolerate a rival god at His side. This God in sovereign power has given His commandments, which apply regardless of time and space, of country or race.

As the Pope intimates in the above passage, it is the Christian doctrine of God in three persons which gives the coup de grace to pantheism,[305] because once and for all it makes monism of any type impossible. Yet this is equally true of the Christian view of man, who created by God as a spiritual being distinct from Himself, endowed with intelligence and free will, is called to a personal relation with the three divine Persons, and a participation of the very life of God in Christ.

305 Schmaus M., *Vom Wesen des Christentums* 188.

4. The First Proposition

> "Human races, by their innate and immutable character, differ so greatly from each other, that the lowest of them is further removed from the highest race of men than from the highest species of animals."

The pantheistic foundation for a race idolatry becomes particularly dangerous when it is linked to the notion of racial superiority and inferiority, because it divides humanity into a hierarchy of groups, the maintenance of which can easily become the object of a doctrinaire fanaticism. So it is that at the same time as rejecting the pantheistic basis, the Church has thought it wise also to condemn the exaggerated grading of races propounded in some national socialist literature, though not by any means confined to it. In his very last encyclical Pope John had to speak out against the fallacy that some men are *by nature* superior to others.[306]

306 John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 281.

The existence of distinct races is nowhere denied, either in this instruction or in other documents of Pope Pius XI's: it was only against exaggerated racism that he inveighed.[307] Indeed the whole instruction, in concord with the general teaching of the Church, presupposes the existence of various races. Neither would the assertion that these races differ among themselves fall under the condemnation, because if they exist it follows that there must be diversity in order that they be distinguishable at all. In addition the acknowledgement of this difference is common enough in Church documents. Nor do the words "by their innate . . . character" cause difficulty, because races are essentially groups constituted by heredity, whose qualities in so far as they are racial must be congenital. This fact is likewise acknowledged by the catholic hierarchy.

307 Pius XI, *Address to Propaganda College,* 28.7.38, in *OR* 78, 175 (30.7.38) 1.

The real poison of the statement lies in the word "immutable." If races differ among themselves "by their innate and immutable character," how account for the unitary origin of mankind? For if all the rest of men have descended from one couple of proto-parents, there must have been fairly radical mutations in the course of time to produce variations sufficient for humanity to be distinguished racially. Does the phrase then necessarily imply the distinct and sporadic origin of the various existing races? This probable polygenetic conclusion is unacceptable as being out of line with the traditional monogenesis taught by the Church.

Furthermore, considered in the light of the seventh proposition, this assertion of immutability leads to a contradiction. The absolute immobility involved in an "immutable character" appears to be irreconcilable with the continual evolution envisaged by emanistic pantheism, according to which "all things . . . are . . . forms emanating from the living Whole through long ages." But even if these two positions can coexist, there seems to be no guarantee of the permanent superiority of certain races, since in a totality which is in a perpetual process of evolution, what is to prevent an inferior race from evolving at a faster rate than the others until it overtakes its erstwhile superiors?

What is principally condemned, however, is the assertion that the lowest race of men differs from the highest more than from the highest species of animals must follow from this erroneous statement, depending on whether the difference is considered to be substantial or accidental: either, the lowest

race of men differs substantially from the highest species of animals, in which case it differs even more substantially from the highest race of men; or, the lowest race of men differs only accidentally from the highest race of men, but then it differs even more accidentally from the highest animal species.

The latter hypothesis condemns itself by denying the radical and insuperable specific difference between human beings and animals. It implies materialistic transformism, which, starting from the rejection of God's special intervention, in the creation of the human soul, ends up with the denial of the spiritual nature of man. Man, created a little less than *Elohim,*[308] is reduced to the level of "the horse and the mule who have no understanding,"[309] "he is compared to senseless beasts and becomes like them,"[310] his sublime dignity torn from him.[311]

308 Ps. 8, 6. Although this Hebrew word is usually translated in the context of the psalm by "the angels," it would equally well bear the interpretation "God."

309 Ps. 31, 9.

310 Ps. 48, 13.

311 Janssen A., *Ras, natie, vaderland* (Leuven 1945) 33; *Rassisme* in *Richtlijnen uwer bisschoppen* (Antwerpen 1939) 171; La Briere Y. de SJ, *Histoire religieuse* 805; Mancini A. SS, *Del razzismo* 64; Oesterreicher J., *Racisme, antisemitisme, antichristianisme, documents et critique* (New York 1949) 59; Orban M., *Nouvelle idole* 11; Rosa E. SJ, *Tesi della S. Congregazione* 181.

The former hypothesis is subject to an equally decisive objection. The lowest race of men belongs to a different species from that of the highest group of animals, because it is substantially different. But if the highest race of men is even more substantially different, then it must at least belong to a different species from the lowest, and perhaps even a different genus, and is consequently of a different nature. This is a direct contradiction of the Christian doctrine of the unity of mankind, one of the essential foundations of which is the possession by all men of a common nature. It also goes against the received teaching in the Church of the great equality, at least potential, of all the races of mankind, which is proclaimed simultaneously with the acknowledgement of racial diversity. For ever since the sixteenth century the Church has censured those who have had the presumption to proclaim that either the Indians of South America or the Negroes were no better than dumb animals to be reduced to the service of the Europeans.[312] No man, therefore, can be stigmatized as essentially and ontically inferior solely on the grounds of race.[313] Neither, for racial reasons alone, can anyone be obliged to submit himself totally and absolutely in a servile capacity to the members of a "superior" race,[314] because no race can be considered the normative race.[315]

312 Paul III, *Sublimis Deus* 428; *Veritas ipsa* 482; Gregory XVI, *In supremo apostolatus,* in Martinis Bp. R. de, *Iuris pontificii de propaganda fide pars prima complectens bullas, brevia, acta S.S.* (Romae 1893) V, 224b; Leo XIII, *Letter to the bps. Of Brazil,* 5.5.1888, 546.

313 Hier. South Africa, *Declaration,* 6.7.57 (Pretoria 1957) 2; Janssen A., *Ras, natie, vaderland* 33; *Rassisme* 171; Semaine Religieuse de Lyon 1955, *Notes doctrinales à propos du problème des Nord- Africains en France et à propos de l'Afrique du Nord,* in *DC* 52 (1955) 1191-1210.

314 Paul III, *Veritas ipsa* 483; John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 281; Cazzani Abp. G., *Pastoral,* Lent 1939, 278; Gonçalves-Cerejeira Card. M., *Pastoral,* 1.10.39, in *Obras pastorais* II, 168; Moussaron Bp. J., *Declaration,* 23.11.44, in *DC* n.s.12 (1944) 1; Roey Card. J. van, *Address,* Aug. 1938, in *CMec* 12 (1938) 574; Spellman Card. F., *Letter,* 27.9.49, in La Farge J. SJ, *Catholic view-point on race relation* 80.

315 Constantius OFMCap, *Katholicisme en rasvraagstuk* ('s Hertogenbosch 1935) 11. 16.

It is worth recalling, before this discussion is concluded, the remark made earlier to the effect that this proposition does not rule out the possibility of a limited and accidental gradation of races. Because such a relative superiority and inferiority would not as such destroy the unity of mankind. Nor does it seem to be incompatible with the Church's teaching concerning the general equality of all men.

5. The Third Proposition

> "All the intellectual and moral qualities of man flow from the blood, in which the characteristics of the race are contained, as from their principal source."

Having seen what the position is regarding the existence of different races, the next problem is, what do these racial differences mean for the individual?

The venom of this particular proposition is contained in the phrase "as from their principal source," which taken in conjunction with "flow from the blood," reduces man purely and simply to the level of a biological organism, subject to the radical material determinism of the physical world. It makes him merely a moment in the race, which becomes the primary reality.[316]

316 Gregoire F., *Use and misuse of philosophy and philosopher,* in International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, *Third Reich* (London 1955) 696: "Race, the racial type, is the immanent law governing the development of the whole of the individual. This internal law - which the word 'blood' designates symbolically - makes individuals of the same ancestry members both of one and the same line of generations and of one and the same community . . . . . Thus race defines the concrete man, the only kind of man that exists; race is the *Urphaenomenon."* The following observation is also of interest in this connection: "De ontmenschelijking van der mensch door de rassentheorie grijpt dieper in on het weefsel van het persoonlijke bestaan dan de dehumaniseering door de leer van de klassenstrijd. De klassentheorie belijt een relatief determinisme . . . Het determinisme van het ras daarentegen heeft een absoluut karakter. Het komt op voor het fatum van het bloed. Geen verandering van bewustzijn, geen zich eigen maken van de ideeën en opvattingen van het uitverkoren ras kan den lageren rassen eenig heil brengen. Het erfgoed . . . bepalen volgens den rassentheorie den menschelijken geest met absolute kracht." Berdjajew N. *Nationalisme en veelgodendom,* in *Christendom bedreigd door rassenwaan en jodenhaat* (Amsterdam n.d.) 65.

To hold that intellectual and moral qualities are to some degree determined by hereditary factors, including racial, presents no difficulty in the general structure of Christian truth. On the contrary, it concurs with the traditional doctrine of the integral unity of the human person, provided that due proportion is observed, according to the admonition of Pope Pius XII to remember that the primary value in man is not the body, neither this earthly one, nor yet the glorified body of the future life, but the spirit.[317]

317 Pius XII, *Address to the Congress of Gymnastics and Sport,* 8.11.52, 871.

If even the spiritual qualities of man, the intellectual and the moral, are entirely subjected to a biological determinism, how can the spirituality and originality of the human soul be salvaged? And of what significance does the doctrine of God's creation of each individual soul become?[318] Again man emerges stripped of his personal dignity, and robbed of his liberty.[319]

318 Lamberty M., *Kritiek van het racisme* 23.27.

319 Cazzani Abp. G., *Pastoral,* Lent 1939, 284.

Furthermore what then remains of morality? The Church, the guardian of the moral order, could never assent to a system which, by making man's moral qualities subject to biological determinism would minimalize or eliminate the power of self-determination of the human person.[320] On the contrary, the truth demands that, although a person may be subject to racial determination in his whole composite, or better still in his integral unity, nevertheless he remains free within this

framework to develop and perfect his personality by the use of his liberty. The fact that human liberty is essentially limited,[321] does not make man any the less a free spiritual agent.

320 Cnl. of Trent, *Decree on justification* canon 5 (DR 815; DS 1555); Leo XIII, *Libertas praestantissimum* (DS 3245-46).

321 Brunner A. SJ, *Personne incarnée, etude sur la phénoménologie et la philosophie existentialiste* (Paris 1947) 201; Ricoeur P., *Philosophie de la volonté* 454-55.

The perversion of the truth involved in the theory of a radical racial, and therefore biological, determinism with regard to the intellectual faculty must be no less decisively repudiated. In place of permanent and universally valid truth and values there remain only a type of knowledge, semblances of goodness and perfection, of religion and morals, a social consciousness and wisdom peculiar to each racial blood.[322] In consequence of this

322 Gregoire F., *Use and misuse of philosophy* 703; Hilckman A., *Nacionalsocialismo alemán, sus raíces espirituales in Razón y fe* 100 (1932) 154; Janssens L., *Personne et société, théories actuelles et essai doctrinal* (Gembloux 1939) 84. 86; Lamberty M., *Kritiek van het racisme* 39.

> Each race has by nature its own scale of values, and its way of representing the Whole, which are true for it, with a 'truth' which necessarily escapes every other race. This is what causes the *Weltanschauung* to be true for the… race alone. 'True' for it, and for it only, is all that expresses its essential tendencies, its authentic values . . . The measure of all things, including our thoughts, is the racial soul of the people. This is what, as opposed to 'absolute truth,' Rosenberg calls 'organic truth.'[323]

323 Gregoire F., *Use and misuse of philosophy* 693-94.

Nevertheless this position does not lead to the complete relativism as Lamberty thinks,[324] because as Gregoire goes on to explain, granted the supposition that some particular race is the supreme race, its vision of the universe should not be considered true for it alone, but in many ways true and absolutely, even though other, and inferior races are not capable of perceiving its truth.

324 Lamberty M., *Kritiek van het racisme* 29.

As for the individual, so also for the group, the Church does not entirely discount the racial factor, its influence and its value, but she does dissociate herself from the elevation of race to the position of the principal, or worse still the sole impetus and final purpose of human history and culture.[325] It is the personal and provident God Who is the Lord of history. Men by their liberty do give direction to the social order as well as to their personal lives, and by their free creative activity and spiritual courage can do great things for humanity and the progress of culture.[326] And cultures are able to interfecundate each other by an exchange of material and spiritual goods, because they are not completely fixed in the unique isolation of the racial blood.

325 Holy Office, *Decree condemning the book 'Die deutsche Nationalkirche' by E. Bergman;* Roey Card. J. van, *Address,* 2.9.45, in *In den dienst van de Kerk* VI, 210; Janssen A., *Rassisme* 171; Janssens L., *Personne et societe* 247; Wey A. van der OCarm, *Ideologische ondergrond en uitbouw* 436. 468.

326 John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 296-97.

6. The Eighth Proposition

> "Individual men do not exist except in virtue of the state and for the sake of the state; any rights enjoyed come to them solely as a concession from the state."

We have already considered the particular philosophical foundation of racism as condemned in the instruction, the ontic structure and differences of races, and their characteristics. It now behoves us to pass on to discuss the state, to which we have already had occasion to refer more than once as the incarnation and organ of the race. For as Cornelissen with extraordinary insight has remarked in this context: "It is clear that the modern concept of the state constitutes not so much a juridical question, as a theological problem."[327]

327 Cornelissen A., *Moderne staatsgedachte in het licht der jongste encyclieken* (Hilversum 1938) 55: "Daar is toch gebleken, dat de moderne staatsidee niet een rechtsgeleerd vraagstuk, doch een theologisch probleem vormt". See also O'Toole G., *Pantheism latent in totalitarian absolutism,* in O'Toole G., *Race, nation, person* 234- 321.

The proposition as it is actually worded in the instruction seems to have been taken from fascist rather than from racist sources. For fascism the state is essentially political, containing within itself the reason for its existence: it does not exist for the sake of something else. Hence, as in this proposition, the individual is referred directly and solely to the state, and to nothing beyond it. In the racist framework, however, the state exists merely as the incarnation and instrument of the racial community: it has no value in itself.[328] Consequently the relations between the individual and the state are merely utilitarian, and for the sake of the race, which is the source and norm of all rights, as is clearly stated in proposition six. Nevertheless, as rabid racism leads to some form of totalitarianism or another just as inevitably as fascism, the racist state deserves our attention. And this is more particularly so since it provides the key to the full understanding of the propositions to be treated later on. As is clear from the propositions already treated, a certain absolute, and in the pantheistic view even divine value is given to the race, conceived as a giant organism, in which the individual is absorbed. But because human nature demands it, this organism must have a visible form and a means of operating effectively as a collectivity. Hence arises that great living body, the personification of the people, the god-state,[329] which must be served with an enthusiasm rightly called "statolatry."[330] Since this concretion is correlative to the race which it embodies, its citizens belong to it by the same involuntary reason of blood which makes them members of the race. Hence whithersoever they may wander across the world they remain subject to the racial state in virtue of a permanent and unbreakable bond.[331]

328 Cisneros V., *Noción de genocidio* 358; Cornelissen A., *Moderne staatsgedachte* 56; Delos J. OP, *Rights of the human person vis-a-vis of the state and the race,* in O'Toole G., *Race, nation, person* 43; Janssens L., *Personne et societe* 81. 96; Meilberg A., *Ethica van het rassisme,* in *NKS* 39 (1939) 151; *Race, law, and religion* 5; Saint-Denis A., *Pie XI contre les idoles* 94; Solzbacher W., *Rome en afgoden van onzen tijd* 134.

329 Pius XI, *Address to CFTC,* 18.9.38, 158-59; Gonçalves-Cerejeira Card. M., *Address,* 18.11.38, 145; *Pastoral,* 1.10.39, 171; Cisneros V., *Noción de genocidio* 358; Janssens L., *Personne et societe* 112. 333; Mancini A. SS, *Del razzismo* 67; Messineo A. SJ, *Concezione dello stato nel terzo Reich in CC* 85, 2 (1934) 354. 358; Oesterreicher J., *Racisme, antisemitisme, antichristianisme* 201; Wey A. van der OCarm, *Staatsidee van het nationaal-socialisme,* in *Kultuurleven* 9 (1938) 512.

330 Pius XI, *Non abbiamo bisogno,* in *AAS* 23 (1931) 302; La Brière Y. de SJ, *Histoire religieuse* 88; *Race et le droit,* in Bressolles A., *Racisme et christianisme* 94.

331 Janssens L., *Personne et societe* 96. 99. 112; Messineo A. SJ, *Concezione dello stato nel terzo Reich* 358.

Since the racial organism and the political organization dovetail so completely, political authority derives from the racial community, it is exercised by an elite, who, because the qualities of the race have reached their fulfillment in them, necessarily in practice give concrete expression to the will of the people by their creative action. And the collective will is the dynamism behind the evolution of the racial community. Obviously in such a system the distinction between the legislative and executive functions ceases to be relevant.[332]

332 Delos J. OP, *Rights of the human person* 544-45; Guardini R., *Chrétien devant le racisme* 104; Janssens L., *Personne et societe* 96-98.

A Christian is bound to reject such a concept of the state for three reasons. In the first place, the racists, like not a few sociologists of a biological turn of mind, seduced by metaphors, treat expressions such as "national consciousness," "social conscience," "the will of the people," "the instinct of the race," and others of the same kind, as though the society, state, nation, or race was an organic subject capable of thinking and willing, whereas in fact it is only a moral entity composed of human persons who think and will.[333] Secondly the racial factor alone is insufficient to account for the existence of the state, to the formation and continuation of which so many elements contribute.[334] "For the rest, as regards political authority, the Church rightly teaches that it comes from God."[335]

333 Pius XI, *Address to CFTC,* 18.9.38. 158; O'Toole G., *Pantheism latent in totalitarian absolutism* 317.

334 Hier. Germany, *Pastoral,* 3.6.33, in *KADT* 77, 120 (1933) 103; Janssens L., *Personne et societe* 248; Messineo A. SJ, *Concetto di nazione nella filosofia dello stato,* in *CC* 84, 1 (1933) 328; Scheiwiller O. OSB, *Rassenprinzip wird schicksal* 676. 680-81.

335 Leo XIII, *Diuturnum illud* (DR 1856; DS 3151): "Ceterum ad politicum imperium quod attinet, illud a Deo proficisci recte docet Ecclesia." See also Vatican Cnl. I, *First scheme of the constitution 'De Ecclesia Christi' with explanatory notes distributed in writing to the fathers* c.14 and canon 18 (M 51, 548.552).

In practice the above statolatry of its very nature leads to totalitarianism, subjecting the individual and "natural societies," under all their aspects and in all their relationships, to the state, as cogs in a machine.[336] More than once Pope Pius XII expressly condemned this totalitarianism which gives the civil authority undue power to impose itself on all expressions of personal, local, professional, and ethnic life reducing them all to a mechanical unity under the banner of the nation, race, or class.[337]

336 Hier. Switzerland, *Pastoral,* 5.7.38 (Solothurn 1938) 7: "Der Zerstörung des Bildes folgt die Zerstörung des Ebenbildes. Der Entgötterung folgt die Entmenschlichung. Die heutige Gottlosenbewegung und mit ihr der Materialismus . . . und christenfeindliche Nationalismus misshandeln und vernichten mit noch nie dagewesener Art und Brutalität die menschliche Person und lassen sie untergehen in der Masse . . . in der Rasse, in der Nation, im Staat . . . Der Mensch ist nicht mehr 'Er' und "Sie," sondern nur noch "Es', verkollektiviert, verstaatlicht, eine Nummer." See also Gonçalves-Cerejeira, Card. M., *Pastoral,* 1.10.39, 171; Cisneros V., *Noción de genocidio* 358; Janssens L., *Personne et societe* 102. 116; Lopez U. SJ, *Difesa della razza ed etica cristiana II,* in *CC* 85, 2 (1934) 27; Messineo A. SJ, *Concezione dello stato nel terzo Reich* 354; Orban M., *Nouvelle idole* 84; Rosa E. SJ, *Tesi della S. Congregazione* 185; Scheiwiller O. OSB, *Rassenprinzip wird Schicksal* 680.

337 Pius XII, *Address to UNRRA,* 8.7.45, in *DRM* 7 (1945-46) 117; *Address to the Roman Rota,* 2.10.45, in *AAS* 37 (1945) 257; *Address to the Semaines Sociales,* 10.7.46, in *AAS* 38 (1946) 316; *Address to the third International Catholic Press Congress,* 17.2.50, in *AAS* 42 (1950) 255. *Broadcast message,* 24.12.54, in *AAS* 47 (1955) 25. St. Thomas makes an observation in this regard which is worth recalling: "Homo non ordinatur ad communitatem politicam secundum se totum, et

secundum omnia sua; et ideo non oportet, quod quilibet actus eius sit meritorius, vel demeritorius per ordinem ad communitatem politicam: sed totum quod homo est, et quod potest, et habet ordinandum est ad Deum".

In such a scheme of things it is obvious, as the proposition states, that whatever rights an individual or a subordinate society may enjoy, are nothing but a temporary concession from the state, and revocable at will by the governing authority which incarnates the will of the race.[338]

338 Vatican Cnl.I, *First scheme 'De Ecclesia Christi'* c.14 and canon 19 (M. 51, 548. 553); Cisneros V., *Noción de genocidio* 358; La Briere Y. de SJ, *Histoire religieuse* 809; Messineo A. SJ, *Concezione dello stato nel terzo Reich* 358; Orban M., *Nouvelle idole* 82. The consequence of such a system in the life of the individual, which will be examined in detail in subsequent articles cannot be better summed up than in the memorable words of Pope Pius XII: "Occorre forse risalire molto indietro nella storia per trovare un cosiddetto 'diritto legale', che toglie all'uomo ogni dignità personale; che gli nega il diritto fondamentale alla vita e all'integrità delle sue membra, rimettendo l'una e l'altra all'arbitrio del partito e dello Stato; che non riconosce all'individuo il diritto all'onore e al buon nome; che contesta ai genitori il diritto sui loro figli e il dovere della loro educazione; che soprattutto considera il riconoscimento di Dio, supremo Signore, e la dipendenza dell'uomo da Lui come senza interesse per lo Stato e per la comunità umana? Questo 'diritto legale', nel senso ora esposto, ha sconvolto l'ordine stabilito dal Creatore; ha chiamato il disordine ordine, la tirannia autorità, la schiavitù libertà, il delitto virtù patriottica." Pius XII *Address to the Roman Rota,* 13.11.49, 606.

The deplorable picture which this whole concept presents to the eyes of faith can hardly be better expressed than in the words of Cardinal Goncalves-Cerejeira.[339]

339 Goncalves-Cerejeira Card. M., *Address,* 18.11.38, 141. 145: "Por vias diferentes, partindo da ideia de classe ou de raça, edifica-se con igual dureza, sobre o sacrifício da pessoa humana libertada por Cristo, o altar erguido a novo Deus. Expulso Cristo, volta a reinar no mundo o duro império da força - Cesar e dá novo divinizado e, segundo o aforismo antigo, tudo o que lhe apetece tem força de lei; o homem volta a ser o escravo do Estado, absoluto senhor das consciências, ao qual pertence definir as normas da justiça e da moral, fora do qual não há direitos . . . O Estado divinizado arrogar-se direitos divinos absolutos: não os há fora dele. É uma concepção total da sociedade o da vida. Deus (se o há) rivela-se na consciência sublimada da nação ou da raça, que tem por órgão supremo o Estado".

> In different ways, depending on whether the starting point was the idea of class or race, an altar has with equal brutality been erected to the new god, upon the sacrifice of the human person freed by Christ. Christ having been thrown out, once again the cruel system of government by force returns to reign in the world; Caesar is deified anew, and, according to the old aphorism, whatever pleases him enjoys the force of law. Man again becomes the slave of the state, the absolute lord of conscience, to which belongs the defining of all norms of justice and morality, and outside of which no rights exist… The divinized state arrogates to itself the absolute and divine rights, which have no existence apart from it. It is an all inclusive view of society and life. God (if he is acknowledged at all) reveals Himself in the exalted conscience of the nation or race, which has for its highest organ the state.

In the Christian vision of the world, by contrast, it is inconceivable that the collectivity should be the sole, or even the principal foundation of the rights of the individual, since these are inherent in his natural dignity as a person.[340] Hence, already in the *Syllabus* of Pope Pius IX the following proposition had been condemned: "The state, as the origin and font of all rights, enjoys a right unbounded by any limits."[341] And more than once Pope Pius XI inveighed against the denial of the natural rights created in human nature by God Himself, especially in the phrase: "The state exists for man, not man for the state."[342] In the Christian scheme of things states and their political organs are destined by the Creator precisely to protect and nurture the rights of individuals and subordinate societies, so that all human persons and their families may live in a way that befits their dignity. It is also incumbent upon

public authorities to foster that mutual help among the citizens which will secure to each one the opportunity of bringing his natural talents to fruition. Since the state does not exist, however, solely to protect individual rights, this duty has to be performed in the larger context of securing the common good by maintaining order and peace for the community as a whole.[343] This is the Christian balance.

340 Groeber Abp. K., *Kirche, Vaterland, und Vaterlandsliebe, zeitgemässe Erwägungen und Erwiderungen* (Freiburg im Breisgau 1935) 108.

341 Pius IX, *Syllabus* prop.39 (DR 1739; DS 2939): "Reipublicae status, utpote omnium iurium origo et fons, iure quodam pollet nullis circumscripto limitibus".

342 Pius XI, *Divini Redemptoris* 79: "Civitas homini, non homo civitati exsistit."

343 Hier. South Africa, *Pastoral,* 2.2.60, 5.

7. The Sixth Proposition

"The instinct of race is the primary source and supreme norm of the whole juridical system."

From what has been said already it will be clear that relativism and totalitarianism respectively follow naturally from the system of racism as epitomized in the instruction. It is now necessary to take a look at what happens when they unite in a juridical system, which can be called either juridical positivism or racial utilitarianism.[344]

344 Pius XII, *Address to the Roman Rota,* 13.11.49, in *AAS* 41 (1949) 604-08; Messineo A. SJ, *Concezione dello stato nel terzo Reich* 349.

Obviously there is no place here for the individual as a subject of rights, utterly rooted as he is in his existence and purpose in the racial community: the individual is more or less an abstraction taken in relation to the collectivity of which he is a member, which constitutes the primary reality, and consequently the source and foundation of all right and all law. Like the individual, neither the state nor the law has any purpose in itself, but both have as their end the good of the race for whose service they exist.[345] Because all rights spring from the blood or the racial instinct, there can be no other law than that of this temporal world as formulated by the racial state.[346]

345 Delos J. OP, *Rights of the human person* 44-45; Gregoire F., *Use and misuse of philosophy* 701; Janssens L., *Personne et societe* 101-02. 110; Messineo A. SJ, *Ordine giuridico* 507; *Race, law, and religion* 13.

346 Hier. Bavaria, *Pastoral,* 12.2.31, in *SZuk* 6 (1930-31) 532; Groeber Abp. K., *Kirche, Vaterland, und Vaterlandsliebe* 108; Delos J. OP, *Societe internationale et les principes du droit public* (Paris 1929) 51; Guardini R., *Chrétien devant le racisme* 104; La Brière Y. de SJ, *Race et le droit* 105; Oesterreicher J., *Racisme, antisémitisme, antichristianisme* 59.

What the provision should be which in the concrete express this juridical instinct of the race, is discernible by four means. The first task of the jurist is by historical study to discover, judge, and give permanent expression to the peculiar nature of the race as it is revealed in ancestral customs still prevailing, which by the fact of their persistence manifest the racial instinct of self-preservation. Secondly, by a process of selection, the elite emerges which embodies the racial character in the highest degree, and is thus most sensitive to the voice of the racial instinct. Spontaneously sensing what pertains to the authentic good of the race, they are its natural lawgivers and judges. A further norm is provided by the principles: whatever benefits the race is good and just; whatever injures it is evil and unjust. Lastly, since the good of the individual is conceived solely in terms of the good of the race, all that is given to him is given in view of his service to the community. Hence the administrators of justice fulfill their office by conserving the collectivity against those who try to escape their obligation of service to the community; and by defending it against those who could in any way be judged injurious to it.[347]

347 Roey Card. J. van, *Address,* 4.3.42, in *In den dienst van de Kerk* V, 341; Cornelissen A., *Moderne staatsgedachte* 57; Evola J., *Mito del sangue* (Milano 1937) 228; Guardini R., *Chrétien devant le racisme* 73. 103-04; Janssens L., *Personne et societe* 100-01; Marchant H., *Nationaal-socialisme,* in Limburgsche Sociale Studieweek 1937, *Verslagboek, De wereld in het licht van de jongste drie encyclieken* (Heerlen 1937) 27; Orban M., *Nouvelle idole* 82; Quinn E., *Nazi apologetics,* in *Blackfriars* 19 (1938) 595-96; *Race, law, and religion* 13-14.

To the challenge presented by this distorted view of the law Pope Pius XII has replied in no uncertain terms. Ranking racism with totalitarianism and exaggerated nationalism, he castigates it for giving

positive law a pseudo-majesty, trampling underfoot the natural rights of persons both physical and moral, in the interests of the dangerous theory which vindicates to a particular nation or race or class the juridical instinct, as the ultimate imperative and unassailable norm.[348] It ends up indeed by denying the substantial identity of human nature, in which are rooted the basic and immutable, permanent norms of right and law; though these do need to be formulated differently in positive legal prescriptions according to diversities of evolution and culture.[349]

348 Pius XII, *Broadcast message,* 24.12.42, in *AAS* 35 (1943) 14.

349 Pius XII, *Address to the sixth International Congress on Penal Law,* 3.10.53, in *AAS* 45 (1953) 739.

It was for this dissolution of the bond between positive law and the natural law secured and protected by revelation and faith in God, that racist utilitarianism was initially attacked by Pope Pius XI. Authentic morality is founded on belief in God, so that no one except the fool who says "there is no God"[350] tries to separate religion and morality.[351] The first norm of this morality is the natural law, which expresses the creative knowledge of God as it appears in His creatures. This applies equally to individuals and to society, so that whoever denies the dignity of the human person common to all men, the natural law, and religion, destroys morality and undermines the columns which support not only the peace, but also the very existence of society.[352] The positive prescriptions of every legislator, be he who he may, must be evaluated and judged as regards their morality, legitimacy, and obligation, in the light of the norms of the natural admonition which God has enclosed in the human heart. Since no external criterion or authority can ever rectify an inherently vitiated law, the principle, "that is just which benefits the people," must be entirely rejected.[353]

350 Ps. 52, 1.

351 Pius XI, *Mit brennender Sorge* 158; John XXIII, *Mater et magistra* 450.

352 Pius XI, *Mit brennender Sorge* 159-60; John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 258.

353 Pius XI, *Mit brennender Sorge* 159: "Recht ist, was dem Volk nuetzt". See also Vatican Cnl. I, *First scheme 'De Ecclesia Christi'* c.14 and canon 20 (M 51, 584, 552); Pius XII, *Address to the Roman Rota,* 13.11.49, 604-08.

As Pope Pius XII has shown in the discourse referred to above, the racist concept of law leads to a denial of the substantial identity of human nature.[354] Whence it follows that there is a disparity of rights between the superior and inferior races, in virtue of which the former can legitimately impose themselves on the latter, especially in the case of ethnic minorities within the confines of the state.[355] Since the state and the juridical order are identified with the race, anyone not belonging to the race is outside the state and the juridical order, so that any rights he enjoys are merely temporary concessions, revocable at will. It is not difficult to see how this could lead to racial discriminations and conflicts.[356]

354 Pius XII, *Address to the Congress on Penal Law,* 2.10.53, 739.

355 It should be noted that a minority in this context does not necessarily imply numerical inferiority, but can be used also of a numerical majority which is deprived of social or juridical equality. *Contraintes necessaires et libertes inalienables,* in *Tam-tam* 10, 5-6 (Oct.-Nov. 1961) 29.

356 Paul III, *Veritas ipsa* 482-83; *Brief to Card. Juan de Tavera,* 29.5.1537, 27; John XXIII, *Broadcast message,* 17.4.60, in *AAS* 52 (1960) 371; Goncalves-Cerejeira Card. M., *Pastoral,* 1.10.39, 168. 171; Hinsley Card. A., *Address,* 30.1.39, in *Tablet* 173 (1939) 183; Moussaron Bp. J., *Declaration,* 23.11.44, 1; Roey Card. J. van, *Address,* 2.9.45, 210; Barbera M., *Giustizia tra le 'razze',* in *CC* 88, 4 (1937) 533; Cisneros V., *Noción de genocidio* 358. 365; Delos J. OP, *Rights of the human person* 45-46; Gregoire F., *Wat is het racisme?* 37; Harcourt R. d', *Religion du sang,* in Bressolles A., *Racisme et christianisme* 39; *Race,*

law, and religion 33; Roulette A., *Personne et les faits dans les régimes totalitaires,* in Semaines Sociales de France 1937, *Personne humaine en péril* (Lyon 1938) 160.

As regards relations between states which differ racially, because the Church does not acknowledge that some human beings are by nature superior and others by nature inferior, but considers them all of equal dignity as persons, it rejects the view that there are political communities by nature superior and others which are inferior by nature.[357] It does not follow, however that there may not be other accidental and external reasons for grading political communities. Within the individual state the racist position outlined above is in direct contrast with the Christian doctrine of pluralism, which consequently forbids any assault by the state on the existence, or even on the peaceful flourishing of ethnic minorities. Christianity demands that whatever his race the dignity of every man be respected, together with the rights that flow from it.[358]

357 Pius XII, *Address to the Union of Catholic Jurists,* 6.12.53, 795; John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 281.

358 Guerry Abp. E., *Address,* 22.5.62, in *DC* 49 (1962) 811.

Furthermore, in the racist world vision, since the concepts of good and evil, right and obligation, are unique for each racial community in virtue of law and blood, there can be no possibility of an objective code of universally binding moral obligations valid for all peoples and for all times.[359] In addition as the race is the primary and fundamental value in reality, the good of the race must always be preferred to the good of humanity or international justice, which are only abstractions. Hence there can be no law except state law, because the racial state is the only authority and dispenser of rights. International law, therefore, only has the force of law so long as it happens to fit in with the prevailing law of the state, and is thus always subject to unilateral change and cancellation. At one go the coup de grace is given to international peace and justice, to treaties and concordats.[360]

359 Zaffrani Abp. G., *Address,* 25.1.39, in *OR* 79, 22 (27.1.39) 2; Janssen A., *Ras, natie, vaderland* 84; *Rassisme* 181; La Brière Y. de SJ, *Histoire religieuse* 807.

360 Pius XI, *Address to the consistory,* 24.2.34, in *OR* 74, 46 (25.2.34) 1; Pius XII, *Address to UNRRA,* 8.7.45, 117; *Broadcast message,* 24.12.54, 23; Hier. USA, *Declaration,* 14.11.42, in *Our bishops speak* 111; Goncalves-Cerejeira Card. M., *Pastoral,* 1.10.39, 169; Hinsley Card. A., *Address,* 30. 1.39.183; Guardini R., *Chrétien devant le racisme* 111; La Brière Y. de SJ, *Histoire religieuse* 807; Marchant H., *National-socialisme* 25-26; Messineo A. SJ, *Concezione dello stato nel terzo Reich* 349; *Race, law, and religion* 15. 23.

The Church, on the contrary, inculcates the mutual interdependence of states in an international community, which springs from the basic unity of mankind, and must be bound together by an international law, based on the natural law, to which all submit,[361] because the same moral law which governs the relations between individual human beings serves also to regulate the relations of political communities.[362] Embracing the idea of a universal common good, it advocates not only public authorities working effectively on a world scale for particular ends, but even a public authority of the world community whose fundamental objective must be the recognition, safeguarding, and promotion of the rights of the human person in the structure of the universal common good as well as that of the particular state.[363]

361 Pius XI, *Mit brennender Sorge* 159; Pius XII, *Summi pontificatus* 437-39; *Address to the Union of Catholic Jurists,* 6.12.53, 795-96; Hier. USA, *Declaration,* 14.11.47, in *Our bishops speak* 143; Faulhaber Card. M. de, *Address,* 3.3.40, 5 (ms. in the archiepiscopal archives at Munich); Goncalves-Cerejeira Card. M., *Pastoral,* 1.10.39, 169-70.

362 Pius XII, *Broadcast message,* 24.12.41, in *AAS* 34 (1942) 16; John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 279-81.

363 John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 293-94, Paul VI, *Address to U Thant,* 11.7.63, 653.

8. The Second Proposition

> "The vigour of the race and the purity of its blood are to be preserved and fostered by every possible means; whatever, therefore, contributes to this end is, for that reason, good and licit."

It now remains to see how these general principles of racism as found in the instruction are worked out with respect to particular aspects of human life, such as marriage, education, and religion. On each of these the racist position is at variance with the Christian vision, as will be seen from an examination of the three remaining propositions.

The second proposition is objectionable on account of the words "every possible" and "whatever": the latter because it invokes the pernicious principle, that everything which favors the race is good for that reason, the objections to which were outlined in the previous article; the former because it ranks man above all as a racial procreator whose value is to be judged according to his biological potentialities, which is a deprivation of the dignity of the human person.[364] Not indeed that the contrary "by no means" and "nothing" is affirmed; but rather the contradictory "not by every possible means" and "not everything," which could bear the above interpretation, but which would more usually signify "by some means" and "somethings."

364 Evola J., *Mito del sangue* 228; Meiberg A. CSSR, *Ethica van het rassisme* 159; Messineo A. SJ, *Concezione dello stato nel terzo Reich* 358; *Ordine giuridico* 510-11; Rosa E. SJ, *Tesi della S. Congregazione* 182.

In this proposition we come across another clear illustration of the basic error of racism as condemned, namely, the attribution of supreme importance to that which is only of subordinate value,[365] by raising racial unity and purity to the apex of human life and endeavor, not of the individual alone but also of the state.[366] Hence interracial breeding comes to be considered a type of original sin, known legally as "contamination of the race," and is held responsible for the physical and mental degeneration of the society. For this reason there is a grave obligation upon the individual as well as the state to eradicate any extraneous or feeble element, at whatever cost to personal liberty and integrity.[367]

365 Pius XII, *Address to the Congress of Gymnastics and Sport,* 8. 11. 52, 871.

366 Scheiwiller O. OSB, *Rassenprinzip wird Schicksal* 680.

367 Roey Card. J. van, *Address,* 24.9.45, 211; Evola J., *Mito del sangue* 1; Guardini R., *Chrétien devant le racisme* 84; Messineo A. SJ, *Concezione dello stato nel terzo Reich* 355; *Ordine giuridico* 511: 514-15; Wey A. van der OCarm, *Ideologische ondergrond en uitbouw* 437. 443. The following are some of the means used to achieve this end: the suppression of beings inept for life [Pius XII, *Address to the Congress on Penal Law,* 3.12.53, 733; Roey Card. J. van, *Address,* 2.9.45, 212]; sterilization [Pius XI, *Casti connubii,* in *AAS* 22 (1930) 564-65; Pius XII, *Address to the Symposium on Medical Genetics,* 7.9.53, 605]; the total prohibition of marriage [Pius XII, *Address to the Symposium on Medical Genetics,* 7.9.53, 607]; the prohibition of interracial marriages [Guardini R., *Chrétien devant le racisme* 30. 52; Orban M., *Nouvelle idole* 13]; an auxiliary inseminator in the place of a sterilized husband [Messineo A. SJ, *Ordine giuridico* 516]; extramarital intercourse between those of good racial stock [Cavalli F. SJ, *Nazionalsocialisme e la Santa Sede,* in *CC* 97, 2 (1947) 255; Messineo A. SJ, *Concezione dello stato nel terzo Reich* 356]; and prenuptial medical certificates [Pius XII, *Address to the Symposium on Medical Genetics,* 7.9.53, 605; Guardini R., *Chrétien devant le racisme* 39].

This idea, which under its ethical aspect had already been implicitly condemned in the *Syllabus* of Pope Pius IX,[368] was attacked directly by the Bishop of Linz, Gfoellner, in these words:[369]

368 Pius IX, *Syllabus* prop. 64 (DR 1764; DS 2964).

369 Gfoellner Bp. J., *Pastoral,* 23.1.33, 431b: "Es ist frivoler Rassenwahn, die Blutreinheit des Ariers auf gleiche Stufe mit der Paradeunschuld unserer Stammeltern zu stellen, den Sündenfall aber in Vergleich zu bringen mit Rassenmischung, 'die Sünde wider Blut und Rasse als die Erbsünde dieser Welt' zu bezeichnen. Das alles ist Rückfall in abscheuliches Heidentum und betrachtet die Rassenreinheit nach rein materialistischen Gesichtspunkten".

> It is nothing but frivolous racial hallucination to equate the . . . purity of blood with the original innocence of our first parents in paradise, to compare their fall with racial miscegenation, and to describe the 'sin against blood and race as the original sin of this world.' All this amounts to nothing less than a relapse into detestable paganism, treating racial purity from an entirely materialistic viewpoint.

In support of his condemnations of genocide[370] and sterilization Pope Pius XII gave the key to the Christian answer to this racist tenet. He distinguished between the world of plants and animals on the one hand, and men on the other. With regard to the former the scientist and specialist may freely use whatever means he likes for the improvement of the species; but in respect of the latter, on the contrary, the integrity of the person on all levels must be preserved inviolate, because it is defended by inflexible moral laws.[371] The theory which underlies this is simple. All inferior creatures were made by God for the sake of man, to whom He gave the lordship over the earth and all that it contains.[372] But man himself is not merely a physical creature. He is a person. Thus under no aspect is man an animal" his body only exists in virtue of a spiritual soul, and even his most animal-like functions are not the functions of an animal, but of a man, and subordinate to his human and spiritual ends,[373] because he is an incarnate liberty.[374]

370 Pius XII, *Broadcast message,* 24.12.42, 23; *Address to the International Society for Blood Transfusion,* 5.9.58, in *AAS* 50 (1958) 731.

371 Pius XII, *Address to the Symposium on Medical Genetics,* 7.9.53, 607.

372 Gen. 1, 28-30.

373 Congar Y. OP, *Catholic Church and the race question* (Paris 1953) 22.

374 Ricoeur P., *Philosophie de la volonté* 455.

The other side of the picture, however, is this: provided that the basic rights to life, bodily integrity, marriage, and family life are assiduously safeguarded, the Church by no means forbids the preservation of purity of blood and racial characteristics, even if this involves sacrifices on the part of individuals, whether it be by promoting health and vitality, by restraining feeble elements, or by preventing the penetration of alien strains and influences.[375]

375 Pius XI, *Casti connubii,* 563-64; Pius XII, *Summi pontificatus* 428-29; *Address to the Symposium on Medical Genetics,* 7.9.53, 604--5; John XXIII, *Mater et magistra* 444; Cazzani Abp. G., *Pastoral,* Lent 1939, 285; Piazza Card., *Address,* 6.1.39; Zaffrani Bp. G., *Address,* 25.1.39, Gleason R. SJ, *Immorality of segregation,* in *Theology review* 4 (1961) 37; Guardini R., *Chrétien devant le racisme* 38; Janssen A., *Ras, natie, vaderland* 44; *Rassisme* 178; Lopez U. SJ, *Difesa della razza I,* in *CC* 85, 1 (1934) 585; *II,* 32; Orban M., *Nouvelle idole* 12; Rosa E. SJ, *Tesi della S. Congregazione* 181; Saint Denis A., *Pie XI contre les idoles* 89; Solzbacher W., *Rome en afgoden* 128.

This last mentioned item deserves more detailed attention in as much as it includes laws against marriage between people of different races, constituting what is known as "the impediment of disparity of blood."

From what has been said above no one could fail to agree with Engering's statement to the effect that miscegenation cannot be considered sinful,[376] at least in itself and taken in the abstract. For, although race is something good even to the point of enjoying rights, so that a person may legitimately lay down his life for the defense of his race against an aggressor, and spend himself in promoting its growth, and nurturing its natural characteristics; nevertheless, there can be no obligation on the members taken individually to do this. No single person is obliged as an individual to promote even mankind by procreation, though collectively men are bound to this, how much less, then, can he be under moral constraint to cooperate in the pure increase of the race by procreation within its confines.

376 Engering S., *Rassevermenging - is dit sondig?,* in *Brug* 8, 8 (Aug. 1959) 4.

On the other side, however, there is this to be said, that while everyone has the natural right to marry, the exercise of this right may legitimately be curtailed in the interests of the community, because it is not a right which is of its very nature unlimited and unlimitable. If it were, the Church would be wrong both in vindicating its own right to institute diriment impediments, and in acknowledging those established by the civil authority.[377]

377 Cnl. of Trent, *Decree on the sacrament of marriage* canon 4 (DR 974; DS 1804); *Codex iuris canonici* canon 1080; Gasparri Card. P., *Tractatus canonicus de matrimonio,* 3 ed. (Paris 1904) I, 191-94.

So far as the faithful are concerned the position is quite clear. Everything which concerns their marriages pertains to the Church;[378] and it is a solemnly defined truth that the Church by divine right has the power to establish diriment impediments to the marriages of Christians.[379] Should the civil authority establish a diriment impediment of disparity of blood, with the intention of regulating Christian marriages as regards their validity, it would certainly act beyond its competence, and the Church could never acknowledge such an usurpation of its prerogatives.

378 Cnl. of Trent, *Decree on the sacrament of marriage* canon 12 (DR 982; DS 1812); Pius VI, *Letter to the Bp. of Motula,* 16.9.1788 (DR 1500a; DS 2958); Pius IX, *Syllabus* prop. 74 (DR 1774; DS 2974); Leo XIII, *Arcanum divinae* (DR 1854; DS 3144-46). For a fuller treatment of this subject consult Sola F. SJ, *De sacramentis vitae socialis christianae,* in *Sacrae theologiae summa, patrum Societatis Jesu* IV, 835-43.

379 Cnl. of Trent, *Decree on the sacrament of marriage* canon 4 (DR 974; DS 1804); Pius IX, *Syllabus* prop. 68-70 (DR 1768; DS 2968-70).

There are both negative and positive arguments to show that the Church herself has so far never instituted this impediment of disparity of blood with regard to the marriages of the faithful. An examination of the decrees of synods held in regions where the interracial problem existed, does not reveal any law against them, nor even an implicit obstacle, simply complete silence about the matter.[380] Indeed the marriages of parties of different racial origin, such as Ethiopians, Indians, and Europeans, as well as those of the offspring "of mixed unions, generally called *mestisos,"* were positively regulated by Pope Urban VIII's decree *Animarum saluti* of 15th September 1629, without there being any hint of disapproval.[381] Furthermore, while the concessions of Popes Gregory XIII and Leo XIII could easily give rise to interracial marriages, no bulwark was erected against them in either document.[382] To this may be added the witness from the practice of the Church for more than four hundred years especially in South and North America. It seems justifiable, therefore, to conclude that in the eyes of the Church neither an impediment nor the stigma of sin stand in the way of interracial marriages.

380 Doherty J., *Moral problems of interracial marriage* (Washington 1949) 29-33.

381 Urban VIII, *Decree 'Animarum saluti',* 15.9.1629, in Martinis Bp. R. de, *Iuris pontificii de propaganda fide pars prima* I, 114a: "de mixtim progenitis, quos *mestisos* vocant".

382 Gregory XIII, *Constitution 'Populis',* 25.1.1585, in *Codex iuris canonici* document 6; Leo XIII, *Apostolic letter 'Trans oceanum'* , 18.4.1897, in *AAS* 29 (1897) 659-63.

Nevertheless when biological, social, or moral circumstances do make such action advisable, the Church will, in the interests of prudence, try its utmost to prevent such marriages taking place, by persuasion, however, not by force of law.[383] This is more especially so in places where there does in fact exist a legal penalty applicable to anyone attempting an interracial marriage. For it is the constant policy of the Church to try and preserve friendly relations with the state in matrimonial matters, in the interest of the common good.[384]

383 *A proposito di un nuovo decreto legge,* in *OR* 78, 265 (14-15. 11. 38) 1; La Farge J. SJ, *Interracial justice,* 145-46; Nau L., *Marriage laws of the Code of canon law* (New York 1933) 15.

384 Leo XIII, *Arcanum divinae,* in *AAS* 12 (1879) 399-400.

The situation takes on a different aspect, however, when it comes to the question of the marriages of non-Christians. Catholic writers are not of one mind concerning the state's right to establish diriment impediments to these unions. Some authors in the last century and a handful in this have either denied that the state has this authority,[385] or at least considered it more likely that everything which concerns marriage, even of non-Christians, falls within the province of the Church.[386] By far the greater number on the contrary, together with Cardinals Cavagnis and Gasparri, hold it as certain that the civil authority can legitimately establish impediments, both impedient and diriment, to non-Christian marriages.[387] The only conditions prescribed are that this power should be used in a reasonable way, in conformity with the natural law.[388]

385 See Gasparri Card. P., *Tractatus canonicus de matrimonio* I, 187; Pohle J., *Sacraments,* ed. A. Preuss, 2 ed. (London 1918) IV, 238-39.

386 Sola F. SJ, *De sacramentis vitae socialis christianae* 853.

387 Cavagnis Card. F., *Institutiones iuris publici ecclesiastici,* 4 ed. (Romae 1906) III, 105; Gasparri Card. P., *Tractatus canonicus de matrimonio* I, 187. Among theologians who hold the same opinion can be numbered Billot Card. L., *De Ecclesiae sacramentis,* 3 ed. (Romae 1901) II, 429; Huarte G. SJ, *De ordine et matrimonio* (Romae 1913) 232-33; Joyce G. SJ, *Christian marriage, an historical and doctrinal study* (London 1948) 254; Pohle J., *Sacraments* IV, 239; Tanquerey A., *De poenitentia et matrimonio,* 7 ed. (Paris 1959) 202-03; Zubizarreta V., *Theologia dogmatico-scholastica* (Bilbao 1939) IV, 461-62; and among moralists and canon lawyers D'annibale, Resemans, Wernz, Lehmkuhl, Cappello, Vlaming, De Smet, Vidal, Triebs, Chelodi, Corre, Dantes Manerati, Schaefer, Zitelli, Vermeersch-Creusen, Genicot-Salsmans, Payen, Chabagno, V. Heylen, Vromant [See Vromant G., *De matrimonio,* 3 ed. (Paris 1952) 18], to whom may be added Noldin-Schmitt, and Aertnys-Damen.

388 Davis H. SJ, *Moral and pastoral theology,* 8 ed. Rev. L. Geddes SJ (London 1959) IV, 78; Jelicic V. OFM, *Praelectiones de matrimonio et ordine sacro habitae* 1935-36 54 (as ms.).

This majority opinion is supported by both external and internal arguments. The extrinsic arguments are taken from the constant practice of the Holy See in individual cases, and from policy decisions contained in ecclesiastical documents, especially those of the Holy Office and the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, which are quoted and analysed in Cardinal Gasparri's monumental work.[389] Even though these documents do not carry the weight of the pope's personal authority, they do manifest the accepted teaching of the Church. It does not seem likely that for three

hundred years the Church would, in theory and in practice, have erred in a matter affecting the validity of a sacrament, since these regulations and decisions naturally concern the freedom to marry of converts to Christianity in the light of unions entered into before baptism.

389 Gasparri Card. P., *Tractatus canonicus de matrimonio* I, 191-94.

The principal intrinsic reason is that human affairs are subject both to the divine law, and also to civil government in the things which concern it unless God has established some other authority. Now marriage certainly is of great importance to the civil authority as being the basis of sound family life, which is crucial to the welfare of any society. Because it is not evident that God has established any other authority with competence over non-Christian marriages, the regulation of these pertains to the civil authority, though only secondarily, because they are governed in the first instance by divine law, and by human law in dependence upon and only within the limits set by divine law. Nevertheless the formulation of human law does belong to the civil authority, established by God precisely to regulate human affairs in the light of the common good.[390]

390 Cavagnis Card. F., *Institutiones iuris publici ecclesiastici* III, 106-07.

Granting the common opinion on the state's right to constitute diriment impediments to the marriages of non-Christians in the interest of the common good, however, the further question still remains as to whether or not a diriment impediment of disparity of blood can in fact be in the interests of the common good.

The common good is a highly complex notion, especially in our day when it has been officially extended beyond the restricted sphere of the individual state into the broad field of the whole of humanity. Simultaneously, by good fortune, the concept of the common good and its constituent elements have been clearly expounded in Pope John's two major encyclicals. In general the common good is the sum total of those conditions of social life by which men are able to achieve their integral perfection more fully and more easily.[391] It demands a balancing of the common good of the individual state with that of the entire human family considered on a world scale.[392] The very reason for the existence of public authority, whether within the state or on the world level, is the promotion of the common good.[393] The norm for the exercise of this power in the interests of the common good is the moral law, which applies equally to individuals and to public authorities.[394] This in turn is based on human nature,[395] having as its cardinal point the appreciation of the human person taken as a whole, body and soul,[396] with the recognition, safeguarding, and promoting of his rights and legitimate sphere of freedom.[397] These human values, therefore, must constitute the primary objective of the public authority.[398] Although not exhausted and defined by them, the common good does include the innate characteristics proper to particular racial groups.[399] But these must be respected in such a way that neither individuals nor groups derive special advantage from the preferential protection of their rights.[400]

391 John XXIII, *Mater et magistra* 419; *Pacem in terris* 273.

392 John XXIII, *Mater et magistra* 419. 421; *Pacem in terris* 284.

393 John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 285-86.

394 John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 279-81.

395 John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 272.

396 John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 273. 294.

397 John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 273. 275. 285-86.

398 John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 294.

399 John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 272.

400 John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 272. 275.

Of the authors consulted who expressly treat of the question whether or not a diriment impediment of disparity of blood can be for the common good, only Nau replies negatively, and that in the concrete circumstance of the United States, where, he maintains, it was introduced solely to protect the political and economic domination of the whites.[401] Should this allegation be true, then the impediment would have to be judged wrong in terms of the doctrine of the common good outlined above.

401 Nau L., *Marriage laws* 15.

All the other, and later writers, on the contrary, hold that such an impediment can serve the common good, for which opinion various arguments are deduced. First of all, as we have mentioned, and will later deal with in greater detail, the defense and maintenance of the identity of a race is in itself quite legitimate, and consequently laws made to give concrete expression to this are valid.[402] Secondly, in the present state of evolution of certain political communities, interracial marriages often enough produce such serious tensions in family life, not unlike those arising from a mixture of religions, that their prohibition can be morally justified in the interest of family life which is fundamental to the good of society.[403] This personal opinion of La Farge's is confirmed by the conclusions of the theologians, philosophers, and sociologists from all over the world, who under the presidency of Cardinal Van Roey constituted the Union Internationale d'Etudes Sociales.[404] Their view was accepted again in full by Guzzetti in his *Morale Cattolica.*[405] Neither of these reasons has been invalidated by the extension of the notion of the common good beyond the frontiers of the particular state, especially as this dimension was not absent from the perspectives of the Union Internationale d'Etudes Sociales. Indeed the very documents which advocate this extension still make the surveillance of the common good of the particular political community the primary function of the state,[406] and still adhere to the Church's traditional teaching on the value of distinct ethnic groups.[407]

402 Pius XII, *Summi pontificatus* 428-29; John XXIII, *Mater et magistra* 444; Mulder W., *Nieuwe Duitsche huwelijkswetgeving,* in *NKS* 36 (1936) 110; O'Hern C., *Matrimonial impediments of the State of Arizona and the Code of canon law compared* (Rome 1961) 42.

403 La Farge J., SJ, *Interracial justice* 146. See also Golden J., *Patterns of Negro-White inter-marriage,* in *American sociological review* 19 (1954) 144-47.

404 Union Internationale d'Études Sociales, *Code de moral international, nouvelle synthèse* (Bruxelles 1948) 49: "Au degré ou a été poussée la différenciation des grands rameaux de la famille humaine, la fusion des races, physiologiquement toujours possible, présente, au point de vue moral et social des inconvénients graves qui ne la rendent pas souhaitable. On ne peut, dès lors, condamner d'une manière absolue toute mesure destinée à prévenir une préjudiciable fusion de races. Mais la justice et la charité commandent alors qu'aux peuples atteints par ces mesures il soit reconnu un champ d'expansion approprié dans les continents que la nature même paraît avoir plus spécialement désignés".

405 Guzzetti G., *Morale cattolica* (Milano 1958) III, 170.

406 John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 284.

407 John XXIII, *Mater et magistra* 442-43; *Pacem in terris* 283-84.

Whence in conclusion it can be said that civil laws which prevent interracial marriages of non-Christians seem to be justified in certain conditions of society, in the interests of the two parties themselves and the children, and for the sake of the peaceful coexistence of different racial groups in one political community. Also, the making of laws regulating the validity of non-Christian marriages is normally held to be, as we have seen, a legitimate exercise of authority on the part of the state. Hence, until the contrary is proved, or the matter is authoritatively decided otherwise by the Church, the opinion which attributes to the state the competence to institute the diriment impediment of disparity of blood seems to be likely enough.[408]

408 Alford C., *Ius civile matrimoniale in Statibus Foederatis Americae Septentrionalis cum iure canonico comparatum* (Romae 1937) I. 146; O'Hern C., *Matrimonial impediments of the State of Arizona* 42.

9. The Fourth Proposition

> "The primary end of education is the cultivation of the racial character and the enkindling of a burning love for one's own race as the highest good."

Having examined the individual's relation to the welfare of the race on the procreative level, it is time to consider this relation from a more spiritual viewpoint.

The proposition as presented has three vitiating expressions, without which it would not constitute a contradiction to the Christian scheme of things. These are "primary," "burning," and above all "highest."

That the Church recognizes race as something good in the created order,[409] has already been shown in various ways in the course of the preceding discussion, and will be yet more amply illustrated by subsequent references to the doctrine of the Catholic hierarchy and writers. For, like all other aspects of creation, races partially reflect the divine fulness of being, so that by using what the racial factor can contribute to their total development men are able to perfect themselves and glorify God.[410]

409 Pius XI, *Address to Propaganda College,* 28. 7. 38; John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 272; Meiberg A. CSSR, *Ethica van het rassisme* 157.

410 Pius XI, *Address to Propaganda College,* 28. 7. 38; Hier. FWA and Togo, *Declaration,* 24. 4. 55, in *DC* 52 (1955) 672; Hier. Upper Volta, *Pastoral,* 27. 1. 59, in *DC* 56 (1959) 547; Congar Y. OP, *Catholic Church and the race question* 14; Constantius OFMCap, *Katholicisme en rasvraagstuk* 26; Coonen J., *Catholics and colour prejudice, some reflections,* in *Clergy review* 44 (1959) 288; Gleason R. SJ., *Immorality of segregation* 30; Kaelin B. OSB, *Vom ewigen Gesetz, der kirchliche Gesichtspunkt,* in *Schweizerische Rundschau* 38 (1938-39) 686; Meiberg A. CSSR, *Ethica van het rassisme* 157; Pinsk J., *Christianity and race,* tr. C. Bonacina (London 1936) 33.

Hence here again the error of racism does not consist in a total falsehood, but in the exaggeration of elevating what is only of relative importance to the rank of supreme value.[411] This exaltation may be understood in two possible ways: if it be taken in the absolute sense, then it ends up in the heresy of materialistic pantheism; if accepted merely relatively, in the sense that race is the summit of terrestrial values it will not completely escape the strictures brought against the second, third, and sixth propositions. For in either case the biological element is given undue importance, to the disparagement of true personality and the transcendent personal end of man, and to the depreciation of many earthly values of greater merit for human life than race.[412]

411 Hier. Switzerland, *Pastoral,* 5. 7. 38, (Fribourg 1938, French text) 3; Roey Card. J. van, *Address,* 4. 3. 42. 330.

412 Gregoire F., *Use and misuse of philosophy* 700; *Wat is het racisme?* 37; La Brière Y. de SJ, *Histoire religieuse* 806; Lamberty M., *Kritiek van het racisme* 10; Rosa E. SJ, *Tesi della* S. *Congregazione* 183.

According to the racist vision, as we have seen it in the analysis of these propositions, the state is the embodiment and organ of the race by which it expresses itself and acts collectively, and the supreme glory of man lies in his being a racial progenitor. Hence his offspring, since they are first and foremost for the sake of the race, belong primarily to the state. They are thereby subject to the state in the first place, especially as regards education, which must be properly directed to the preserving and fostering of "the vigour of the race and the purity of its blood."[413] No other society has a right to interfere in this mission of the racial state, neither the family nor the Church.[414] Then, because "all intellectual and moral qualities flow from the blood, in which the characteristics of the race are

contained, as from their principal source",[415] the place of honour must be given to the cultivation of the body, and the next to the nurturing of the other innate characteristics of the race.[416]

413 Prop. 2

414 Pius XI, *Non abbiamo bisogno,* in *AAS* 23 (1931) 302; Guardini R., *Chrétien devant le racisme* 67-68. 80; Messineo A. SJ, *Concezione dello stato nel terzo Reich* 354-55. 358; *Ordine giuridico* 512.

415 Prop. 3

416 Guardini R., *Chrétien devant le racisme* 72-73; Janssen A., *Ras, natie, vaderland* 45; *Rassisme* 179; Messineo A. SJ, *Concezione dello stato nel terzo Reich* 354-55.

This theory of education is a total subversion of the Christian system. It confounds above all the relative emphases to be placed on the different items in the programme, which for a Christian must always start with preparing citizens for heaven;[417] the next place being given to the cultivation of the spiritual faculties, so that the person may become a responsible citizen on earth, working for the universal common good as well as that of the local community;[418] the third place going to the physical development precisely in order that the first two might be fulfilled, because it is not the body which is of primary importance in man but the spirit,[419] since human society must be regarded above all as a spiritual reality.[420] In addition it violates the hierarchy of authorities responsible for education, which are firstly the Church, secondly the parents, and lastly the state, and then only in terms of its subsidiary function.[421] But perhaps theologically speaking the most dangerous perversion is that the racist system implies that everything in man as he is born has only to be cultivated in its own natural direction for his perfection to be achieved. Hence it takes no account of the profound disorder in man, wounded in his natural being and powers by original sin, on account of which his innate tendencies have to be purged and corrected, and diligently redirected according to the order revealed by God.[422]

417 Pius XI, *Divini illius Magistri* 51.

418 John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 296.

419 Pius XII, *Address to the Congress of Gymnastics and Sport,* 8. 11. 52, 871.

420 John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 266.

421 Pius XI, *Divini illius Magistri* 52-65.

422 Pius XI, *Divini illius Magistri* 69; Bornewasser Bp. F., *Pastoral,* 2. 4. 34, in *KADT* 78, 87 (1934) 56; *Racialist religion* 524; Rongen H. OCR, *Nationaal-socialisme en katholicisme, stemmen pro en contra,* in *Kultuurleven* 9 (1938) 586.

Yet it must not be thought that in rejecting the presumptions of exaggerated and separatist racism, the Church undervalues the innate qualities of races and their cultivation. Let us listen for a moment to the voice of Pope Pius XII, whose words were re-echoed verbatim by Pope John XXIII:[423] The Church of Jesus Christ, the bountiful and faithful steward of His divine wisdom, by no means strives either to trample upon or to belittle the peculiar characteristics and properties of any nation. The different peoples legitimately and with good reason jealously cherish these peculiarities and defend them as sacred heritage. The Church does, however, exert herself vigorously to draw these differences into a unity, a unity strengthened and exalted by supernatural love, which should be the driving force in everyone; she does not aim at reducing everything to a single uniform pattern, which, being merely external, would seriously enfeeble their innate powers. The Church readily approves of, and follows with her maternal blessing, all regulations and practical efforts that, in a spirit of wisdom and

moderation, lead to the evolution and increase of the potentialities and powers which spring up from the hidden sources of life of each race. She does, however, lay down one provision, namely, that these regulations and efforts must not clash with the duties incumbent on all men in virtue of the common origin and destiny of all mankind.

423 Pius XII, *Summi pontificatus* 428-29; John XXIII, *Mater et magistra* 444: " Iesu Christi Ecclesia, utpote fidelissima almae divinaeque sapientiae custos, non ea pro certe nitiur deprimere vel parvi facere, quae peculiares cuiusvis nationis notas proprietatesque constituant, quas quidem populi jure meritoque quasi sacram hereditatem religiose acerrimeque tueantur. Ea siquidem ad unitatem contendit, superno illo amore confortatam et altam, quo omnes actuose exerceantur; non vero ad unam assequendam rerum omnium aequabilitatem, externam tantummodo atque adeo insitas vires debilitantem. Et curas omnes ac normas, quae facultatibus viribusque sapienter explicandis temperateque augendis inserviunt - quae quidem ex occultis cuiusvis stirpis latebris oriuntur - Ecclesia approbat maternisque votis prosequitur, si modo officiis non adversentur, quae communis mortalium omnium origo communisque destinatio imponant". See also Hier. Germany, *Pastoral,* 7. 6. 34 (1934) 9.

In the field of practical education then one has to seek to find a way out of the difficulty posed by La Farge, that the preservation of a sound and positive racial heritage, while escaping from the trammels of racism, is among the most delicate and difficult problems that the educator has to face.[424]

424 La Farge J. SJ, *Racial truth and racist error,* in *Thought* 14 (1939) 29.

For everyone indeed this legitimate love towards the natural group to which he belongs, whether it be country, nation, or race, of which the Pope spoke, is so instinctive,[425] that, like all man's instinctive drives, it can easily get out of hand in a selfish way and make havoc of the justice and charity due to all men.[426] Sound doctrine, on the contrary, demands that collective egoism be overcome, so that the instinctive human urge towards solidarity with others, rooted basically in the unity of mankind, may be evolved to such a point that it includes not only other groups, but reaches out to embrace the whole of mankind in an ever increasing surge of love.[427] Granted that all do not have to be loved with equal tenderness, the minimum required is that no one be positively excluded.[428]

425 Halliman Bp. F., *Pastoral,* Lent 1961 (Charleston 1961) 1; Hyland Bp. F., *Pastoral,* Lent 1961 (Atlanta 1961) 1; McDonough Bp. T., *Pastoral,* Lent 1961 (Savannah 1961) 1; Messineo A. SJ, *Internazionalismo cosmopolita* 16; Semaine Religieuse de Lyon, *Notes doctrinales* 1194.

426 Pius XI, *Ubi arcano,* in *AAS* 14 (1922) 682; *Caritate Christi compulsi,* in *AAS* 24 (1932) 179; Hinsley Card. A., *Pastoral,* Lent 1939, in *Tablet* 173 (1939) 267; Orban M., *Nouvelle idole* 77.

427 St. Pius X, *Lacrimabili statu Indorum* 524; Pius XII, *Summi pontificatus* 430; *Address to the Congress ' I Cattolici e la Vita Internazionale ',* 16.7.52, in *DRM* 14 (1952-53) 258; Hier. Switzerland, *Pastoral,* 5.7.38, 6 (German text); Messineo A. SJ, *Internazionalismo cosmopolita* 16.

428 Hier. Uganda, *Pastoral,* 1.6.52 in *Church to Africa* (London 1959) 50; Guzzetti G., *Morale cattolica* III, 157.

10. The Fifth Proposition

"Religion is subject to the law of the race and must be adapted to it."

As the detailed examination of these condemned propositions draws to a close, it becomes apparent that all the various tendencies coalesce towards a concept of man's relation to God which cannot be reconciled with Christianity.

Racism, as presented in the instruction, elevates race to the apex of human values. Consequently it must perforce accept one of the two possible conclusions which follow necessarily from this exaltation: either by an absolute apotheosis of race it falls into that "idolatry of race and blood,"[429] which is in fact nothing else than a particular aspect of materialistic and biological pantheism more than once solemnly rejected by the Church; or, while not expressly denying the existence of a transcendent God, in assigning to race a primordial and deterministic place among created things, it destroys objective religion by its inherent relativism which leads at best to agnosticism and more likely ends in atheism.[430]

429 Pius XII, *Address to the cardinals* 2.6.45, in *AAS* 37 (1945) 162: "l'idolatria della razza e del sangue". See also Hier. Germany, *Pastoral,* 7.6.34, 5. 10.

430 Hier. Germany, *Pastoral,* 28.8.38, 64; Mancini A., SS, *Del razzismo* 66; Rosa E. SJ, *Tesi della S. Congregazione* 184. See also St. Pius X, *Pascendi* in *ASS* 40 (1907) 634.

In terms of either hypothesis religion becomes completely anthropocentric, not in the individualistic sense, but racially, for the reason that all intellectual and moral qualities flow from the blood.[431] This deterministic fatalism makes any universally valid, supernatural revelation simply impossible;[432] and because, like the juridical order, religion is an epiphenomenon of the racial instinct, we end up with another form of the immanentism and sentimentalism of the modernists.[433]

431 Hier. Germany, *Pastoral,* 7.6.34, 5; Hilkman A., *Nacionalsocialismo aleman* 154.

432 Harcourt R. d', *Religion du sang* 42; Radl E., *Philosophie der rassentheorieeen,* in *Christendom bedreigd door rassenwaan* 116.

433 Harcourt R. d', *Religion du sang* 42; Orban M., *Nouvelle idole* 78.

Religion as such having been rendered relative by its dependence on the blood of each race, it obviously follows that religious truth is likewise deprived of objectivity and universality, becoming subject like all other knowledge to the biologically determined intellectual characteristics of the particular race. Whence the upholders of this viewpoint concluding that the Christian religion, and especially Catholicism, is nothing more than a product of Semitic and Roman culture,[434] logically demand a racial religion incorporated in a racial or national church, and subject to the law of the race.[435]

434 Holy Office, *Decree condemning the book 'Die deutsche Nationalkirche' by E. Bergman;* Hier Germany, *Pastoral,* 7.6.34, 6; *Pastoral,* 28.8.38, 61; Guardini R., *Chrétien devant le racisme* 85. 94; Harcourt R. d', *Racisme dans la vie de l'âme de la jeunesse,* in Bressolles A., *Racisme et christianisme* 157; *Racialist religion* 524.

435 Holy Office, *Decree condemning the book ' Der Mythus des 20 Jahrhunderts' by A. Rosenberg;* Hier. Bavaria, *Pastoral,* 12.2.31, 533; Roey Card. J. van, *Address,* 2.9.45, 211; Wey A. van der OCarm, *Ideologische ondergrond en uitbouw* 457.

Furthermore, since this law is known and given palpable form by the embodiment and organ of the race, the state, to which all things are subject, it follows naturally that religious matters too should

be regulated by this authority. This distinction between the spiritual and the temporal domains no longer has any meaning. A concordat, therefore, between the Catholic Church and any state cannot possibly be an agreement binding the state,[436] since it alone is competent in religious matters, which like all other public affairs, are regulated according to the good of the race as perceived by the governing racial elite.

436 Pius XI, *Letter to Card. Schuster,* 26.4.31, in *Actes* 7 (1931) 39-40; Hier. Germany, *Pastoral,* 7.6.34, 9; Gfoellner Bp. J., *Pastoral,* 23.1.33, 433a; La Brière Y. de SJ, *Histoire religieuse* 808-09; *National- socialism, a religion,* in *Tablet* 171 (1938) 202; Roullet A., *Personne et les faits* 163.

Pruning off this wild branch which had been grafted onto the tree of religion, Pope Pius once again made the characteristics of the true stock perceptible. God, the transcendent Creator of all things apart from Himself, is the God of all men, considered both individually and in their various groupings; thus it is false to talk of the god of a particular nation or race.[437] Consequently there can be no such thing as a racial religion or a national church, since the Church of Jesus Christ is one, indivisible, and universal, apt for all men of whatever race, era, or region.[438] If any society can by right be considered to embrace the whole man, it is the Mystical Body of Christ: "the whole, integral man belongs to the Church, because wholly and totally he belongs to God."[439] To this Church Christ has bequeathed His divine revelation, so definitive, sufficient, and obligatory, that there is no place left for any appendix or substitute of human "revelation" arising from the blood of the race or the history of the nation.[440] Neither can the racial blood be spoken of as a redeemer or means of salvation, since these titles belong by right to Christ alone.[441] In addition, immortality properly belongs to the human person as such, by no means, therefore, to the survival and continuation of any particular collectivity; so that whoever holds the contrary overthrows the foundations of the Christian faith and indeed all religion, as well as the good order of the world.[442] Finally, to have a confident solicitude for the prospering of one's people which is dear to all men, is perfectly legitimate; but to give this the title of "faith" with a religious signification is only playing with words and confusing terminology.[443]

437 Pius XI. *Mit brennender Sorge* 149.

438 Pius XI, *Mit brennender Sorge* 152. 156. See also Hier. Germany, *Pastoral,* 7.6.34, 5. 8-9; Hier. Sudan, Pastoral, 15.2.56, in Church to Africa 118-19; Hier. Switzerland, Pastoral, 5.7.38, 6 (German text); Bornewasser Bp. F., Pastoral, 2.4.34, 55; Faulhaber Card. M. de, Address, 30.11.30, in SZuk 6 (1930-31) 201; Address, 31.12.33, in Judentum, Christentum, Germanentum, Adventspredigten gehalten in St. Michael zu Muenchen 1933 (Muenchen 1934) 102. 116-18; Groeber Abp. K., Kirche, Vaterland, und Vaterlandsliebe 110-11; Address, 31.12.35, in Hofmann K., Hirtenrufe des Erzbischofs Groeber in die Zeit (Freiburg im Breisgau 1947) 56.

439 Pius XI, *Address to CFTC,* 18.9.38, 159: "l'homme tout entier appartient à l'Église, parce que, tout entier, il appartient à Dieu". See also Cornelissen A., *Moderne staatsgedachte* 73-74; Tromp S. SJ, *Ware wereldorde,* in Limburgsche Sociale Studieweek 1937, *Verslagboek* 9.

440 Pius XI, *Mit brennender Sorge* 151. 156. See also Groeber Abp. K., *Pastoral,* Sept. 1935, in Hofmann K., *Hirtenrufe des Erzbischofs Groeber* 40; *Address,* 31.12.35, 56.

441 Pius XI *Mit brennender Sorge* 151. See also Hier. Germany, *Pastoral,* 7.6.34, 5-7; Bornewasser Bp. F., *Pastoral* 2.4.34, 55; Faulhaber Card. M. de, *Address,* 31.12.33, 118.

442 Pius XI. *Mit brennender Sorge* 156.

443 Pius XI, *Mit brennender Sorge* 152. 156.

Chapter 5. Race

In the preceding chapter the theological view of race was given principally in its negative aspect, by considering the propositions concerning races which the Holy See has deemed necessary to condemn as being irreconcilable with the complexus of Christian truth. Nevertheless from time to time in the course of this exposition reference was made to certain positive tenets with regard to our subject which are common in the teaching of the Church. It is to this positive doctrine that we shall now turn our attention in order to try and uncover what can be gleaned from theological sources about the existence and nature of races, and their place in the integral Christian vision of the universe.

To this end we shall first take a look at the idea of race in itself, following a scheme similar to that used in the second chapter when dealing with the racial findings of the positive scientists. As this latter for completeness' sake was brought to a close with certain observations about culture and its connections with race, so here too the relation between race and culture will be examined, but for convenience in a separate chapter. Then, since man in the full dimensions of his being has a supernatural destiny, in the final chapter an attempt will be made to situate race and culture in that sublime supernatural mystery which is the Mystical Body of Christ, in both its temporal and eschatological dimensions.

1. The Existence of Races

In the first chapter we had occasion to point out that the contemporary ideas about race are of relatively recent origin, in fact, scarcely antedating the last century. It is little wonder then that the term is found for the first time in episcopal statements as late as 1891,[444] and not until 1916 in papal documents.[445] Since then it has been used with increasing frequency, especially since the emergence of doctrinaire racism as a political force in the 1930s, though in the postwar years it has been employed in an ever widening context as racial problems have progressively assumed greater significance on the world stage. Yet from the beginning the use made of the word 'race' in ecclesiastical circles has been such that it was undoubtedly intended to signify something fairly definite.

444 Ireland Abp. J., *Address,* 1.1.1891, in *Tam-tam* 4, 2 (Nov. 1954) 1-2.

445 Benedict XV, *Letter of the Bps. of Canada,* 8.9.16, in *AAS* 8 (1916) 390.

How far this concept of race extends can be gathered, by way of a brief outline prior to a more detailed examination, from statements made by catholic writers. Because every heresy contains within itself a nucleus of truth, which in this case is simply that various races of men exist, each with its own distinctive character,[446] the Church, while rejecting completely the tenets of exaggerated racism, nonetheless willingly accepts the actual facts of race in their concrete historical circumstances.[447] Consequently at the same time as acknowledging the diversity and singularity of races,[448] the Church rejects, equally with the racist assertions of radical racial superiority and inferiority, the tendency towards a depreciation and leveling of races found at the opposite extreme.[449] It does this in the confidence that Christianity, grounded in reality and truth, is able to harmonize the affirmation of the radical unity of mankind with the recognition of racial diversity.[450] Hence the Church combines a sane realism with a lofty idealism in such a way that its realism is infused with the ideal while its idealism remains firmly anchored in reality, because there are two complementary aspects of the truth. There can therefore be no better way of combatting racism and racial discrimination, than by a sane and realistic acknowledgement of the facts of race and of historical and cultural inequalities.[451]

446 Janssen A., *Ras, natie, vaderland* 32; *Rassisme* 170.

447 Boileanu D., *Ethical principles and discrimination in the United States of America,* unpublished thesis (Louvain 1961: University Catholique de Louvain, Institut Supérieur de Philosophie, thesis 1961 Boileau D.A.I. & II)

448 Kaelin B. OSB, *Vom ewigen Gesetz* 686.

449 Constantius OFMCap, *Katholicisme en rasvraagstuk* 10.

450 Gleason R. SJ, *Immorality of segregation* 30.

451 Congar Y. OP, *Attitudes de l'Eglise devant les faits de race,* in Centre Catholique des Intellectuels Français, *Colonisation et conscience chrétienne* (Paris 1953) 62.

It is not an isolated phenomenon, however, to find members of the hierarchy and catholic writers treating of the racial factor as irrelevant. Yet an examination of the context of these statements makes it clear that they are referring either to the personal dignity common to all men in virtue of their human nature, or to the purely spiritual plane.[452] This is equally true with regard to the citing of

Saint Paul's statement to the Galatians,[453] that "there is neither Jew nor Greek: there is neither bond nor free: there is neither male nor female. For you are all one in Christ Jesus."[454] Never has the Church sought to play down this latter distinction between male and female. Indeed she rather emphasizes it as the theological foundation of marriage, which, raised by Christ to the supernatural dignity of a sacrament, forms the basis of family life and hence of society. The Apostle to the gentiles cannot, therefore, have intended to reject the other natural distinctions which he cites, since these are all mentioned in the same way without qualification: Christian realism does not permit us to ignore any human factor.[455] This had already been made clear by Saint Augustine fifteen centuries ago in his commentary on the abovementioned passage,[456] where he insists that all these natural differences retain their validity in the affairs of this world, since Saint Paul himself laid down prescriptions by which Jews and Greeks, masters and servants, husbands and wives might live together peacefully in terms of their natural differences. In our own century Pinsk has reiterated this explanation in terms of the modern *problematique.*[457]

452 Pius XI, *Address to CFTC* 18.9.38, 158; Pius XII, *Address to a group from the state schools of Belgium,* 12.4.52, in *DRM* 14 (1952-53) 60; Hier. South Africa, *Pastoral,* 2.2.90, 3; Hier. USA, *Pastoral,* 26.9.19, in *Our bishops speak* 20; Chappoulie Bp. H., *Address,* 2.10.55, 1347; Cushing Card. R., *Address,* 21.12.47, (ms. in the archives of the Daughters of St. Paul, Boston); Schuster Card. A., *Address,* 13.11.38, in *Rivista diocesana milanese* 28 (1938) 617; Stritch Card. S., *Letter,* 18.4.44, (in the archives of the Archdiocese of Chicago); Gleason R. SJ, *Immorality of segregation* 34; Guardini R., *Chrétien devant le racisme* 22. 69; Masson J. SJ, *Chrétien devant le 'colour-bar'* , in *NRT* 78 (1956) 631.

453 John XXIII, *Decretal for the canonization of Martin de Porres,* 6.6.62, in *AAS* 55 (1963) 197; Agagianian Card. G., *Address,* 2.10.55, 1374; Schuster Card. A., *Address,* 13.11.38, 617; Gleason R. SJ, *Immorality of segregation* 34.

454 Gal. 3, 28.

455 Congar Y. OP, *Catholic Church and the race question* 17. 35.

456 St. Augustine, *Epistolae ad Galatas expositionis liber unus* (PL 35, 2125).

457 Pinsk J., *Christianity and race* 38: "And yet it would show a complete misunderstanding of these Pauline passages if we sought to eliminate altogether from the life of the Church such earthly forms of existence as we find established in male and female, in the classes of society, in the political organism, and in racial diversity. Thus though it is a positive and vital truth that man and woman, for example, receive the same plentitude of divine life, yet for the form of the Church's manifestation *in this world,* the sexual differentiation retains its significance, not only in the external things, but also in the ordering of the intrinsic life of grace. . . This makes us careful lest we be tempted to interpret the Pauline texts in the sense of a natural forms of life. That these retain their significance for the being and activity of the Church in the world is due to the fact that *the Church is not a purely spiritual construction,* but that her divine structural principle, although *in itself* absolutely independent of all natural conditionings, must go through a process of incarnation, in order that the specifically *Christian Church* may rise at all."

2. The Characteristics of Race

That racial differences are not only somatic but also psychic, not only material in their influence but also spiritual, is among the facts of race which are readily accepted in the Church, and regarded as fundamental by catholic writers, because of the integral unity of the human person,[458] which was discussed earlier. Not that psychic or spiritual characteristics as such are transmitted directly, but rather that they accompany the hereditary physical constitution, in which they are rooted.[459] Yet they are not fixed in a deterministic manner, but on account of their plasticity are capable of maturing in many and various ways.[460] And all this in a total ontic dependence on God Whose causality extends to all things without exception, to the principles of similarity of the species equally with the principles of individuality, to the elements of permanence as well as to elements of change.[461]

458 Brown S. SJ, *Racialism,* in *Irish ecclesiastical record* 55 (1940) 142; Folliet J., *Racisme devant la raison* 28. 33; Kaelin B. OSB, *Vom ewigen Gesetz* 683. 686; Mancini A. SS, *Del razzismo* 65; Messineo A. SJ, *Alla ricerca di una soluzione, chiarimenti e distinzioni,* in *CC* 90, 1 (1939) 213; Orban M., *Nouvelle idole* 15; Vansteenkiste C. OP, *Rassenvraagstuk* 55; Waesberghe H. SJ, *Nederlands rassenboek* 513-14.

459 Boelaars H. CSSR, *Rassisme en rassenkunde* 102; Gregoire F., *Wat is het rassisme?* 10; Meiberg A. CSSR, *Ethica van het rassisme* 157.

460 Messineo A. SJ, *Minoranze nazionali,* in *CC* 95, 2 (1944) 89.

461 St. Thomas, *S. theol.* I q.22 a.2 in corp. (121a).

This, however, is not the teaching of catholic writers alone, but also of the bishops,[462] and more especially of the popes.

462 Hier. USA, *Declaration,* 14.11.42, 119; Faulhaber Card. M. de, *Address,* 3.3.40.

In three of his discourses to the medical profession, Pope Pius XII, speaking of the human composite, emphasized the perfect union of soul and body, which he called man's essential talents, intimately united and intimately independent. This unitary whole has four dimensions: it is an integral psychic unity, a unity structured within itself, a social unity, and lastly a transcendental unity orientated towards God.[463]

463 Pius XII, *Address to the Italian Medico-Biological Union of St. Luke,* 12.11.44, in *DRM* 6 (1944-45) 184-85; *Address to the third European Congress of Gastro-Enterology,* 26.4.52, in *DRM* 14 (1952-53) 106; *Address to the National Convention of Nurses,* 1.10.53, in *AAS* 45 (1953) 782.

In virtue of this integral wholeness he pointed out the value, but also the unfathomableness, of the transmission of a treasure of material and spiritual riches in a hereditary group, perpetuating the same physical and spiritual type from generation to generation. There is no denying the material substratum of this transmission, since, on account of the intimate union of soul and body, even the most spiritual activities depend on the body. Hence heredity is worthy of high esteem, even from the supernatural viewpoint.[464]

464 Pius XII, *Address to the Roman nobility,* 5.1.41, 364.

For this reason, exhorting lawyers to a deeper study of various problems of human rights which are too complex to be solved by a simple "yes" or "no," the Pope put at the head of the list races, with their biological, psychic, and social consequences.[465] For the community of blood between people,

whether in families or in larger collectivities, brings with it duties and responsibilities, because, granted that the formal element of human societies is of the psychic and moral order, nevertheless heredity is its material foundation, which merits great respect and must not be injured. So it is that whatever can be said about heredity in a restricted sphere can also be applied in a modified way to the vast groups which constitute the races of mankind.[466] Nevertheless, like his successor, Pope John XXIII, Pope Pius XII did not stop at the merely negative point of censuring the injury of the hereditary racial factors,[467] but gave his blessing to all wise and moderate regulations and efforts aimed at the evolution and flourishing of the potentialities and powers that spring up from the hidden sources of life of the different races.[468]

465 Pius XII, *Address to the Union of Catholic Jurists,* 6.12.53, 796.

466 Pius XII, *Address to the Society for Blood Transfusion,* 5.9.58, 731.

467 John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 283.

468 Pius XII, *Summi pontificatus* 428-29; John XXIII, *Mater et magistra* 444.

All this had already been foreshadowed in Pope Pius XI's encyclical against racism, when he ranked race among the fundamental values of human society in the order of the world as designed and created by God.[469] This he would hardly have done had he considered race a superficial and incidental matter of little or no import, simply a "question of colour" as some would put it.

469 Pius XI, *Mit brennender Sorge* 149.

3. The Differences and Equality of Races

From what has been said above it is clear that the Church recognizes a real diversity among the races of men, in virtue of which each race has something which is peculiar and native to it, and which Popes Pius XII and John XXIII call "innate potentialities"[470] or "innate dispositions."[471] It is by no means surprising, therefore, to find numerous explicit testimonies to this racial diversity,[472] which some authors even go so far as to compare with the differences existing between the two sexes.[473]

470 Pius XII, *Summi pontificatus* 428; John XXIII, *Mater et magistra* 444.

471 John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 272.

472 John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 284; *Decretal for the canonization of Martin de Porres,* 6.6.62, 200; Vatican Cnl. II, *Message to all men,* 20.10.62, 824; Hier. France, *Déclaration,* 6.3.53, in *DC* 50 (1953) 324; Hier. FWA and Togo, *Déclaration,* 24.4.55, 672; Hier. Sudan, *Pastoral,* 15.2.56, 121; Hier. Tanganyika, *Pastoral,* 11.7.53, in *Church to Africa* 60; Hier. Upper Volta, *Pastoral,* 27.1.59, 547; Cazzani Abp. G., *Pastoral,* Lent 1939, 276-77; Chappoulie Bp H., *Address,* 2.10.55, 10; Feltin Card. M., *Address,* 10.5.59, in *DC* 56 (1959) 789; *Lienart* Card. A., *Pastoral,* 21.2.60, in *DC* 57 (1960) 298; Mathieu Bp. C., *Harmonie de la vie personnelle et société dans l'Eglise; comment l'Eglise défend la personne de ses enfants,* in Semaines Sociales de France 1937, *Personne humaine en péril* 468; Roey Card. J. van, *Address,* Aug. 1938, 547; *Address,* 2.10.40, in *CMec* 14 (1940-44) 9; *Address,* 4.3.42, 340; Zaffrani Bp. G., *Address,* 25.1.39; Congar Y. OP, *Attitudes de l'Eglise devant les faits de race* 62; Corte N., *Origines de l'homme* 74; Daniélou J. SJ, *Essai sur le mystère de l'histoire* 60; Folliet J., *Racisme devant la raison* 33. 42; Gleason R. SJ, *Immorality of segregation* 30; Janssen A., *Ras, natie, vaderland* 32. 36; *Rassisme* 170; Kaelin B. OSB, *Vom ewigen Gesetz* 686; Pinsk J., *Christianity and race* 33. 38; Radl E., *Philosophie der rassentheorieen* 107.

473 Folliet J., *Racisme devant la raison* 42-43; Marcos V. OMI, *De animarum humanarum inaequalitate* 449; Pinsk J., *Christianity and race* 33. 35. 38; Verdum M. SJ, *Probleme racial* 87.

It follows necessarily that no one race can possess completely the full riches and potentialities of humanity, since it will lack that which constitutes the peculiarity of the other races and makes them distinct from it. The exemplar of human nature in the mind of God is too rich to be exhausted by any single race, so that in the present order of things mankind is enriched by a multiplicity of races.[474] For this reason the Church does not accept any particular race as being the absolute norm by which to judge others, as though it possessed wholly what others had only in part.[475]

474 Pius XI, *Address to Propaganda College,* 28.7.38; Hier. FWA and Togo, *Declaration,* 24.4.55, 672; Bea Card. A., *Address,* 1.4.63, 731; Congar Y. OP, *Catholic Church and the race question* 14; Constantius OFMCap, *Katholicisme en rasvraagstuk* 26; Coonen J. *Catholics and colour prejudice* 288; Danielou J. SJ, *Essai sur le mystère de l'histoire* 60; Gleason R. SJ, *Immorality of segregation* 30; Kaelin B. OSB, *Vom ewigen Gesetz* 686; Meiberg A. CSSR, *Ethica van het rassisme* 157; Pinsk J., *Christianity and race* 33.

475 Constantius OFMCap, *Katholicisme en rasvraagstuk* 11. 16.

The question could possibly be asked: would it not be for the greater enriching of mankind, and thus to the greater glory of God, if the existing races should intermingle to the point where the genetic complex would become so uniform that racial distinctions would no longer exist or be observable, so that there would be in the strict and technical sense of the word only one race of men? Unfortunately the speculative discussion of the question lies outside the scope of this work, which, as has been intimated, does not go beyond discussing and unifying the ideas about race that are to be found in the official statements of the hierarchy and theological writings. To the best of our knowledge no catholic writer in his capacity as a theologian has raised this question, nor has it been mooted in the

public teaching of the Church. Even should such a state of racial uniformity come about at some future stage in the history of mankind, it would not invalidate what is said here about the value of distinct races in the order of the world designed and created by God. For, granting that a time may come when there will be only one race occupying the whole earth, it would not alter the fact that looking back down past ages mankind would present a variegated pattern of diverse genetic complexes. Nor in the light of the Church's attitude towards the rights of races would it be licit to procure such a state of racial uniformity by political coercion. It would have to arise in the natural course of social intermingling.

As we have already seen, the assertion that races are superior and inferior by an innate substantial difference, which would in fact constitute them into diverse species, is incompatible with the Christian doctrine of the essential unity of mankind; and time and again the teaching authority of the Church has declared against a radical superiority of one race over others.[476] Hence it is that Pope John has insistently denied that some human beings are by nature superior and others by nature inferior.[477] Which can be put positively by saying that human races are substantially equal, at least potentially.[478] This does not rule out the possibility of a gradation of races built on an incidental superiority and inferiority.[479]

476 Pius XI, *Rerum Ecclesiae,* in *AAS* 18 (1926) 77; John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 281; Hier. Southern Rhodesia, *Pastoral,* 21.5.61, (Gwelo 1961) 10; Bornewasser Bp. F., *Pastoral,* Lent 1934, 659; Cazzani Abp. G., *Pastoral,* Lent 1939, 277-78; Gfoellner Bp. J., *Pastoral,* 23.1.33, 430a; Guerry Abp. E., *Address,* 22.5.62, 810; Ireland Abp. J., *Address,* 1.1.1891, 2; Mathieu Bp. C., *Harmonie de la vie personnelle* 468; Moussaron Bp. J., *Declaration,* 23.11.44, 1; Piazza Card. A., *Address,* 6.1.39; Roey Card. J. van, *Address,* Aug. 1938, 574; *Address,* 4.3.42, 340; *Address,* 2.9.45, 210; Gleason R. SJ, *Immorality of segregation* 36; Kenealy W. SJ, *Legal profession and segregation,* in *Social order* 6 (1956) 488-89; Semaine Religieuse de Lyon, *Notes doctrinales* 1194.

477 John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 281.

478 John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 268. 281. 292; Hier. FWA and Togo, *Declaration,* 24.4.55, 672; Cazzani Abp. G., *Pastoral,* Lent 1939, 287; Cushing Card. R., *Address,* 21.12.47; Feltin Card. M., *Address,* 20.4.56, 616; Congar Y. OP, *Question raciales et théologie,* in *Revue de l'action populaire* 142 (Nov. 1960) 1036-37; Janssen A., *Ras, natie, vaderland* 36; Semaine Religieuse de Lyon, *Notes doctrinales* 1194.

479 Mathieu Bp. C., *Harmonie de la vie personnelle* 468; Roey Card. J. van, *Address,* 4.3.42, 340; Janssen A., *Ras, natie, vaderland* 32; *Rassisme* 170; Pinsk J., *Christianity and race* 33.

The principal reasons adduced for this general equality of races can be reduced to four. All belong to the same species and share a common nature, having the same origin and destiny, but one universal Redeemer, and the same fundamental rights and obligations consequent upon this common heritage.[480] Besides their distinctive characteristics, and talents by which they are distinguished from others, men of whatever race have things of great importance in common, in terms of what they are able progressively to perfect themselves, especially with regard to riches of the soul.[481] Because races are not fixed and static phenomena, but rather flexible and in constant process of flux, they are all capable of evolution and are all perfectible.[482] Finally all are capable of receiving the Christian faith and eternal salvation.[483]

480 John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 268. 281. 292; Feltin Card. M., *Address,* 20.4.56, in *DC* 53 (1956) 616; Gfoellner Bp. J., *Pastoral,* 23.1.33, 430a; Lienart Card. A., *Pastoral,* 21.2.60, 298; Meyer Card. A., *Address,* 21.9.60, in Archdiocese of Chicago, *Catholic Church and the Negro* 25; Moussaron Bp. A., 214; Zaffrani Bp. G., *Address,* 25.1.39.

481 John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 284.

482 Roey Card. J., van, *Address,* Aug. 1938, 574; *Address,* 4.3.42, 340; Janssen A., *Ras, natie, vaderland* 32; *Rassisme* 170.

483 Paul III, *Sublimis Deus* 428; *Veritas ipsa* 482; *Brief to Card. Juan de Tavera,* 29.5.1537, 27; *Brief to Charles V.,* 29.6.1547, in Pastor L., *History of the popes from the close of the middle ages,* ed. R. Kerr COr (London 1912) XXI, 520.

Naturally these differences between races, and inequalities should they exist, since they do not pertain to human nature as such, and consequently are not essential with regard to the specific difference, are always called by Catholics "accidental."[484] This is perfectly legitimate in terms of a logical system in which the whole of reality is exhausted by the two categories of "essential" and "accidental," so that what is not essential must needs be accidental, and vice versa. It can, however, easily mislead the uninitiated, because "accidental" in common parlance is so often taken to mean external, fortuitous, or unimportant. Philosophically it has not this connotation at all.[485] Another thing to be borne in mind is that something which is of little moment in one sphere of discourse, say the ontological, may be of enormous importance in another, for example the psychological. Thus for instance the age of a man falls within the accidental logical category of quality, and ontologically speaking it does not make much difference whether a man is an infant, an adolescent, an adult, or senile; but from the point of view of the person's psychic life, which for actual living is what counts, the difference is enormous. Likewise, although race is only accidental from the metaphysical standpoint, because human nature is common to all men, it does not follow that, either in itself, especially as regards the individual, or in its influence in the psychic life of people, it can be dismissed a priori as being negligible. In fact the Church does not even make light of the racial factor a posteriori.[486]

484 Hier. Northern Rhodesia, *Pastoral,* 6.1.58 (Lusaka 1958) 3; Hier. Switzerland, *Pastoral,* 5.7.38, 6 (German text); Hier. USA, *Declaration,* 13.11.58, in *Irish ecclesiastical record* 92 (1959) 193; Ireland Abp. J., *Address,* 1.1.1891, 2; Meyer Card. A., *Address,* 27.10.49, 80; Guardini R., *Chrétien devant le racisme* 16; Janssen A., *Ras, natie, vaderland* 33; *Rassisme* 171; Solzbacher W., *Rome en afgoden* 132.

485 Siegfried, F., *'Accident'* , in *Catholic encyclopedia* (London 1913) I, 96b-97b.

486 Pius XII, *Summi pontificatus* 428-29; John XXIII, *Mater et magistra* 444; *Address to the second World Congress of Negro Writers and Artists,* 1.4.59, in *AAS* 51 (1959) 260.

When it comes to asking what or how many races there are in fact, very little can be found in the sources used and then only incidentally. Archbishop Cazzani mentions three races, living respectively in Africa, Asia, and Europe.[487] Pope John and the bishops of the United States talk of the Negro race.[488] Archbishop Ireland and the Southern African hierarchy address themselves to members of the white race.[489] By and large, however, it is clear that the teaching authority of the Church has little interest in these matters.

487 Cazzani Abp. G., *Pastoral,* Lent 1939, 276.

488 John XXIII, *Address to the Congress of Negro Writers and Artists,* 1.4.59, 259; Hier. USA, *Pastoral,* 11.11.43, 119; *Declaration,* 13.11.58, 191.

489 Hier. South Africa, *Declaration,* 6.7.57, 1; Ireland Abp. J., *Address,* 1.1.1891, 2; Kozlowiecki Abp. A., *Pastoral,* 22.1.60, 11 (in the archives of the Secretariate of the Bishops of Southern Rhodesia).

4. The Rights of Races

There is, however, another question about race in which the Church has shown herself particularly interested, and which in itself and in its practical consequences is of much greater import, namely, the problem of the rights of races. Twice explicitly referring to this problem Pope Pius XII described it as most difficult and too complex to be settled by simple affirmatives and negatives.[490]

490 Pius XII, *Address to the Union of Catholic Jurists,* 6.12.53, 796; *Address to the Society for Blood Transfusion,* 5.9.58, 731.

The crucial difficulty is to establish a basis for these rights because races, together with cultures, and indeed mankind itself are not collectivities the membership of which depends on the choice of the individual concerned, like being the citizen of a state or the husband in a family. These latter societies are readily acknowledged to be moral persons, and therefore the subjects of rights. It is of interest that this status of moral person is assigned to the family as a whole, not only to the parents, although the children are born into it without being given any option in the matter, and at least for some years being unable to extricate themselves from it. By contrast with these voluntarily formed groupings the first-mentioned collectivities, in which we are interested, arise spontaneously. A person belongs to them by the very fact of birth, is influenced in the depths of his being by them, and can never escape from them, which is especially true of mankind as a whole and not the particular race, since these are biological groups. They do not, therefore, fall into the normal categories of moral persons. But if they are not moral persons, how can they be the subject of rights?

The solution to this problem gathers into three main streams, depending on the initial postulates.

Taking as his basis the principles that a race is something good in the order of creation,[491] and that mankind is enriched by a diversity of races, Folliet reasons as follows. Since being and goodness are convertible, race, like any other human factor not inherently vitiated by error or evil, being a positive good, has the right to existence and identity. But race is not an end in itself, because it exists for the enriching of mankind, to which it is subordinate, and so necessarily relative. It is not, therefore, the immediate cause of the rights which accrue to it, but only the occasion of them, for the sake of mankind as a whole, the fullness of which will be enhanced by these particular racial potentialities being brought to maturity. Since mankind has a right not to be mutilated by the violent destruction of any race, it is licit for a person even to lay down his life for the conservation of his race.[492]

491 Pius XI, *Address to Propaganda College,* 28.7.38; Kaelin B. OSB, *Vom ewigen Gesetz,* 686; Meiberg A. CSSR, *Ethica van het rassisme* 157.

492 Folliet J., *Race, la raison et le Christ* 222. See also Gundlach G. SJ, *Solidarismus, Einzelmensch, Gemeinschaft,* in *Gregorianum* 17 (1936) 266; Schmaus M., *Vom Wesen des Christentums* 129.

Another way of looking at this problem emerges from a scrutiny of the works of Delos and Messineo.[493] Their argument is that, because nature in producing its effects does not operate aimlessly and by chance, but rather gives concrete form to and reflects the pattern of things in the mind of the supreme Architect, it must therefore be admitted that ethnic groups, "solidarities of similarity," have their own inherent purpose. The consciousness and will of the individual gravitate naturally in the first place towards the ethnic group to which he belongs. The innate human tendency towards solidarity aroused and stimulated by this consciousness gives rise to that communal

aspiration, which is the psychic prerequisite for the existence of any social life and any society. Thoughts similar to these were perhaps responsible for Pope Pius XI's assertion that race constitutes a fundamental value of human society in the order of the world designed and created by God.[494] Be that as it may, our authors continue: any unitary subject, whether physical or moral, arising in the course of nature, if it is in any way at all able to promote the purpose for which it exists, even if only by self-preservation, has the capacity for those rights which are called "original and fundamental."

493 Delos J. OP, *Qu'est-ce-que la société,* in Semaines Sociales de France 1937, *Personne humaine en péril* 205; *Societe internationale et les principes du droit public* 24-25. 36. 51. 141; Messineo A SJ, *Diritti e doveri delle minoranze,* in *CC* 96, 3 (1945) 338-39; *Diritto di conservazione,* in *CC* 92, 2 (1941) 175; *Elementi costitutivi della nozione e la razza,* in *CC* 92, 2 (1941) 252; *Minoranze nazionali* 83-84. 87. 89; *Minoranze nazionali e personalità giuridica,* in *CC* 95, 3 (1944) 14; *Natura e essenza della nozione,* in *CC* 89, 3 (1938) 317. There is a difference between these two authors on the question as to whether or not the voluntary factor must be considered absolutely necessary in order that an ethnic group be the subject of rights. Messineo on the one hand holds that a consciousness of ethnic solidarity and the will to adhere to it is necessary for a natural society to be the subject of rights. Yet on the other hand he maintains that this consciousness and will arise by virtue of an instinctive movement of solidarity towards those similar to oneself. Delos denying this necessity argues as follows: "Ainsi la valeur intrinsèque et la valeur psychologique des 'formes' nationales dont nous avons montré la fonction naturelle, l'avance héréditaire' que nous devons au milieu national, sont-elles la véritable justification rationnelle des droits de la Nation . . . Toutes les Nations, de si bas étage qu'on les suppose, ont de soi une valeur humaine . . . elle possède une valeur intrinsèque proprement humaine, qui est le principe de son droit . . . La nationalité nous orne en même temps qu'elle nous enrichit . . . Les préformations physiques, mentales, et morales qui nous orientent vers certaines façons de sentir, de penser et d'agir nous limitent et nous déterminent . . . L'idée même de détermination, si elle implique un perfectionnement quand on la compare à l'indétermination et à la potentialité de la nature humaine, inclut une fixation, une restriction, une limitation, quand on pense à l'amplitude indéfinie de nos puissances naturelles . . .Si donc c'est enrichir l'homme que de nationaliser, c'est aussi le borner." Delos J. OP, *Societe internationale et les principes du droit public* 24-25.

494 Pius XI, *Mit brennender Sorge* 149.

Distinction between strong and weak subjects should not be made, since all are rendered equally worthy by the dignity of human personality, especially when there is a question of those things which are connected with the human person in an immediate and perpetual bond. This latter condition is certainly fulfilled by hereditary factors, including race, which are therefore worthy of esteem and must not be injured.[495] This thesis finds support in Pope Pius XII's Christmas message of 1942:[496] If social life implies an internal unity, it does not therefore exclude the differences demanded by reality and nature. But so long as we hold firmly to God, the supreme Regulator of all that concerns man, the similarities no less than the differences between men find their proper place in the absolute order of being, of values, and consequently of morality, because these norms and values have been "taught to each man and to the whole of mankind, both in its entirety and in its natural ramifications."

495 Pius XII, *Address to the Society for Blood Transfusion,* 5.9.58, 731.

496 Pius XII, *Broadcast message,* 24.12.42, 12: "Se la vita sociale importa unità interiore, non esclude però le differenze cui suffraganea la realtà e la natura. Ma quando si tiene fermo al supremo regolatore di tutto ciò che riguarda l'uomo, Dio, le somiglianze non meno che le differenze degli uomini trovano il posto conveniente nell'ordine assoluto dell'essere, dei valori, e quindi anche della moralità." "Origine e scopo essenziale della vita sociale vuol essere . . . il perfezionamento della persona umana, aiutandola ad attuare rettamente le norme e i valori della religione e della cultura, segnati dal Creatore a ciascun uomo e a tutta l'umanità, sia nel suo insieme, sia nelle sue naturali ramificazioni."

The third theory turns on the more traditional pivot of the conservation and evolution, the maturing and perfection of human persons as such.[497] As we have seen, the human person in his unity and totality is determined by racial generation. Furthermore each one is entitled to his heritage of race and culture, as these are indispensable to his personality, not for himself only but also for his descendants,[498] because man is of his very nature social.[499] An attack from the outside upon these things is an infringement of his personal right. Whence it follows that, since they exist only in virtue and for the sake of the individual person, racial rights have only an analogical meaning and a relative and dependent value.

497 Pius XI, *Divini Redemptoris* 79-80; Pius XII, *Broadcast message,* 24.12.42, 12; Roulette A., *Personne et les faits* 152.

498 Lucien-Brun J. SJ, *Libertés culturelles,* in *Archives de philosophie* 9 (1932) 254.

499 Pius XI, *Quadragesimo anno* 215; John XXIII, *Mater et magistra* 452-53.

Whatever may be the respective validity of these various arguments in establishing a theoretical basis for the rights attaching to races, there can be no doubt that in the teaching of the Church there are rights which are vindicated equally for all races.[500] In the first place races have the right to exist, as Folliet points out,[501] a statement confirmed by Pope Pius XII's triple condemnation of genocide.[502] In terms of this there can be no doubt of the lawfulness of conserving and defending one's own race,[503] even in war, and to the point of laying down one's life, if circumstances demand this.[504] This of course implies a complementary obligation not to destroy other races, to neither repress their racial vigour and numerical increase, nor persecute and insult their members, because these things constitute a serious breach of justice.[505] For each race has the right to peaceful expansion, by multiplying itself through procreation, by promoting the purity of its blood and its physical vigour, and by cultivating its psychic potentialities,[506] in all of which the civil authorities should cooperate.[507] Whence the members of a race have a responsibility towards their racial heritage.[508]

500 Barbera M. SJ, *Giustizia tra le 'razze'* 532.

501 Folliet J., *Race, la raison et le Christ* 222.

502 Pius XII, *Broadcast message,* 24.12.42, 23; *Address to the Congress on Penal Law,* 3.10.53, 733; *Address to the Society for Blood Transfusion,* 5.9.58, 731. See also John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 283; Seredi Card. J., *Pastoral,* 29.6.44 (Budapest 1944) 2.

503 Cazzani Abp. G., *Pastoral,* Lent 1939, 277. 285; Piazza Card. A., *Address,* 6.1.39; Alessandrini F., *Impossible razzismo,* in *Studi cattolici* 4, 18 (May-June 1960) 27; Bavinck J., *Rassenvraagstuk* 49; Saint- Denis A., *Pie XI contre les idoles* 89; Solzbacher W., *Rome en afgoden* 128; Waardenburg P., *Rassenvraagstuk in onzen tijd* 223.

504 Folliet J., *Race, la raison et le Christ* 222.

505 John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 283; Hier. USA, *Declaration,* 18.11.51, in *Our bishops speak* 374; Cisneros V., *Noción de genocidio* 365; Folliet J., *Race, la raison et le Christ* 222.

506 Pius XII, *Summi pontificatus* 428-29; John XXIII, *Mater et magistra* 444; *Pacem in terris* 283; Bornewasser Bp. F., *Pastoral,* Lent 1934; in *SZuk* 9 (1933-34) 659; Faulhaber Card. M. de, *Address,* 31.12.33, 116; Teilhard de Chardin P. SJ, *Unités humaines naturelles* 28; Folliet J., *Race, la raison et le Christ* 222. Janssen A., *Ras, natie, vaderland* 44; *Rassisme* 178; Kaelin B. OSB, *Vom ewigen Gesetz* 686; Lopez U. SJ, *Difesa della razza II,* 32; Rosa E. SJ, *Tesi della S. Congregazione* 181; Verdum M. SJ, *Probleme racial* 87.

507 John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 283.

508 Pius XII, *Address to the Roman nobility,* 5.1.41, 364; *Address to the Society for Blood Transfusion,* 5.9.58, 731; John XXIII, *Address to the Congress of Negro Writers and Artists,* 1.4.59, 259; Folliet J., *Race, la raison et le Christ* 222.

These rights, however, are neither supreme nor absolute, but have only a relative value in human life.[509] No individual, therefore, has a personal obligation to keep his race going by procreation, as was pointed out when dealing with interracial marriages. Any wish which he may have to do this must be implemented in terms of the absolutely binding obligations toward himself and others springing from natural law. The same is equally true of the cultivation of racial potentialities, whether physical or psychic. Likewise, since the rights of the race do not prevail over the fundamental right of the individual, any measure proposed for the preservation or promotion of the race which conflicts with primary personal rights must be laid aside as unjust. Such measures may be applied in a homogeneous society for eugenic reasons, but they are more likely to be found in political communities embracing a diversity of races. A recent example is to be found in the United States, where the bishops, having come to the conclusion that racial segregation could not be practised in territories subject to them without bringing in its train a form of discrimination injurious to primary and fundamental human rights, opted for a policy of integration.[510]

509 John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 272; Bornewasser Bp. F., *Pastoral,* Lent 1934, 659; Cazzani Abp. G., *Pastoral,* Lent 1939, 277; Piazza Card. A., *Address,* 6.1.39.

510 Hier. USA, *Declaration,* 13.11.58, 194; Rummel Abp. J., *Pastoral,* Oct. 2958.

5. The Origin of Races

Having culled what we could from the documents at our disposal about the existence and nature of races together with the consequences which flow therefrom, it is now time to turn our attention to the remaining major problem, namely, where do these races come from? What do theological sources tell us about the origin of races?

It is useful to make clear at the outset that the axis on which the discussion turns is the doctrine of monogenesis. Traditionally the Church has taught that all men now existing have descended from one original pair of parents;[511] and Pope Pius XII did not hesitate, even in the context of positive anthropology, to lay down a disciplinary doctrinal norm in this regard,[512] because it involves a physical phenomenon intimately bound up with matters of faith, like the other matters treated in this work.

511 For a summary of what has been officially taught by the Church on this matter consult Fraine J. de SJ, *Bible et l'origine de l'homme* 101-21. For the biblical doctrine see the same work page 29-100, and the review of it by Kerrigan A. OFM in *Antonianum* 37 (1962) 296-300, as well as Renckens H. SJ, *Israels visie op het verleden* 171-99.

512 Pius XII, *Humani generis* 576. There is no dearth of commentators on this encyclical who, while readily accepting of the admonition it contains, hold that the Pope had no intention of closing the doors on further theological examination of the question of polygenesis. Vannestre A., *Histoire du dogme du péché originel,* in *ETL* 38 (1962) 897. For a discussion of the possibility of reconciling polygenesis with the doctrine of original sin confer Hulsbosch A. OESA, *Schepping Gods* 42-57; Mancini A. SS, *A proposito di razzismo; Dacché siamo in tema di razzismo* ; Schoonenberg P. SJ, *Geloof van ons doopsel* IV, 191-200.

While holding to this position, however, the Church, as we have seen, by no means denies the ulterior ramification of mankind into distinct races. Indeed the affirmation of this diversification is one of the recurring themes in the documents dealing with racial matters. Putting the two things together in the traditional Christian vision, we are bound to conclude that from a singleness of origin mankind in the course of its history has by some means branched out into different races, without its unity being destroyed. This process has not indeed taken place by chance, but according to the all wise plan of God,[513] given palpable expression in the concrete circumstances of this world by the working of His divine providence,[514] yet without the Creator becoming one among the multitude of created, earthly factors contributing to this evolution.[515]

513 Pius XI, *Address to Propaganda College,* 28.7.38; Hier. USA, *Declaration,* 11.11.43, 117; Bavinck J., *Bijbel en ras,* in Locher C., *Beschouwingen over het rassenvraagstuk* 54.

514 Pius XII, *Summi pontificatus* 427; Hier. USA, *Declaration,* 11.11.43, 117; Bavinck J., *Bijbel en ras* 54; Daniélou J. SJ, *Essai sur le mystère de l'histoire* 60.

515 Schoonenberg P. SJ, *Gods wordende wereld* 70.

The general principles involved in this process had already been elaborated by Saint Augustine when writing of the strange human beings described in the travelers' tales of his day, in which they were not confined to isolated individual freaks of nature, but often involved the people of a whole region. While the extraordinary aspect of these people has no relevance to our discussion, the variety has:[516]

516 St. Augustine, *De civitate Dei* XVI c.8 (Chr. 48, 508-09): "Verum quisquis uspiam nascitur homo, id est animal rationale mortale, quamlibet nostris inusitatam sensibus gerat formam, seu colorem sive motum, sive sonum, sive

qualibet vi, qualibet parte, qualibet qualitate naturae ex illo uno protoplasto originem ducere, nullus fidelium dubitaverit. Apparet tamen quid in pluribus natura obtinuerit, et quid sit ipsa raritate mirabile. Qualis autem ratio redditur de monstris apud nos hominibus partubus, talis de monstrosis quibusdam gentibus reddi potest. Deus enim creator est omnium, qui ubi et quando creari quid oporteat vel oportuerit, ipse novit, sciens universitatis pulchritudinem quarum partium vel similitudine vel diversitate contexat . . . Ita etsi major diversitas oriatur, scit ille quid egerit, cuius opera iuste nemo reprehendit… ita quaecumque gentes in diversitatibus corporum ab usitato naturae cursu, quem plures et prope omnes tenent, velut, exorbitasse traduntur, si definitione illa includuntur, ut rationalia animalia sint atque mortalia, ab eodem ipso uno primo patre omnium stirpem trahere confitendum est . . . Sed si homines sunt, de quibus illa mira conscripta sunt; quid, si propterea Deus voluit etiam nonnullas gentes ita creare, ne in his monstris, quae apud nos patet ex hominibus nasci, eius sapientiam, qua naturam fingit humanam, velut artem cuiuspiam minus perfecti opificis, putaremus errasse? Non itaque nobis videri absurdum debet, ut quemadmodum in singulis quibusdam gentibus quaedam monstra sunt hominum, ita in universo genere humano quaedam monstra gentium."

> But whatsoever he may be, who is a man, that is a mortal being endowed with reason, in whatever way his form, colour, movement, voice or other powers may appear unusual to our senses, no person of faith would doubt that he was descended from Adam. Yet in such as these the power of nature is shown, and wonderfully shown. And the same reason which may be given for extraordinarily formed individuals among us, must also be assigned for whole nations of unusual form. God is the Creator of them all, knowing best in what place and at what time to form this creature or that; knowing also how best to beautify the universe by the similarity or diversity of its parts . . . However great may be the diversity which occurs, He knows what He does, and none should presume to censure His work . . . So whatever nations there may be whose bodies differ from what we usually find in nature, . . . if they come within the definition of rational mortal beings, they must be recognized as coming from the one father of all . . . But if they are truly men, of whom these amazing things are written, why should God not, in addition, if He so wished, create whole nations like these, in case we should think that His wisdom, by which He creates human nature like the workmanship of some imperfect artisan, had made a mistake in those abnormal offspring among us which are obviously born of human parents? Since in every human society unusual members are born, it does not seem any more fantastic that in the whole of mankind there should be certain unusual races of men.

If one should now turn to Holy Scripture in the hope of getting more detailed information about where the different races of men come from, the gleanings will be very scanty. The problem, being a modern one, simply did not present itself to the sacred authors, whose divisions of humanity were in general exhausted by the religious categories of the chosen people and their ancestral tree on the one hand, and on the other the gentiles. What can be found, however, is a further specification of the general principles of the workings of divine providence, of which Saint Augustine has given us the outline.

The significant texts are few, being for all practical purposes confined to those passages in the first eleven chapters of Genesis which deal with the origin and dispersion of peoples, the flood, and the tower of Babel.

Because the perspective of the author of the prehistory of Genesis was confined to the history of salvation, we cannot expect to find factual information about the physical diversification of mankind.[517] Many different peoples are mentioned, especially in chapter four, of whom neither the

origin nor the history is narrated. It now seems to be fairly widely accepted among biblical scholars that the Genesis account does not demand that the flood covered the whole surface of the earth, so that this does not offer a new starting point for human history, as many of the peoples mentioned earlier could have continued on their historical course quite unhindered by the swamping of Noe's neighbours.[518]

517 Renckens H. SJ, *Israels visie op het verleden* 196-98.

518 Schwegler T., *Biblische Urgeschichte im Licht der Forschung* (Muenchen 1960) 155-58.

It is interesting in this regard to note that between the first Vatican Council and 1939 it was more than once mentioned in episcopal documents that the three races now existing took their origin from the three sons of Noe, and that the Negroes were the sons of Cham cursed by the patriarch.[519] Since the war this opinion has been abandoned in catholic circles; and indeed after 1928 it has not even been seriously attacked on exegetical grounds by scholars,[520] except with reference to its continued use by some Calvinists in South Africa.[521] Such an idea, therefore, can play no part in a modern discussion of the question of racial origins.

519 Vatican Cnl. I, *Plea for the Negroes of Central Africa,* signed by 68 bishops, in *Acta et decreta sacrorum conciliorum recentionum, collectio Lacensus (* Friburgi 1890) VII, 905; Cazzani Abp. G., *Pastoral,* Lent 1939, 276-77; Comboni Bp. D., *Letter,* 1881, in *Annales de la propagation de la foi* 54 (1882) 255; Lavigerie Card. C., *Letter,* 26.12.1880, in *Annales de la propagation de la foi* 53 (1881) 97; *Prayer for the conversion of Africa,* which was indulgenced by the S. C. of Indulgences on 23.6.1885 and 29.3.1889, Oratio 214 in Beringer F. SJ, *Indulgences, leur nature et leur usage,* 13 ed. (Paris 1905) I, 332.

520 Charles P. SJ, *Noirs, fils de Cham le maudit,* in *NRT* 55 (1928) 721-39; Tichelen T. van, *Negers en Noe's vloek over Cham,* in *Ons geloof* 14 (1928) 420-22.

521 Heuthorst G. MHM, *Curse of Cham,* in *Irish ecclesiastical record* 100 (1963) 91-99.

When the peoples mentioned in these early chapters of Genesis are examined more closely, they are found to have been those living in the immediate vicinity of Palestine between twelve and seven hundred years before Christ.[522] Consequently they cannot give an adequate vision of the physical dispersion of world population, especially with regard to the long previous history of mankind. Like the generations of Noe, therefore, which apart from other objections are too scanty to give an adequate scheme of the population of the globe, and the tower of Babel, which is neither the sole nor the oldest in Mesopotamia, the multitude of peoples mentioned does not throw any light on our concrete problem.

522 Alfrink Card. B. and Nelis J., *' Volkenlijst' ,* in *BWB* 1810.

Nevertheless the doctrinal intention of the sacred author in these passages does help to make the general theological principles governing our problem clearer.

In the first place he shows that the God of Abraham is the God of all mankind,[523] Whose moral law binds all men.[524] Unlike the contemporary lists of people drawn up by the Egyptians, or the Assyrian and Babylonian kings, which show contempt and a depreciation of anyone not their own, all the peoples within the geographical and historical horizons of the Jews are mentioned here as belonging to one family of God, and within the ambient of God's plan of salvation.[525] The richly variegated picture of mankind presented by the various lists of peoples show that the diversification of humanity is the work of God, due to the fecundity springing from His blessing.[526] It arouses a deeply religious admiration for and praise of His life-communicating creative power.[527]

523 Galbiati E. and Piazza A., *Pagine difficili della Bibbia, antico testamento* (Milano 1954) 193.

524 Gen. 2, 17; 4, 6-13; 6, 5-7.

525 Schwegler T., *Biblische Urgeschichte* 203.

526 Gen. 1, 28; 9, 1.

527 Alfrink Card. B. and Nelis J., *'Volkenlijst'* , in *BWB* 1810; Kerrigan A. OFM, review of de Fraine's book mentioned in the first note of this article, page 299-300.

As for the Tower of Babel incident, it shows that God infallibly disposes the course of human events, not permitting the accomplishment of human projects which go beyond or against His will. In this particular case He frustrates a human attempt to secure the political, cultural, and ethnic unity of mankind, which would have hindered man's dispersion over the face of the earth. Nor does He hesitate to intervene in a special way, not indeed to punish mankind, but to prevent a greater evil.[528] As long ago as the sixth century Procopius of Gaza, in one of the earliest detailed commentaries that we have on this incident, added to the above considerations that this intervention was an act of the kindness and mercy of God, Who did not want mankind to spend its energies on the impossible.[529]

528 Alfrink Card. B. and Nelis J., *'Toren van Babel'* , in *BWB* 1686-90; Galbiati E. and Piazza A., *Pagine difficili* 227. 232.

529 Procopius of Gaza, *Commentarius in Genesim* (PG 87, 314).

Finally it can be said that, although all these incidents affect in fact only the people of a limited geographical area, they have nevertheless a universal signification in as much as they show the progressive dissolution of human social unity caused by sin, and mankind's crying need for redemption in the one messianic kingdom of the Seed of Abraham.[530]

530 Alfrink Card. B. and Nelis J., *'Oergeschiedenis'* , *'Toren van Babel'* , and *'Zondvloed'* , in *BWB* 1213-18. 1686-90. 1935-39; Schwegler T., *Biblische Urgeschichte* 177.

It is obvious that our modern distinction between races, cultures, and nations is quite unknown to the sacred writer, who does not treat of them either distinctly nor separately, since his own categories are rather geographical and political.[531] Nonetheless the doctrinal conclusions which he draws are equally valid for all the groups. What has been elaborated here in the context of race, therefore, is equally applicable to the sphere of culture, which we are now about to discuss.

531 Schwegler T., *Biblische Urgeschichte* 200.

Chapter 6. Race and Culture

Before we set out on the elaboration of what is meant by culture, it may be useful to put up a few danger signals, as we have had occasion to do several times before in different contexts, in warning against possible presuppositions which can bedevil the discussion.

Granted that universal ideas arise spontaneously according to the common structure of human thought, yet they are not identical in every mind, varying according to both internal and external[532] influences. Thus not infrequently it occurs that ways of thought and action, which had previously been believed to be founded in human nature as such and therefore perennially valid, prove in fact to be merely products of our own particular culture and so of only limited import. Nor is it possible in many cases to determine a priori how far things are indeed common, and what pertains to peculiar racial and cultural influences. When talking of cultures, therefore, we must be on guard against being the victims of our own upbringing, mindful of the observation of Van Wing:[533]

532 Schoonenberg P. SJ, *Geloof van ons doopsel* I, 165.

533 Wing J. van SJ, *Christian humanism in Africa,* in *Lumen vitae* 4 (1949) 34.36. For a fuller treatment of the Bantu way of conceiving the universe consult Tempels P. OFM, *Bantu philosophy,* tr. C. King (Paris 1959).

> Even when they speak in the same language and use the same words, a European and an African do not express the same idea. The European thinks of objects as being each distinct and independent of others; he objectifies his concepts. The African perceives and thinks of objects in relation with their setting and their causes . . . For an African reality is qualitative. Quantity, mass, shape are negligible affairs.

No less significant differences in modes of perception and thought between East and West are described by the famous Chinese catholic John Wu.[534]

534 Wu J., *Christianity, the only synthesis really possible between East and West,* in Veronese V., *World crisis and the catholic, studies published on the occasion of the second World Congress of the Lay Apostolate, Rome* (London 1958) 149-52.

If ten by no means illiterate men were asked for a definition of culture, ten differing responses would almost certainly be received, the dissonance increasing if some were Anglo-Saxons and some Germans, since the former more or less equate the words "culture" and "civilization," while the latter draw a fairly sharp distinction between them. In the interest of clarity therefore the word "civilization" will be eschewed altogether.

Within culture, described broadly by Messner as the full development of what is truly human,[535] three main divisions can be distinguished: personal culture which involves the developing of the personal potentialities, while at the same time giving form to and perfecting the world round about; this leads on the one hand to social culture, which has been termed spiritual community based on a common form of social life;[536] on the other hand it produces material culture, in German *Sachkultur*, by which external expression is given to the inner life of man both by works of art and by technology. It is in relation to this latter that the Germans use "civilization." While there is a connection between personal and material culture, they do not always go hand in hand, which is even more true of personal culture in relation to technology taken in isolation. For it is by no means an uncommon

occurrence for a flourishing technological development, even with regard to the amenities and comforts of life, to be accompanied by a pitiful lack of true internal and personal culture.[537]

535 Messner J., *Kulturethik* (Innsbruck 1954) 336.

536 Haering B. CSSR, *Macht und Ohnmacht* 290.

537 John XXIII, *Mater et magistra* 443. 451. 457-58.

Another misconception which has to be avoided is that of considering all cultures to be of the same kind, differing only insofar as they are disparate stages of development in the same straight line. The very opposite is in fact true, something which the Church herself recognizes, as will be seen later. This irreducibility of cultures constitutes the necessary condition for the vast and valuable labours of the philosophers of history in recent times, among whom it suffices to recall Spengler and Toynbee.[538]

538 Spengler O., *Untergang des Abendlandes, Umrisse einer Morphologie der Weltgeschichte* (Muenchen 1918-22) I; Toynbee A., *Study of history* (London 1934-59) I.

Whence it must be borne in mind that our notion of culture is so integral a part of our own culture that it is only with the greatest difficulty that a balanced universal view of cultural matters can be achieved. For this reason we should always in so far as possible examine cultures in their organic totality so that the parts may be seen in their integral relation to the whole, lest by a piecemeal treatment they be falsely judged and evaluated.[539]

539 Gregorius OFMCap, *Belang van de culturele anthropologie* 329.

1. The Notion of Culture

When it comes to stating what is meant by an individual culture, Pope Pius XII has provided as good a working basis as any: a culture is an organic complex of all the values of culture, as outlined above, which are peculiar to and characteristic of a particular group of which they constitute the bond of spiritual unity. In its essence it is something non-political, and hence not a cause of dissolution in the community of mankind. It only becomes a disruptive force when abused for political purposes.[540]

540 Pius XII, *Broadcast message,* 24.12.54, 22.

Yet because cultures differ among themselves in virtue of their own proper characteristics and values,[541] it does not follow that they exist, and much less that they develop, in isolation: indeed they are capable of that fairly considerable interfecundity,[542] which the doctrine of the unity of mankind would lead one to expect. Hence each one, by developing its own potentialities more and more, while at the same time promoting a mutual communication of riches with others, plays its own part in bringing to light the full richness inherent in humanity, and so reflecting the inexhaustible fullness of the divine life and glory.[543]

541 Pius XII, *Summi pontificatus* 428; John XXIII *Mater et magistra* 444; *Pacem in terris* 290; Hier. France, *Declaration,* 6.3.53, 324; Hier. South Africa, *Declaration,* June 1952, 3; Hier. Tanganyika, *Pastoral,* 11.7.53, 77; Hier. USA, *Declaration,* 11.11.43, 117; Hier. Upper Volta, *Pastoral,* 27.1.59, 547; Faulhaber Card. M. de, *Address,* 3.3.40, 3; Feltin Card. M., *Address,* 10.5.59, 789; Constantius OFMCap, *Katholicisme en rasvraagstuk* 14; *Moderne afgoderij,* in *Christendom bedreigd door rassenwaan* 24; Danielou J. SJ, *Essai sur le mystère de l'histoire* 47; Krzesinski A., *Church and national cultures,* in O'Toole G., *Race, nation, person* 119; Messineo A. SJ, *Alla ricerca di una soluzione* 213; Semaine Religieuse de Lyon, *Notes doctrinales* 1194; Tempels P. OFM, *Bantu philosophy* 112-13.

542 Pius XI, *Address to the teachers of Catholic Action,* 6.8.38, 1; Pius XII, *Broadcast message,* 24.12.54, 22; John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 283-84. 291; Hier. Upper Volta, *Pastoral,* 27.1.59, 547; Bornewasser Bp. F., *Pastoral,* Lent 1934, 659; Cazzani Abp. G., *Pastoral,* Lent 1939, 278; Constantius OFMCap, *Katholicisme en rasvraagstuk* 14.

543 Pius XII, *Summi pontificatus* 428; *Broadcast message,* 24.12.54, 22; John XXIII, *Address to the Congress of Negro Writers and Artists,* 1.4.59, 260; Hier. FWA and Togo, *Declaration,* 24.4.55, 672; Hier. Upper Volta, *Pastoral,* 27.1.59, 547; Bea Card. A., *Address,* 1.4.63, 731; Cazzani Abp. G., *Pastoral,* Lent 1939, 285; Zaffrani Bp. G., *Address,* 25.1.39; Bedarida, H., *Vérités et équivoques de la civilisation chrétienne,* in Semaine des Intellectuels Catholiques 1955, *Eglise et les civilisations* (Paris 1956) 27; Constantius OFMCap, *Katholicisme en rasvraagstuk* 14; *Moderne afgoderij* 24; Pinsk J., *Christianity and race* 34; Wu. J., *Christianity, the only synthesis* 148.

In chapter two, as will be remembered, we found that the positive anthropologists were loath to enter into a discussion on the superiority and inferiority of cultures because of the lack of adequate and certain standards in terms of which to make an equitable judgement. From a theological point of view, however, there is such a norm, even though the sphere of its practical usefulness may be limited.

From a Christian standpoint, as has already been pointed out, one must at all costs avoid equating the progress of culture with the development in technology. Culture is neither simply the perfection of things, nor the acquiring of vast knowledge about them. These two activities have indeed to be harnessed to the chariot of man's cultural progress, controlled and subordinated to higher ends both natural and supernatural.[544] But culture consists above all in man's spiritual perfection, achieved by gaining control primarily over himself and secondarily over his environment, in a well-ordered

relationship with God and with all other men, whose foundation is truth, whose measure and objective is justice, whose driving force is love, and whose method of attainment is freedom.[545]

544 John XXIII, *Mater et magistra* 458.

545 John XXIII, *Mater et magistra* 450-53; *Pacem in terris* 297; *Address to Vatican Cnl. II,* 11.10.62, 792; Hier. USA, *Declaration,* 11.11.43, 117; Saliege Card. J., *Pastoral,* 1.2.53, in *DC* 50 (1953) 326-27; Gregorius OFMCap, *Belang van de culturele anthropologie* 329; Krzesinski A., *National cultures, nazism, and the Church* (Boston 1954) 12; Saurus E. OP, *Definicion teologica de la cultura,* in *Rivista espanola de teologia* 4 (1944) 488-94.

Looked at from the theological point of view, therefore, that culture must be considered higher, the characteristics and values of which are such as to lead to this fuller evolution of human personality, whatever may be its state of technological development or backwardness, because scientific and technical progress, while being a positive element in culture, plays only an instrumental role.[546] So it is that Haering asks the thought-provoking question, whether perhaps certain primitive tribes with their minimum of material culture might not excel many technologically highly developed peoples in their personal culture; because the goal of a mature human culture is to bring all man's potentialities to fruition and to cultivate all human values in their proper order.[547] This does not in any way imply, however, that cultures, even those equally developed, do not differ from each other. All it does is to assign to each an incontestable providential purpose,[548] namely, "the moral and divine perfection of man."[549] As Saint Thomas said long ago: "The highest perfection which anything can achieve is to be united with its Creator."[550]

546 John XXIII, *Mater et magistra* 451. 458.

547 Haering B. CSSR, *Macht und Ohnmacht* 279.

548 Saurus E. OP, *Definicion teologica de la cultura* 485; Thils G., *Theologie des realites terrestres* I, 154.

549 Saurus E. OP, *Definicion teológica de la cultura* 489: "Esto es lo permanente en la cultura humana: la perfección moral y divina del hombre".

550 St. Thomas, *II Sent*. d18 q.2 a.2 in corp. (464): "Ultima perfectio ad quam res potest pervenire est ut coniungitur suo principio".

2. The Relation between Race and Culture

It is now time to turn to the rather delicate question of the relation between race and culture. It will be remembered that the positive scientists were seriously divided on the score of whether or not there is such a relation at all, let alone what the influence of one on the other might be. Let us see, therefore, what a theologian's opinion may be.

Walter brings forward the charge that the theological theories, which have tried to throw light on the origin of races from the biblical narratives of man's origin, have for the most part tended to play down race as a necessary cause of the diversity of human customs and modes of thought.[551] Yet in fact both the teaching authority of the Church and catholic authors are unanimous in asserting a definite, and even causal relation between race and culture.[552] Their basic reason is the same one in virtue of which the spiritual faculties are held to be determined to some extent by racial heredity, namely, the radical unity of the human person, who as an integral whole is the author, bearer, and propagator of culture.[553]

551 Walter P., *Race and culture relations* 62.

552 Pius XI, *Address to the teachers of Catholic Action,* 6.9.38, 1; Pius XII, *Summi pontificatus* 428-29; John XXIII, *Mater et magistra* 444; *Pacem in terris* 283.285; *Address to the Congress of Negro Writers and Artists,* 1.4.59, 259-60; Hier. Belgium, *Pastoral,* 25.12.36, in Roey Card. J. van, *In den dienst van de Kerk* II, 183; Hier. USA, *Pastoral* , 14.11.42, 119, Bea Card. A., *Address,* 1.4.63, 731; Bornewasser Bp. F., *Pastoral,* Lent 1934, 659; Faulhaber Card. M. de, *Address,* 3.3.40, 3; Gfoellner Bp. J., *Pastoral,* 23.1.33, 431a; Zaffrani Bp. G., *Address,* 25.1.39, Janssen A., *Praelectiones theologiae moralis 1937-38* 58 (as ms.); Scheiwiller O. OSB, *Rassenprinzip wird Schicksal* 679; Vansteenkiste C.OP, *Rassenvraagstuk* 61.

553 Boelaars H. CSSR, *Rassisme en rassenkunde* 102; Constantius OFMCap. *Katholicisme en rasvraagstuk* 11; *Moderne afgoderij* 24; Haering B. CSSR, *Macht und Ohnmacht* 285; Mazzei V., *Razze e nazione* 75. 79; Wey A. van der OCarm, *Ideologische ondergrond en uitbouw* 468.

What kind and degree of effect race has on culture, is a far more difficult question, about which theological documents have but little to say. This little, however, is worth mentioning.

As has been seen the Church clearly rejects the racist tenets which would elevate race to the position of the sole, or at least the supreme cause of culture. Some of our sources, while including race among the various relative causes which play a part in the production of cultures, do not make any attempt to determine more exactly its role and import.[554] Those who do go further assign a minor role to the racial factor,[555] for the following reasons. Man at his birth is determined, though not in an absolute and deterministic way, by an indelible hereditary character. Hence it is not a matter of indifference from what race one takes one's origin, because this congenital heritage confers on the human composite its first form. This determination, however, is not deterministic but rather plastic, capable of various lines of development depending on environment and personal choice. Not that it is entirely potential, because like all things it must retain a certain distinctiveness in order to exist at all. Hence race is not capable of branding a culture with a specific character, it confers upon it rather an overall tonality.[556]

554 Hier. Tanganyika, *Pastoral,* 11.7.53, 77; Brown S. SJ, *Racialism* 142; Cruysberghs K., *Problemen van Kerk en volk* 42; Janssen A., *Ras, natie, vaderland* 33; *Rassisme* 171; Janssens L., *Personne et societe* 247; Lamberty M., *Kritiek van het racisme* 10; Lucien-Brun J. SJ, *Libertés culturelles* 28; *Problème des minorités* (Paris 1923) 89; Messineo A. SJ, *Alla ricerca d'una soluzione* 213; Orban M., *Nouvelle idole* 15; Wey A. van der OCarm, *Ideologische ondergrond en uitbouw* 469.

555 Hier. Germany, *Pastoral,* 3.6.33, 103; 19.8.38, 21a.

556 Krzesinski A., *Church and national cultures* 120; *National cultures, nazism, and the Church* 14; Messineo A. SJ, *Minoranze nazionali* 89.

This theory has the merit of offering a possible explanation of three problems: how is it that certain general similarities are recognizable in cultures within the same racial group separated by barriers of space and time? Whence come the cultural differences, by no means negligible, within the confines of one and the same race? Why is it possible for the individual to largely change his culture, while still keeping his racial constitution intact?

By holding such a position, however, one would not necessarily fall under the censure of Feber, who, while vehemently attacking racism, at the same time does not spare those who fall into the opposite illusion of depreciating the influence of race on culture.[557]

557 Feber L., *Opstand der rassen* 75.

The balanced position in an integral Christian view of man would seem to be that which neither overemphasizes the cultural influence of race, nor completely ignores it.

The final question which rises in this connection, as we have seen before, is that of the influences of race on religion in particular.

The Church has not hesitated to reject utterly the racist thesis that religion arises from the racial blood as from its all powerful source like a type of divine revelation instinctively apprehended from within, and hence that religion must be subject to the law of the race, adapted to its character, and organized in racial or national churches. Nonetheless it does not bind its adherents to the opposite extreme of denying any influence whatsoever of race on religion.[558] Hence there seems to be much to be said for the moderate opinion expressed by Hauer and Meiberg,[559] according to which religion is considered as a function of the whole person, who in his entirety is racially determined, so that, while race cannot influence the content of religion, that is the complex of truths to be believed and lived,[560] it does nonetheless lend a tonality to the way in which these truths are apprehended and to the practices by which they are given expression. As will be readily perceived, this opinion is in the same line as those concerning the influence of race on the higher faculties and on culture in general. It coheres likewise with the attitude and teaching of the hierarchy, which will be examined in the next chapter.

558 Schroeder C., *Rasse und Religion* 276. 299.

559 Hauer J., *Religion und Rasse* 94-95; Meiberg A. CSSR, *Ethica van het rassisme* 153.

560 Groeber Abp. K., *Pastoral,* Sept. 1935, in Hofmann K, *Hirtenrufe des Erzbischofs Groeber* 40; Waters Bp. V., *Pastoral,* 12.6.53 (Raleigh 1953) 2.

3. The Rights of Cultures

Before concluding this chapter there is a final point which deserves attention, and that is the rights of cultures. If race plays any part in culture, however small a role it may be, its dignity in the structure of human life will be enhanced by its participation in the rights which accrue to cultures: hence the relevance of this theme to the general problem.

If it is true of races that they are not fixed and immobile, but rather fluctuating and perpetually on the move, it is doubly true of cultures, of which on any basis of reckoning there have been considerably more in the history of mankind than there have been races. Of their very nature cultures arrive, grow, receive foreign influences, mature, communicate their riches to others, decline, and vanish. So when there is mention of the conservation, promotion, or destruction of cultures, it must always be in this context. Cultures are not museum pieces which by fair means or foul must be preserved in their actual state for posterity.

The arguments which could be adduced to found the rights of cultures are the same as those which serve to establish the rights of races, because they are both "solidarities of similarity." Hence there is no need to repeat them here.

So far as the rights themselves are concerned, they can conveniently be gathered under three heads.

Any people which has a distinctive character has the right to affirm and develop this character, so that it may enrich the universal human community with a new value,[561] and also because every man has been furnished by the Creator with his own culture, as an essential condition of his developing into a full personality.[562] This leads on to the further right, both collective and individual, of self-perpetuation by the transmission of this culture to subsequent generations,[563] even by organized education.[564] The subsequent generations correspondingly have a responsibility towards the cultural heritage of their nation,[565] which is an aspect of that legitimate and balanced patriotic love which the Church has always encouraged.[566]

561 Hier. FWA and Togo, *Declaration,* 24.4.55, 672; Bea Card. A., *Address,* 1.4.63, 731; Messineo A. SJ, *Diritti e doveri delle minoranze* 340-42; *Diritto di conservazione* 175.

562 Pius XII, *Address to the Union of Catholic Jurists,* 6.12.53, 795.

563 Gregorius OFMCap, *Belang van de culturele anthropologie* 329; Lucien-Brun J. SJ, *Libertés culturelles* 52.

564 Congrès des Écrivains et Artistes Noirs I, 1956, *Resolution, in Tamtam* 6, 7 (Jan. 1957) 6. "Nous considérons que tout peuple doit pouvoir effectivement prendre connaissance des valeurs de sa culture nationale (histoire, langue, littérature, art, etc.) et bénéficier de l'instruction et de l'éducation dans le cadre de sa culture propre".

565 John XXIII, *Address to the Congress of Negro Writers and Artists* , 1.4.59, 259-60; Michel J., *Devoir de décolonisation* (Paris 1954) 16-17; Semaine Religieuse de Lyon, *Notes doctrinales* 1194; Seminaire Pan- African de Pax Romana II, 1960-61, *Déclaration finale,* in *Tam-tam* 11, 1-2 (Jan.-Mar. 1961) 46.

566 Pius XII, *Summi pontificatus* 428-29; John XXIII, *Mater et magistra* 444; Hier. Germany, *Pastoral,* 19.8.38, 67; Hier. Southern Rhodesia, *Pastoral,* 21.5.61, 26; Hier. Sudan, *Pastoral,* 15.2.56, 117; Hier. Uganda, *Pastoral,* 1.6.52, 44-46; Lamont Bp. D., *Pastoral,* 29.6.59 (Gwelo 1959) 17; Messineo A. SJ, *Internacionalismo cosmopolita* 16-17.

Particular cultural groups within a state have the right to conservation, defense, and help in their evolution from the civil authority,[567] a right which the bishops of the United States have called

"innate."[568] The civil authority for its part, in virtue of the principle of subsidiary function, must not interfere more than is necessary to secure this end, leaving for the rest the ethnic groups committed to its care the free exercise of their cultural mission within the community.[569] In view of this the policy known as compulsory acculturation, in terms of which the distinctive features of particular cultures are enfeebled and levelled into a cosmopolitan mass by design and forethought, is morally condemned as cultural genocide,[570] because both the similarities and differences between men have their proper place in the absolute order of values and morality.[571]

567 Pius XII, *Address to the Comite Internationale pour l'Unite et l"universalite de la Culture* 15.11.51, in *DRM* 13 (1951-52) 376; John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 283; Hier. USA, *Declaration* 11.11.43, 117; Hier. Upper Volta, *Pastoral,* 27.1.59, 547; Verdun M. SJ, *Probleme racial* 87.

568 Hier. USA, *Declaration,* 16.11.44, in *Our bishops speak* 125.

569 Pius XII, *Address to UNRRA,* 8.7.45, 117; John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 290; Guzzetti G., *Morale cattolica* III, 159; Union Internationale d'Études Sociales, *Code de morale internationale* 30.

570 Pius XII, *Broadcast message,* 24.12.41, 17; *Address to the Mouvement Universel pour une Confédération Mondiale,* 6.4.51, in *AAS* 43 (1951) 279-80; *Address to the Comite Internationale pour l'Unité et l'universalité de la Culture,* 15.11.51, 376; *Broadcast message,* 24.12.54, 25; John XXIII, *Mater et magistra* 442-43; Hier. Upper Volta, *Pastoral,* 27.1.59, 547; Bavink J., *Rassenvraagstuk* 44-47; Danielou J. SJ, *Essai sur le mystère de l'histoire* 60. 62; Gray R., *African aspirations,* in *Tablet* 213 (1959) 391; Link H., *Rediscovery of morals* 84; Messineo A. SJ, *Minoranze nazionali e personalità giuridica* 13. 17; Oldham J., *Christianity and the race problem,* 2 ed. (London 1924) 23; Rouamba P., *Foi et négritude, malaise de l'étudiant catholique africain,* in *Tam-tam* 11, 1-2 (Jan. Mar. 1961) 18-19.

571 Pius XII, *Broadcast message,* 24.12.42, 12; La Brière Y. de SJ, *Synthesis of universalism and nationalism according to the Christian philosophy of law,* in O'Toole G., *Race, nation, person* 97.

Finally, since cultures are capable of a beneficial mutual interfecundity, it is obvious that anyone who, impelled by exaggerated nationalism or racism, tries to separate individuals and groups of different cultures by permanent, insurmountable barriers, violates the natural law.[572] Hence differences of race and culture must be accepted with graciousness and courtesy toward individuals as well as collectives,[573] because the minimum of justice demands that the dignity of other persons be recognized in the structure of the world as designed and created by God, and their perfection promoted in terms of their own characteristics and talents.

572 Pius XI, *Address to Propaganda College,* 28.7.38; John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 284; Hier. Upper Volta, *Pastoral,* 27.1.59, 547; Lamont Bp. D., *Pastoral,* 29.6.59, 17-18.

573 Hier. FWA and Togo, *Declaration,* 24.4.55, 672; Hier. Sudan, *Pastoral,* 15.2.56, 121; Klompe M., *Christian's task in the formation of a supranational community,* in Veronese V., *World crisis and the catholic* 111-12.

It is by no means easy to determine what grade of goodness among created goods, and what place in the hierarchy of individual and social rights should be assigned to culture. Naturally these rights, like those attaching to races, are only relative, and so subject to the same limitations. Nevertheless culture seems to occupy a higher place than race in the scale of human values, because his spiritual heritage plays a greater part in the person's life than does its material substratum,[574] and also because, its formal elements being of the psychic and moral order,[575] human society must be seen primarily as spiritual reality.[576]

574 Pius XII, *Address to the Roman nobility,* 5.1.41, 364.

575 Pius XII, Address to the Society for Blood Transfusion, *5.9.58, 731.*

576 John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* 266.

From the fact that it contributes to culture, race also participates in this higher dignity. For as the human body is honoured and respected because of the spiritual soul with which it forms a unity, so analogically race is assumed into the higher value of the cultures of which it forms the material substratum.

By way of conclusion to what has been said in these last two chapters, and as an introduction to the discussion of the higher value which both race and culture acquire by their intimate relation to the growth of the Mystical Body of Christ, more apt words than those of Pope Pius XI can scarcely be found:[577]

577 Pius XI, *Address to Propaganda College,* 28.7.38: " Il genere umano e una sola, universale, cattolica razza. Ne puo tuttavia negarsi che in questa razza universale non vi sia luogo per le razze speciali, come per tante diverse variazioni, come per molte nazionalita che sono ancora piu specializzate. Nella stessa guisa in cui nelle importanti composizioni musicali vi sono le grandi variazioni nelle quali pur si riscontra lo stesso generale motivo, che le ispira, tornare sovente, ma con tonalità, intonazioni, espressioni diverse, così anche nel genere umano e una sola, grande, universale, cattolica razza umana, una sola, grande, universale famiglia umana, e con essa, in essa, variazioni diverse".

> Mankind is one, unique, universal, catholic race. Yet it can by no means be denied that in this universal race there is room for particular races, and, like so many further variations on these, also numerous nations even more highly particularized. In the same way that in important musical compositions there are major variations in which are found the same general motif, which inspires them all, recurring repeatedly but with varying tonalities, accents, and expressions; so also in mankind there is one unique, vast, universal, catholic human race, and along with it, and within it, diverse variations.

Chapter 7. Race and Culture in the Mystical Body

Having some idea now of what the teaching common in the Church is concerning race considered in itself and in its relation to culture, we must finally endeavour to see where it belongs in the process of the "recapitulation" of all things in Christ which is the final end of all creation.[578] Certainly race must have its place in the Mystical Body of Christ, because, as the Seraphic Doctor says, grace does not oppose nature, neither does it change nature, but it rather conserves and perfects it.[579]

578 Eph. 1, 10.

579 St. Bonaventure, *II Sent*, d.19 a.1 q.1 ad 1 (II, 457a). See also St. Thomas, *S. theol.* I. q.1 a.8 ad 2 (9a).

1. The Holy Spirit and the Church

In the course of this work we have seen that it is God Who, disposing all things by His divine providence according to His divine wisdom, directs the vicissitudes of human history, including the rise and decline of races and culture. The multitude of races and cultures which exist or have existed, therefore, in their diversity reflect the plan in the creative mind of the supreme Architect,[580] and give expression to the plentitude of His life-communicating fullness of being, so that He is glorified in the progressive unfolding of the untold potentialities of humanity which they contain. We saw also that this governance of the course of mankind's evolution can rightly be attributed to the Holy Spirit, Whose action pervades the whole human person in the full dimensions of the psycho-somatic social unit which man is,[581] from the highest point of his soul down to its material substratum, both individual and social.[582] The primary transfiguring operation of the Holy Spirit in man's elevation to the supernatural plane is to give him a share in the life and likeness of God by divine filiation.[583] But since even human heredity, as furnishing the material substratum of all man's actions including the most spiritual, can be considered from a supernatural viewpoint,[584] the Holy Spirit in His divinizing action, penetrating the whole person, informs and transfigures the intelligence, will, affections, and body, as well as social and cultural actions,[585] because nature is perfected by grace as matter by form.[586] Furthermore, according to a long tradition in the Church reaffirmed by Pope Pius XII, the Holy Spirit is the soul of the Mystical Body of Christ,[587] which constitutes the purpose of all His operations, namely, to carry the Incarnation into the full dimensions of mankind, until humanity attains to the measure of the age of the fullness of Christ.[588] Briefly then it can be said that in His capacity as director and ruler of human history the Holy Spirit begets all races and cultures; and in as much as He is the soul of the Mystical Body He cultivates and trains them to the building up of the Church.[589] But because the Church stands in a relation to the Holy Spirit analogous to that of the body to the soul, it is natural that it should be an instrument of the Spirit in the temporal sphere. Pope John expressed this very well when he told the Negro artists and writers that the Church, full of youth and perpetually being renewed by the breathing of the Holy Spirit, is ever ready to acknowledge, to receive into herself, and to inspire whatever redounds to the honour of the human intellect and heart, assisting the more talented to develop the cultural potentialities of their nation and race.[590]

580 Danielou J. SJ, *Essai sur le mystère de l'histoire* 60; Messineo A. SJ, *Minoranze nazionali* 89.

581 Pius XII, *Address to the National Convention of Nurses,* 1.10.53, 728.

582 Thils G., *Theologie des realites terrestres* II, 67.

583 Leo XIII, *Divinum illud,* in *Analecta ecclesiastica* 5 (1897) 196b; St. Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos* XLIX n.2 (CChr. 38, 576); Maertens T. OSB, *Souffle et l'Esprit de Dieu* (Tournai 1959) 113.

584 Pius XII, *Address to the Roman nobility,* 5.1.41, 365.

585 Thils G., *Theologie des realites terrestres* I, 86.

586 St. Thomas, *S. theol.* III q.69 a.8 ad 3 (2228b).

587 Pius XII, *Mystici Corporis Christi* 220. See also Leo XIII, *Divinum illud* (DS 3328); Maertens T. OSB, *Souffle et l'Esprit* 114-17; Tromp S. SJ, *Corpus Christi quod est Ecclesia III, de Spiritu Christi anima* (Romae 1960).

588 Eph. 4, 13.

589 John XXIII, *Address to Vatican Cnl. II,* 11.10.62, 789.

590 John XXIII, *Address to the Congress of Negro Writers and Artists,* 1.4.59, 260.

To the Church likewise belongs the task of making the new outshoots of culture, which burgeon forth as a result of this stimulation, apt and ready to take in and assimilate the elements of Christian truth, life, and morals, which easily and naturally fit into any healthy culture, imparting to it the full capacity and strength to protect human dignity and well-being,[591] because there is in human nature something that is naturally Christian.[592] The Church's mission, however, is not confined to new cultural shoots, but extends equally to older cultures, since these too result from the working of the Holy Spirit in human history. Hence Pope John, addressing the bishops from missionary countries whom he was consecrating praised the hidden beauty of the ancient cultures, redolent with evident traces of revealed truth, to which they belonged, exhorting them to an ever deeper study of this heritage.[593]

591 Pius XII, *Address to the directors of the Pontifical Missionary Organizations,* 24.6.44, in *AAS* 36 (1944) 210; Hinsley Card. A., *Africa and the Atlantic Charter,* in *Tablet* 180 (1942) 190.

592 Pius XII, *Evangelii praecones,* in *AAS* 43 (1951) 522.

593 John XXIII, *Address to missionary bishops,* 21.5.61, in *AAS* 53 (1961) 360.

There is no shortage of statements of Pope Pius XII which could be cited in support of what has been said in this regard, but perhaps the most suited to the missionary-mindedness of the modern Church is one from the encyclical *Evangelii praecones*:[594] From her beginnings up to our own times the Church has always followed a very wise rule: the Gospel does not quench or destroy anything good, upright, and beautiful which peoples who embrace it possess in virtue of their own distinctive character and natural bent. For the Church, when it calls people to a greater refinement and a more cultured way of life under the inspiration of the Christian religion, does not act like one who recklessly cuts down, lays waste, and destroys a luxuriant forest, but rather like one who grafts good stock onto wild trees so that they may bear sweeter and more delicious fruit. Although tainted with a hereditary blemish as a result of Adam's fall, human nature has, nevertheless, in itself something naturally Christian, which indeed, if it is illuminated by the divine light and nourished by divine grace, can in time be elevated to true moral perfection and supernatural life. For this reason the catholic Church has neither scorned nor rejected pagan philosophies. Instead, once they have been freed from all error and contamination, she completes and perfects them by Christian wisdom. Likewise she embraces with such warmth and nourishes with such care the native arts and culture of these peoples, some of whom have already reached a high level of development, that they are led on to a summit of perfection, to which otherwise they would possibly not have attained. And rather than suppress their customs and traditions, she has consecrated them to God.

594 Pius XII, *Evangelii praecones* 521-22: "Illam Ecclesia, inde ab originibus ad nostram usque aetatem, sapientissimam normam semper secuta est, qua quidquid boni, quidquid honesti ac pulchri variae gentes e propria cuiusque sua indole e suoque ingenio habent, id Evangelium quod amplexae sint, non destruat neque restinguat. Ecclesia siquidem cum populos ad altiorem humanitatem ad cultioremque vitam, christiana religione auspice, advocat, non illius morem gerit, qui luxuriantem silvam nulla habita ratione caedat, prosternat ac diruat, sed illius potius, qui bonum surculum rudibus arboribus inserat, ut suaviores dulcioresque fructus aliquando edant atque maturent. Humana natura, quamvis ob miserum Adae casum hereditaria labe infecta sit aliquid tamen in se habet naturaliter christianum; quod quidem, si divina luce collustretur divinaque alatur gratia, ad veri nominis virtutem supernamque vitam evehi aliquando potest. Quamobrem Catholica Ecclesia ethnicorum doctrinas neque despexit neque respuit, sed eas potius, a quovis errore et a

quavis impuritate liberatas, christiana sapientia consummavit atque perfecit. Ita pariter eorum ingenuas artes ac liberales disciplinas, quae iam ad tam excelsum fastigium alicubi pervenerunt, ipsa benigne excepit, diligenter excoluit et ad talem pulchritudinis apicem provexit, ad qualem antea fortasse numquam pervenerant. Peculiares quoque populorum mores eorumque tralaticia instituta non omnino cohibuit, sed quodammodo sacravit".

These ramifications of mankind, branching out from the first Adam into different races and cultures in the course of history, are destined to be gathered together as into their Head in the second Adam,[595] with Whom all men are called to form one sole mystical Person,[596] which is the "Whole Christ."[597] In Christ, by the transforming power of the Holy Spirit,[598] the whole history of the works of man will become a theophany,[599] because human culture will have been an instrument in the perfection and sanctification of men orientated towards or belonging to the Mystical Body of Christ.[600] In the Christocentric vision of the universe, the marvelous tapestry of the full riches of humanity given concrete expression in the diversity of races and cultures[601] is nothing more than a "fitting cortege"[602] for the God-Man.[603] For Christ is the foundation, the measure, and the end of the whole evolution of human history.[604]

595 Congar Y. OP, *Attitudes de l'Eglise devant les faits de race* 56.

596 St. Thomas, *S theol.* III, q.48 a.2 ad 1 (2107b).

597 St. Augustine, *Sermo CCCXLI* c.1 n.1 (PL 30, 1493).

598 Maertens T. OSB, *Souffle et l'Esprit* 117-19. 138.

599 Bovis A. de SJ, *Philosophie ou théologie de l'histoire?* 457.

600 St. Basil, *Sermo ad adolescentes* (PG 31, 567); Gregorius OFMCap, *Belang van de culturele anthropologie* 329; Hage J., *Culture et la catholicité de l'Eglise,* in *Vie spirituelle* 51 (1937) 136; Saurus E. OP, *Definicion teologica de la cultura* 495.

601 Bea Card. A., *Address,* 1.4.63, 731.

602 St. Bernardine, *Sermo LIX* c.2 (II, 343).

603 Joaquin de Encinas OFMCap, *Visión cristocéntrica del hombre* 47.

604 St. Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* q.60 (PG 90, 621); Mouroux J., *Mystère du temps* 85.92.95; Thils G., *Theologie des realites terrestres* II, 67-69.

2. The Church's Independence of Particular Cultures

The fact that the religious elite, especially mystics, are culturally creative above all others, as Toynbee affirms,[605] does not mean that these people are conscious of a cultural mission, nor does it imply that the furthering of culture is the proper or primary object of religion. The foremost function of religion is transcendental, namely, to lead men to love and praise God and to share in His divine life. Nonetheless religion is always a powerful factor in building up a culture,[606] as can well be concluded from what has been said above about the ultimate criterion for evaluating particular cultures.

605 Toynbee A., *Study of history* III

606 John XXIII, *Address to Vatican Cnl. II,* 11.10.62, 790.

If this is true of religion in general, it is more particularly so of the Christian religion. The raison d'etre of Christianity indeed is neither the creation of cultures, nor the conservation of races, nations, or languages. Its mission is rather to show to mankind the purpose of human life, and to lead to the attainment of their supernatural end men who have been inwardly transformed and made partakers of the divine life. Because the Christian religion is essentially transcendent, it cooperates in the well-being of human life here on earth principally by defending and promoting the dignity of men called to be the sons of God, and to this end examining and transforming the cultures in which they have to work out their salvation.[607] This is the reason why Pope John XXIII has stated expressly that the Church does not identify herself with any given culture, not even that of the West with which her history is so intimately connected, because her mission is of a different order, namely, the religious salvation of men.[608]

607 Feltin Card. M., *Address,* 20.11.55, 7-8; Saliege Card. J., *Pastoral,* 1.2.53, 329.

608 John XXIII, Address to the Congress of Negro Writers and Artists, *1.4.59, 260. See also Agagianian Card. G.,* Address, *20.8.63, 1303.*

Consequently the Church has no charge to create a single Christian culture to which all its members must of necessity adhere. The unity of the one true Church divinely appointed to embrace all nations[609] in no way demands a uniformity in which all differences of race will be levelled out, or a world-wide cosmopolitanism in which the diversity of existing cultures will be suppressed. Indeed, precisely because it is an authentically human unity and not merely some purely physical agglomeration, it involves rather that catholicity which, in the full acceptance of continuous human diversification, is capable of leading the whole of mankind in one faith, through one baptism, nourished by the one eucharistic food, into the one Church of God.[610]

609 John XXIII, *Mater et magistra* 444.

610 Pius XII, *Address to the Pontifical Missionary Organizations,* 24.6.44, 210; Faulhaber Card. M. de, *Address,* 30.11.30, 201; *Address,* 31.12.33, 102; Congar Y. OP, *Questions raciales* 1034; Constantius OFMCap, *Katholicisme en rasvraagstuk* 10. 16; Danielou J. SJ, *Essai sur le mystère de l'histoire* 47. 60; Haering B. CSSR, *Macht und Ohnmacht* 118. 298.

Nor can this way of looking at things be dismissed as merely a modern fad. As long ago as 1659 the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith wrote in the same strain to the bishop and missionaries in China, instructing them in no way to interfere with the customs and habits of the local people unless they were manifestly opposed to true religion and sound morals. What indeed,

asked the Sacred Congregation, could be more absurd than to try and import France, Spain, Italy, or any other part of Europe into China? It was not this, but the faith that they had been sent to bring to the Chinese; and this faith not only does not reject or injure those customs of any people which are not morally vitiated, but in fact protects them. The missionaries were charged, therefore, not only to refrain from replacing Chinese culture by European, but in addition to adapting themselves to the Chinese way of life.[611]

611 S.C. de Propaganda Fide, *Instruction to the bishops and missionaries in China* 1659, in *Collectanea S.C. de Propaganda Fide, seu decreta instructiones, rescripta pro apostolicis missionibus* n.135 (Romae 1907) I, 42-43. See also Pius XII, *Summi pontificatus* 429; *Address to the Pontifical Missionary Organizations,* 24.6.44, 210; Chappoulie Bp. H., *Address,* 2.10.55, 10.

Since the Church then is not to be identified with any culture, nor yet to be considered as merely an aspect of some culture, but rather the abiding manifestation and organ of God's saving will towards all men, her integrity is far less endangered by the embodiment of herself in many and diverse social and cultural patterns, than by a possible attempt to identify herself exclusively with one or other of these. Although there may be, or have been, some societies and cultures which, by reason of their particular stage of development, render their members more apt and open to receive Christianity; nevertheless there is no form of society or culture which by its nature is more consonant with the Christian religion than any other.[612] This is a necessary conclusion from the principle of the radical independence of religion with regard to particular cultures laid down by Pope Pius XII.[613]

612 Hier. Tanganyika, *Pastoral,* 11.7.53, 98-99; Faulhaber Card. M. de, *Address,* 30.11.30, 201; *Address,* 31.12.33, 102; Danielou J. SJ, *Essai sur le mystère de l'histoire* 22. 41; Dawson C., *Is the Church too western to satisfy the aspirations of the modern world?,* in Veronese V., *World crisis and the catholic* 164; Schmaus M., *Vom Wesen des Christentums* 182-83.

613 Pius XII, *Address to archaeological and historical institutes* 9. 3. 56, in *AAS* 48 (1956) 211. 213.

Furthermore, when Jesus Christ, the very Truth itself, Who can neither deceive nor be deceived, sent out the apostles with the charge to preach to all nations, He said all nations, without making any exception.[614] The apostles confirmed this by their actions, preaching the Gospel to people of different races and cultures, and leaving behind them Christian communities in three continents. Hence many centuries later Pope Paul III, inspired by the divine command and apostolic tradition, expressly declared the Indians of South America and all other descendants of Adam, of whatever nation, to be capable of receiving the Christian religion.

614 Paul III, *Sublimis Deus* 428; *Veritas ipsa* 482.

That members of different races and cultures are all capable of achieving sanctity, and in fact have attained the heights of heroic virtue, even to the point of being officially recognized by the Church and canonized, is yet another indication that the Church does not accept any race or culture as a norm, to which consequently she must ally herself exclusively.[615] For every Christian there is only one norm, Jesus Christ the Saviour of the world. Christianity, therefore, is the salvation of every race and every culture, which far from being enfeebled by it, comes to its full maturity through the Church in the God-Man, Jesus Christ.[616]

615 Saliege Card. J., *Pastoral,* 1.2.53, 325; Constantius OFMCap, *Katholicisme en rasvraagstuk* 16; Orban M., *Nouvelle idole* 15.

616 John XXIII, *Mater et magistra* 444; Hier. Tanganyika, *Pastoral,* 11.7.53, 98-99; Constantius OFMCap, *Katholicisme en rasvraagstuk* 22. 24; Flick M. SJ, *Speranze della Chiesa,* in *CC* 100, 2 (1949) 481-91.

Religion, as we have seen, has a powerful influence for good on culture, so that any culture which would be authentic, healthy, and stable must maintain an intimate relation with religion.[617] This is particularly true with regard to the Christian religion,[618] which possesses the fullness of truth and the superabundant communication of the divine life.

617 Pius XII, *Address to archaeological and historical institutes,* 9.3.56, 213.

618 John XXIII, *Mater et magistra* 444. 462; Hier. Germany, *Pastoral,* 7.6.34, 16; *Pastoral,* 19.8.38, 63. 66; Faulhaber Card. M. de, *Address,* 31.12.33, 103.

3. The Church's Dependence on Culture

There is, however, another aspect of the question, complementary to what has just been said and of equal importance: religion has an absolute need of culture. How else indeed is it to exist in this world and express itself? And if this is so of religion in general, how much more true is it of Christianity, whose very being and Head is God Incarnate,[619] Who through His Mystical Body reaches out to the ends of the earth and the limits of time?[620]

619 St. Augustine, *Sermo CXLIV* c.5 n.6 (PL 38, 790).

620 Daniélou J. SJ, *Essai sur le mystère de l'histoire* 29-30; Gregorius OFMCap, *Belang van de culturele anthropologie* 300; *Notre vocation culturelle,* in *Tam-tam* 6, 7 (Jan. 1957) 3.

Because the human spirit is too limited for the full inherent potentialities of humanity to be expressed in any one group at any one time, the Church has no option but to embody herself successively in diverse cultures. It is only by the perpetually various unfolding of these human riches that the infinite treasures of the goodness and mercy of God poured forth in Christ can in successive ages be reflected in the various changing facets of the Church[621] to the praise of the divine glory.[622] So it is that different cultures, however incompatible with each other they may seem, by virtue of the grace and truth of Christ, are drawn close to each other as members of the same family.[623]

621 Eph. 1, 14.

622 Haering B. CSSR, *Macht und Ohnmacht* 332.

623 Pius XII, *Letter to Bp. Freundorfer,* 27.6.55, in *AAS* 47 (1955) 597.

Thus the Church of Jesus Christ, at one and the same time incarnating herself in them and transcending them all, by divine right belongs to all races and cultures and in fact gathers them to herself,[624] protecting and nourishing what is distinctive, good, and dear to each with a maternal solicitude until they be brought to full maturity,[625] adapting herself to the character and needs of each as a proof of her catholicity.[626] In clear and vigorous terms the Doctor of Grace had already stated this at the beginning of the fifth century:[627]

624 John XXIII, *Mater et magistra* 444; *Broadcast message,* 24.12.58, in *AAS* 51 (1959) 9; Feltin Card. M., *Address,* 20.11.55, 8; *Address,* 9.11.60, in *DC* 57 (1960) 1498; St. Fulgentius, *Sermo* VIII n.2-3 (PL 65, 743-55); St. Peter Damian, *Liber qui appellatur Dominus vobiscum ad Leonem eremitam* c.5 (PL 145, 235); Congar Y. OP, Attitudes de l'Eglise devant les faits de race *52. 63; Simard G. OMI,* Race et langue françaises dans l'Église du Canada, in *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa* 3 (1933) 148.

625 Pius XII, *Summi pontificatus* 428-29; John XXIII, *Mater et magistra* 444; *Address to the Congress of Negro Writers and Artists,* 1.4.59, 259-60; Kaelin B. OSB, *Vom ewigen Gesetz* 685. 689.

626 Hier. Tanganyika, *Pastoral,* 11.7.53, 98-99; McCann Abp. O., *Address,* 17.2.59, in *SCr* 38, 2013 (6.5.59) 2; Saliege Card. J., *Pastoral,* 1.2.53, 325; Bedarida H., *Vérités et équivoques* 273; Daniélou J. SJ, *Essai sur le mystère de l'histoire* 18; La Brière Y. de SJ, *Histoire religieuse* 807.

627 St. Augustine, *De civitate Dei* XIX c.17 (CChr 48, 685): "Haec ergo coelestis civitas dum peregrinatur in terra, ex omnibus gentibus cives evocat atque in omnibus linguis peregrinam colligit societatem, non curans quidquid in moribus, legibus, institutisque diversum est, quibus pax terrena vel conquiritur vel tenetur, nihil eorum rescindens diversis nationibus ad unum tamen eundemque finem terrenae pacis intenditur, si religionem, qua unus summus et

verus Deus colendus docetur non impedit". See also Pius XII, *Summi pontificatus* 428-29; John XXIII, *Mater et magistra* 444.

> This heavenly city, in the course of its earthly sojourn, summons to itself citizens from every nation, and out of all languages gathers a community on the move, paying no attention to differences in customs, laws and ways of life, by which earthly peace is sought after or possessed. It neither mutilates nor destroys any of these things which differ among the various nations, but rather watches over them and conforms herself to them, provided only that they tend towards the attainment of earthly peace, and that they do not hinder religion which teaches that the one, supreme and true God must be worshipped.

Hence it follows that one and the same gospel message transmitted to diverse cultures, as through a prism, shows forth more clearly now one, now another facet of its splendour and perfection, so that the Church, by consciously adapting herself in order to evangelize different and new cultures, is continually acquiring a firmer and fuller insight into the treasures of truth contained in the deposit of faith through an authentic development of dogma,[628] and being renewed through a healthy liturgical variety.[629]

628 Danielou J. SJ, *Essai sur le mystère de l'histoire* 60; Gregorius OFMCap, *Belang van de culturele anthropologie* 329. 336; Haering B. CSSR, *Macht und Ohnmacht* 294.

629 John XXIII, *Address at the conclusion of the Byzantine-Slavic liturgy,* 13.11.60, in *AAS* 52 (1960) 960; *Address to missionary bishops,* 21.5.61, 360; Constantius OFMCap, *Katholicisme en rasvraagstuk* 16.

4. Unity in Diversity

The catholic diversity just outlined, however, in no way injures the oneness of the Mystical Body of Christ, because its bond of unity is not something natural, but of the supernatural order, and even more something of its very nature infinite and uncreated. It is the Holy Spirit Who in His own integral oneness fills and unites the whole Church,[630] pouring out divine love into the hearts of the faithful. This He does that, loving one another as Jesus has loved them, and so proving to all men that they are His disciples, the world through their oneness may know that Christ has indeed been sent by the Father.[631] The great African Doctor, bearing witness to this doctrine, wrote with reference to the tower of Babel:[632]

630 Pius XII, *Mystici Corporis Christi* 222.

631 John 13, 34-35; 17, 21.

632 St. Augustine, *In Iohannis Evangelium tractatus* CXXIV c.4 n.10 (CChr. 36, 58-59): " Si superbia fecit diversitates linguarum, humilitas Christi congregavit diversitates linguarum. Iam quod illa turris dissociaverat, Ecclesia colligit. De una lingua factae sunt multae; noli mirari, superbia hoc fecit. De multis linguis fit una, noli mirari, caritas hoc fecit. Quia etsi soni diversi linguarum sunt, in corde unus Deus invocatur, una pax custoditur".

> If pride was responsible for the diversity of languages, the humility of Christ draws the diversity of languages into a unity. For what the tower dispersed, the Church gathers together. From one language many were produced, such is the power of pride. From many languages unity is created, such is the power of charity. For even though many languages are spoken, in every heart the one God is invoked, the one peace cherished.

Consequently this charity with its miraculous unifying power must not be narrowed down in practice by considerations of race and culture, for all those who share the image of God are worthy objects of love, especially if in addition they are "of the household of the faith."[633] So, while each one may legitimately desire and spend himself for the welfare of the communities to which he belongs, he must not be so blinded by these loyalties as to forget the universal obligation of Christian charity.[634]

633 Gal. 6, 10.

634 Pius XII, *Summi pontificatus* 430; Hier. Tanganyika, *Pastoral,* 11.7.53, 79-80; Faulhaber Card. M. de, *Address,* 3.3.40, 3-4; Kozlowiecki Abp. A., *Pastoral,* 22.1.60, 8; Messineo A. SJ, *Internazionalismo cosmopolita* 16-17.

But at the same time there is another and complementary aspect of this charity which cannot be passed over in silence. It is that true and authentic love does not lead to that complete jumbling together and fusion which enfeebles or obliterates the distinctive talents and riches of the different races and cultures in a stereotyped uniformity and dreary sameness. Rather true love, ever mindful of the responsibility of mutual completion, should strive towards the authentic development of the one loved. Love is a profound union in which the integrity of both is preserved and nurtured, because love is increased in the measure that the diversity of the lovers renders them increasingly apt for an ever more enriching union.[635] This is the paramount reason why the Church always opposes that exaggerated exclusiveness and separatism which obstructs the fruitful intercourse between peoples of differing characteristics.

635 Anciaux P., *Sacrament van het huwelijk* (Tielt 1959) 232; Brauns M. SJ, *Geheim der goddelijke persoonlijkheden* 354-57; Folliet J., *Racisme devant la raison* 43; Fromm E., *Art of loving* 20; Simard G. OMI, *Race et langue françaises dans l'Église du Canada* 148.

All this is summed up in the catholic principle of unity in diversity,[636] which governs not only the life of the Church, but also forms the foundation of its social and political teaching, as we saw when dealing with the rights of races and cultures, and is expressed in the one word "pluralism."[637] This is true of the Church not only during its earthly pilgrimage,[638] but also in its eternal dimension, when likewise in the consummated Kingdom of the glorified Lamb there will be found those redeemed by His blood "out of every tribe and tongue and people and nation" praising God,[639] fulfilling their priestly service[640] without national or racial discrimination.[641] Yet this vision of the beloved disciple is not yet confined to the heavenly Kingdom, but embraces in an essential unity with it the harmonious variations of that vast symphony of the new Jerusalem in its temporal dimension.[642] Hence mankind, one in its origin, is once more restored to unity in the last age of the history of salvation in the messianic Kingdom. This final unity is attained not by a confusion of the elements, but by welding together a multitude of races and cultures in and through Christ around the throne of God. From a unity of solitude at its beginning mankind presses on to a unity of plentitude at the end, while bringing to maturity on the way in boundless variety the untold potentialities inherent in human nature,[643] all the nations of the earth bringing "their glory and honour" into the "holy city Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, having the glory of God."[644] Thus not only Danielou in our own times,[645] but also Saint Augustine long centuries before,[646] has applied to the Mystical Body of Christ, variegated with this multitude of peoples, the description in the messianic psalm of the King's bride as standing at His right hand "in a vesture of gold, all hung about with embroidery."[647] It is not only in terms of the natural law, therefore, but also for supernatural reasons that races and cultures have a responsibility towards the potentialities springing up from their hidden sources of life,[648] because even race has a supernatural significance.[649]

636 Pius XII, *Address to the Roman Rota,* 2.10.45, 257; Hier. Nigeria, *Pastoral,* Oct. 1960, in *Catholic herald* 3889 (21.10.60) 1; Hier. Sudan, *Pastoral,* 15.2.56, 121; Cazzani Abp. G., *Pastoral,* Lent 1939, 276. 278; St. Peter Damian, *Liber qui appellatur Dominus vobiscum ad Leonem eremitam* c.10 (PL 145, 238); Congar Y. OP, *Attitudes de l'Eglise devant les faits de race* 63; Gleason R. SJ, *Immorality of segregation* 30; La Farge J. SJ, *Interracial justice,* preface; *Racial truth and racist error* 35; La Pira G., *Unity in diversity,* in Veronese V. *World crisis and the catholic* 97. This principle has been well explained by Pope Pius XI in these words: " Una cosa spesso si dimentica: che non la universalità c'e l'essenza, parte dell'essenza della Chiesa Cattolica, ma che pur con questa universalità stanno certo molte cose, bene intese, al loro posto e che pur sembrano essere dimenticate: l'idea di razza, di stirpe, l'idea di nazione, di nazionalita… tutti chiamati alla stessa luce di verità, di bene, di carità cristiana; ad essere tutti nel proprio paese, nella particolare nazionalita di ognuno, nella particolare razza". Pius XI, *Address to Propaganda College,* 28.7.38.

637 Paul VI, *Address to Vatican Cnl. II,* 29.9.63, in *OR* 103, 226 (30.6.63) 3; Dondeyne A., *Geloof en wereld* (Antwerpen 1961) 188-90; Guzzetti G., *Morale cattolica* III; Scheiwiller O. OSB, *Rassenprinzip wird Schicksal* 678.

638 St. Augustine, *De civitate Dei* XIX c.17 (CChr. 48, 685).

639 Apoc. 5, 9; 7, 9; 14, 6.

640 Apoc. 1, 6.

641 St. Bernardine, *Sermo LXVI* a.1 c.7 (II, 462-63); Winkenhauser A., *Offenbarung des Johannes,* 2 ed. (Regensburg 1959) 57.

642 Allo E. OP, *Saint Jean l'Apocalypse,* 3 ed. (Paris 1933) 351; Bonsirven J. SJ, *Apocalypse de Saint Jean* (Paris 1951) 322; Winkenhauser A., Offenbarung des Johannes *159-60.*

643 Congar Y. OP, *Catholic Church and the race question* 14; Constantius OFMCap *Katholicisme en rasvraagstuk* 25; Coonen J., *Catholics and colour prejudice* 288.

644 Apoc. 21, 2. 24-26.

645 Daniélou J. SJ, *Essai sur le mystère de l'histoire* 18. 60.

646 St. Augustine, *De civitate Dei* XVII c.16 (CChr 48, 581); *Epistola ad catholicos de secta donatistarum* XXIV n.70 (CSEL 52, 316).

647 Ps. 44, 10.

648 Bavinck J., *Rassenvraagstuk* 43-44.

649 Pius XII, *Address to the Roman nobility,* 5.1.41, 364.

Conclusion

We have considered race from several points of view in the light of the pronouncements of the popes and bishops seconded by the reflections of Christian writers, and it is now time to draw the various threads together so that we can see the argument as a whole.

A theologian has at hand three invaluable instruments with which to investigate the problem of race, which are not available to the natural scientist as such. These are the different unities in terms of which the human person can be considered: firstly the integral unity of the human composite of soul and body which together constitute but one single and undivided reality, the human person; then the two social unities of mankind as such, and the community of redeemed men sharing in the divine life in the Mystical Body of Christ. Before being used to probe the question of race, each of these three doctrines has been examined to the extent that the needs of this study and the present state of theology seem to demand. That these three unities are of crucial importance is borne out by the fact that one or other of them enters positively into every stage of the discussion.

In agreement with the majority of natural scientists whose works were consulted, the Church not only does not call in question the existence of distinct races, but positively asserts it. This she does, however, with balance and moderation.

While readily accepting the existence of a diversity of races, the Church has shunned any of those overemphasis on the differences involved which could rend asunder the oneness of mankind. To underline the fact that this unity is of primary importance, the differences which do exist are termed "accidental." There can thus be no doubt that what men have in common is not less significant than those things in virtue of which they are racially distinct; both the similarities and differences have their proper place in the order of reality established by God. Yet this in no way implies a denial of the fact that the distinctive racial character to some extent determines the whole person in his concrete being and substantial composition.

Starting from the truth that human nature is common to all men, who consequently belong to one and the same species, the Church teaches the substantial equality of all races. This, however, does not close the door on the possibility of minor or temporary inequalities existing between them. What the Church does logically reject is the view that races differ so greatly from each other by their innate and unchangeable character, that the lowest of them is further removed from the highest than from the highest animal species.

Of the many reasons which warrant this rejection the most compelling are those which follow. First and foremost such an attitude amounts to a denial of the special place which man holds among the living creatures of the globe. It next calls into question the truth that, although the body enters substantially into the composition of the human person, nevertheless the soul, created directly by God, is spiritual, and hence man is capable of more than merely physical actions occasioned by physical stimuli. In the third place such a way of speaking seems irreconcilable with the unique origin of mankind from a single pair of first parents, which has traditionally been taught in the Church. And last but not least, it imposes upon races a rigidity and fixedness which cannot be admitted, on the one hand because like other human collectivities races are in a constant process of

flux, and on the other hand because it contradicts the idea of the plasticity of the hereditary racial constitution in individuals which fits in so well with the general body of Christian truth.

Race is fundamentally a biological phenomenon, inasmuch as the racial constitution or genotype is transmitted by the parents to their children by physical generation. Everything racial which a person has, therefore, is congenital. Nevertheless because of the integral unity of the human composite, the racial determination is not confined to the physical organism and its characteristics. It operates on the psychic level also. This is not only due to the fact that psychic operations depend on racially determined physical organs; the main reason is that the soul, together with its faculties, is adapted to the material substratum which it informs, as that substratum is at the moment when they fuse to constitute the given individual person.

This in no way implies that all man's intellectual and moral qualities flow from the blood, which harbours the racial character, as from their principal source. On account of the considerable plasticity of the psychic powers and the transcendence of spiritual actions, the influence of environment, education, and free self-determination play a significant part in the moulding of the individual personality.

Culture is the product of the human person in his integral and undivided wholeness. For this reason the racial factor is held to influence culture in some way. This influence, however, is not one which casts cultures deterministically in rigid moulds; it provides rather an initial disposition capable of many and various lines of cultural development. The same is true of religion, which in this context follows the patterns of the cultures in which it is embodied. On the one hand, therefore, it is false to maintain that religion is subject to an intransigent law of race, to which it should give expression in some sort of unique racial or national church. On the other hand, the possibility of a universal church preserving its unity and integrity is not ruled out by the need for religion to adapt itself to the characteristic way of life of successive cultures influenced by the natural bent of different races. The Church has in fact been able to maintain her essential oneness even while adapting herself to the many cultures and races which she has encountered down the centuries. Indeed this unity in diversity has been her deliberate aim.

The doctrinal foundation for this policy is simply that the racial and cultural ramification of mankind takes place at the instance of divine providence and according to God's wisdom, so that the rich potentialities of humanity may be unfolded and brought to fruition. In the present order of things any particular human type is too limited to actualize exhaustively the fullness of God's creative idea of human nature. Thus the diversities no less than the similarities in mankind come from God.

Furthermore, just like any other element which manifests the divine creative power by enriching individual men and mankind as a whole, race and culture have their place among the good things of God's creation. Yet the fact that they enjoy only a relative and subordinate place in the scale of human values necessarily rules out any possible claim that the supreme objective of education must be to cultivate the racial characteristics and to instill into the pupils an extravagant and exclusive love for their own race. According to the norms of sound doctrine one's own race merits only that moderate affection and loyalty due to all the natural collectivities to which one belongs. This is in fact an aspect of the virtue of piety which the Church has always inculcated. Consequently she cannot accept the contention that racial purity and vigour must be conserved and promoted by every possible means, and that all efforts directed towards this end are necessarily licit. From a Christian

standpoint, the welfare of any particular race must be subordinated to the pursuit of higher ends, and the universal moral order respected at all times.

On the positive side, however, precisely because they are included in the good things which God has created for the perfection of man, both race and culture are recognized as having certain rights which must be safeguarded. Of the two, culture enjoys a higher rank in the scale of human values, as it leads more directly and immediately to man's spiritual growth. The dignity of race is enhanced, however, by sharing in that of culture, in the structure of which it plays an indispensable though subordinate role. It is thus perfectly legitimate for the state to take measures for preserving and fostering the racial and cultural groups within the confines of its territory. Nor can there be any objection to the individual spending himself and his energies in the defense and improvement of the ethnic collectivity to which he belongs. The necessary proviso in both cases is respect for the moral law, which binds individual persons and political authorities alike.

For the very reason that race does occupy this inferior position, the racists are wrong in asserting that the primary source and supreme norm of the whole juridical order is the racial instinct. The supreme and universal juridical norm in the Christian vision of the world is human nature with its personal dignity, in which are grounded the God-given and inalienable fundamental rights of individuals and groups.

Consequently the state cannot be recognized as man's absolute master from which whatever rights he may enjoy come as a concession.

There is more to human life, however, than the correct ordering of one's relations to God and one's fellow-men in some abstract "natural" scheme of things. The actual man of flesh and blood is created by God with the capacity to share in the divine life and glory, and is in reality positively called to such a participation by the Creator in the concrete situation of human history. Seen through Christian eyes, therefore, this magnificent universe of ours, with all its beauty and goodness, with all its intricacy and all its value, is only the preparatory stage of "the new heavens and the new earth" which are to come. All terrestrial realities are bound to help towards the perfect achievement of this divinized state of creation according to the potentialities which God has given them. They fulfill this task in the highest possible degree by contributing to and participating in the building up of the Mystical Body of Christ which is the Church. Because the Head of this Body is the Incarnate Word Himself, no authentic human value can be alien to it.

The Holy Spirit, Who in Christian tradition is called the soul of the Mystical Body, is the life-force which stimulates and directs the growth of the Church. But to this same Spirit is also attributed the impetus and guidance of the whole historical evolution of mankind, orientated towards Christ in and through the Church. And the Church, as the principal manifestation and instrument of the Holy Spirit in the world, shares in His task of fecundating and purifying cultures and bringing them to maturity, for the sake of the God-Man Who is her Head.

The Church, however, does not claim any culture as peculiarly her own, at least in this sense, that there is no single Christian culture to which all the faithful must belong in order fully and properly to be members of Christ. Yet this radical independence of any particular culture does not lessen her essential need of cultures in order to take palpable shape and be present in the world. Thus culture, playing as it does an important part in the building up of the Church, has a significance beyond the

purely mundane; and race, as the material substratum of culture, naturally shares in this transcendent dignity. The final end of the entire process is the "age of the fullness of Christ," when the whole glorious and brilliant tapestry of redeemed mankind diversified in various races and numerous cultures, gathered up into a participation of the divine life in its Head and Mediator, will redound to the glory of God in the consummated Kingdom.

Synthesizing even further this epitome, and drawing the major themes of this composition still closer together, we can round off the theological discussion of race with the following description: races are large groups of men, emerging in the course of history; distinguished by the possession of partly similar hereditary constitutions determining the integral person; enjoying certain rights; and divinely destined to manifest the creative superabundance of God by actualizing the boundless variety of the riches inherent in human nature, and to contribute to the building up of the Mystical Body of Christ by their role in the formation of cultures.