

1939

Proposal to the Carnegie Institute by the
Organization of German Scholars abroad (Vereinigung
deutscher Wissenschaftler. Cf. The Rise and Fall of Nationalism
and Internationalism.

328

The Pacification of the new nationalism.

Peace being the noble aim of the Carnegie Institute, it seems natural that any new way for the pacification of the world be submitted first of all to its Council.

We, therefore, present to the meeting of the Foundation the following scheme. It is based on the frank recognition that the direction of international relations ^{has} undergone a complete change during the last twenty years. In pre-war days, the nations were realities and mankind or humanity was ^{but} an idea to which the best men of all nations were sincerely devoted, ~~because it was threatened by the economic independence of primitive societies.~~ Delegations of the different nations formed international institutions of scientific and humanitarian character.

In the new situation created by the ^{war, its consequences and the} young nationalists or isolationists all over the world, it is more and more difficult to find national delegates who can combine great moral authority at home and true independence for their international work. The deeper cause for this exhaustion can be found in the fact that the world has ^{ceased} become ~~to focus the spirit of adventure and discovery.~~ It has become a reality, a fact, whereas a score of new and incomplete nations ^{will turn} has to be built into this united world as members of a whole. The nations need today more idealism because they are becoming less and less real than the world at large. The idea of the nation seems beautiful and is glorified since it is imperiled in its very existence as a moral unity, - whereas the unity ^{on the narrowness} of the world is an undoubted intellectual, economic and social fact, ~~which lacks the attractiveness of a delicate and endangered idea.~~ The creative imagination of the young is therefore possessed by national dreams and myths. ~~pe-~~

spite the superficial impression, the new nationalism is presupposing the real unity of the world to a higher degree than the old internationalism. It is so reckless because it thinks that the unity of the world ^{is obvious and} will take care of itself. Its naive devotion to national unity is derived from an unconscious recognition of the limitations of a united world whereas all old-fashioned national imperialism was based on the unconscious presupposition of an unlimited and disconnected world.

The work of pacification should take notice of this change in the direction of nationalism. The world being no longer the focus for the spirit of adventure or discovery must be represented as a fact and as a reality of every day life to the different nations. To the system of building up international institutions by national delegations a second system ought to be added, representing the real unity of the world to the different national units.

Since, in a civilized world, ideas and thought precede action, the representation of the world to the national bodies can be prepared by a general staff of ~~humanitarian~~ educators and thinkers which would use the forms of an academy to some extent. yet there would be a considerable difference. The work of this academy ^{has to deal with} ~~is based on the two~~ contradictory facts: a mutual - sometimes even a deliberate - misunderstanding of the various national ~~is~~ ideals and the real unity of the world. Its nucleus are, therefore, independent study groups of economists, sociologists, historians and international lawyers. The work of these groups will consist in the elaboration of the questions which are in common and of importance for the survival and the very existence of a human society. A general agreement on the meaning or bearing of a social question can no longer be

presupposed. It must be produced by a collective effort which precedes the creative work of the individual thinker or scholar. His work will be the answer, a free and independent answer, ^{it is true, yet an answer} given to a question ^{personally} debated, discussed and formulated by the staff. The reintegration of the process of questioning is the natural method of this academy. The reality of the unity of the world is its simple and universal theme. It needs not saying that the permanent diversity and inevitable disintegration of the various social and national forces is implied in this formula. Still, the new wholism will lead to a moral representation of the world as a unity. For that purpose, one condition will have to be fulfilled.

The members of these study groups must be freed ^{from} all governmental influences. Being less the national delegates at an international institution than the world's advocates at the national institutions they are clearly bearing responsibilities of a different type than is customary in international collaboration.

On the other side the collective groups of study will meet regularly intellectual leaders of the various nations. In these meetings, the national responsibilities of those leaders and the educational responsibilities of the staff will have to counterbalance each other.

A permanent corresponding membership will result for all who contribute actively to these debates. And the higher the level that can be secured for the corresponding members the better will be the effect on the reputation and the selection of the staff itself. Since the repercussions of teaching and learning are one of the most important tests in the social sciences, the second form of the academic practice will probably be an annual summer school for a well picked audience of national teachers and scholars,

4
organization of German scholars abroad
This ~~Vergesellschafteter Wissenschaftler~~ feels that its
very existence is related to the fact that a deliberate reorientation
has set in before the world itself was equipped with moral
and economic instruments of true and impartial collaboration and
unification. It can dispose of a numerous staff of highly trained
scholars of international reputation to whom the unity of human
society is an indispensable presupposition of their social philosophy.

We should appreciate ^{it if we could} to have the opportunity of discussing the realization of this plan with representatives of the Carnegie Foundation.