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**THE RISE AND DECLINE**  
**OF**  
**CHRISTIAN**  
**CIVILIZATION**

BY

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*Scott Nearing*

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1940

## Defending an Outmoded Minority

“I believe from my heart that the cause which binds together my peoples and our gallant and faithful allies is the cause of Christian Civilization.”

KING GEORGE VI  
Broadcasting on Dec. 25, 1939.

### WORLD RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

(*World Almanac Figures*)

Numbers in Millions

	<i>Christians</i>	<i>Non-Christians</i>	<i>Percent Christians</i>
Americas	179	32	85
Europe	455	19	96
Asia	34	978	3
Africa	8	135	5
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World Total	682	1,167	36

(Total world population 2,125,000,000. Only one-third of the population is nominally Christian).

### ESTIMATED PERCENT OF PEOPLE LIVING UNDER A TRADE ECONOMY (CIVILIZATION)

Americas	less than	60	percent	
Europe	”	”	85	”
Asia	”	”	20	”
Africa	”	”	15	”
World	”	”	45	”

(Less than half of the population is “civilized”).

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## THE RISE AND DECLINE OF CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION

The masters of the Western World are rallying their forces to the defense of Christian Civilization. The President of the United States, the Pope, and the British King-Emperor are beating the war drums and summoning the faithful to close up their ranks and fight for the god of things as they are.

What is this Christian Civilization of which we hear so much? Whence came it? Whither is it going? Is it worth defending?

Civilization existed before Christianity. The answer to our question about the nature of the present social order must therefore begin with some comment about the origin and development of civilization.

### The Rise of Civilization

Early men probably lived in small, isolated groups. They centred their activities around some source of food. Occasionally they moved in search of a new home; but when they had found a satisfactory living place, they usually stayed until they were driven out by the forces of nature or by other men. When they had learned to cultivate land, men settled in village groups, built houses and lived in families.

Trade tied separate villages together. Traders piled up wealth and power. The civil state arose as the political expression of trading class interests. The family, the tribe and the village were all brought under the civil authority. Pride in tribe and family gave way before the lust for riches. Distant lands and alien peoples were linked in a common pursuit of profit.

Civilization is the period of history that is dominated by civil

or contractual relations. Blood ties hold together the tribe, the family, and to a large extent the village. Business contacts prevail in the market. When the village pushes farming into second place and takes up trade as its chief means of making a living, or, in more exact terms, when traders are able to take the direction of public affairs out of the hands of landowners, the village gives place to the trading city, and civil society or civil-ization is born.

The change from agriculture to trade usually takes generations or centuries. In the Mississippi Valley it was over in less than fifty years. When the change is completed a self-contained agricultural-craft economy has been replaced or dominated by an expanding business economy.

The development of trade is important because it provides a new means of livelihood and develops new social forms. The trader is not a primary producer. He does not hunt, herd, farm or fabricate. Instead, he takes over the products of the chase, the farm and the workshop, markets them and charges a commission of profit for his services.

Trade yields a better living than hunting, farming or hand-craft. The trader collects goods, fixes prices, uses money, extends credit. When he begins to buy labor-power on a big scale, to monopolize resources, to accumulate capital and to control and manipulate prices he has developed modern business, which is the most effective means of enrichment thus far devised by human beings.

The earlier traders got together on feast-days or at fairs. As time passed, a permanent market was set up at a river mouth, on an island or beside a good harbor. Every day is market day and profit day for the trader who has a shop at the permanent trade centre. As profits pile up, docks are built, warehouses are erected, a stream of goods and of labor power flows toward the permanent market, and the trading city grows in wealth and power. This permanent market is the economic foundation of civilization.

### The Characteristics of Civilization

Civil society, built up around the permanent trading centre, has developed at many times and places since the beginning of

written history. It is the type of social life with which the western world is most familiar. It is neither sacred nor immortal. It is merely the latest of the many social forms that human beings have developed in their age-long climb toward wider fields of life, liberty and happiness.

Civilization has certain features that distinguish it from the earlier forms of social life. The first characteristic of a trading society is the permanent market, controlled by a class that makes its living from trade. The farmer and the craftsman convert nature's stores into goods ready for use. They consume most of these goods and take only the surplus to the local market. The trader relies entirely upon the market for his profit. Since trade consists of buying and selling, the task of the trader is to find customers. The search for customers begins at home. Soon it extends to foreign territory,—to other villages, cities, countries. Finally the trader goes to the ends of the earth looking for profit-making opportunities. The farmer and the craftsmen rely almost entirely upon home consumption and the home market. The trader seeks his profit in wider and wider territories until he has established a world market.

The search for profit takes the trader in several different directions. He seeks foreign customers for domestic goods and home customers for foreign goods. He must secure the raw materials needed for shipbuilding, construction and manufacturing, and at the same time maintain a food supply sufficient to support the populations of the trading city.

The development of trade shifts the economic centre from production of goods and services for use to the production of commodities for sale. The demands of trade lead producers to devote their entire time and energy to some special marketable product. With the income secured from the sale of these products, they buy the necessaries of life from other specialized producers. Trade economy builds a domestic market at the same time that it builds a foreign one.

The farmer and village craftsman have been replaced by a manufacturer who produces a volume of a special line of commodities that he believes can be profitably sold. Production for

use is replaced by production for profit. Thus a second outstanding characteristic of civilization appears,—commodity production,—the intervention of the market between the production of goods and their use.

The trading class must have the tools of trade. None of these tools is necessary in an agricultural economy. They are indispensable in a trade economy, and constitute its third characteristic. They include permanent markets and warehouses, with an accepted code of custom or law governing the rights and duties of traders; established trade routes; means of transport such as pack animals or ships; means of communication such as an alphabet, writing, printing, the postoffice; a medium of exchange or money (commodity money, metallic money and credit is the usual sequence); bookkeeping and accounting; devices for changing money, for commercial borrowing and lending, for accepting and discounting bills of exchange and for carrying on other banking functions. When all of these tools of trade have been developed, the trade centre differs as much from the agricultural village as the village differs from a tribe of wandering herdsmen.

Expansion is a fourth characteristic of a trading society. The interests of the farmer and of the villager lie at home—on the farm, in the village. The interests of the trader lie abroad—in finding new customers and new commodities with which to tempt and satisfy old customers. The household anchors the householder. Farmers and craftsmen look inward—to the farm and the shop from which their livelihood comes. Trade detaches the trader from any particular locality. The trader looks outward—to the caravan, the ship; to travel, adventure, discovery. The search for Eastern trade led Vasco de Gama around Africa and Columbus across the Atlantic. The agricultural village lives within itself—static—century after century. The trading city is pressing ever outward—expanding into new fields of profit making.

The village with its self-sufficient localism has been replaced by the trading city. A new source of livelihood has appeared,—business for profit. The farmer and the village craftsman have been replaced by the trader, the manufacturer, the banker, with their increasing flock of specialized workers; unskilled and skilled

wage-earners; transport workers; clerks; book-keepers; lawyers. A new economic foundation has been established that yields a livelihood for a class of profiteers or business men. The basis of the middle class has been broadened. The mass working class has been called into being.

Village property consists chiefly of land, buildings, implements and animals. These means of production were used by the householder to feed, clothe and house his family.

Business property consists chiefly of ships, warehouses, mines, factories, commodities, money. All are employed to make a profit for the owner. Civilization thus replaces landed property by merchant capital, industrial capital and bank capital. The centre of wealth shifts from land to business; and a new class comes to power—the business class, which is a fifth characteristic of a trading society.

The object of the business class is the acquisition and the accumulation of wealth. This is the sixth characteristic of civilization. The dominant economic group in every civilized community, the business class, devotes its major energies to the piling up of profit through the sale of consumption goods, the purchase of labor power and the investment of capital. The villager is also interested in the accumulation of wealth, but in the form of land, buildings and animals which he himself uses. The craftsman saves and invests in his combined home and workshop, in tools and raw materials. But in both cases the margin for saving is small and the net result of centuries of agricultural-craft economy is little more than prosperous well-kept farms, gardens, craft shops and village homes.

The case is far different with the trader. His chief task is the accumulation of wealth in forms that can be used for further accumulation. And since the profits of trading are larger than the returns from hunting, pillage, farming and craftsmanship, it comes about that the accumulations of wealth in the trading centres are greater than those elsewhere. In the course of time the trade centres develop into centres of wealth and power, and the trading city, becomes a synonym for wealth, luxury, refinement, parasitism, profligacy. A great gulf develops between village and

city. In the village men work, and take or send the products of their toil to the cities. In the city men bargain, exchange, speculate and live lives of ease and comfort on the commodities produced by city and village workers.

The chief source of business profit is exploitation,—the seventh characteristic of civilization. In the beginning the trader bought goods and sold them. Very soon, however, he learned that the purchase of labor-power is the ultimate source of profit. The business man then became a buyer first of slaves, then of serfs, and finally of wage-labor. So long as a market could be found for the commodities produced in his establishment, the more labor power he could purchase, the more profit he could make. The purchase of labor power and its employment in profit-making ventures thus became the chief source of business profit.

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The business class, having secured wealth and power, is confronted with five chief tasks: (1) the making of a profit on its investment; (2) the enlargement of its field of investment and exploitation; (3) domination over class rivals at home; (4) extending and stabilizing its control over dependent foreign territory; and (5) carrying on the struggle for supremacy over rival business classes abroad. These tasks involve rivalries, contradictions and conflicts. In order to win out in the conflicts, the business class utilizes the state,—a bundle of legislative, judicial and administrative institutions, including the police and the armed forces, so synchronized and directed as to enable the dominant economic class to triumph over its enemies. The civil state is the eighth, and one of the most distinctive, characteristics of civilization.

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The state institutionalizes conflict and makes it one of the major objects of public policy. In the economic field the principal task of the business class is the struggle for profit. In the political field the principal task is the struggle for power. The economic struggle is named competition. The political struggle is called war. The symbol of the economic struggle is the market. The symbol of the political struggle is the professional army and navy. The maintenance of a professional military force and the waging of war have been the outstanding political features of the



civil state and are the ninth characteristic of civilization.

The tenth characteristic is the range of achievement made possible by the great accumulation of wealth in the centres of civilization. These achievements may be grouped under four heads: the development of production and of the means of production; the science of organization as embodied in the apparatus of production, transport, exchange, merchandizing and finance, in the professional fighting machine (army and navy) and in the bureaucratic apparatus of the state; the subsidy of science, research, invention; and the emphasis on arts and letters. The economic and military achievements are indispensable factors in the struggle for wealth and power. Science and the arts are the product of leisure and of the desire of all ruling classes for conspicuous consumption.

Civilization may therefore be described as the stage of social history beginning with the foundation of the permanent market and extending to the present day. Its outstanding characteristics are the organization of a permanent market; the specialized production of commodities for sale in the market; the development of the tools of trade; expansion; the dominance of a business class; the struggle for profit as a means to wealth and power; exploitation as a source of wealth; the state apparatus; war making; and the wide range of achievements at the trade centres. These ten characteristics will be found in varying degrees at all successful centres of trade. Their development is usually in direct proportion to the wealth and power of the particular trading class.

### The Stages of Civilization

Civilization is the historic stage during which a permanent business centre is dominated by a trading or business class. In the course of their development trade centres pass through successive forms, of which the three most distinctive are the trading city, the nation and the empire. The era of civilization may therefore be sub-divided into three sub-stages; cityism, nationism and empireism. The division corresponds roughly with the ex-

panding geographic areas brought under the domination of a single group of traders. The chief characteristics of civil society, as listed in the preceding section, appear in all three of the sub-stages of civilization. Their relative importance varies from stage to stage.

The trading city is a local territorial unit with a permanent market and an established trading class. In the course of its development this trading class has gained control of city policy. The early trading cities, among the Phoenicians and Greeks for example, had a population of a few thousand, living inside the city defenses. The early Greek cities were not far removed from the gentile form of organization since all citizens traced their descent from common ancestors. Outside the defenses, in the nearby countryside, and immediately dependent on the city, lived the herdsmen and land workers who supplied the city with the bulk of its food, and took refuge inside the city when military operations drove them from their homes. The bulk of the city's economic activity took place within its own immediate territory, and its institutional life was organized for the defense and expansion of local trading class interests.

The policy of the trading city followed definite lines: (1) Economic and political expansion of its own profit-making interests. Such a policy involved the defeat of its immediate trade rivals, the conquest and subjugation of colonial territory, and the establishment of trade monopolies within certain areas. (2) Alliances and leagues formed with neighboring trading cities for offensive and defensive purposes. The early Greek city-states, the Italian cities during the Middle Ages, and the Hanse cities of a slightly later period are examples, first, of the city state; second, of the formation of leagues and federations; and third, in the cases of Athens and Venice, of the organization of empires built up by the trading classes of those cities. Thus a single city like Athens passed successively from a trading city, through membership in a league of trading centres, to the establishment of colonies and the conquest and exploitation of colonial areas. In such a case the trading city became an empire without passing through the stage of nationhood, in the modern sense of that word.

The formation of federations or leagues of trading cities led toward a form of complex nation such as that resulting from the federation of the American colonies toward the close of the 18th century. Some of the earlier leagues, such as the Hanse League or the various combinations of Italian or Netherland trading cities, dissolved as a result of internal conflict without developing a national organization.

The struggle for wealth and power carried on between the trading classes of rival cities must result: (1) in the destruction of all of the contestants; or (2) in the supremacy of one and the destruction or subjugation of the others; or (3) in a permanent unity or nationhood. This last possibility was much in evidence during the nation-making that played so important a role in the history of the 18th and 19th centuries.

Frequently a strong central government, as in England and France, played an important part in bringing the rival factions into a national unity. This nation-making process was the logical result of the struggle for supremacy carried on among the rival trading cities. It brought into existence a territorial area which was usually larger than that under the control of a single city. Contending trading groups entered the union on a basis of well-defined equality. A central political apparatus was set up. Economic interests were adjusted; institutional life was organized; efforts were made to establish a common language and common religious practices; and through various channels of appeal, a homogenous population was built up with a loyalty or patriotism which had the nation instead of the city as its objective.

At this stage in the development of civilization, the nation is the area within which the business class strives to organize its profit-making activities. The state or administrative machine is the offensive and defensive agency which it uses in its effort to protect and extend its interests. Specialization and departmentalization in government, constitutions, laws, judicial decisions are all means through which the ruling class attempts to make the yoke of exploitation less irksome; to ease domestic class conflict, and to strengthen its hand in dealing with foreign rivals.

The modern nation has its economic background in a widely

extended area based on the new means of transport and communication, and its social background in a predominant and well-organized business class. In earlier times the absence of effective transport and communication did not permit the organization of large administrative areas, and the employment of the vast majority of the population in food-getting rendered the business class relatively less dominant than they have been in recent times. The nation, at this period, seemed to be little more than a transition stage between the city state and the empire. The absence of a basis for stable national existence explains the reappearance of city states during the process of imperial disintegration. The modern parallel—the disintegration of the British Empire—presents an essentially different picture. The British Empire is breaking up, not into city states—there are none such—but into nations,—Canada, Australia, Ireland, South Africa, Burma.

The trading class in the nation, like the trading class in the city, follows a policy of expansion that involves economic and political wars against its rivals; forms leagues and alliances; conquers territory; colonizes; defeats rivals, and eventually, if it is successful in the survival struggle, establishes an empire and thus enters the third and highest stage in the development of civilization. The empire is therefore the end product of national as it is of city organization. In both cases, the successful ruling class organizes foreign exploitation from a centre of domestic power. A few trading cities, emerging victorious from the competitive struggle with their rivals, have founded empires. During historic times the successful trading nations have, almost without exception, developed imperial organizations. The struggle for wealth and power, employing the instruments of trade, diplomacy and war culminates in the imperial stage of civilization.

The essential difference between cityism and nationism on the one hand, and empireism on the other, is not necessarily one of size, although the nation usually occupies a greater geographic area than the city, just as the empire usually occupies a larger geographic area than the nation. The trading city is homogeneous, both as to its citizenry and as to its organization. The nation, composed of heterogeneous population elements, is, never-

theless, homogeneous as to territory. The empire is a heterogeneous complex, both of populations and of territories. The cities of London, York and Dover were homogeneous units. The United Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Wales were homogeneous only as to territory. The British Empire is an agglomeration of peoples and territories.

Trading communities that have reached the imperial stage have the distinguishing characteristics of civilization,—a permanent market, specialized commodity production, the apparatus of trade, a policy of expansion, a dominant business class, the struggle for profit, exploitation, the state apparatus, an army and navy, wealth, science and art at the centre of imperial power. The geographic area included under the control of the imperial ruling class has broadened in the development from cityism or nationism to empireism, and the field of exploitation has been extended to include dependent or colonial peoples. The essential economic, political and class relations persist.

Like other social forms, the empire passes through successive phases of accumulation and dispersion which constitutes a culture cycle. History records a number of imperial cycles of which the best known were domiciled in the Mediterranean Basin. The most detailed records describe the latest completed imperial cycle,—that centring about the Roman Empire, from 600 B.C. to 450 A.D.

### Civilized Empires

The historic evidence dealing with empires may be generalized, without doing too much violence to the facts, as a sequence of stages. These stages are not mutually exclusive. One shades into the other. A later stage overlays its predecessor without destroying it.

The stages of the imperial cycle may, for convenience, be grouped under five heads: (1) the establishment of the imperial nucleus or homeland; (2) expansion; (3) the survival conflict with other conquering exploiting groups; (4) world supremacy, and (5) disintegration and dissolution. All exploiting groups

which contend for imperial supremacy pass through some of these stages. Only the successful ones complete the cycle from the birth of an empire to its decay and death.

The imperial nucleus or homeland is the centre around which the imperial ruling class directs the exploitation of the imperial territories. This stage is, in one sense, pre-imperial since it includes the development of the trading city or nation. The imperial nucleus is more than a mere trading centre, however. It comprises either a federation of local trading centres or a consolidation of a number of trading centres under one dominant group. The imperial homeland is the base of operations of a class that is contending for imperial supremacy. It must possess defence advantages, a supply of raw materials, food and man power sufficient to support the long and arduous economic and military conflicts that are the essential accompaniments of empire building. Only a very few geographic areas have qualified as bases for empire building,—the Nile Valley, the Fertile Crescent, Crete, the Italian peninsula, the British Isles. The ruling class that controls such a favorable location has an immense advantage over its rivals in the race for imperial supremacy.

The trading class, in its advance to wealth and power, follows a policy of expansion. The interests of the traders lie outside the homeland, in territory which they visit in search of wares and of markets. In pursuit of these interests, the trading class buys and sells, conquers, subjugates, colonizes, exploits. The professional military apparatus which it sets up helps to stabilize its position in the homeland and to protect and extend its foreign interests. The sharp conflict of interests between the imperial exploiters and their colonial victims leads to boycotts, movements of national liberation and finally to open revolt. Consequently the imperialists are forced to maintain large military units in all of their colonies and to pay the costs of frequent colonial wars. The imperial ruling class that succeeds by guile or by force in maintaining its control over its colonies gradually rounds out an imperial unit consisting of an organized armed homeland and of foreign subjugated areas.

Expansion takes place not only at the expense of colonial peo-

ples. It also involves a survival conflict with other conquering, exploiting groups, which are attempting to extend their opportunities for profit-making into the same foreign territories. The struggle is in part economic—for raw materials, trade, and investments. Economic rivals also conduct war as a necessary part of their survival struggle. Following war, the defeated empires are dismembered or else they are disarmed, subjugated and forced to pay tribute. Contestants for imperial honors are eliminated in the course of the life-and-death struggle between rival empires, until one of the rivals establishes its position as the supreme exploiter of the known world.

The ruling class of the victorious empire asserts its supremacy by imposing its law and order upon the remainder of the imperial world. The objective of this law and order is the preservation and extension of ruling class power and profit. Roads are built or improved; the land and sea are policed; commerce is encouraged and protected; money is stabilized; long-term contracts are made and fulfilled; rents are collected; loans are paid; risks and interest rates are reduced. Wealth is concentrated in the imperial centre and in the hands of the imperial ruling class. The world is divided into a relatively small tribute-collecting homeland and a vast number of tribute-paying protectorates, dependencies and colonies.

The empire contains within itself the seeds of decay. Built on an unstable basis of expansion in the competitive struggle for wealth and power, it is continually threatened with destruction by the internal conflicts which the form of organization engenders. The city-concentrated population must pay for imported food and raw materials either by exporting manufactured products or else by plunder and the levying of tribute and taxes on their neighbors and dependents. City construction and maintenance are a heavy charge upon imperial income. Overhead increases; a parasitic class develops; the military machine is augmented; a bureaucracy is built up. Most of these activities are non-productive. All cost more in outlay than they yield in income and thus add to the expense of running the empire. Rising costs are

met by new plundering expeditions and by additional taxes. Civil wars are fought; rival factions of the ruling class struggle for power; ambitious generals use the army to advance their political fortunes; exploited workers and landless farmers organize and rebel. Foreign wars continue. Additional territory is conquered; new rivals rise to threaten the world empire; migrating hordes hurl themselves across the imperial boundaries toward the accumulations of wealth in the capital. Colonial exploitation is intensified to meet the growing imperial deficits and to satisfy the wealth-hunger of the ruling class. Local centres of economic power develop in the colonies and demand a place in the sun. Colonial revolt becomes more frequent. Some of the stronger colonies wrench themselves free from the imperial centre and establish their independence. Imperial disintegration progresses. Taxes become excessive; agriculture declines; trade decreases; industry stagnates; cities are depopulated; centralized production and exchange languish, banditry and piracy develop. Credit is restricted; interest rates rise; local barter economy springs up; autonomous political units are organized and armed. The empire breaks up, first into segments struggling for power, and ultimately into local agrarian units with their occasional trading centres. The imperial cycle ends where it began, at the level of the agricultural village with its craft economy and minimum of trading activity.

Civilization is the sum total of the survival struggles between rival trading classes, contending for supremacy in wealth and power; of the conflicts between owning classes and exploited masses, both at home and abroad; of the civil wars and wars of conquest and survival; of the division of the world into autonomous, competing nations and empires. Civilization has continued from the dawn of written history to the present time and it will persist until it is replaced by an alternative social system based upon cooperation rather than competition and substituting for the struggle for wealth and power between rival classes, a socialized, planned world economy and a world-wide administrative apparatus.



## Christian Civilization

Christian civilization differs only in name from the pagan civilization that preceded it. The same economic and social forms are present. The same practices are followed. The same historic forces are at work. } WW

The era of Christian Civilization began about ten centuries ago, in the period of the Crusades. The village agriculture of the Dark Ages was replaced by permanent trading centres. The traders took power from the landowners, established centres of wealth, developed commerce, expanded into neighboring territory, conquered colonies, fought wars, monopolized business opportunities, bought and sold slaves, hired wage-labor, heaped up profits. Christian civilization saw the growth first of city states, then of nations, and finally of empires. The imperial phase of the era may be briefly summarized:

- (1) The nuclei of imperial power were established in Venice, Portugal, Holland, France and Great Britain, where the trading classes gained more or less complete control of public policy.
- (2) Each of these imperial centres expanded at the expense of backward peoples or of its weaker competitors into a colonial empire.
- (3) Venice, Portugal, Spain and Holland were successively dominant between 1400 and 1700. From 1713 to 1815 France and Great Britain fought a century-long contest for supremacy that ended with the victory of the British Empire.
- (4) Britain, as the victor over France in the Napoleonic Wars, was the supreme world empire of the early 19th century. In trade, commerce, manufacturing, money and finance; in naval power and political control, the British Empire was mistress of the planet.

At this point, however, the sequence of imperial stages was broken by an event unique in written history,—machines were built; mechanical power was harnessed; the new technology was

applied to manufacturing, transport, mining and agriculture, and a system of trustified, mechanical mass-production replaced villages, agriculture and handcraft industry. Machine economy, developing earliest in Great Britain, gave that country an immense advantage over her chief rival, France. The same machine processes, however, equipped the British colonies for independence; raised up Germany, Japan and the United States as rivals for imperial supremacy, and called into being the wage-working or proletarian class that was destined to challenge the entire system of imperialism by launching a drive to replace the business class at the centre of power.

Each imperial cycle has spread its culture over a wide area. During the Egyptian and Roman cycles, the culture pattern of the imperial centre was extended to territories lying in or near the Mediterranean. The Roman Empire organized trade, built highways, spread its language, law and social institutions through large sections of Europe and considerable territories in Asia and Africa. The diffusion of imperial culture stopped, however, at the Sahara Desert, the Atlantic, the Great Plains of East Europe and other natural barriers. It has remained for the modern empires to diffuse their culture over the entire planet.

Until railroad, steamboat, motor car, airplane, telegraph, telephone and radio flooded across the limitations imposed by space and time upon imperial organization, it was physically impossible for an empire in Europe to dominate territory in South Africa and Australia. It was equally impossible to domesticate the great land masses of North America, Asia, Africa and South America. A culture that depended upon oxen, horses and camels for land transport, was excluded from the more extended continental land masses, could not conquer the larger oceans, and was confined to the sea-coast, to river valleys and to the adjacent continental areas. Steam, electric and gasoline transport, coupled with machine tools and machine weapons, enabled the western empires to extend their control into central continental areas that had remained closed to the earlier imperialists. Not only were the boundaries of the empires enlarged rapidly after 1870, but missionaries, the movies, photography, printed matter and

other forms of advertising, plus mass production, enabled the imperialists to impose their culture pattern indirectly, in the form of consumption goods and production tools, on the most isolated communities. So it came about that in a phenomenally short time, historically speaking, the culture pattern developed in Western Europe from the 12th to the 15th centuries, was extended during the next four hundred years to every portion of the planet. Even where Western Europe lost political control, as in the United States of North America, the culture pattern of Christian Civilization was adopted and diffused with immense enthusiasm by the North American business class, in its own right and by its own might.

The planet has been drawn together by technology. At the same time it is divided into nations and empires under the direction of rival ruling class groups that are competing for wealth and power. These rivalries and their accompanying conflicts criss-cross the planet with frontiers, trade barriers, monetary systems, police regulations and fortifications. During peace times the frontiers are open to properly accredited individuals and to specified commodities. Periodically, however, war is declared, the frontiers are closed, and the leaders of rival factions or of rival class groups use every means at their disposal to destroy, maim and kill.

The 19th century witnessed the maturing of the chief colonial areas of the world as centres of industrial production, and the fierce struggle for economic and political supremacy from 1870 to 1920. The 20th century dawned on a series of colonial revolts and proletarian revolutions that, together with the war of the rival empires, shattered the structure of imperialism and brought to a close the epoch of business class domination of public policy that has characterized successive imperial cycles for at least six thousand years.

### A Social System in its Death Agony

During the opening years of the present century, the social system which is called Christian Civilization began to break down. It had lived its life and performed its historic mission. Its

period of growth and expansion came to an end. The destructive forces engendered by the competitive struggle for wealth and power got the upper hand. Prosperity was swallowed up in hard times. Peace was banished by war. Construction gave way to disintegration.

The economic crisis that broke across the civilized world in 1929 was no more an accident than the devastating War of 1914 was a blunder. The masters of Christian Civilization did everything in their power to perpetuate prosperity. They made every effort to avert war. From the First Hague Conference in 1899 to the catastrophe of 1914 statesmen worked ceaselessly to prevent their social system from committing suicide. They failed.

Through the hectic years that followed the War of 1914 and the economic crash of 1929, the masters of Christian Civilization have labored to re-establish peace and restore prosperity. Their efforts have been in vain. Wars have been in progress in one or more places in every year since 1910. Unemployment has increased. Idle capital has accumulated. Inch by inch the paralysis of death has crept across the body of the old social order.

The masters of the Western World are trying to prevent an old social system from dying. They waste their time. They may as well join King Canute on the seashore, waving back the tides. They may as well try to patch an old coat or mend an old shoe when the material composing it has begun to disintegrate.

RP ] Why do the mighty ones strive to keep life in the old out-worn body of Christian Civilization? For one simple reason: because it has made them mighty, and because, like most human beings who enjoy privileges and positions of authority, they hold tenaciously to a dying order and die with it.

The landlords of France held on to the Feudal system. It was wornout, broken down. Its sagging ruins were crushing the lives of the masses and obstructing the rise of the oncoming business class. But the aristocracy could still eat the cream of life. To the earnest pleadings of their advisers that they get out of the path of the coming disaster before it was too late, they replied: "After us the deluge," and continued to eat, drink and be merry until they were swept into oblivion.

The landlords and capitalists of Russia dammed back the rising waters of social change until the flood burst its banks and overwhelmed them. They would not listen to the liberals. They shot down the masses in cold blood in front of the Winter Palace. But neither their obstinacy nor their cruelty could avail. They went the way of all masters who try to perpetuate a social system beyond the span of its historic usefulness.

Christian Civilization is dying. Its monopoly capitalist economy and its bourgeois democratic state are being gutted from within by economic disaster and smashed from without by war.

Christian Civilization is dying by its own hand, wielding those means of destruction which its own economy and polity have produced. It is also being wiped out by the action of millions whose lives have been made intolerable by its death agonies. The workers and farmers of Russia repudiated it in 1917. A year later the peoples of Germany and Austria-Hungary made an abortive attempt to reject it. Totalitarianism is replacing it in Europe. Neither China nor India has adopted Christian Civilization and neither ever will. Forty-five out of every hundred human beings live in these two countries. In 1910 Christian Civilization dominated the planet. Today it is fighting with its back to the wall.

### A New Day: A New World

Each tomorrow of history is a new day. As Christian Civilization passes from the historic scene it leaves behind the machines, the techniques and the trained man-power needed to build a new social order that will be as superior to civilization as the culture of the trading centre was superior to that of the agricultural village.

The success with which technology has been spread across the planet through the past two centuries has brought mankind within striking distance of a world commonwealth. The more advanced human societies, with the exception of the Soviet Union, are today living at the culture level of civilization. To gain this level they passed through a long process of social evolution. Slavery was developed on a prodigious scale, as in the Roman

world and in the early history of American colonization, and then repudiated in theory and abandoned in practice. Science and machine technique were elevated into a position of supreme importance, only to be called into question, during recent years, for upsetting the social equilibrium by the drastic changes which they have inaugurated. The professional military apparatus has been lifted to a state of immense efficiency and has been used repeatedly with terrible effect for the conquest and subjugation of weaker peoples; for the suppression of revolt against ruling class domination, and in national and imperial rivalries that threaten the existence of both victor and vanquished. Property relations have undergone extensive changes with the shift from land to capital as the centre of power, and from small business to big business monopolies as the agencies of profit making. The private ownership of the means of production; exploitation and the class struggle; the competitive struggle for wealth and power between rival ruling class groups, and the organization of the armed state have survived the vicissitudes in the life of civilization.

The human race, having reached the culture level of the agricultural village, might conceivably have stopped there indefinitely, but if it was to advance from the meagre economic base and the narrow social area of village localism it was necessary to utilize social forces adequate to break through the static forms of villagism and broaden the culture pattern. Otherwise a community might remain, as in parts of China and India, for centuries without any considerable change in its mode of life.

War was always a disturbing factor, but of itself it could not provide the means for establishing a new culture pattern. Trade aimed at the accumulation of profit seems to have been the more effective stimulant, since it generated the needed motive-force to break up the hardened pattern of villagism and lay the foundations for a broader culture. Trade, transport, communication and travel, stimulated and facilitated by discoveries, inventions, and the science of organization brought the world through successive imperial cycles into more and more intimate relations, until, during the era of Christian Civilization, machine tech-

nique provided the means for establishing a world society.

Each historic day dawns upon a new world. History's yesterday held the human race within the confines of Christian Civilization. Mankind was oppressed by its exploitation, harried by its poverty, lacerated and bled white by its wars. As the period of Christian Civilization draws to a close, so terrible is the destructiveness of its death agony that whole generations lie exhausted and broken, a prey to hopelessness and despair.

There is no need to despair. On the contrary, there is every reason for hope. Science has established a wide control over nature. Experience is showing the possibility of planning and building a world commonwealth based upon peace, abundance and freedom on a scale undreamed of in an earlier age. Christian Civilization is dying. Let it die. Shorten its agony.

A new world order is being born. Ease the birthpangs. Study its characteristics. Plan and guide its development. Oppose the forces of reaction. Unite with all those men and women of vision, good will and determination who are striving for a cooperative, creative world society.

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