

Retreats for Our Alumni—ex-Servicemen

By RICHARD D. MCGLOIN, S.J.

Saint Mary's College, Saint Marys, Kansas

WE advertise our schools as guaranteed providers for the development of a young man's religious and moral as well as intellectual, physical, and social nature. Our curriculum, our staff, and our methods are all geared to effect this result in our students. And we have good reason to feel that by and large we have succeeded in turning out clear-thinking, loyal, and patriotic citizens, true and perfect Christians.

In view of all this, I believe that the time is now at hand when we have a duty to renew in the minds and hearts of our former students some of the principles and practices which we imparted to them during four years of high school. The proposal I have to make pertains to the Alumni Committee of the I. S. O. and through this Committee to our high school Principals.

Our Alumni are returning home from the service in ever increasing numbers. By springtime a large number of each class will be back in civilian life. We cannot afford to allow them to return to civilian life after their generous service to our country without offering them every care of which we are capable. We have a duty to all our graduates, it seems to me, comparable to the duty of a God-parent to his God-child. We have assumed a responsibility towards each one of them by our part in their education.

Need Spiritual Readjustment

Recently I received a letter from a graduate of one of our schools. He wrote, "It's disgusting to read about all the plans and methods for helping us back to civilian life. We know how to return to civilian life all right. What we need is someone to help us readjust ourselves spiritually and morally." To assist in this readjustment, I offer the following points as suggestions.

1. The important group of Alumni to be considered are the graduates of our high schools between about the year

1938 and 1945. In this group are included those who did not have a chance to finish college or establish themselves in their life's work before they were pressed into service.

2. The high school administration is best qualified to handle the problem. Many of our students in this group—probably 95% of those who graduated after 1940—have had little or no time in our colleges. Therefore, the high school is their contact with us.

3. I suggest that week-end retreats or at least days of recollection be held *in our high schools for these young men, class by class*. These retreats might open on Friday evening and close on Sunday evening. They could be so arranged as to allow some to come just for the Sunday exercises if they were hindered by some work.

Leaders to Organize

4. The Principal or some faculty member designated by him for this work should contact two or three known leaders from each class, make the plan known to them, and work through them

This article by Father McGloin is the second which the BULLETIN has published on this all-important subject of retreats for ex-Servicemen. We would be interested in knowing what schools have already undertaken this work so that we could bring our current achievements to the attention of the entire Assistancy.

as a committee in organizing this reunion and choosing a date from the possibilities available. Classes should not be combined unless some are too small to make the exercises worthwhile. (I don't know how small this would be). Let the retreat be given sufficient publicity through this committee.

5. The physical conveniences of the high school should be turned over to the retreat—week-end retreats need not interfere with the school's regular functions. This is an accidental but important element as I see the plan in its entirety. These young men have certain memories built around the high school environment, and this fact will help in the general purpose—a renewal of formerly inculcated principles and practices.

6. In choosing a director of the retreat, let the committee make suggestions as to their favorite. An attempt should be made to bring back a teacher who held a certain estimable position with the particular class, and who was known to influence them. Many of their scholastic teachers have gone on to ordination and have finished tertianship so as to be available now for this work. Bring these men back at all costs. However, make sure of their interest and enthusiasm for the work.

Follow the Exercises

7. The subject matter to be treated will obviously be the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius with the practical applications needed now regarding readjustment. This can be carefully worked out by the directors, and suggestions might be offered by qualified members of our I. S. O. Alumni Committee, or by some one whom they might delegate to help in the work.

8. The order of the day should be strict retreat order. No attempt should be made to soften the situation by recreation, round-table discussion, etc. These young men neither need nor desire these concessions. Let there be regular conferences, time for meditation, rosary, stations, and benediction. Arrange opportunities for confessions, and give as much time as possible to individual conferences. The retreat may well close with a dinner and social reunion.

9. While closed retreats have their obvious advantages, such an opportunity

is hardly available in all our schools. And the advantages gained by returning to a familiar chapel, familiar school halls, and familiar directors probably outweigh the advantages of a closed retreat in all but a few exceptional instances. With careful and insistent directions, the young men will be inclined to sincere cooperation in the matter of recollection

and meditation. The aims and purpose of the retreat should be made clear beforehand.

10. Attempts have been made at something along this line already. Some schools are organizing Alumni retreats. However, some big opportunities are being missed. Each school should organize at once for so important a work.

There is now no time to waste since the boys are returning so rapidly. All our boys can be brought back eventually for a retreat if we keep careful records of each retreat and its attendance. Whenever a sufficiently large group is available, we should hold another session. However, by careful planning, two retreats for each class should be sufficient.

Bringing Christ to the Worker

By F. D. SULLIVAN, S. J.

Nothing would inspire with greater zeal the hearts and minds of our priests, scholastics and Brothers to work for the objectives of ISO than the conviction that our chief aim is to carve the image of Christ upon the heart of every man and woman who lives by work and depends upon wages for his standard of living. And this is exactly the priest's function in the Labor movement; and all others, Brothers and scholastics, each in his own way, can achieve similar results.

You ask me to tell you how I came to be interested in the Labor movement. First of all I must pay a debt of gratitude to that famous pioneer and leader of the St. Louis University faculty, Rev. James J. Conway, S. J., who wisely completed our regular course of Ethics early and then tried to guide us through the mazes of Devas' *Political Economy*. It was a hurried course but we became familiar with such ideas as production, consumption, distribution and the Law of Supply and Demand. It opened up wide horizons and gave us a taste for information regarding the factors of our earthly life.

Practical Workers Needed

During this time we had the beautiful Encyclical of Pope Leo, and we were led to admire its theories but often wondered when the Church would put them in practice. A new impetus was given by the more detailed program of Pope Pius XI, and then came the program of our Bishops, while on all sides the howls of Communism grew steadier and louder. Then we had the grand rally of Jesuits for the ISO in West Baden.

My first impressions there were that we were leaning on the side of the written word too strongly; that we were not stressing the obvious necessity of having our men infiltrate behind the lines of the enemy; that we were not getting close enough to the good men and women workers who were being enticed away from Christianity by the promises and seeming successes of the Communists. I

was fully aware of the need of experts, Ph. D.'s, professors with better courses for our young America in our High Schools and Colleges; but this would take time and not bear fruit for many years.

The demand for Jesuits to take their place in the firing line was NOW. The battle was on, and there were no Catholic leaders out on the fields of battle directing the laborers who at heart did not want to fight under Communism. Couldn't Christianity lead them? Wasn't this a duty of the Church? But who was listening to their despairing cry?

With this thought in mind, I returned from West Baden determined to find out by actual experience if Labor leaders had their doors bolted against the priest; if Unionism was beyond our control. I knew it was useless to be clamoring for something if it couldn't be done.

So I watched my first chance for an opening and it came most unexpectedly. A bricklayer who held an important position in his union dropped in one evening to ask if he could bring in to pay his respects one of the union lecturers who had come to address the mass-meeting of union men on a problem vital to the unions. This was just what I was waiting for. I humbly asked if I would be permitted to attend this meeting and hear the discussion, since I was interested in the workingman's welfare. He, being a Catholic, thought it would be all right but wanted to consult the union leaders.

First Union Meeting

The result was that I was cordially invited, and a delegation of friendly men were sent to bring me to the hall. I was escorted through an overflow crowd of 700 real working men who showed the hard features and the dust and grime of heavy toil. I learned only afterwards that many of them were Ku Kluxers and some of them the bitterest foes of the Catholic Church. A Roman collar had never before been seen in that hall;

never before had they dreamed of asking a Catholic priest to speak to them.

I wasn't sure that I would get an invitation to speak but to be safe I put a few pamphlets on the Encyclicals in my pocket. I sat there in the speakers' or guest row, facing that crowd which represented every kind of trade and union in the Miami area. Before the program opened the presiding officer came to ask me if I would wait until the invited lecturer had delivered his address and then be willing to speak to the men. I gladly assented and waited. It was the usual union harangue about getting out the Labor vote to defeat the Watson amendment to the Florida Constitution restricting "closed-shop" contracts.

When my time came, I took my place on the platform before the microphone and with a smile begged them not to be frightened because I was not going to preach any sermon—and there would not be a collection basket passed around. Then I boldly developed this theme: What you laboring men and unions need most is friends outside of the labor circles.

Cooperation Needed

Labor votes are not enough to control the polls, but if you could gather all your friends who believe as you do in a fair living wage and decent living standards for all Americans, and equal opportunities for education and professional advancement of the children of the wage earner, you could dictate the policy of social justice and a fair distribution of profits. I assured them that I came to represent 24,000,000 of such friendly Americans, for all Catholics are bound in conscience to fight for social justice, and no one could preach the Gospel of Christ without championing the rights of Labor to a decent living wage.

I then read to them strong passages from the Popes encouraging labor to fight for its rights and demanding that

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C. E. D.

By JOSEPH M. BECKER, S.J.
Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.

IF YOU WANT to know the latest and most ambitious move on the part of the business community to bulwark the system of free enterprise in America, you must become acquainted with the Committee on Economic Development. The C. E. D. is the business man's new, large-scale and expensive attempt to mitigate the main modern threat to the private enterprise system: mass unemployment. It aims to contribute to the solution of this number-one problem of the modern economy.

Those who think that the C. E. D.'s solution is not a complete solution, think with the generality of economists, and indeed with those of the C. E. D. itself. Those who think that it is not even an important or promising partial solution think with a large group of people back in 1942 whose number has grown smaller. Those who think that it is not even an important attempt to do something important, are simply uninformed. They should know that the C. E. D. has set up its organization in every community of 10,000 or more (and in many smaller ones) and is spending currently about \$80,000 each month. Other organizations may be bigger, but this is big.

The C. E. D. is at once the largest and smallest business organization in America. It is great in its extension. It includes as cooperating elements other national organizations, such as the American Society of Civil Engineers, the American Bankers Association, the Association of Consulting Management Engineers, the Advertising Federation of America and so forth. This vast extension is made possible by a correspondingly small comprehension. The C. E. D. has only a single objective: to deal with that pressing, top-priority problem mentioned above.

When business men became aware of the clamorous nature of that problem, the C. E. D. was born.

Aim of the C. E. D.

The quickest way to understand the birth of the C. E. D. is to imagine yourself a business man back in '42. The papers are full of gloomy forebodings of a return to mass unemployment with the return to peace. Do you share this disquieting fear? You are thinking with the majority of the nation's two million business men. Do you fear, further, that a renewed experience of mass unemployment will inevitably lead to government employment? If you do, you are again

typical. Are you confused, hesitant, unwilling to risk expansion in your own business "until things settle down"? You have a deal of company, even in the ranks of so-called "big business." If, however, you happen to be one of a small group of imaginative, energetic, statesmanlike business men you will bring into being the C. E. D.: an organization of business men dedicated to the sole objective of preventing mass unemployment, or stated positively, to the sole objective of maintaining *high level* (they prefer that term to "full") *employment*.

The exact moment of the conception of an organization is as hard to establish as the exact yard of earth in which a river takes its rise. But it is a fairly close approximation to that moment to pick out the day early in 1942 when Jesse Jones (the then Secretary of Commerce) was holding a conference with his board of economic advisors (a group of about fifty business men), about unemployment, when someone, it might have been Dupr e, said: "It is really the responsibility of us business men," and when the Secretary replied something to this effect: "You are perfectly right. Why doesn't this group right here get together and plan to do something about it?"

The idea grew, and at least in this little group the resolution grew with it. Several were commissioned to draw up a plan for action; that of Paul G. Hoffman (president of Studebaker) was adjudged the most suitable for immediate action, and while he was out of the room on a personal matter (so the story goes) he was elected chairman of the new organization.

It was named the *Committee For Economic Development*, and was incorporated on September 3, 1942, as a "private, non-profit, non-political association of business men." It had the blessing of many business organizations already in the field who readily recognized that this "must" job could better be done by a new organization not constrained by its constitution to work for the interests of a special economic class; and if not the blessing of official labor at least the praise, when some initial suspicion had been dissipated, of individual labor leaders.

The C. E. D. elected to finance itself by accepting voluntary contributions from business firms, up to a limit of \$25,000 from any firm. It declared that it was a temporary organization and had

but a single, temporary aim: to be of some assistance in attaining a high level of productive employment in the period following the war. And after a little while it announced that it hoped to hit this target, i. e., to provide this assistance, by firing two barrels simultaneously.

The First Barrel

The first barrel was aimed at "*stimulating and assisting the nation's business men to do bold and intelligent planning in the post-war period.*"

They had to be *stimulated*, because they were infected, all too many of them, by a spirit of excessive caution, almost of defeatism: "How do we know what the tax system will be like? How do we know what the government will do about freeing materials? What about the controls on prices? Why plan now—the war may last another ten years? Let's wait and see what happens." The C. E. D. field organizers report that these were the almost universal objections they met and had to overcome.

Business men, moreover, could use *assistance* in their planning. Small firms in particular lacked the facilities for the necessary business research which ought to precede expansion. Thirdly, it was the *business men* themselves, in each locality, who were to do the planning. The C. E. D. was to be merely the catalytic agent, having much the same relationship to the local business communities as the Central Office of the Sodality, for example, has to individual parishes and schools.

And finally, the planning to which they were to be stimulated and assisted had to be *bold* planning: business would have to raise its sights. C. E. D. estimated that there might be as many as fifteen million unemployed if business aimed merely to reconvert to the level of 1940 activity. Even at that time there were about eight million unemployed, and since that time besides an increase in population there has been a five-year accumulation of technical invention. The national output would need to be from 30 per cent to 45 per cent greater than it had been in 1940 if a high level of employment were to be attained. In terms of jobs: business had to be stimulated and assisted to provide 7 to 10 million more (but not make-work) jobs than it had provided in 1940.

This first barrel of the C. E. D. is aimed and fired by the "Field Development Division." This division in its work

employs mainly a grass-roots approach. It is a strategy dictated by the following situation. The nation's two million employers are grouped roughly as follows: Employing more than

1000 persons: 3500 employers
Employing between 8 and

1000 persons: 350,000 employers
Employing less than

8 persons: 1,500,000 employers

The *C. E. D.* was persuaded that any success it might hope for required that it reach most of these employers, even the multitudinous small ones, and it set itself to the task. Its methods are complex, but they amount essentially to sending representatives into every community over 10,000 (and into many smaller ones), calling together all the business men of the community (industry, commerce and agriculture), and then inducing them to form themselves into a local *C. E. D.* With the cooperation of the local governmental and labor officials, this local committee would embark on the intricate and difficult task of making two estimates: one of the local labor potential, the other of the number of jobs represented by the production schedules of the community's employers. The goal was such production schedules as would make for a satisfactory degree of employment of the local labor force.

The case of Philadelphia offers a convenient illustration of the technique. After an estimate had been made of Philadelphia's potential labor force, and after the above-mentioned production plans, in terms of jobs, had been secured, it was found that although the labor force totalled 900,000, the planned jobs, despite all the stimulation, totalled only 800,000. Possible unemployment: 100,000. Another succession of conferences, at which were included representatives of the Railroad Brotherhoods, the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O., brought job plans up to 825,000; and then to 860,000. About 40,000 was considered an irreducible and acceptable "labor float" (people moving between jobs) for a city the size of Philadelphia; so the local committee approved its own plans as sufficiently "high-level."

The Second Barrel

The second barrel is of quite a different nature. It is a research division. It aims at accumulating the knowledge which business men will need if they are to participate intelligently in leading the economy to a high level of employment, and, especially, which government will need if it is to provide the "favorable climate" considered essential for this proposed bold expansion. Put more generally, it seeks "to determine what policies of business, government, labor and agriculture will best contribute to an expanding economy."

It is composed of two parts differing

markedly in personnel and in type of publication. The "Research Committee" is made up entirely of business men, and alone has the authority to issue *C. E. D.* "statements of national policy." These bind no one, but are expected to be the more acceptable to business men by reason of their emanating from business men. They are in the form of concise booklets, and usually though not always are based on a research project just completed by the other half of the organization.

This is composed of economists and other social scientists, some of whom form a kind of permanent staff (without leaving necessarily their respective universities) while others are called in from time to time and engaged to undertake special studies. Much of their work is published in the form of full-sized books. (McGraw-Hill). The *C. E. D.* by-laws provide that "all research is to be thoroughly objective in character, and the approach in each instance is to be from the standpoint of the general welfare and not from that of any special political or economic group."

Once a subject is assigned, the economist has complete freedom of conclusion and expression. The results of his research are, however, discussed at frequent meetings of the combined research membership, that is of both the business men and the social scientists.

When the study is completed, three of the Research Advisory Board, the author's academic peers, are appointed to pass on the technical competency of the work (but not on its content or conclusions), and if they approve it on this score the Research Committee (the business men) must publish it. The latter have the privilege of dissenting footnotes, but so far as this writer knows they have not used it.

Evaluation of C. E. D.

Second Barrel: Research Division

The plan of research is unique, and has apparently registered considerable success. It is based upon a cooperative undertaking between a group of leading business men and a group of distinguished scholars. Both the participating business men and the economists agree generally that they have benefited greatly from cooperation. They admit that the final research products have been more constructive than they could have been if attempted by either group alone. An economist who recently finished a study for the *C. E. D.*, a man with an international reputation and rich in experience, said in a personal letter to the writer: "It's a tremendously dynamic organization, and I've found the meetings mostly very stimulating and enlightening." The most permanent contribution of the *C. E. D.* may quite possibly be

this creation of a regular system for introducing to each other the academic economist and the practical business man. The result might be, that the economist will become more accurate and the business man more wide-viewed.

First Barrel: Field Division

The work of this division (and it comprises the bulk of *C. E. D.* activity) is harder to appraise. There is room for at least three separate judgments on it: one, as an *ad hoc* instrument; (all the *C. E. D.* claims for itself) the other two, as a possible model for the future.

Consider it, first, as the temporary organization which strictly speaking it is, with a program extending only over the immediate post-war period. We are probably safe in granting that it exercised a considerable and beneficial influence. The business community got its plans for the transition period started earlier, and those plans were more intelligent and more bold than they would have been without the *C. E. D.*'s three-year campaign. This much is reasonably clear.

Consider it, next, as a pattern for the future; and divide it further into a social philosophy and an economic technique.

Social Philosophy

To its *social philosophy* we are again safe in according approval and in wishing its influence to continue beyond the transition period. The *C. E. D.* represents a step forward. That step is symbolized by its reversal of the old slogan, "What is good for business is good for the nation" to make it read, "What is good for the nation is good for business." It is more than symbolized in the effective provision of its by-laws that "all research . . . is to be from the standpoint of the general welfare and not from that of any special or economic group."

In the *C. E. D.*, business men are still motivated by self-interest, of course, and the promise of profits is still a necessary condition for enlisting their cooperation. But theirs is a more enlightened self-interest than business has typically shown in the past; and if the light has not yet spread universally, it seems to be quite strong at least among the top men of the organization.

Economic Technique

With regard to the *C. E. D.* as a permanent *economic technique*, i. e., as a way of maintaining a high level of employment over long periods—a judgment now would be risky. The general theory underlying the field development work seems to be something of this sort: When everybody is expanding boldly, each man's activity constitutes a support for the activity of every other man, with a consequent lessening of one great business fear; the fear of a deficient general

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Towards a Process of Application

By **RAYMOND BERNARD, S.J.**
Saint Mary's College, Saint Marys, Kansas

IN THE LAST paragraph of Father John LaFarge's article, "Interracial Policy in the United States," in the September, 1945 ISO BULLETIN we find this statement:

"... we must show outstanding interracial leadership... by a realization that there is a whole battery of techniques, of educational methods, methods of conciliation and enlightenment, of adjustment and of steps in social reform which can be learned and understood and which will make this process of application much more easy, simple, and practical than at first sight the alarmist is apt to believe," p. 5.

With that statement in mind the members of the Interracial Committee of the Missiology Seminar of St. Mary's College formulated a set of suggestions for our priests and regents to apply in their classrooms, with the proper approval of local superiors. We know of many scholastics who earnestly desire to help the Negro apostolate but who want specific ideas. We believe these suggestions, judiciously applied, can help towards sounder thinking, fuller information about the genuine Catholic attitude on race relations, and an effective application to present situations.

WITHIN THE CLASSROOM

I. English

A. Occasionally read to the students a story or an article about Negroes. For instance, "The Song of Johnny Rebel" by B. A. Tonnar, S. J. (*Savior's Call*, March, 1945); "The Trouble" by J. F. Powers (*Commonwealth*, November 10, 1944) and by the same author, "The Blessing," (*Sign*, August, 1945). *The Negro Digest* frequently condenses excellent articles with Catholic interracial angle: "Catholics, Christ and Color" by Ted LeBerthon (September, 1944); "Challenge to Catholics" by Sister M. Verona (November, 1944). Check *Catholic Digest* index; October issue contains three stirring pieces and volume index lists more. Keep a close watch for stories and news articles that would interest students.

B. Stage the radio play on the Detroit Riots (*Theatre Arts Monthly*, September, 1944) and other good plays.

C. Assign topic about Negro for annual prize essay contest; homework on same topic sometimes. Examine selections from Negro literature. Cf., *The Negro Caravan* (two vols., Dryden Press). Assign reports on some books about Negroes.

II. History

A. Point out Negro contributions to civilization, to America. Material may be found in *Negro Builders and Heroes* by Benjamin Brawley (Chapel Hill). An extensive bibliography is contained in *An American Dilemma* by Gunnar Myrdal (Harpers, 1944).

III. Civics and Sociology

A. Dwell on social and economic aspects of race problem. Compare the living standards of the Negro with those of the whites. Investigate in your own town the wages actually paid. Apply principles of *Quadragesimo Anno* to local situations. Discover part Negroes play in labor unions. Discuss the living wage, showing by contrast how the Negro must get along on far less than the average white. Show how segregation increases public expenditure.

B. Constitutional rights of Negro citizens, educational facilities and recreational provisions could be discussed.

IV. Science

A. Tell students about Negro scientists such as George W. Carver and collaborators on atomic bomb.

V. Speech

A. Invite Catholic Negro students to join in a forum with your students. Conduct speech contests and invite Negro students to participate. Debate clubs could conduct round table discussions. Contest topics may be related to problem and Catholic solution.

VI. Religion

A. Present the Church's view on Racism and acquaint students with Catholic program for Interracial justice. Propose moral cases on the Negroes (ISO BULLETIN) to more advanced students. Father Healy's case of Father Robert and Samuel Jones in September issue is one. Cf. Father LaFarge's book, *The Race Question and the Negro* for Church's views.

B. Encourage students to be polite to Negro help in school, at home, on the street and in public conveyance; to avoid using names which are odious in the locality: coon, nigger, shine, darkie, Aunty, Uncle, Negress; to adopt the use of customary titles of address in polite and civil society, Mr., Mrs. and Miss. Suggest that they give seat to Negro woman on bus or streetcar, with polite words; no harm in telling Negro woman he is a Catholic and goes to the Jesuit school. Suggest to boys that they sit next to a Negro and start friendly conversation.

C. Blast rumors and rumor-mongering. Work gossip-game in class during a study period: Write out a short, easy-to-remember statement for a boy at the front of the room, which he is to repeat to the next boy behind him with instructions to pass it on to the last boy in the room in a whisper. Write down the statement just as the last boy receives it after transmission and mutilation. Important: don't let students know beforehand or during the experiment what your aim is. This is a graphic way to show how rumors get started and how wildly they grow. E. g., "St. Joseph appeared to two girls in St. John's Church this morning. They went home and told their mother. Now, tell that to Jim behind you, and tell him to tell the next fellow and so on, till it reaches Billy."

IN EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

VII. Sodality

A. Interest Sodalists in some Negro mission by means of letters, personal visits to or from the Pastor. Collect Catholic magazines and reading matter for the missions. Purchase and distribute leaflets and pamphlets to students and others, for example, James Madigan's pamphlet *The Catholic Church and the Negro*. Religion teacher may adopt these as class projects, as related to Catholic Action.

B. Tactfully suggest that your Sodality meet with the Negro Sodality. Plan a program that would interest both groups in bettering relations.

C. Prepare several leaders (this would help even in class) by cultivating the proper attitude in them, interest them in helping you (through cell-technique of Catholic Action) to leaven the larger group.

VIII. Publications

A. Moderator should assign occasional editorial about some local situation pertaining to youth. Topics are countless, can be taken from phases of this outline.

B. Avoid letting any material—jokes, for example—be printed which is detrimental to apostolate.

C. Publicize through school paper or diocesan organ and other available medium whatever accomplishments and plans merit and need publicity. Report to ISO BULLETIN.

IX. Dramatics

A. Use black-face minstrels only when they're acceptable. Stage plays on great (Turn to Process, page 12)

THE NAPKIN BOX

PARISH SHUNNERS

Since the parish is the primary cell of the Whole Christ, we Jesuit teachers whose purpose is to form Christ in our pupils can very profitably weigh and consider the thoughts presented in the article, "Parish Shunners" (ISO Bulletin, November, 1945, p. 8). The thesis of the article is stated by the author in these words: "...we do not produce leaders because even while going to our schools our boys are separated from their parishes, in most cases never to return."

Then there follows a set of statistics that seem to prove beyond any doubt that this is the case. The unreliability of polls tells us not to be too hasty in generalizing from local statistics.

Unfortunately I am not in a position to obtain statistics, but the consensus of former teachers at two of our high schools is that the students, at least a good number of them, spend an undue amount of their time in parish activities. The time thus spent on parish activities was often at the expense of school work and school activities. (In one of these schools the condition was more pronounced). From this and from the statistics given in the article we might conclude that wherever the parish activities are lively our students will show interest and will participate in them.

Now the question arises. Should we not see to it that our students make the parish organizations lively and worthwhile? Certainly in some way or other this should be our objective. Ought we encourage immediate participation? How much time would be required to do this? Can the student do justice to his studies, to school activities, and to parish activities at the same time?

We are given charge of the education of these boys. Now education includes training in leadership, and training in leadership is largely accomplished by our school activities. This in turn should be a remote preparation for parish leadership.

But can we afford to go all-out for parish activities when the boys are in our charge without detriment to the boy's health or to his studies? The question to be solved, it seems to me, is how we are going to make the transfer of leadership from our own activities to the parish.

Vincent F. Daues, S. J.
Saint Mary's College
Saint Marys, Kansas

NEW WORLD GOVERNMENT

The members of our Social Science Seminar were pleasantly surprised to see the number of Jesuits who are in favor

of a world federal government. But we would like to inquire if a world federation is a part of the papal plan. More specifically, we would like to know if the following passages (or any others that the world-government advocates may know of) demand that sufficient Military forces be delegated to the international organization to enforce its legitimate functions:

"The decisions already published by international commissions permit one to conclude that an essential point in any future international arrangement would be the formation of an organ for the maintenance of peace, of an organ invested by the common consent with supreme power to whose office it would also pertain to smother in its germinal state any threat of isolated or collective aggression. No one could hail this development with greater joy than he who has long held the principle that the idea of war as an apt and proportionate means of solving international conflicts is now out of date." Pius XII's Christmas Message, 1944.

"And just as in internal government, the abandonment of self-defense marked a decisive step forward in juridical progress, so too in international law the renouncement on the part of each State of the right to enforce justice in its own case, and the consequent delegation of the exercise of force to institutions of an international character, represents an ideal which is cherished by those who aspire to eliminate the law of tooth and claw from international relations." Gonnella-Bouscaren, *A World to Reconstruct*, p. 75.

L. F. Cervantes, S. J.
Saint Mary's College
Saint Marys, Kansas

DEFINITIONS WANTED

Since most of us Jesuits get no formal training in the social sciences, I thought (together with several others) that the Bulletin could do a useful service by telling us just what each of them is—what it is supposed to do and how it goes about the task. Perhaps a good rounded definition would give us at least a little understanding of each of the "sciences."

I, for one, would like to see a series of essays built around the following definition, which we use in philosophy. I understand that the authorities aren't all agreed in such matters; but if they have decided anything, I'm sure the rest of us would like to know about it. Here is that definition.

A science is 1) a body of conclusions, 2) derived from certain principles, 3)

about a particular subject's 4) particular aspect. For instance, in the case of Natural Theology, the "body of conclusions" (or objective) is the knowledge about God which the science will give; the "certain principles" are metaphysical principles; the "particular subject" (that which is subjected to study) is God; and the "particular aspect" is Pure Act, He-Who-Is (*Ipsum Esse*).

In the case of the social sciences, the fact that the principles which each uses are not certain, but only highly probable (or "morally certain," as some say) will mean that they are not "strict sciences" but only "probable sciences," as anybody knows. But the definition will be useful anyhow.

I have tried to apply the definition to Sociology, and have showed my results to various members of the Philosophate. Since they didn't turn up their noses at it, I pass it on to you as a sample:

Sociology is the quasi-science which studies the formative and de-formative movements of human societies.

1) Its conclusions (objective) are the probable laws of formation and disintegration of human societies.

2) Its principles (and here's the rub) are the principles of statistical research.

3) Its subject is "human society"—whether church, gang, or Rotary Club.

4) The aspect under which the subject is studied is society as influenced by the various formative and disruptive social forces. This, I think, will mean that Sociology is intrinsically amoral, despite the fact that it is, like all the social sciences, *extrinsically* ordered to man's supernatural life.

Signed by a Philosopher,
but name withheld.

LABOR SCHOOL BULLETIN

I was very much interested in hearing about the recent meeting in Cincinnati of the directors of our Labor Schools. While I was an instructor at Fordham Prep, through Father William Smith's kindness, I was a member of the regional Industrial Relations Committee. At one meeting, I think it was last spring, we voted decidedly in favor of some sort of news-sheet containing items of interest to such directors—analyses of trends, developments, techniques. That is why I was delighted to hear that the Cincinnati meeting arrived at the same conclusion, and that publication was to be undertaken.

However, I was a trifle dismayed to learn that its circulation was, seemingly, to be limited to active directors. For, here, at Woodstock we have a lively

Labor School Directors' Conference

By FRANCIS J. CORLEY, S.J.

From the entire United States Directors of labor schools and others interested in Jesuit Labor School Work came to Cincinnati during the Christmas holidays to attend a two-day Conference held December 28 and 29. Of the 14 Jesuit Labor School Directors in the United States, 11 were in attendance at the sessions and one director had a substitute at the meeting. In all 30 delegates attended the Conference.

Father Lord, National Director of the ISO, opened the session and introduced Father Celestine J. Steiner, Rector of Xavier University, and most gracious host to the Conference, who welcomed the Conference delegates. Father Lord then introduced Father William J. Smith, Director of the Crown Heights School, Brooklyn, who presided as Chairman and guided the meetings through a splendid series of discussions which covered most of the important problems that confront directors at the present time.

Pooling their common experiences on such problems as consistent attendance, selection of faculty members, classroom procedure, curriculum and text books, the directors made specific recommendations for the improvement of conditions on all of these problems.

Considerable attention was given to the question of labor school objectives, and a special committee under the chairmanship of Father Dennis Comey drafted a set of objectives which were accepted by the delegates present. The objectives outlined are:

1. To teach and to stress Catholic principles applicable to Labor-Management relations.
2. To impress upon both Management and Labor the social responsibilities implied in day-to-day application of these principles.
3. To train and equip men who will use intelligently and diffuse effectively sound social doctrine.

Valuable recommendations concerning textbooks were made by Father Philip A. Carey, Director of Xavier Labor School

Industrial Relations Committee, some of whose members hope to engage in labor school work on the completion of the course. It will help them a great deal in remote preparation to be able to read such a paper as is contemplated. Do you think it possible to include us on your mailing lists? It can be addressed to myself or to the ISO Library.

Edward S. Dunn, S. J.
Woodstock College
Woodstock, Maryland

in New York. His long experience was of great value to the Conference on many other subjects as well.

Full-time Directors Sought

Perhaps the most important single achievement of the Conference was the resolution unanimously passed to request the Fathers Provincial that as soon as possible full-time directors be appointed for all of the existing labor schools throughout the country. It was universally acknowledged that the work already accomplished by the schools would be vastly increased if directors were given the exclusive work of managing their schools.

All of those present who had experience in labor schools reported that Jesuit teachers were uniformly more satisfactory and were commonly more popular than lay teachers. Father Comey remarked that when he had undertaken to drop his own classes some time ago there had been a general protest. The same experience was reported by Fathers Deters, Friedl and Linden.

The directors expressed the wish that more Jesuit teachers might make themselves available. Father Brown explained that most Jesuits were heavily overburdened at the present time, but that he had found them in general quite cooperative. It was the opinion of the entire group that Jesuits are normally far better equipped for the work of teaching in labor schools than they might suspect. All rated Jesuit teachers as the most desirable.

Organizing Schools

Fathers Shortell and Gallery, both of whom have been eminently successful in attracting students, outlined the publicity campaigns by which they had brought the inauguration of their schools to the attention of the unions in their neighborhood. Father Gallery had given a similar report at the second West Baden meeting in June, 1944 (ISO BULLETIN Vol. II, Oct., 1944, p. 17).

Father Linn, Director of the school in Omaha, reported an excellent response to his initial invitation and remarkably faithful attendance at the sessions. He said, too, that he had found laymen cooperative in acting as instructors at the school. One of his teachers had formerly conducted a labor school in Lincoln, Nebraska.

Several of the directors could report splendid apostolic fruits as a result of their schools. A number had received converts into the Church; others had brought back lapsed Catholics; Father

Friedl reported one First Communion class of 14.

Examinations Recommended

As a means of fostering attendance Father Linden, who directs the labor school at Gonzaga College in Spokane, Washington, made the recommendation that incentives be given the students. He suggested that an organized course be developed and that the students be regularly checked by simple but carefully prepared examinations and that graduates be given a diploma in acknowledgement of their fidelity and scholastic effort. It was found that Father Linden's suggestion has already been employed in one or two schools.

Father Richard M. McKeon, just discharged from the Army and appointed as director of the LeMoyné School of Industrial Relations at Syracuse, attended in his uniform. From St. Louis came four students of the ISS, Fathers Gavin, Lucy, McIntosh and Twomey.

In addition to the directors there were present two delegates who had been attached to labor schools as Scholastics, Fathers Fitzpatrick and Dobson. Father Fitzpatrick is at present studying at Harvard; Father Dobson is assistant to Father Smith at Crown Heights.

Canadians Attend

Two delegates from the Canadian Provinces augmented the American group. One of the most valuable contributions to the Conference was a report by Father Emile Bouvier, Director of the Industrial Relations Department of Montreal University, of his excellent work in Quebec with management groups. Father Bouvier reported that the purpose of his department is to train labor leaders who will act as liaison men between management and labor. They are instructed for a period of six months in academic subjects and during that time spend two days each week in actual contact with the laboring classes. During the period of study the worker's salary continues and at the conclusion of his course he is returned to the job which he had formerly filled.

Father Bouvier reported, also, on the labor school activities of the lower Canadian Provinces. Labor schools are divided into three grades:

1. The elementary grade, which is comparable to the American Jesuit Labor Schools, which meets twice a week for a term of six months.
2. The secondary level, a two-week course during the summer;
3. The workers' college. This school

has not yet been inaugurated, but will open in February, 1946. Students at the school must be workers. During their term in school they will receive full pay and will return to their former jobs when they have completed the course of training. To a great extent the organization of the school and its curriculum have been modeled after the Catholic Workers' College at Oxford under the direction of Father L. O'Hea, S. J.

Retreats Foster Work

Very significant was Father Bouvier's remark that the basis of all his success in his dealings with management are the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius. Three closed retreats are given annually for company executives. Attendance at one of these is restricted exclusively to the presidents of corporations. His most valuable work, Father Bouvier believes, is his contact with an association of employers which he has developed. He has found management quite cooperative and reasonably responsive to his suggestions.

His major problem at the present time seems to be the academic control of his teachers. Since the Department of Industrial Relations is a comparatively new venture, he has found very little unanimity in the doctrines taught by the staff. Careful supervision is slowly molding the faculty into a unified body of teachers who present a coherent doctrine on all social topics.

Such a brief report as this cannot possibly reproduce either the extremely valuable discussions that were carried on or the general feeling of satisfaction with the achievements of the Conference. When he closed the session on the evening of December 29, Father Lord expressed himself as being most pleased with what he had seen and heard. "The Industrial Relations Committee, of which the Directors' Conference was a subdivision, is undoubtedly one of the most active committees of the ISO," he affirmed.

Father Lord hoped that the excellent results of the Directors' Conference might be an inspiration to other committees who wish to conduct national meetings for the clarification of ideas and solution of problems. He urged the members to continue their splendid interest in labor school work and to keep up their excellent spirit of cooperation.

Informal Discussion Helpful

Not all of the good results of the Conference were achieved in the six long and crowded sessions that almost filled the two days of meeting. In the corridors of the buildings, at table and wherever they met, directors and students discussed their interests informally and profitably. The mere fact that Labor School Directors from the entire country

met each other and had an opportunity to pool their ideas was enough to make the Conference well worth while.

The cordial hospitality of Father Steiner; Father Deters' unfailing kindness; the courtesy of the entire community and the excellent arrangements made for the delegates, which included the erection of four temporary altars, all contributed to a most successful Conference and to a very pleasant stay at Xavier University.

The roster of delegates follows:

Fathers Emile Bouvier, Montreal; Leo C. Brown, St. Louis; Philip A. Carey, New York City; Dennis J. Comey, Philadelphia; Francis J. Corley, St. Louis; J. L. Corrigan, Washington, D. C.; Richard T. Deters, Cincinnati; Philip E. Dobson, Brooklyn; Joseph K. Drane, Philadelphia; Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, Boston; John C. Friedl, Kansas City; J. Eugene Gallery, Scranton; Mortimer H. Gavin, St. Louis; William P. Hetherington, Cincinnati; George C. Hilke, Kansas City.

Edward J. Hogan, New York City; Edward A. Kerr, Baltimore; J. V. Linden, Spokane; Henry W. Linn, Omaha; Daniel A. Lord, St. Louis; George E. Lucy, St. Louis; William J. McIntosh, St. Louis; Richard M. McKeon, Syracuse; A. J. Miller, Scranton; James F. Muldowney, Baltimore; John J. O'Connor, Buffalo; Hugh B. Rodman, Cleveland; Gerald Sheridan, Toronto; Thomas E. Shortell, Worcester; William J. Smith, Brooklyn and L. J. Twomey, St. Louis.

A monthly bulletin is to be mailed from the Central Office at the direction of the delegates. Anyone interested in receiving a copy of this bulletin should send his name to the editors.

C. E. D. (From page 4)

demand. Even in this simple form the theory constitutes a useful guide for action for the period of the immediate abnormal lack of goods and an abnormal abundance of money. But it is very likely to be an inadequate formula if anyone thus tried to use it for the later period when the initial, abnormal demand has been satisfied, and the economy has developed, in the process, disproportions and consequent stresses among its various parts.

Some parts are certain to be overdeveloped with respect to others. For this situation, a simple, hell-bent-for-production campaign can hardly continue to be the sufficient answer. To be still an important part of the answer it will need then to be a much more refined one. The permanent value of this part of the C. E. D. contribution would seem to depend on the possibility of developing the necessary refinements in the formula.

To sum up. In the C. E. D.: 1. An economic group organized itself for more effective activity. 2. It formally recognized its responsibility to relate this activity to the general welfare. 3. Its activity was two-fold: it instigated research, and it conducted an all-out drive for increased production on the part of everyone.

Numbers one and two are definitely praiseworthy. They represent steps in the direction, at least, of papal plans for the organization of society. In number three, the permanent worth of its first half would seem to be assured, but that of its other half to depend on the efficacy of further refinements.

OAK RIDGE UTOPIA

Before E. B. White went evangelistic on the glories of the world state, the social content of *The New Yorker* was scarcely notable. Perhaps the recent rise in its social consciousness explains the following animadversion, intruding into the September 29 issue: "Oak Ridge is possibly the one American city in which there is full employment",... "The Oak Ridge crime rate is one of the lowest in the country. There have only been three homicides since the project was started. There hasn't been one decent robbery, and what thieving goes on involves shirts, cigarette lighters, and Parker 51s.

Needless to say, there are no panhandlers. Everybody has enough money to invest in a group medical plan, and it is excellently managed. For an annual \$48, a worker and his family can count on 30 days' hospitalization, if necessary, and

the worker himself can get medical treatment any time he feels like visiting his doctor. As a result, the population, despite the somewhat elementary nature of living conditions, is extraordinarily healthy.

The schoolteachers here have had to work hard to get their educational system under way, but there is one thing they haven't had to worry about. "This is the first place I've taught," a primary schoolteacher told me, "where I haven't had to handle relief cases—youngsters who have to be helped out financially to buy their books and pencils and lunches. You try to keep the other kids from finding out such matters, but they always do and then you have a problem on your hands to stop them from teasing their classmates who aren't well off. Conditions here make teaching a little easier."

Alvin Hansen and Post-War Planning

By RUSSELL BOEHNING, S.J.

Mount St. Michael's, Spokane, Washington

THE leading liberal economist in the United States at the present time is Harvard's Lucius N. Littauer Professor of Political Science, Dr. Alvin H. Hansen. Until late last August, besides teaching at Harvard, Dr. Hansen had also been a special advisor of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. His books, *Fiscal Policy and Business Cycles*, and *America's Role in The World's Economy*, should be on the agenda of every student of Economics.

He is the American leader of a whole new economic school of thought and has upset more classical economic concepts than any other man in our era. He is responsible for popularizing such concepts as "compensating financing," "mature economy," "public works as a means to keep our economic system on an even keel," "new economic frontiers," "full employment and maximum use of resources" and "the double budget." He believes that the 1929 depression and what followed marked a new era in our economic order of the Western world, no less fundamental and comprehensive than the Industrial Revolution.

In all fairness, we must affirm that Dr. Hansen is not a Socialist, nor do his critics even suggest such a tendency. All have a profound respect for the integrity of this learned man. His new theory has been drawn from the writings of Lord Keynes on savings and investment; the theory on economic maturity has been elaborated by Dr. Hansen. It is not too seriously misleading to call it an American theory. This paper aims at merely giving an objective presentation of Dr. Hansen's views which had such a great influence on the Roosevelt administration.

Full Production Seen

Dr. Hansen visions a brave new America after the war. He says he wants to preserve, not scrap, the profit motive, and to maintain its long era of private enterprise in the United States. He writes: "America can finance full production. It can afford whatever it is able to produce... What it cannot afford is idleness." Such is his thesis. Were his theory condensed into one sentence, it would be found in his statement: "The war has proved that the United States can have a big national income by spending enough money; we can keep that income and make it larger by following the same policy afterwards, even if we rely on the Government to do much of the spending."

Today it is difficult to understand what is going on in the world without a speaking knowledge of the ideas of Doc-

tor Hansen. It is *The* controversy of the times. His is not a new notion; there is nothing new about this concept of public debt; it has been taken for granted for centuries by the leading nations of the world. After World War I England made only a two and one half percent reduction in her internal debt; by 1933 it was again higher than at the end of the war.

High Standard Possible

"We can afford as high a standard of living as we are able to produce." Dr. Hansen further maintains that immediately after the end of the war, there will be two dangers which must be guarded against: price inflation and unemployment. These two evils are not likely to occur simultaneously for our production is so great that serious inflation can scarcely occur.

During the first two years of peace there will be partial unemployment until the reconversion of the equipment has taken place. People will be able once again to buy automobiles, refrigerators, clothing, either from war savings and bonds or on credit. Until the reconversion is complete, there will not be nearly enough goods to supply the demand.

In his book, *After the War—Full Employment*, he writes: "No country need be impoverished if its productive resources (both capital and human) are intact. The productive resources of this country will be on a considerably higher plane when this war is over than ever before... we shall have... the technical equipment, the trained and efficient labor, and the natural resources required to produce a substantially higher real income for civilian needs than ever achieved before in our history."

State Helps Give Jobs

Since the defense program started, both business and labor have been worrying what will happen when peace returns. The Government has been spending billions in an almost unchecked stream for ships, tanks, planes and guns. What will happen when we return to peace? Dr. Hansen claims that it will be the Government's duty to supply the demand that will provide the jobs. The Government is doing it now in the emergency; after the emergency it must continue its responsibility.

To Dr. Hansen, there has been a lot of silly talk being circulated about 'burdening the next generation with a huge debt'. To him, the important thing is not the size of the debt, but its relation to the national income. He is confident that we can achieve financial sta-

bility with a \$300 billion government debt. In fact, Dr. Hansen posits the theorem that the internal debt of the government need never be paid! It need never be reduced except: (1) to prevent inflation, (2) to correct the great inequalities in the distribution of wealth and income, or (3) when the debt becomes so large that taxation to service it disrupts the functioning of economy. The bondholders are, of course, to be repaid when their bonds fall due; but there will always be others ready to take their place.

It is not Dr. Hansen's belief that a large internal debt would be a drain on the purchasing power of the community; nor does he believe that it will require great taxation to service the debt. The amount collected by the taxes to pay the interest on the debt, would not, so to speak, be merely absorbed; rather it would be returned at once to the community in the form of income to the holders of the bonds. The income of the community, theoretically, would be neither higher nor lower than if there were no public debt.

Debt Absorbs Savings

A large public debt would offer a further utility. Besides postponing the distribution of the costs incurred, government investments are the safest and most convenient thing in which savings may be invested. At the end of 1940-41, more than four-fifths of all outstanding government obligations were held by persons or institutions that have been hard pressed to find means otherwise to invest the funds at their disposal.

Dr. Hansen has summarized his principles as follows:

"1. That a public debt internally held is fundamentally different from a private debt and that it need not be paid off;

2. That it need not, although it might, cause inflation; that, since the use of it is a vital part of fiscal policy and thus an instrument of great potency, it must be employed and managed with utmost care;

3. That there is no unavoidable danger in public debt so long as it is held to a reasonable ratio with the national income; that a reasonable ratio would permit a debt far larger than we are likely to see, notwithstanding the enormous cost of war and such additional borrowing as may be necessary afterwards to make sure of full utilization of our material and human resources;

4. That debt service is not a drain on the purchase power of the country, but that the taxation required for interest

on the bonds is also an instrument of great potency; that it can and must be so devised as not to discourage new investment and economic progress;

5. That fiscal policy—public expenditures, debt, and taxation—can in fact be successfully used to achieve full utilization of resources without destroying the essentials of our system of free enterprise, but only if it is handled with the requisite degree of knowledge and skill; and finally,

6. That if a democratic society does not take bold action to achieve full employment, including the use of fiscal policy to the extent necessary, our system of free enterprise is doomed.”

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ISOccasions

At present in London for the meetings of the Security Council, **Father Robert A. Graham** has promised to rush regular bulletins back to the ISO Central Office, as he did from San Francisco. These will be mimeographed and sent on to you. After the close of the sessions **Father Graham** hopes to be able to visit the Continent to learn something at first hand about the religious and political situation, as well as to learn more about social activities there. Just before leaving for Europe he mailed to the Central Office the manuscript of a new pamphlet on the Atomic Bomb.

An account is printed elsewhere in this issue of the two-day **Labor School Directors Conference** held December 28 and 29, 1945, at **Xavier University**, Cincinnati, Ohio, under the chairmanship of **Father William J. Smith**, of **Crown Heights, Brooklyn**.

The **Catholic Workers' College** of **Oxford** reopened on **October 8** after a six-year blackout. Directed by **Father Leo O'Hea** who visited America two years ago, the college provides full-time education of university standards in social subjects to adult students who have already made spare time efforts to learn, who have not had the ordinary opportunities of preparation for university work and who are schooled in the practical affairs of working life. They must learn to read and think, to express themselves, to estimate trends of opinion, to understand the minds of those with whom they must differ or agree, to appreciate and use any opportunity for useful influence. The value of the College course has proved itself—the subjects for the University's Diploma along with our groundwork in Catholic philosophy, provided partly by university teaching and partly by classes specially arranged.

53 students of the **Catholic Workers' College** obtained the University's Diploma in Economics and Political Science, five with distinction, during its 18 years of existence.

One of the students this year is from the group of American servicemen who are spending one term at **Oxford**.

Something new in a college paper were the dispatches **Father Thomas E. Shortell** sent from the **Labor-Management Conference** to the **Holy Cross Tomahawk**.

On his return from **Washington**, **Father Shortell** had a full-page, “exclusive interview” story in the **Boston Sunday Post** on the results of the Conference in the

course of which he adroitly taught a great deal of Catholic social doctrine. In commenting on **Father Shortell's** insistence that industrial peace demands free collective bargaining without undue government restraints, the *Post* reporter noted: “As head of the **Institute of Industrial Relations** at **Holy Cross College**, **Father Shortell** has created his own little labor-management utopia where weighty problems are settled in a Friday evening Grievance Clinic and where working men in overalls sit next to their bosses in a mutual desire to learn all they can about the intelligent settlement of their differences.”

Carl Schoeninger, Past National Commander (1944-45) of the **Veterans of Foreign Wars**, judged the **November FORUM**, “Superseniority for Veterans in Labor Unions?”, a substantial contribution. **Father Leo Brown's** introductory analysis of the problem won **Schoeninger's** praise, particularly for its thoroughness and objectivity. **Father Henry J. Wirtenberger** of **Detroit University**, who passed on this information, tells us the **FORUM** was responsible in a large degree for forming **Schoeninger's** opinion on the question.

An original play “**Into the Ground**” written by the students, in collaboration with **Mr. Francis Curran**, was presented at **Loyola High School**, **Los Angeles**. The purpose of the drama was to make the audience conscious of the harm and injustice committed by racial prejudice against the **Negroes**. The action takes place in an **Aid Station** during a battle.

The **December Calendar** of **St. Ignatius Church**, **San Francisco**, carries a strong article on the “**Morality of Universal Military Conscription**” and tells its readers with good directness, “**Immediate legislation making limited conscription a permanent feature of our American life should be vigorously opposed.**”

Father Gerard Donnelly, **Circulation Manager** of **America** uses the categories of Economics in making a recent appeal for subscriptions:

SOWER OF THE SEED. In the Gospels, the words, “**production, distribution, consumption,**” do not appear. At least, not in the modern economic sense.

When the Gospels talk of spreading truth, they say “**preach.**” This word implies the job of (a) composing a sermon, (b) and delivering it, (c) to people gathered to listen. **Preaching**, therefore, includes the triple process—**production, distribution, consumption.**

Preaching will never lose its importance. But nowadays the apostolate of the Catholic press is essential, too.

Yet "apostolate of the press" doesn't mean only writing—production. It means distribution. A book or periodical, no matter how much Catholic thinking it contains, is useless unless it is put into the hands of people to read.

Distribution is as apostolic as production.

St. Aloysius Parish, Spokane, Washington, has organized 20 study clubs most of them concerned with social subjects. Members of the parish participated prominently in the Conference on Industrial Relations held at the Davenport Hotel, October 9-10.

Father John J. Divine, Alumni Director of St. Louis University High School, organized a Retreat January 10-14 for returning servicemen at the White House.

Father Horace B. McKenna sends us the annual report of the Ridge Purchasing and Marketing Cooperative, Incorporated of St. Mary's County, Maryland and speaking of "the rural church, the suburban and the villages where the Bishop goes only for Confirmation but where all good things start," adds: "Give us 20 years and we will prove ourselves a strong support of the nation and Church and Society and the Negro group."

Even our Novitiates are participating in the Jesuit European Relief drive. Shadowbrook has sent a large shipment of shoes and rubbers to the Curia and much clothing to various Houses in Europe.

Mr. George Porter, Director of the Crusaders Club at Mount St. Michael's, was the speaker at the annual banquet of the Spokane Chapter of the American Society for the Hard of Hearing.

Under the title "The Physiological Rehabilitation and Adjustment of the Deaf and Hard of Hearing" Mr. Porter stressed the ideals of the Christian family and children, correcting the propaganda that since deafness is too much a disease of heredity it is doubtful whether the deaf have a right to have children.

The final Report on the work of the Universities Committee on Post-War International Problems has been edited by Ralph Barton Perry. Formed in the autumn of 1942 to organize informed and intelligent discussion on the momentous issues of the times, the Committee

encouraged the inauguration of "Cooperating Groups" in colleges and universities to whom it sent monthly Problems for faculty consideration and comment. The reports of the conclusions reached by the different "Cooperating Groups" were summarized and supplied to officials in the State Department and published in *International Conciliation*.

Included in the list of "Active Cooperating Groups" we note the following Jesuit institutions:

Boston College, Fordham, Georgetown, Holy Cross, John Carroll, Loyola (of Chicago, New Orleans and of Baltimore), Marquette and St. Louis University.

The Perry Report claims to have stimulated Jesuit productivity. "Many Groups found their own avenues of publicity", it discloses. "Thus the Chairman of the Holy Cross Group, Father W. L. Lucey, S. J., in cooperation with Father Robert A. Graham, S. J., and Father James L. Burke, S. J., published a pamphlet entitled *Hope for Peace at San Francisco?*"

Father P. J. Holloran, Rector of Saint Louis University, has been named a member of the Mayor's Housing Committee of St. Louis.

350 pounds of food were wrapped, packaged and shipped to Italy during the fall by the Children of Mary Sodality of St. Ignatius Loyola Parish, New York City, the *Parish Bulletin* reports. It also states that many letters expressing deep gratitude were received.

The Syracuse School of Industrial Relations of Le Moyne College opened on November 19th with the following registration: 142 from Labor and Management; 94 public school teachers; 45 of the clergy. Father Gerald C. Treacy, former Rector of the Tertiaship at Auriesville and currently Superior of Campion House, New York City went to Syracuse to organize and direct the first semester. Father Andrew Bouwhuis, Executive Director of the new college, has distributed a bibliography compiled from the books in the Syracuse Public Library—evidence of the advantages of cooperation with local librarians to reap the benefit of existing library facilities.

Father Bernard W. Dempsey of St. Louis University, president of the Catholic Economics Association, has scheduled a meeting of that organization in Cleveland for January 24 immediately preceding the meeting of the American Economics Association and Allied Social Science Societies. The panel of nominees for 1946 as submitted by the Nominating

Committee lists Father Leo C. Brown, Director of ISS, as Secretary.

The importance of Father Florence C. Sullivan's interest in the labor field may be judged from this statement, boxed at the top of *The Florida Labor Advocate*: "Tampa Has Largest Per Capita Union Membership of Any City in America."

Father Gabriel Zema's "St. Thomas More Study Club" for its 1945-46 lecture program has the general title of "Constructive Antidote for Social Disorder."

Among the lectures listed were:

"Gateway to Russia" by Father Bernard Hubbard.

"Catholic Remedy for Social Maladies" by Father William Smith.

"The Individual and Catholic Social Action" by Father Joseph Cantillon.

"The Communist Method" by J. B. Matthews.

"The New Education and Communism" by Dr. Milo F. McDonald.

"The Remedy of Catholic Influence" by Godfrey P. Schmidt.

"Communism and South America" by Father Aloysius Owen.

The Young Working People of St. Joseph's Church, San Jose, California, attended in gratifying numbers a Novena in honor of the Little Flower preached by Father Erwin Toner.

The November Church *Bulletin* of St. Ignatius Parish, Chicago, reviews the current controversy concerning the Legion of Decency as a Catholic pressure organization. The article concludes that "we can say that even a Catholic minority has influence and can effect great moral good by its stand in the face of pagan, irreligious, and Godless opposition."

The November *Bulletin* of SS. Peter and Paul's Church, Detroit, reminds its readers that attendance at the Mass on the fourth Thursday of the month (Thanksgiving Day) is a splendid opportunity to fulfill in part one's obligation of patriotism.

NOTICE!

At the Cincinnati Labor School Directors' Conference it was decided to publish a monthly mimeographed bulletin for all who are interested in Industrial Relations. Copies of the bulletin will be mailed regularly to anyone who sends us his name and address.

PROCESS (From page 5)

Catholic Negroes and Saints: Martin de Porres, or those who worked for the Negroes: Claver.

X. Music and Art

A. Familiarize students with Negroes in these fields: Richmond Barthe, Marian Anderson, etc. Cf. *Negro Art: Past and Present* by Alain Locke and *The Negro and His Music* by same author (both published by Associates in Negro Folk Education).

XI. Athletics

A. Class teams may arrange privately for games with matched class teams of Negro schools, in certain localities.

GENERAL PROJECTS

XII. Bulletin Board

The more frequented the location, the more boys will see it. The more skillfully material is chosen and presented, the more interested the passersby will become. Material may be rotated from board to board, building to building, school to school.

XIII. Bookrack

In classroom, corridor, basement, with issues of *Colored Harvest*, *Interracial Review*, etc. Get Negro Catholic thought to the boys. For general statistics and history, see *Colored Catholics in the United States* by John T. Gillard, S. S. J. (Josephite Press, 1941).

XIV. Mite-Boxes

May be set up in various spots for particular Negro missions, choosing different mission each month, leading to contacts with missionaries and pastors.

XV. Prayer

Special attendance at Mass, individual and group; Holy Communion; daily prayer; class prayer—all for Negro conversions.

The Interracial Problem in the United States is packed with dynamite and needs clear thinking and wise leadership. Prudence is very much in place. But what is this prudence? Let the regent who wishes to adopt any of the above suggestions reflect well on these words:

"Much is said with regard to prudence. Prudence does not consist in doing nothing. Prudence is consistent with a very holy boldness. If St. Ignatius Loyola had listened to the wrong idea of prudence he never would have done away with the habit and the choir at the foundation of the Society. He never would have sent Xavier to India, and he never would have established homes for the redemption of fallen women. Certain types of so-called prudence can be blatant folly and a pitfall for souls. Genuine pru-

dence states clearly what is right and wrong, leaves no doubt as to its uncompromising adherence to principle and then makes it clear that any concessions that have to be made to circumstances are looked on as something from which we should rid ourselves as soon as, again by prudence as also by boldness, we can manage to do so." (Father LaFarge, "Interracial Policy in the United States" ISO BULLETIN, September, 1945, p. 5).

The prudent regent should by all means instruct his students on the virtue of prudence and the true Catholic doctrine on Race. The reformation of their own outlook is of primary importance. Action that may develop should depend on locality, custom, laws, etc. Therefore, students should be cautioned that others are ruled by prejudice and may not accept the true teaching. Besides, students are scarcely in a position to try to correct the views of parents and elders. Let them see that their example will accomplish what their words may not. Finally, needless to say, the advice of superiors is to be followed in all the projects here listed.

WORKER (From page 2)

the rich mortify their greed and share their superfluous profits with the poor. They were a silent, eager audience; they had never heard such a mighty defense of all they were struggling for; many declared that they never knew that the Church was at all interested in their welfare or even gave a thought to their struggle.

Encyclicals Popular

From that time on I was their hero, and my pamphlets went like hot cakes, and everyone was reading the Encyclicals and some were quoting them in their separate union meetings. I could attend all their Central union meetings, make speeches to them whenever I felt like accepting the invitation, and I was authorized to preside over their Education Committee work and start a Study Club for all the men of all the unions.

Every week in the Central Labor Union Hall we held our sessions and read together and discussed all the pamphlets we could get from the Paulist Press, the Sunday Visitor, and the few which Jesuits have contributed. Some sixty of the better educated members of fifteen local unions attended and took an active interest in the discussions.

We brought newspaper special writers to listen and take part, and they favored us with good write-ups. We invited the President of the Chamber of Commerce

to discuss local problems of relations of labor and management and he went away enthusiastic for the possibilities of friendly cooperation through our study club meetings. We listened to members of the National Board of A. F. of L. and other distinguished visitors who were familiar with union history and the present trends. It still goes on.

During the State Convention held in Tampa in 1943 the Miami Central Union sent me to Tampa to address the Education Committees of all State Unions. This led to the request that I address the whole convention which I did along the same lines, and every word I said was reprinted in their Annual Report and Journal. Later when I was moved to Tampa I was invited to the Labor meetings here and I was publicly presented with a beautiful chalice given by the Central Unions of Miami as their token of confidence and affection.

Leaders Speak in Chicago

The story of how we rounded up fifty or more of the leading men of the Unions in Illinois is well known to all and has been well presented in the ISO Bulletin, April, 1945. Each Jesuit at this meeting was recommended to the Central Union of A. F. of L. in his home town by a letter of endorsement from the officials of the Illinois Federation.

Such is the simple outline of the story of how I got to the heart of the Labor Movement and Unions in non-Catholic Florida. It is as simple as $2 + 2 = 4$ and needs only the "gumption" of an ordinary priest to accept each invitation as it comes along and to capitalize on it for Christ and His Kingdom.

Kindness and tact and a sincere love of the working man are the pass-words into their hearts. A letter of praise or endorsement from your local group opens the doors to Central Unions throughout the State; and a good letter or telegram from the State Officials will gain you entrance in any city of the country.

Now do not sit down and write a Book or a Pamphlet on how to do this; better, get up and go out and try it yourself on your local Unions and learn by experience, the best teacher in human relations.

NOTICE

An English translation of a commentary by Father Pierre Bouvier, S. J., on the Foundation of the Spiritual Exercises is available in mimeographed form. Copies may be had by writing to the Central Office of the ISO, 3742 West Pine Boulevard, Saint Louis 8, Missouri.

The Traffic Tower

Work to Be Done Although we think of the world at present as unionized, the fact remains that of the 43 million workers not engaged in agriculture, 14½ million belong to the union. Even this is considerable rise during war days, for at the close of the first World War, there were 30 million workers not engaged in agriculture, of whom only 4,300,000 were actual members of a union. The union had almost tripled in strength. And there still remains the largest section of the workers without union strength or organization.

CIO at the Mike CIO has announced that it has contracted with the American Broadcasting Company, with 135 stations, for a series of four bi-weekly broadcasts on Mondays at 10:15 P. M. The CIO contract with ABC is one of the first such arrangements by a broadcasting chain which provides for sale of time to a trade union for discussion of controversial topics.

Papal Lead "Blind pessimism, prompting us to see only the dark side of the present age, and to consider it the worst period in human history, is fatal. It may be said that such a tendency has been common to all generations, throughout the centuries—but this is a convenient excuse to want to avoid the task of curing a person by saying that he is incurable." (*Pope Pius XII, to Franciscan Tertiaries*, as broadcast by *Radio Vatican* on September 21st.)

Morals in Detroit Schools

Aftermath of the much-publicized Champaign, Illinois case when an atheist mother sued the local school board for allowing release-time, a Committee to Maintain Separation of Church and State has become active in Detroit filing formal and specific objections to the "Brady School Citizenship Training Program." The Committee in a conference with the Superintendent of Schools of Detroit on December 11 argued that the Brady Plan is in opposition to the First Amendment of the Constitution which defines freedom of religious belief.

The Brady Plan is a program inaugurated in that school five years ago by Miss Mary Catherine Sullivan, principal for 24 years. The program endeavors to emphasize "certain basic spiritual concepts that can be presented without offense to anyone's religious beliefs" with the aim to form character and teach solid citizenship. It finds its justification in the Ordinance of 1787 which declares that "religion, morality, knowl-

edge are essential to good government and the happiness of mankind."

That aim is implemented by a 20-minute period each morning spent discussing the Topic of the Month and the development and memory of the words of the prayers, hymns and songs: Four mornings a week are assigned to informal lessons with the conference teacher: There is a weekly assembly of the school children. A monthly mimeographed sheet is given the teachers outlining the program and providing material for the Topic of the Month which is on one of the natural virtues—obedience, industry, humility, trustworthiness, reverence.

According to the *Detroit News* of December 11, the Brady School Plan for Character and Citizenship Training "urged the pupils to follow God's moral code, to acknowledge his supremacy and our dependency upon him for peace and security."

"Solid support has been given Miss Sullivan by the Brady PTA and numerous civic organizations," the *Detroit Times* reports on December 10.

The Committee to Maintain Separation of Church and State complained to the Superintendent of Schools: "We have studied the text material used in Brady School and find that the booklet starts out with a very definite concept of God and relates many of its materials and activities to that concept. The trouble with presenting any concept of God in a public school is that people vary greatly in their conception and it is a treasured American right to do so."

Heading the protesting delegation was the Reverend Merrill O. Bates, Pastor of the Grosse Pointe Unitarian Church, Vice-Chairman of the Committee whose activities in Detroit seem part of a national pattern.

The agreement of this pressure group to ban all mention of God and any indication of the sources of morality and good government from the public schools was answered by Father John E. Coogan, S. J., Professor of Sociology at the University of Detroit in an extended letter printed in the *Detroit Times*.

Biting the Hand . . . The devious way in which diplomacy works is illustrated in the *News-week* comment that while France had invited the United States and Britain to discuss relationships with Franco, even the French Communists hesitated until such time as they could get from Franco the food and raw material that France needed. Once this was secured, they would be ready to bite the hand that they expect to help feed them.

Jew vs. Arab The Arab League and the Palestine Arabs have combined to block any further development of Jewish economic and political control in the Orient. Time was when the Arabs and the Jews of Spain united very closely in their distaste for the Spanish Christians. Out of this grew the political aspects of the Inquisition. Now Arabs and Jews are at loggerheads and history swings once more in its perpetual cycle.

Synthetics Take Over The future of the rubber-producing countries is a very doubtful one. Mr. Henry Ford secured in 1928, 2,470,000 acres of rubber land from Brazil. He spent almost \$10,000,000 with 25,000 workmen. His objective was to produce his own tires from Brazilian rubber and he had made \$5,000,000 up to the war. This year he has sold back the acreage to Brazil for a quarter of a million. He is convinced that American synthetic rubber has displaced the natural product.

UAW-PAC The United Automobile Workers have no intention of discontinuing their political activities. Defeated candidate for mayor of Detroit, Richard Frankenstein remains in charge of the union's activities with five full-time assistants.

Too Many Farmers? Despite the influx into the cities, the Committee for Economic Development reports that the farm regions of America are still over-populated. It pleads with the cities to interest themselves in the training of rural youth and finds the farm problems of health and education are natural problems.

Communist Survey To paraphrase one of Dorothy Parker's quips, "You have to know Communism to really dislike it."

The peoples of Europe have had ample opportunity since the end of the war to become acquainted with Communism and are indicating their dislike at the polls. Preliminary returns of the elections held in Austria on November 25 indicate that the People's Party (Catholic) will have 85 of the 165 mandates in the National Assembly, the Social Democrats 76 and the Communists 3. Doctor Karl Renner placed in power by the Soviets who had complained that his position was that "of a man in a rowing skiff with four elephants as passengers" yielded the Chancellorship to Leopold

Figl, head of the Catholic party. It was the largest poll in Austrian history, 90% of the electorate casting their ballots.

The Socialists regard the fate of the Communists, John MacCormac reports in the *New York Times*, "as full justification for the Socialists refusal to unite with their Left wing rivals in a single working-class party." Campaigning on their own the Communists drew considerably less than seven per cent of the vote, even in industrial areas.

The same results were reported from Hungary where the Small Land Owners' Party obtained 59 per cent of the vote despite their political terrorism responsible for 100 of their candidates out of the 190 representatives elected being actually in jail during the campaign. Arrests, control of all travel permits, banning of all contributions to other parties, pressure by NKVD, deportations to Siberia availed nothing: The Communists scored only 12 per cent of the vote. Even when the Socialists and Communists combined in a common ticket earlier, the Small Holders won over that combination in the City of Budapest election.

Anne O'Hare McCormick declared the elections in Austria and Hungary are "a striking demonstration of the Russians' failure to maintain in the political field the prestige and popularity they won in battle."

Only in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria where the people were given only one ticket with candidates approved by Kremlin agents did the Reds win. In the "free and unfettered" fake elections in these two unhappy countries, the Communists were triumphant. In Yugoslavia, it will be remembered, Tito's gang rolled up an impressive 90.48 per cent of the vote against no-opposition candidates and with the help of an amendment to the electoral law that arranged that all who abstained from voting were counted at the polls as approving the government.

In Czechoslovakia, *Religious News Service* from Prague by Air Mail reports, "The Catholic Church is waging a winning battle against Communism." Despite the handicap of lack of leadership (only two of the seven sees in Moravia and Bohemia are filled and these are Bishops advanced in years) and the lack of Catholic press (only 15 journals have been permitted to republish in a field where formerly there were 1,200 Catholic publications), the influence of the People's Party, largely Catholic-controlled, with its propaganda for social reforms and for political and religious freedom, is increasing.

In Italy DeGaspari, leader of the Christian Democratic Party, took over

the premiership. Communist Party leaders who brought gifts to the station when former Italian prisoners of war were returning from Russia, discovered that contact with Communism hardly increases one's affection for Communists: The Italian Communist reception committee was stoned by the soldiers.

DeGaulle's refusal to yield to Communist demands for key ministry received the support of the French nation.

In Denmark the Agrarian Party won out again as did the Christian Democratic Party in Norway.

At a convention held at Hanover October 5-7 the Social Democrats of Germany determined that they will not merge with the Communists but that they will cooperate with all other democratic forces.

Even in turbulent Rumania, the Social Democratic Party holding a national convention in Bucharest has shown it is overwhelmingly behind its leader, Constantin Titel Petrescu, in its determination to reject the Communist demand for "a single workers' party" and to refuse even the combined election ticket that the Communists wished.

Refusal to yield to Commie bluff and join a popular front pays off. Duclos, Secretary of CP in France, could tumble Earl Browder but DeGaulle undeterred by noisy agitation and mindful that M. R. P., France's new Christian Democratic Party, polled the largest number of votes in the election, continued with Georges Bidault, Foreign Minister.

The English Labor Party, it will be recalled, refused by a decisive vote to accept CP affiliation with manifest profit in the national British election. In Norway, too, the Reds were badly beaten by the Labor Party in a Diet election.

No wonder Stalin despises "decadent democracy" and looks forward with confidence to Communist success in the February elections in Russia where there will be no opposition slate of candidates.

The *New York Times'* Sam Pope Brewer has the following report to make on December 3 from Bucharest: "No date for elections has been set and the election law is still uncompleted, but this convention has definitely established one vitally important fact that Mr. Groza's supporters have heretofore denied: most of the Socialist party disapproves fusion with the Communists and the Government's conduct toward the Socialists."

Farm Subsidy Senators Young (R., N. Dak.) and Shipstead (R., Minn.) have introduced a bill into Congress which would extend to five years the farm price guarantees that are now in force for a period of two years after the conclusion of hostilities.

This action is in marked contrast to the stand taken by cattle men who insist that they want meat subsidies removed, even if they must lose money as a result. Frank Fehling, president of a Colorado Stock association, in a radio address asserted that cattle men were willing to absorb half of the subsidy loss if the rest could be passed on to the consumer as increased prices.

Pope Sees Delegates of Displaced Jews The Pope received approximately 70

Jewish displaced persons today and told them, on the Palestine issue, that the Church because of its religious mission could not intervene directly in questions of a purely political and territorial nature. He said, however, that this did not prevent the Church from laying a solid foundation for the solution of such issues according to justice and equality by proclaiming principles of true humanity and brotherhood. Without directly answering the impromptu and impassioned Zionist pleas of Rodolfo Grani of Fiume, the Pope said that the Church had never left any doubt that its principles and activities could not admit any of those conceptions that led to persecution. "Your visit to us," he said, "gives intimate proof of the thankfulness of men and women who in times full of sorrow for themselves and often under the threat of imminent danger to their lives, learn how the Catholic Church and her true followers in the exercise of charity could rise above all the narrow and arbitrary limits created by human selfishness and racial passion."

The visitors were delegates to a conference of Jewish displaced persons in Italy that concluded a three-day meeting last night. A Rabbi Bialystok of Poland led the delegation to the Vatican.

Slogan With his inimitable power of words, Winston Churchill coined the phrase "the people vs. the socialists." Whatever the value of the slogan may be, opponents of socialism have in this a wonderful catch phrase.

Housing Plan A shortage of 60,000 bricklayers is a complication in the solution of the housing problem. "We have got a bricklayer force smaller than we had in 1910." admits *Brick and Clay Record*, and a market never before equalled." Responsible in large part for the shortage of bricklayers was the studied policy of neglecting apprenticeships, according to the trade publication.

"The situation has reached such a crisis," says the National Housing Administrator, John B. Blandford, Jr.,

"that 2,000,000 more American families are going to have 'to doubleup' on housing accommodations by the end of 1946." Veterans and their families will comprise more than half of this number unless they are given preference in future vacancies," he asserted. In a letter to the mayors of all U. S. cities of more than 25,000 population, Blandford emphasized the community's responsibility in the matter and urged the appointment of an emergency committee on housing to establish or expand veteran housing service, speed production of housing and combat inflation. "The emergency period," he stated, "may last two or three years in many communities."

UNRRA at Home A Bulletin of the National Research Council reports that almost 80 per cent of Americans suffer from malnutrition. In most cases the trouble is not undernourishment, but lack of proper foods and an unbalanced diet.

Infant Care Intensive care during the past ten years has greatly reduced infant mortality. To such an extent have infants' deaths been cut down that the number who died during their first year of life in 1943 was 118,000, as compared to 121,000 in 1933. These figures are the more remarkable when it is recalled that in 1943 3,000,000 babies were born as compared with 2,000,000 in 1933. Similarly, the number of deaths on the first day after birth (normally 29 per cent of all who do not reach their first birthday die during their first day of life) was down by 23 per cent. Yet in 1943 there were still 34,000 children born who did not survive their first day. This figure can be further reduced as more and more children are born in hospitals and under doctor's care. One out of every three children is born out of a hospital; more than 204,000 did not have a doctor's care.

President's Stand For the records, here are the 12 points of our foreign policy as outlined by President Truman in his Navy Day address:

"1. We seek no territorial expansion or selfish advantage. We have no plans for aggression against any other state, large or small. We have no objective which need clash with the peaceful aims of any other nations.

2. We believe in the eventual return of sovereign rights and self-government to all people who have been deprived of them by force.

3. We shall approve no territorial changes in any friendly part of the world

unless they accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned.

4. We believe that all people who are prepared for self-government should be permitted to choose their own form of government by their own freely expressed choice, without interference from any foreign source. That is true in Europe, in Asia, in Africa, as well as in the Western Hemisphere.

5. By the combined and cooperative action of our war allies, we shall help the defeated enemy states establish peaceful democratic governments of their own free choice. And we shall try to attain a world in which nazism, facism and military aggression cannot exist.

6. We shall refuse to recognize any government imposed upon any nation by the force of any foreign power. In some cases it may be impossible to prevent forceful imposition of such a government. But the United States will not recognize any such government.

7. We believe that all nations should have the freedom of the seas and equal rights to the navigation of boundary rivers and waterways and of rivers and waterways which pass through more than one country.

8. We believe that all states which are accepted in the society of nations should have access on equal terms to the trade and the raw materials of the world.

9. We believe that the sovereign states of the Western Hemisphere, without interference from outside the Western Hemisphere, must work together as good neighbors in the solution of their common problems.

10. We believe that full economic collaboration between all nations, great and small, is essential to the improvement of living conditions all over the world, and to the establishment of freedom from fear and freedom from want.

11. We shall continue to strive to promote freedom of expression and freedom of religion throughout the peace-loving areas of the world.

12. We are convinced that the preservation of peace between nations requires a united nations organization composed of all the peace-loving nations of the world who are willing jointly to use force if necessary to insure peace."

Okie's Health To provide medical care for migratory farm laborers the Office of Labor of the United States Department of Agriculture has organized six non-profit corporations, called Agricultural Workers' Health Associations. Representatives of these corporations, scattered throughout the country, engage physicians and dentists, preferably the local practitioners, secure drugs, hospital care and other

services without cost to farm workers. Service in large farm-labor camps is provided by means of 22 mobile clinics, as well as others that were permanently located in one area.

Healing the Hate The excised sections of the joint pastoral adopted by the German Hierarchy at their annual meeting at Fulda on August 23 have just been supplied to the Catholic Press by Dr. Max Jordan, correspondent for NCWC News Service. One of the passages found objectionable by Captain John R. Roser, U. S. Army, a local censor connected with the Information Control Division, read as follows:

"But we also know that in the case of those who were in dependent positions, specially civil servants and school teachers, membership in the Nazi party often did not mean an inner assent to the awful acts of the Nazi regime. Many joined knowing little of the activities and aims of the Nazi party. Many were forced to join and others joined with the good intention of preventing evil. It is a demand of justice that the guilt be investigated in each individual case lest the innocent have to suffer with the guilty. For this we Bishops have stood from the beginning and for this we shall also stand in the future."

Dr. Jordan indicates the censor's complaint is that this passage "is 'political' and the issue at stake 'is none of the Church's business,'—an argumentation that is certainly hard to understand." (Because Michael Cardinal von Faulhaber, Archbishop of Munich, considers such restrictions unwarranted, the pastoral has remained unread in his diocese so far.)

Clamor at this suppression of free speech was not observed in the Liberal press. Indeed the document itself was not reported by American news agencies until after its publication in the American Catholic press, possibly by reasons of the hampering censorship on the scene.

Another statement also largely ignored in the Liberal press makes somewhat the same point as did the German Bishops. The statement occurs in an order of the day issued to his troops by Lord Louis Mountbatten who told them:

"You may well find that those Japanese who have a fanatical belief in their divine superiority, and who feel that we are too soft to put them in their place, will try to behave arrogantly. You are to stand for no nonsense from these people.

"On the other hand, you will find that there are many Japanese who are no more taken in by the preposterous claims of the militarists than you are yourselves."

Publishers' Galley

THE AGE OF JACKSON.—By Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. New York: Little, Brown and Company. 1945. 577 pp. \$5.00.

On the dust cover of this book, the publishers tell the reader that he is about to enjoy a penetrating interpretation of a period in which finance and industry threatened to destroy the American Way of life.

By way of an over-all preview of the book, one may say that the author writes well, in fact he writes cleverly. Any single chapter of the whole is interesting. The author has employed a trick of writing, recently analyzed by Mr. Walter Ong, S. J., who showed that simple homely little details introduced into a photograph or a piece of writing add to the whole book or magazine a verisimilitude of truth which leads the reader to unconsciously assume that the unit must be true.

There is, perhaps, one important historical clarification in the book. On the question of Jackson and the Bank, the author builds a good case for his theory that the eastern radical was more important as an opponent of the Bank than was any other single group in the country. Mr. Schlesinger thinks that Jackson was as much a "hard-money" man because of this political fact as because Andrew Jackson, the Westerner, had suffered from banks in the West.

The thesis of Mr. Schlesinger's book may be briefly stated thus: The Neo-Federalists (i.e. the political leaders after Thomas Jefferson) had destroyed the excellent work of Jefferson and sold the country out to the northern manufacturers. In 1828 the country was all but in chains to Big Business which owned the politicians and in turn restricted civil liberties. With the advent of Andrew Jackson a new day dawned for America. Jackson took Jeffersonian agrarianism, shifted the objective to 'the people', maintained everything good and marched forward to save America for its citizens. The means used were: the spoils system, which put the government back in the hands of the people; the destruction of the monopoly of finance by slaying the terrible dragon, the Bank; and, finally, administrative support of the working classes by means of favoring their political candidates and party machines.

This reviewer does not subscribe to Mr. Schlesinger's thesis. We believe that Jackson and his followers were clever politicians who played the political game of tacking with the wind. The attack on Biddle and the Bank was not so much a crusade against monopoly as a political

battle against the anti-Jackson forces. Jackson himself said: "The veto works well everywhere, it puts down the Bank instead of prostrating me." (p. 91). Support of the laboring classes seems more a political necessity than a sincere desire to aid the "less fortunate classes." With the widening of the franchise, in Jackson's day, attention to the desires of the voter became practical common sense to the politician. It is not historically accurate to conceive of Andrew Jackson as a sort of second father of his country. Old Hickory was a soldier, accustomed to command. His politics previous to his election were uncertain. He was in no way prepared to solve the nation's problems when he became its president. His followers were politicians who determined to hold power through judicious distribution of office.

Mr. Schlesinger does not fail to call attention to the influence wielded by the "men around Jackson," as he calls them. Van Buren, Kendall, the Blairs, Taney and the rest are all given proper space in the study of the Age of Jackson. It appears to be the author's opinion that these men, together with Jackson, worked, perhaps unconsciously, towards the protection of the common man against the forces of finance. In New England radical politicians received the support of the Administration in favor of the old Jeffersonian Democrats. The same was true in New York and Pennsylvania where a growing laboring class was supported in reforms. The end result, Mr. Schlesinger maintains, was the rise to articulate power of the masses, a movement which would have been long delayed had not Andrew Jackson come to power in 1828. Hence, Mr. Schlesinger would declare that Jackson and his associates more or less made America the Land of Opportunity for every man.

To what does America owe the freedom and liberty which her citizens enjoy? Much more to her natural resources, to the blessings of opportunity than to any one political philosophy. The Jacksonian Era saddled the country with certain political traditions which we have not yet overcome. In spite of the spoils system, which does more harm than good, our people can voice opinions so forcefully that the administration must listen. It is the people, therefore, who have made America.

There are many faults which might be noted in Mr. Schlesinger's book. Though it portrays all the trappings of historical research, its conclusions from evidence are frequently biased. The use of newspapers has its point, but it should be remembered that newspapers during the

period under discussion were professedly propaganda instruments.

For all its faults, Mr. Schlesinger's "Age of Andrew Jackson" is an interesting book.

J. P. Donnelly, S. J.

PRIVATE MONOPOLY. The Enemy at Home.—By David Lasser. New York. Harper & Brothers, 1945. pp. 300. \$3.00.

The threat to our form of government due to excessive concentration of economic power in the hands of the few has been squarely faced by too few American thinkers. Perhaps this is only a natural reaction to the flood of superficial panaceas that critical periods always produce. At any rate, this ultra-conservatism is dangerous. Policies worked out on the basis of "as if" the ideal order existed won't be very effective in coping with the exigencies of reality. Nor does the policy of NAM: "each business enterprise shall pursue its course upon a plane of enlightened self interest," do anything but cast the *poudre aux yeux*. The attempt to muddle through the morass by blithely substituting the slogans of free enterprise for serious thought can only end in disaster.

This book is of interest in as much as the author does see the problem rather clearly. In Part I he traces the events in major nations that led to World War II. He sees this era as a clash in every nation "between the economically disfranchised masses attempting to use political power to save themselves and the monopolists with their powerful weapons of economic domination." There is much of truth in this view though the over emphasis of purely economic factors leaves it somewhat incomplete.

Next, in a review of the "state of the union" he shows the present position of monopoly control in this country. He is well documented here and though the picture he sketches is anything but encouraging, there will be few who will find serious matter for disagreement.

It is only when the author proposes a solution that we seriously doubt his competence. He speaks of promoting the People's Revolution throughout the world. "We must find a way of reconciling the right of individuals to their free personal development with the unity of effort necessary to accomplish democratic tasks." His way is found "in the idea of Fraternity as the spiritual concept binding men together in society; and Democratization as the means to unite them in their political and economic activities." This is all very well but his

"Fraternity" is based only on the enlightened self interest of Hobbes and his "Democratization" is only a plea for the promotion of the maximum degree of self-government. "Aye, there is the rub!"

The mere desire to turn back to all of the people the power to operate the political, economic and social order does not in itself restore this power. This desire must be implemented in the real order. A technique for using this power must be developed. This the author has not done in any detail. We thank him for presenting the problem in all its seriousness but we must regret the inadequacy of his generalizations.

John L. Thomas, S. J.

TROUBLE ZONE.—By Leon Dennen, Chicago: Ziff-Davis. 1945. pp. 165. \$1.50.

This is an informative but far from consoling summary of the present situation in the countries of the eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans. The author, the director of public relations in charge of foreign affairs for the League of Human Rights (American Federation of Labor) spent nine months cooperating with the labor and anti-Nazi underground movements in these countries. The result has been a candid but depressing expose of power politics as played by the Russian bear and British lion at their roughest.

The picture is not a nice one but it would be a good thing for every American to look closely, despite the heaviness of its colors. For it traces clearly the definite lines upon which the alleged peace will be built by the Great Powers. The viewpoint is that of a man who is a sincere believer in democracy as we know it in America. It is a comfortable viewpoint for us—until we get as close to the subject as the author can bring us. Then all the crooked lines and dirty angles of the poorly-known Middle East and Balkans become disturbing, especially as the United States has not exactly a clean record in this regard. The over-all feeling when the book is finished is that the peace is finished, too—and the net result is failure. World War III seems much nearer. "It is in the countries clustered about the eastern Mediterranean—in the Balkans and the Middle East—that the great spiritual and political drama of the postwar world is now being enacted in an atmosphere of boundless cynicism and greed." Having stated his thesis so baldly, the author goes on to prove it step by step.

The conflict is between Russia and England. The first is seeking the control of the Balkans from the Adriatic

to the Aegean and eventually control of the entire Middle East. England is fighting to preserve the Empire and its life-line. No other considerations are allowed to enter in. Everything else is molded to the shape of one of these two forces. But the Russian force has had the best of it so far. The balance of power as it now stands is decidedly Russian.

Democracy has been crushed in Bulgaria; the Stalin-appointed Tito holds the reins in Yugoslavia (this chapter alone is worth the price of the book); the British-Soviet skirmish in Greece (of tremendous importance to England) was by no means a defeat for Moscow; Rumania was the first concrete test of the efficacy of the Yalta agreement and a portentous failure. Turkey is still in a precarious position; Iran and Syria are ready to explode; Soviet representatives throughout the Middle East are surely cutting down all British prestige among the Arabs.

The author claims that England is counter-attacking by discrimination and hostility towards the Jews in Palestine. This is the one place in the book that appears one-sided. One receives the impression that the Arabs have no case at all and it is almost a matter of justice to hand Palestine over to the Jews. That is hardly the solution to the Palestine question.

Although the struggle is primarily between England and Russia the United States has concerned itself in some way in practically every phase. The mistakes and blunders we have made appear in these pages with dismal regularity. The book is worth reading for that alone. But its principal value is its concise summary of events in these parts of the world with our consequent and utter failure to apply in any form the finely-worded idealism of the Atlantic Charter and our other agreements.

C. J. Armitage, S. J.

THE JEWISH DILEMMA.—By Elmer Berger. New York: Devin-Adair. 1945. pp. 257. \$3.

It is difficult to believe that the author chose the title for this book. Rabbi Elmer Berger would flatly deny that there is a "choice between equally undesirable alternatives" confronting his people; his program for them is simple, direct, imperative and summed up in the slogans "emancipation" and "integration."

By those terms he means a resolute refusal to accept the myth of a "Jewish people" sponsored by "official" Jewry, an explicit disavowal of the nationalism of Zionist politics, a complete acceptance

of the identity of purposes and responsibilities with non-Jewish fellow citizens.

"I cannot write about a Jewish people because there is none... In short, except for a religion of common derivation and a tradition of helping other Jews in distress—because so often no one would help them—there is no more similarity between the Jews of New York or Chicago and the Jews of a common farming project I once visited in Northern Michigan, than there is between a Southern tenant-farmer and the Cabots and the Lodges." Such is the basis of Rabbi Berger's case.

What do the Jews want? The American Jewish Conference, of which he is Executive Director, answers: "We ask only this: Equality of rights and obligations with fellow-nationals."

What about Palestine? Lessing Rosenwald, President of the Conference, told the Foreign Affairs Committee in February, 1944 during hearings on a Congressional Resolution supporting the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth that the humanitarian purpose of opening Palestine to suffering refugees was appreciated but that the endorsement by the American Government of a Jewish State was rejected since Jews "not being a national group but essentially a religious community cannot assume responsibility as a political unit."

What then of Zionism? It is, according to the author, an artificial but aggressive propaganda scheme, based on an empty assumption, highly organized and persistent which has by adroit manipulation of publicity and politics, coupled with the ignorance and apathy and silence of the bulk of Jews, ignorant that they are being committed to a political program, does the Jews a monstrous disservice.

The details of Zionism as a political ideology of the past century from Hess, Pinsker, Adad Ha'am, through Theodore Herzl to Dr. Chaim Weizmann with his cry of "One God, One People, One Land" (with its ominous reminder of "Ein Volk...") is told in full detail; the background and bearing of the Balfour Declaration is explained; the diversion of funds from philanthropic purposes to nationalist activities charged; the opposition of "emancipated" Jews to the Zionist program from Moses Mendelssohn to Dr. Moris Lazaron in our day explained; the solution of "the Jewish Problem" indicated—on the part of non Jews: recognition of basic human rights, on the part of Jews: abandonment of ghettoization, acceptance of common civic responsibilities.

"The Jewish Dilemma" is a valuable

clarification of issues on a controversial question the implications of which are of interest to all of Ours.

Edward Duff, S. J.

THE FRENCH CANADIANS TO-DAY.

By Wilfred Bovey. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. pp. 362. \$1.49.

The French Canadian has always been somewhat of a puzzle to his "Yankee" neighbor south of the border. It is well over 150 years since the members of the Continental Congress showed how completely they misunderstood the temper of the French Canadians by naively asking them to forget past insults and religious difference to join forces in a war against England. Unfortunately, little advance toward an understanding has been made since then on either side of the border.

It takes only a brief stay in Quebec to convince one that the average French Canadian knows more about Europe than he does about the United States. On the other hand, information concerning the French Canadian as it comes to the average American reader in his weekly or daily paper, displays a rather obvious bias even where an honest attempt has been made to understand—the sources have all been English!

The first step toward an understanding is the realization that the French Canadians are homogenous culturally as well as racially. They are neither Frenchmen nor "Yankees." Almost from the very beginning there became evident in the character of the Canadians very significant traits which differentiated them from their ancestors. Perhaps this was due to their isolation.

At any rate, for the French Canadian today, his culture is his very life. There are three main forces modeling that culture; a religion, an education closely linked with religion, and a language. These three components fuse together; they are considered strictly interdependent. An attack on one is looked upon as an attack on all three. Failure to understand this fact has led many an Englishman and English Canadian into grave and sometimes naive blunders. Of course, for the average American a culture which is not like his own is already judged—it can only be inferior.

It is the merit of this book to present the French Canadian culture and outlook with sympathy and understanding. The author does not pass judgment on this culture. Rather, he would display it as it is today. Its peculiarities, its political attitudes, its social problems, its aspirations and ideals, are all set forth with a view to deepening our under-

standing and broadening our vision.

Today when a secret counsel of the "democratic" powers decides what small nations shall live or cease to exist, it is well to study this virile minority group at our borders. They have guarded their identity regardless of treaty arrangements. As Louis Hemon has written of them: "These people come from a race that does not know how to die."

John L. Thomas, S. J.

ECONOMIC ANALYSIS AND PROBLEMS.—By John F. Cronin, S. S., Ph. D. New York: American Book Co. pp. 623. \$3.75.

Purposing a comprehensive introduction to modern economic life, Father Cronin gains his objective in his new work. Using his earlier "Economics and Society" (1939) as his basis, he again provides a very readable and scholarly introduction to the dismal science.

Before embarking on his presentation of economic analysis, Father Cronin gives a brief introductory survey of the history of economic life. He follows this up with a concise account of the development of economic thought. Next he defines and explains the tools of economic analysis. Then he gives a realistic account of "Value, Price and Exchange." The treatment accorded this core of economic analysis is especially noteworthy because of the attention it gives to the workings of monopoly and imperfect competition. After explaining "Economic Analysis," the author treats several urgent economic problems, among which are the business cycle, international trade, full employment and others. The final section of the book discusses problems and philosophies of distribution.

When an author essays to cover such a vast expanse of territory, he almost inevitably disappoints certain readers. Specialists in any part of this vast work may regret that their specialty does not receive a more adequate treatment. If such there be, as well there may be, then they are directed to the general purpose of the work and the admirable way in which this purpose is attained. Necessity restricts the author of such a general work to brush past numerous details. A paragraph on the Wagner Act, a paragraph for a critical evaluation of the Federal Reserve System, a few paragraphs on antitrust legislation are a few examples wherein we find the author restricted by the general purpose of the work.

Those who are acquainted with the author's earlier work will be interested in comparing the present effort with its predecessor. Many passages are reduplicated verbatim. Yet this is merely inci-

dental, because the whole presentation has been re-thought, re-written and greatly improved. Particularly in treating the economic system as it functions has the improvement been noted. In this respect more than in any other, the work is outstanding. One does not put aside Father Cronin's work with the idea that there are no more economic problems. Rather the author introduces the reader to a moving, living economic life which is fraught with problems.

For people who are game to do a little hard reading for an understanding of our economic life, we recommend Father Cronin's work. It promises to be indispensable for study clubs and for economic classes at a college level. Its bibliographical contents alone make it cheap at twice the price. Lingering doubts will vanish with the first reading.

R. F. X. Cahill, S. J.

LABOR IN THE NEW DEAL DECADE—By Selig Perlman, Professor of Economics, Wisconsin University, New York, Educational Dept., I. L. G. W. U., 1945, 36 pp., 20c.

Three lectures delivered before the International Ladies Garment Workers Officers Institute, New York City, 1943-1945.

Those who have read Mr. Perlman's other works will recognize his theory of the labor movement as he applies it to development in the labor field during the New Deal years. The lectures apply more to the philosophy of the AFL than to that of the CIO.

Briefly, this is Perlman's analysis. American business man, the farmer, the middle classes have always regarded opportunity as unlimited. This is known as the "abundance consciousness". This was also the philosophy of the American worker until Gompers and the AFL changed it, about 1890. Gompers and the founders of the AFL adopted a "scarcity consciousness." For the worker opportunity was limited. Jobs were limited. The trade unionist regards limited job opportunities as the union's empire, and he works for job monopoly by the union.

"Unions and the Farmer" is the title of the first lecture. Perlman explains the antipathy that exists between labor and the farmer by the difference in their philosophies. The farmer still adheres to the "abundance consciousness." He has never ceased to be an economic individualist. To explain why he has never realized the full fruits of his unlimited opportunity, the farmer has always blamed monopolies, the land speculators, the railroads, the bankers. Now he blames labor as a monopoly.

"The Labor Movement and the Gov-

ernment" is the title of the second lecture. Perlman uses the doctrine of "job empires" to explain the conflict between government administrators and the union leaders. The Government administrators are mainly intellectuals who look on unions as voluntary associations. The unions on the other hand look on the labor movement as a sovereignty. It is practically a labor government within the national government. The AFL has never been resigned to a plebiscite. They will accept it if it is in their favor. They will fight it if it goes against them. The government administrators, taking for granted the democratic basis of unionism, have never been able to understand that the AFL looks on jobs as their domain. The Government administrators do not understand that the AFL regards the secession of any union, even through the ballot, in the same manner that the North regarded the secession of the South.

"Labor and Political Action" is the title of the third lecture. Perlman was addressing an audience in which there were many people from Europe. He insisted that it was necessary to know the differences between American and European political parties if one were to evaluate properly labor's political action in this Country.

In Europe the parties are instruments of definite social classes and economic groups. Those parties bear the imprint of the classes they represent and they are not free to change their platforms in order to go shopping for votes among other groups.

In this country the situation is entirely different. Here political parties are politicians' parties. In the U. S. political parties may be likened to hotel managers who are free to change their wares to suit the customers.

Perlman insists this is still a conservative country. Labor is still a minority, and business men, farmers, the middle classes have not yet been sold on unionism. If Labor should take over the Democratic Party, that party would dissolve. The South, the farmers, the small towns would not stand for it. These groups are willing to live in the same party with labor, but they will revolt against any labor leadership, as they revolted against the leadership of a Roman Catholic in 1928. Labor's best policy is to send to Congress men who will be sympathetic to labor's needs.

Philip E. Dobson, S. J.

POSTWAR INFORMATION BULLETIN is a four-page monthly listing of periodical publications, radio programs

(Town Hall forums, etc.), records and films on current topics. The *Bulletin* features a lead article summing up briefly current problems and indicating material for further discussion. The December issue briefs the question "Financing American Prosperity."

The *Bulletin* is published by The Postwar Information Exchange, Inc., 41 Maiden Lane, New York 7, N. Y. at \$1.00 a year.

"CIO Re-Employment Plan" is an extremely well printed and illustrated presentation of Philip Murray's "Re-Employment Plan" defining the deflationary gap, examining the dangers therein to the nation's security and to democracy, and setting forth seven points enunciating how the deflationary gap can be filled and its dangers obviated. It may be obtained by writing to the Department of Research and Education, 718 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

A TRADE AGENCY FOR ONE WORLD. By Eliot Grinnell Mears. New York: Citizens Conference on International Economic Union. pp. 64. \$0.50.

This booklet contains, in very usable form, a summary of the principal episodes of the past 25 years of the effort and failure to develop stable conditions in the pursuit of international trade. The first chapter contains a very brief summary of current thinking of international economics. Chapter II, which is really the substance of the book, narrates the events between the two wars. Chapter III gives a long series of statements by various organizations on the importance of international trade and is significantly titled, "Group Thinking." The statements themselves are interesting but the method is most significant in that it emphasizes the existence and actual weight of economic groups—an idea basic to the principles of Quadragesimo Anno and quite contrary to the individualistic mode of a century ago.

Bernard W. Dempsey, S. J.

Anti-Conscription or Disarmament?

Conscription News for November observes: "It is noteworthy that the Communists have not even favorably mentioned the Martin resolution for the international abolition of conscription. Perhaps they do not want Russia to give up her conscript force which is used to garrison conquered territory and to keep opposition elements within Russia in line. Perhaps they realize that without a navy and with a comparatively small air force Russia, if she abandoned conscription, would be hopelessly outclassed by Britain and the United States, both of whom have large navies and air forces."

Perhaps the time is opportune to revive Representative Joseph W. Martin's suggestion of universal military disarmament, especially in view of the proposal to share the atomic bomb if UNO inspectors are allowed to certify the absence of military preparations in all countries of the world.

The Russians might be reminded that they once recommended universal disarmament to the League of Nations.

America reminded its readers of the Atlantic Charter declaration that "since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers... they (President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill) will aid and encourage all practicable meas-

ures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments."

The American Hierarchy at their annual NCWC Meeting "urged efforts to have military conscription abolished throughout the world suggesting that "our Government might well consider how our control of economic assistance to other countries may be used to lend weight to our plea for such abolition." Bishop Ready of Columbus, Ohio, former Executive Secretary of the NCWC, asserted: "The only sure guarantee and defense against war is the abandonment of compulsory conscription in peacetime by all nations, the stressing of the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the advancement of a sound moral and economic system at home and abroad."

The Postwar World Committee of the Catholic Association for International Peace in a statement issued in its November news-letter declared: "We suggest, therefore, the speedy formation of a special commission of the United Nations Organization on disarmament and on the control of armaments to work simultaneously with the democratic writing of the Peace and the essential reorganization of the San Francisco Charter."

Should our propaganda be for universal disarmament instead of mere opposition to conscription proposals?

The Four-Mile Mine Disaster

By RICHARD T. DETERS, S.J.
Xavier University, Cincinnati, Ohio

Immediately after the conclusion of the Labor School Directors' Conference at Cincinnati during Christmas week Father Deters hurried to Pineville, Kentucky, to visit the scene of the disaster at the Four-Mile Mine. His account was written upon his return to Xavier University.

THE operators of this particular mine are old-school. One of the co-owners, one of the sons, is at present under indictment for a double killing. He himself was shot in the same brawl in which he is alleged to have shot two men. When he had been taken to the hospital, the father went down with his own gun and threatened to finish off the brawl by shooting any enemy survivors who might still be able to breathe.

The condition of the mine had been notoriously bad. The federal inspectors had recommended everything short of actual closing of the mine. But the state inspectors either did not concur with the federal inspectors, or did not choose to carry out their recommendations. But everyone knew that the mine was dangerous.

Over the Christmas holidays (Saturday, Sunday, Monday and Tuesday) the fans that should have been taking off the bad air and dust, or at least keeping them in circulation, had been turned off. Apparently, a pocket of gas or dust or both had settled far back in the mine. Wednesday morning, about an hour after the men had gone back into the mine, the explosion took place. No one seems to know just what set it off.

The following sketch will show where the two groups of men were working, and why some were found alive and the others are more probably dead and are now sealed up.

The explosion seems to have taken place in D-D'. There twenty men were working. The other ten were in or just off of C-C'. Why were not these ten killed? Because the explosion seems to have kicked out of D-D' into B-B', and to have gone directly down B-B' (9 right) into the main tunnel, where it kicked both directions, back to the end of the tunnel, just beyond 12 right and left, and out to the surface.

"Five Left" Spared

No one, not even the men who were working in C-C', ever heard a peep from the men trapped in D-D'. The men in C-C' tried several times to get into 9 right, but found the tunnel too hot and too loaded with gas. They found themselves a little room off E, where from some unknown source there was a breath of air, closed the door against the heat and the gas, and began their long wait.

Meanwhile, fires had broken out along the main tunnel on both sides of 9 right and left, that is, back to the end of the main tunnel and out toward the entrance. These fires between the entrance and 9 the rescue workers had to extinguish or dampen before they could get through.

After about sixty hours they did get through and brought out the men in the room off E. One man was already dead; another died on the way out. Of the other eight, three were still in the hos-

pital Wednesday. Those three I saw and talked to, as well as to three of the five who had gone home. All are still sore all over; all look tired and haggard. How serious will be the effect of the gas on these eight survivors no one yet knows.

What will the families of these miners do? The going will be rough. The Company had no workingmen's compensation. Kentucky law does not make workingmen's compensation compulsory; this Company had chosen not to enter into the compensation pact. Hence, the families of those who were rescued, and of others who may have been thrown out of work by this catastrophe, will receive no workingmen's compensation.

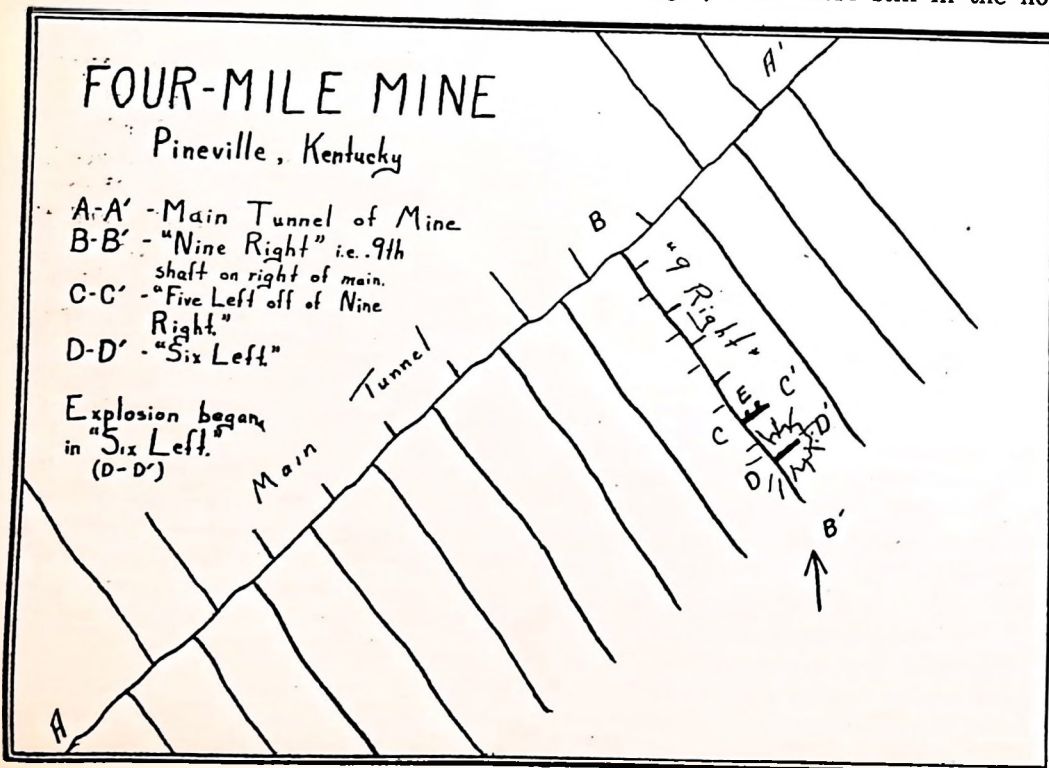
Red Cross to Help

How will these families get by? I don't know. The families I talked to were either out of cash or very short of it. The Red Cross representative told me that she had informed all the families of the miners in the explosion that they should order what they needed at their usual grocery for one week, and that the Red Cross would pay the bill. That's one week; how about the weeks thereafter?

The Red Cross' first job is to take care of disaster cases, and for a short time. But the Red Cross worker told me that they are still helping families hit by the 1937 flood. In like manner, they will continue to give these miners' families some help, but they prefer that such long-range help be given by someone else.

The UMW have made up their minds, so the international representative told me, to take care of these families, even though that will cost hundreds of thousands of dollars. (And some people find it difficult to understand a 10c a ton tax on coal for just such purposes!)

Other drives have been initiated. I noticed that the Kentucky Teamsters started off with \$1,000. One of the Knoxville, Tennessee, papers is aiming at several hundred dollars. But the international representative of the UMW, Mr. Reed, told me that the UMW will insist that these funds should be administered by themselves. I think that's wise. Since they are going to dispense most of the money, and will be knowing where the money is going, they should be allowed to administer whatever is collected.



Disaster Slows Pay

The Company had not yet paid the miners or their families for their last work period. That pay should have been given about December 30 or January 1. But when I was leaving Wednesday afternoon, January 2, the men had not yet been paid. Word had gotten around the "holler" that the Company would pay; but I left about 4:30, and, although many men had gathered at the paymaster's window, no one had as yet been paid. And I heard Wednesday night that the Company did not pay that afternoon.

Why are these miners so short of money? They have been making, I was told by a brother of one of the men rescued, from \$9-\$12 a day during the war. Where are their savings? Some of the wealthier middle-class people of Pineville told me—of course, that these miners spent most of what was left over after purchases of food, clothing, shelter, etc., for guns and moonshine.

On the face of it that's absurd, to my way of thinking. The UMW convention here in Cincinnati, October, 1944, was well spoken of around town because the miners were so well-behaved. I was told: "There's no drunkenness such as you find during most conventions." Again, I was all over the Four-Mile holler, and I did not even smell liquor on the breath of any of those men, in spite of a most excruciating week. Further, you can buy a gun for \$20-\$40—and that's that. You don't buy a gun every day. And you can buy enough moon for \$10 to brighten up the whole of Pine Mountain. So I don't think their money did go for guns and whiskey.

Where did it go? That's what we were trying to figure out in the lobby of the Continental Hotel Wednesday night, the Special Representative of the UMW, two Red Cross workers, and myself. The only conclusion seems to be that the Company Store got most of the wages back for food, clothing, shelter, medical care, etc.

Medical Care

In that store all food prices are high. Cigarettes 20c; lard 40c a pound; hay

for cows, etc., \$3.50-\$4.00 (they could buy it in Pineville for \$1.75); corn \$4.15 (Pineville \$3.50). Each married miner pays to the Company \$2.00 per month for medical care. And this is the kind of medical care they get. While I was in the home of Charles Lingar, one of the rescued miners, the doctor came in.

"I heard you have someone sick here," he tells Charlie.

Charlie replies: "The little one there has some kind of cold, and he's got diarrhea."

Now you and I know that diarrhea has been common as a concomitant of the flu during this recent epidemic. But this nondescript "doctor" says: "Never heard of diarrhea with that before."

So what does he do? He does not take the kid's temperature; he does not feel his forehead; he does not look at his tongue or his throat. He asks no questions on the child's general condition. But he opens up his bag, takes out some white powder, gives it to one of the relative women in the house at the time, and says distinctly—note this—"stir that up in a glass of water and give it to him." So she begins to stir it in a glass of water.

Like a magician, and I suppose to impress us all with his magic powers, the doctor says during the stirring process: "That will turn red after you've stirred it a bit." But the blooming stuff never did turn red—it stayed white. And now the lady turns the glass up in the child's mouth—the doctor had said: "Stir that up in a glass of water and give it to him."

When the child had drunk about one-quarter of the mixture, the doctor adds: "Give that to him a teaspoonful at a time." Gad, I hope it wasn't strong enough to kill that child in overdoses!!! \$2 a month for that kind of medical care!

Poor Living Conditions

Another way the Company manages to get back the miners' wages is this—when the families are out of money, they buy on credit at the store; but when they buy on credit, so Mrs. Miller, the wife

of one of the rescued miners told me, the Company always manages to charge you more, \$10 for \$8 worth of food, \$12 for \$9 worth, and so on. How the Company does that she does not know; and neither do I. But she knows from what she pays and what she gets that that is done.

And the living conditions! Everyone told me that when I had seen that Four-Mile Camp I had seen about the worst. Pray God these mining camps do not come worse. Mud all over the place. No paved streets; only a hard gravel road up to the Company store, and from then on, Brother be sure to wear your over-shoes and leave your Sunday trousers at home—mud.

The houses in which these people live are shacks, real shacks. The rent is only \$2.25 per room per month. But you and I would be ashamed to rent such shacks to other human beings—at any price. No basements; constructed on stilts like river shacks; two or three rooms; all rather rough lumber. Cracks between the boards, leaks in the roof. Man, what a real chance for a priest to pitch in and really help labor. I believe I could do more good in that valley in one year than I could do with a labor school in ten.

I should like to tell you something about the people—shy, bashful, simple, primitive in many ways; but so beautifully simple, so unassuming, so sincere, so long-suffering. These are the real mountain people, the people for whom we seem to be doing nothing. Not a single family is Catholic, not a single person is Catholic, so far as I could discover. And apparently nothing is being done for them. I was told by the Sisters in Corbin, about thirty-seven miles northwest of Pineville, that these people were all descendants of foreigners; that is, Hungarians, Poles, etc. How little we know about them!

I like those people. They may blow their noses in their hands, and spit through their fingers; but they have none of the suave, hard-shelled sophistication of so many well-mannered city slickers.

There will be no

I. S. O. FORUM

in the March issue

Replacing the FORUM will be a series of articles on

VOCATIONAL GROUPING

by

DANIEL A. LORD
JAMES P. GOODWIN

BERNARD W. DEMPSEY
MORTIMER H. GAVIN
JAMES F. HANLEY

ISO FORUM

Can and Should Urban Slum Areas Be Rehoused?

The problem of adequate housing is one of the most urgent domestic questions facing America at the present time. Not only are we confronted with a demand for more than 12 million homes during the next ten years, but the constantly increased costs of building make it less likely that the demand will be met. Legislation has been introduced to relieve the most pressing needs. Emergency measures have been adopted.

Extensive use of surplus defense housing for veterans and some prompt large-scale building will ease the immediate pressure. But there will still be a vast amount of work still to be undertaken.

The very magnitude of the job is not only a challenge, but an opportunity. Because the task cannot be completed in one or two, or even in ten years, there is still time to continue the intensive study that has been given to the whole housing question. Planners have an opportunity to experiment and revise.

During the coming years it will be possible to adapt housing plans to revised needs. Europe will be a vast laboratory in which gargantuan experiments will be conducted. We can learn from them.

Because the Jesuit is, as Father Dowling remarked in a recent issue of the *BULLETIN*, an urban animal and because the immediate housing problem is concerned largely with housing shortages in cities, the February *FORUM* is devoted to a phase of the urban problem.

Our American cities have grown in a slow, haphazard way, and as they grew, they developed a core of dead,

ugly residential areas. We now have an opportunity to clear away these cores, and to place millions of families in new homes.

Should the new homes be built in the hearts of our cities? Should the old patterns be followed? Will the city of tomorrow require more open spaces for parks, playgrounds, perhaps even airports? Will huge automobile and airplane parking areas be needed close to business districts?

Will it be possible to move even relatively low-income families to suburban areas? Should they move from the cities?

A great deal of study is being given to all these questions.

In order to learn more about the answers that are being given, a paragraph from a modern book on housing was submitted to a number of the foremost American authorities on the problem:

"There is a life in cities that cannot be stifled. But that life will be meager and in need of constant transfusion, if means are not soon devised to assemble large tracts of blighted central city land, wipe out artificial land costs, demolish existing structures, and rebuild according to our present requirements." Dorothy Rosenman, *A Million Homes a Year*, Harcourt, 1945, p. 108.

We asked some 20 authorities to comment on the following question with Mrs. Rosenman's paragraph as a kind of catalyst:

CAN AND SHOULD URBAN SLUM AREAS BE REHOUSED?

JOSEPH S. BLANK, S.J.

Father Blank, a member of the Missouri Province Mission Band, was instrumental in obtaining three housing projects in St. Louis.

So the question is "Can and Should Urban Slum Areas Be Rehoused?" My first reply is that the need for housing is universally recognized, especially by the city authorities because the slums in St. Louis are close to the downtown district where the most valuable real estate property is located. Surveys have shown that in recent years there has been an alarming movement, both of residences and business establishments, to the suburban areas. If the city doesn't want to lose its most appreciated customers it must do something about it.

There are two ways: either private business will redevelop the slums, or it has to be done by federal help. A carefully documented report from Philadelphia has substantiated the statement that private capital can redevelop slums as a profitable venture. In the Philadelphia area every building project undertaken showed a profit of

at least 10 per cent, and almost 96 per cent of the rehabilitated slums were rented.

There has been opposition to slum clearance in St. Louis on the part of some realtors, and only after very great efforts were taken could an Enabling Act be passed which would admit the city to the benefits of the federal housing program. At the present time two housing projects have been completed—one for white people and one for the colored. Funds have been raised for a third, and a fourth has been promised by the local federal authorities.

Unfortunately, both completed projects have been used, because of the emergency, for war workers rather than for the people for whom they were intended.

A consideration not always thought of when urban rehousing is in question is the fact that many indispensable facilities are already available in urban areas which will greatly increase the cost of a completely new suburban or rural development. I have in mind especially churches, schools (both public and private), fire and police protec-

tion, water and other utility services. I think it is safe to say that people would be only too glad to move back near their place of work and avoid the additional expenses of transportation provided reasonable housing was available.

Of course everything will depend on how these units are managed. The St. Louis project called "Neighborhood Gardens" has proved what can be done in the downtown district. We have to look ahead. If a new depression should come, life in the suburbs would be more and more expensive and, therefore, people will be forced to move back to the city close to their work. Ever so many have expressed the idea that they would be only too glad to do so if they had a decent place to live in. These should be provided by modern housing projects.

WALTER H. BLUCHER

Mr. Blucher's comment repeats his observations in the News Letter of the American Society of Planning Officials, of which he is Executive Director.

In reading the Wagner-Ellender Urban Redevelopment Bill, I have placed a big question mark beside one of the paragraphs dealing with urban redevelopment. The act requires "that there be a feasible method for the temporary relocation of persons living in the redevelopment area; and also that decent, safe and sanitary dwellings, substantially equal in number to the number of substandard dwellings to be removed in the redevelopment area, are available, or will be provided, in the locality at rents or prices within the financial reach of the income groups displaced." If I were a public official I would certainly hesitate, at the present time, to certify that this condition can be met in many of our large cities. Honesty would force the public official to say that no urban redevelopment is possible if that condition is to be enforced under existing conditions.

What are the possibilities for these displaced families? They can attempt to find new homes in the outskirts. This may involve increased rentals, additional travel to and from work, less money available for food and clothing; or it probably means doubling up, or it might mean occupancy of dwellings which are even more substandard (if possible) than those being vacated. Idealists might say that these people will be glad to leave the slums in which they live. Many of them, however, have interests and loyalties which are exceedingly deep. The loyalty may be to the local pool room, grocery store or church, but it is likely to be much deeper and more important than that of persons living in high-income areas. When you have a low-income, attachments made with neighbors who can be helpful, or grocers who are willing to extend credit, are exceedingly important.

This must be faced realistically. Temporary housing must be provided for displaced families and I am convinced that the temporary housing ought to be constructed not on the outskirts but within the areas where these people have been living. It seems to me that before we engage in any large-scale housing which is public housing for low-income groups or private urban redevelopment within the blighted areas, decent, modern housing must be provided for the families that are to be displaced. This is the first step that must be taken. We have willingly provided temporary housing for war workers. We ought to design a large-scale community somewhere within the blighted area which can be used as the temporary residence for those families forced to seek new quarters. It must be a modern community with all the facilities required for decent living

and, although a temporary place of residence until permanent quarters can be found or constructed, it must not be a "barracks" or have the appearance of many of our war temporaries.

Such a development is particularly required in times of a housing shortage such as we are now experiencing. However, let us not be misled. From the standpoint of the slum dwellers there has always been a housing shortage. We used to believe that in normal times these families might seep into old dwellings that had been vacated by families moving into new structures, but even in so-called normal times the slum dweller couldn't find decent housing within the limits of his income. If he could, he wouldn't have continued to live in the slums.

It seems to me that the kind of community I have discussed is a prerequisite to urban redevelopment, irrespective of whether the federal government, in granting aid for public or private redevelopment, has a condition such as is described in the Wagner-Ellender Bill.

MYLES L. COLEAN

An architectural consultant and author of several books on housing, Mr. Colean was chairman of the American delegation to the 16th International Congress on Planning and Housing held in Mexico City in 1938 and directed the Housing Survey conducted by the Twentieth Century Fund.

My answer is that blighted areas should of course be redeveloped (though not necessarily with housing). The existence of such areas is plainly a drain on the cities, both because the cost of servicing exceeds the revenue produced by them and because a further loss of revenue results from the decentralization of business and population which they induce.

Current proposals to subsidize redevelopment by absorbing the excess price of blighted land would probably help to initiate a new trend.

I feel very strongly, however, that until cities can reorganize their boundaries so as to bring within the taxing jurisdiction all who benefit from their services the problem cannot be fully and economically solved. There is in fact a danger that the continued use of subsidy for redevelopment will put off the time at which cities must face the fundamental needs for geographical and fiscal readjustments.

JOHN TAYLOR EGAN

Mr. Egan is Assistant Commissioner for Project Management of the Federal Public Housing Authority.

Many of the slum areas of our cities, in most instances, should be reclaimed as residential areas suitable for either public or private redevelopment under such limitations as may be prescribed under Federal, state and local laws.

The reconstruction of central slum areas for residential use has the advantage of eliminating a physically and socially bad district of a city which breeds disease, crime, juvenile delinquency and other accompanying social evils. It requires neighborhood planning; making such uses of existing schools, transportation, utilities, employment opportunities and community services as are already existing in the neighborhood. It also provides decent housing for the people in a neighborhood to which they are accustomed. It tends to reverse the downward trend in blight of adjacent neighborhoods by stimulating new construction in the periphery of the particular area which is being redeveloped.

The difficulties encountered, however, in redeveloping these decadent areas of the city include such problems as high site acquisition costs since large areas are difficult to assemble because of the many real estate parcels that have to be acquired. In addition, the land costs are generally very high as substandard buildings are generally profitable to their owners who for years have completely neglected to maintain the buildings to standards prescribed by local sanitary and health ordinances. Sites, of course, can be assembled through public condemnation procedures, but this is a costly process in acquiring real property. In order to rehouse people at low rentals these high costs will always be reflected in high subsidies. Experience has shown that the high costs involved in the redevelopment of these areas influences replanning to such a degree that site population density becomes much too high for proper family living.

Replanning is difficult in many instances due to existing street patterns and the location of public utilities. These difficulties have an adverse effect in developing a permanent residential neighborhood. During the period of redevelopment another problem is to find temporary accommodations for the relocation of tenants living on the site during the time required for construction since the total supply of housing in the city, at rents which these families can afford to pay, is temporarily decreased.

Reconstruction or the rehabilitation of the *blighted* areas of a city—that is an area which is deteriorating economically and socially and which may have a large percentage of scattered substandard homes but perhaps not considered locally as an outright slum—has its own peculiar advantages in that it is an area where individual parcels may be cheaper and easier to purchase than those in a highly congested slum site, but an area so located that it is close to places of employment and existing community facilities.

It may be possible also to provide better housing at lower rents although the subsidies required may or may not be equal to those required in a highly congested slum area depending on the amount of reconstruction or rehabilitation involved. It may have a great advantage from the city planning point of view since the redevelopment of areas such as these blighted areas arrests the spread of blight.

A program which contemplates reclaiming blighted areas *only* may or may not appeal to the public as property owners in these areas may resent the notion or the implication that it is a bad slum area. Neither does it constitute a forthright approach to the problem of eliminating large slum areas.

RAYMOND M. FOLEY

Mr. Foley is Commissioner of the Federal Housing Administration

A very brief statement of so large a problem in housing and city development as is poised by the question could only be made in broad terms, unless the reader is willing to grant that the author is not attempting to set forth final and comprehensive views on the subject.

The blighted areas, as a general rule, though not always, are to be found near the centers of our cities. Formerly of high density residential character, the gradual infiltration of commerce and industry has kept land costs high while reducing the use value of the surrounding buildings as residences and depressing the investment return to their owners.

Thus the greatest single problem in redeveloping or rehabilitating blighted areas is posed by this question of high land costs and the first determination to be made is the type and kind of reuse to which such land will be subjected.

Should it be used again for housing, or should it again be earmarked for industrial use?

The approach that is commonly made is that it should be redeveloped for housing and, perhaps because the areas are now inhabited by low income families, for low cost housing.

If that is done, then there is no question of a doubt that it could only be accomplished through public subsidy sufficient to cover the acquisition cost of the land, plus that of preparing it for redevelopment, plus whatever further subsidy might be necessary to maintain the low rent character of the completed property. Also, it is highly improbable that such land could be acquired for any redevelopment purposes except through some governmental authority having the power of eminent domain.

Possibly such areas should be redeveloped, not for low cost housing, but for higher income groups who can afford to pay the higher rent that would justify the full land acquisition and construction costs. If so, then the problem becomes one of how to meet the shelter needs of the low income families that are displaced, of finding low cost sites in other areas where housing developments could be economically more justified at the much lower cost level.

Perhaps the area should not be returned to residential use at all, either in whole or in part, but would best be retained for industrial purposes, resulting in more concentration of industries, rather than scattering them throughout the city and its environs and thereby exposing other areas to the danger of blight.

Another determination to be made is whether or not in the clearing of the land, particularly if at public cost, it might not more usefully serve a recreational need in the community or other similar public purpose, such as a park or civic center or parking space.

Finally, the answer is to be found only through individual study of all the problems involved in each area in each city. The area must first be delineated, then all factors weighed one by one in the light of the city's needs, its present and future financial position, its population, business and employment trends, the potential capacity to attract new business to the city, and all the other social and public welfare aspects of the community that will insure its progressive growth and expansion. Whatever final determination is made concerning an individual area, it is pretty generally conceded that many can very properly be devoted to housing, and certainly the conception of redevelopment for low cost housing to serve the needs of the lowest income groups is one that cannot be either ignored or lightly passed over.

HARLEAN JAMES

Mr. James is Executive Secretary of the American Planning and Civic Association.

It must always be remembered that there are two principal objectives in the redevelopment of blighted urban districts (1) to replan and rebuild the area to serve as a functional part of the city as a whole, in accordance with a Master Plan, and (2) to rehouse the residents in the district, either within its boundaries or elsewhere as may be determined by the official planning agency. To realize

the first objective alone, important as it is, might involve failure for the second. To realize the second objective alone, important as it is, might recreate conditions of undesirable congestion and tend toward producing future blighted areas. Only with the combination of objectives can we hope to redeem our blighted areas and rehouse the people now living in undesirable houses in undesirable neighborhoods.

Certainly we wish to avoid undue congestion of population in our cities. If families are to be housed in downtown or central areas, there must be provided ample open spaces for recreation. If families of low and moderate income are to be housed in outlying areas there must be adequate mass transportation and this involves the use and management of highways as a part of the comprehensive city plan and the provision of other utilities, schools, parks and marketing centers.

There are various types of state legislation and bills are pending in Congress, to promote urban redevelopment. The most promising machinery seems to be the provision to create a Land Agency under the city government to assemble the land and clear it, under plans prepared by the official planning agency, and then to allocate it to its proper use. In this plan there is a place for housing built by private enterprise and for public housing to meet the needs of families who are not able to afford housing produced by private enterprise. If there is a net write-down within the district between the cost of acquisition and clearing and the value of the land for its new allocated use, the city government would no doubt in the end find that it could recoup in taxes the full amount of the loss, but, because of the social advances which would be promoted by prompt action, it is proposed by a pending bill in Congress that the Federal Government share this loss.

The important results to be secured are the redemption of blighted areas and the provision of adequate housing, at as economical a cost as possible. If the entire transaction over a period of years needs to be subsidized by the taxpayers of the city or Federal governments, that is simply one of the penalties we must pay for past neglect.

PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK

Mr. Klutznick is Commissioner of the Federal Public Housing Authority. While stationed in Omaha two years ago Mr. Klutznick collaborated in a Pro-Seminar in Post-war Civic Planning sponsored by Creighton University, of which Mr. Klutznick is a Law graduate.

Slum clearance, urban redevelopment, and rehousing, to carry their objectives, must be recognized as measures to meet the needs of people. Specifically, they must aim to make our cities into places where all families, regardless of income, can have decent homes and a wholesome environment in which to live. Failure to recognize this most important function of a community has taken a heavy toll of the nation's physical and human resources.

The cost of slums does not need to be proved. It has been amply demonstrated. It can be measured in dollars and cents, as in Birmingham, where municipal expenditures in 22 blighted areas were found to be three times the income, while in four good areas the expenditures were five-sixths of income. Boston, in 1935, discovered that the per capita deficit to the city from a slum area was \$48.24; from all other residential areas the average deficit was \$10.81. In Philadelphia the per capita cost of crime in a typical slum area was \$14.56, compared with \$5.36 for the city as a whole. In St. Louis, delinquency in slum

areas ranged from 25 to 40 percent, as against 2 to 5 percent in newer residential districts.

The financial drain of slums is, however, a lesser evil than the human corrosion that takes place where people live in unfit dwellings.

With the development of the public housing program, the first large-scale attempt to rehouse slum dwellers, we have available a guinea pig to check the relation between housing and social health. It is not claimed that good housing cures all ills. We know it is not an exclusive curative or remedy, but results of studies indicate that it does make a vital and important contribution to the lives of people who have it and that bad housing does destroy some of the richest values in human living.

The Newark Housing Authority undertook an investigation of its developments to discover the specific effects of good housing upon health, infant mortality, delinquency, school records, home accidents, and municipal government costs. They compared the records for the housing developments with those of three neighboring wards of slum housing conditions similar to those in which the rehoused families formerly lived.

In the two-year period of the study, it was found that in Newark's public housing, as compared with the three ward areas, there were 45% fewer cases of tuberculosis, 15% fewer infant deaths, 31% fewer cases of children's diseases, 37% more births, 21% fewer cases of juvenile delinquency, 74% fewer fires, 100% fewer deaths from home accidents. The study estimated that the dollar saving to the community in reduced costs of health and other municipal services had amounted to more than \$148,000. Need one add, as the Newark authority points out, that the suffering and unhappiness involved in illness, delinquency, and mortality cannot be translated into dollars?

Children responded markedly to the new environment. A comparison of school records showed improvement in grades, personality, development, health habits, and attendance over the children's records before rehousing, as well as over the records of children living in the three wards.

There is now pending in Congress the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill, also known as the General Housing Bill, which proposes a national housing policy and broad measures to carry that policy into action. Among its major provisions is the extension of federal aid to communities in the redevelopment of blighted areas. This legislation recognizes that good housing for people who live in slums is a desirable objective in itself. It recognizes also that there must be adequate provision for the rehousing of the families displaced by the clearance of an area to be redeveloped.

It should be pointed out that areas that may be redeveloped will not necessarily be rebuilt as residential areas. They will be redeveloped as part of a total city plan. Some may become park and recreational areas, some may be given over to industrial or other uses, some may become centers of community activity. But even where existing slums may be redeveloped as residential areas, many of the families that will be displaced when their houses are pulled down will be unable to afford the new housing. They will be unable to afford, too, decent private housing elsewhere. The legislation's provision for a low-rent public housing program for the low-income families living in the slums is therefore a logical and humane corollary of the urban redevelopment program. The combination of the two, going forward simultaneously, will provide the additional clean, decent, and sanitary

homes in which wholesome family life can be restored for a large section of our population.

This great giant of a nation, which has forged the tools of greater freedom, has been too long heedless of those of its people who live in slums and of the social consequences to the Nation as a whole. Today we are waking up, and the very act of waking is one of the most hopeful signs of the times.

TEMPLE McFAYDEN

*Mr. McFayden is Chairman of the Illinois State Housing Board.
"Can and Should Blighted Urban Areas be Rehoused?"*

has been answered by the State of Illinois in the affirmative with positive action.

Broadly, the legislation passed by the General Assembly provides:

1. An appropriation of \$10,000,000 to the State Housing Board for grants to assist private and public housing development.
2. Authorization for cities, villages and counties to create land clearance commissions to acquire slum areas for private or public housing development, or for other uses, including public purposes other than housing.
3. Power for local housing authorities to sell or lease property acquired by condemnation and cleared of bad housing, to private enterprise for redevelopment.
4. Authorization for Illinois and out-of-state insurance companies to invest in bonds and securities of private and public agencies engaged in housing, or to engage directly in housing development.
5. Permits building and loan associations to buy land that has been cleared of slums and to build on it, and to invest in the securities of housing authorities and redevelopment corporations.
6. Power for cities and villages to clear slums and blighted areas and to dispose of the cleared property.

The keystone of the state program is the appropriation of \$10,000,000 from which the State Housing Board is authorized to make grants to local housing authorities and land clearance commissions. The grants must be distributed on a population basis. Housing authorities and land clearance commissions can acquire slum and blighted areas, clear them and, upon approval of their plans by the State Housing Board, sell or lease the land to limited dividend corporations, neighborhood redevelopment corporations, insurance companies and building and loan associations, other corporations and individuals for redevelopment. Individuals and private corporations proposing to redevelop cleared areas obtained from these public agencies, must file bonds guaranteeing completion of their projects.

It is the policy of the State Housing Board to persuade housing authorities, present and future, that they have a responsibility far beyond just building and operating public housing. We believe it is their duty to be the official housing agency concerned with all phases of improving housing conditions for all income groups within the community. They should guide private enterprise in supplying all possible needs by providing information about those needs, work to obtain good building codes and their enforcement, good planning, the elimination of bad housing and redevelopment of bad housing areas. There should be the closest cooperation between public and pri-

vate housing agencies in development of sound over-all community housing programs.

The Illinois state housing program contemplates this close cooperation and the State Housing Board seeks to bring it about. The last General Assembly adhered to the policy that there must be public housing to assure attainment of the goal of adequate housing for all of the people and elimination of slums. But primary emphasis is on authorization for public agencies to assemble land and sell or lease it to private interests for redevelopment, with public funds absorbing such deficits as may be necessary to establish a fair use value.

Illinois is the first state to provide grants to aid private enterprise to redevelop slum and blight areas. Pending before Congress as this is written is legislation to provide national aid for similar purposes. It is fortunate that our present Illinois program can be readily adapted to the Federal program as it is contemplated in the legislation under consideration.

MSGR. EDWARD ROBERTS MOORE, Ph. D.

The Very Rev. Msgr. Edward R. Moore is Director of the division of social action, Catholic Charities of the New York Archdiocese and pastor of historic St. Peter's on Barclay Street. In 1936 Monsignor Moore was Chairman of a special committee on Social Aspects of Public Housing of the National Conference of Social Work; at present he is a member of the committee on personnel standards of the National Association of Housing Officials.

1. *Fundamentally*, I am opposed to a government program of subsidized housing. The objection raised by some of the opponents of public housing that such a program creates a privileged class partially supported, through tax money, by their fellow citizens is basically a sound objection. Our aim should be to create an economy wherein all mentally and physically capable persons would be able to earn a living wage, with all the implications of that beautiful phrase.

However, we are a tremendous distance from this happy state of affairs. In the meantime—and ample figures are available to establish this—there is a staggeringly large proportion of our population which does not earn a living wage, and cannot afford to buy for itself decent, sanitary, and safe housing. Therefore, I conclude, and I think the Encyclicals give me ample bases for this conclusion, and certainly various statements of the American bishops do, that the responsibility rests with the government of helping to provide these decent, sanitary and safe homes that the wage earners are unable to provide for themselves.

2. Overenthusiastic proponents for the Government Housing Program weaken their own case by claiming too much for such a program. It is ridiculous to assert that a Government Housing Program will eliminate crime, poverty, disease.

On the other hand, and again ample figures are available to establish this claim, the fine new projects that have gone up around the country have been tremendously helpful in these various fields. A dramatic example, I think, is in the field of human fire losses. Almost every day during these cold spells we read of deaths from fires in old and outmoded tenements. I have not heard of a single death, as a matter of fact, I have not even heard of a single fire, in one of the government projects.

3. Overenthusiastic proponents of Government Housing also injure their own case by condemning private

industry for not having done what government is doing. Again this is ridiculous. Private industry has not cleared slums and will not clear slums and erect really low-cost housing because private industry cannot do so. It is a case of very simple arithmetic. Again the figures are available. On the other hand, private industry should not, as unfortunately it frequently does, take a dog-in-the-manger attitude. It is by doing this that private industry puts itself in the wrong, not by its failure to do what it cannot be expected to do.

I think by indirection that the above answers your question "*Can and Should Blighted Urban Areas be Rehoused?*" As a matter of fact, if I may presume to say so, I do not think this question is well phrased. Can you properly speak of "rehousing" an "area"? Blighted urban areas can and most certainly should be *replanned* and *rebuilt*. The Wagner-Ellender Bill now before Congress, while in some respects it may call for further study, is, I believe, a tremendous step in the right direction.

I think that the distinction that I make between "rehousing" and "replanning" and "rebuilding" is clear. "Rehousing" might well imply a "rebuilding" for residential purposes. Not all blighted areas should be so utilized. Proper utilization of these areas calls for careful city planning and efficient zoning. In other words, some parts of these areas are indeed suitable for "rehousing"; others could more profitably be used for industry. Adequate space should be set aside for parks and playgrounds. The whole related and tremendously important question of transportation and vehicular traffic should be given careful study.

MSGR. JOHN R. MULROY

The Rt. Rev. Msgr. John R. Mulroy is Director of Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of Denver.

My answer is that unless we are going to do away with large cities, which might be a good thing, blighted urban areas must be rehoused. If we are going to have wars with atomic bombs, however, we should break up our cities into small communities scattered over wide areas.

Blighted urban areas are the principal breeding places of disease and crime, although some of it does come from the areas where more fortunate people live. These areas are the territories in which property owners and land owners try to squeeze the last iota of profit on investments made generations ago. Some of these people are real shysters and others are only the unfortunate ones who have invested in such property. However, more of them, particularly at this time, are taking advantage of the situation except that there is some control exercised by the O. P. A.

The housing matter certainly will require condemnation of such properties and the rebuilding either by municipalities on large scale housing projects such as several insurance companies have already completed in New York and elsewhere or such as are contemplated under the terms of the new Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill, also known as Senate Bill No. 1592. I believe that the provision of this Bill will enable even private builders to make the attempt on low rent housing in these areas.

The Mayor of our city, who appointed me a member of the Denver Housing Authority some years ago and of which I am now the chairman, agrees with me that private builders should be given the opportunity but if they show too distant an attitude Title Three of the new Bill which

operates like the old U. S. H. A. Act, now known as F. P. H. A., should be put in action very shortly. Incidentally, this will cost very much less than the 880 million dollar appropriation of the U. S. H. A. Personally, I think that regardless of what private builders do for the low income group, Federal, state and municipal authorities should go into the business of providing low rent housing for people who cannot pay the rent required by private owners. I do not believe we will take care of those with incomes up to \$1500.00 in privately sponsored building projects of any kind. Costs have gone up so rapidly that it just is not in the cards. We have gone a long way in our "ethics of relief." We provide food and clothing for families, children, and the handicapped. Provision for shelter comes in the same category regardless of what American business men, investors, realtors, may think.

LEWIS MUMFORD

Mr. Mumford's abiding interest in the social meaning of architectural forms is best expressed in his book "The Culture of Cities."

What is the case for re-housing on blighted areas? The fact that people have already been housed there does not prove that this should continue in future: only an adequate survey and plan for the city as a whole can disclose whether the blighted site should be used for housing, whether it should be converted to industry, or whether all its utilities and streets should be written off and the area converted into recreation space. The failure to make such plans has been responsible for a great deal of abortive urban reconstruction; and unless our municipal authorities waken, it will be responsible for more.

If the industrial base of a city is sound and if the blighted area deserves to be kept for housing, the main reasons for such rehabilitation are plain. Those who inhabit this area will wish to continue there because of accessibility to their places of work: the rehabilitation of the inner areas of our big cities would tend, usually, to reduce the length of the tiresome and devitalizing journey to work. Schools, hospitals, museums, libraries, churches, represent a heavy outlay of capital: where these are in existence, there exists a *prima facie* case for rebuilding a blighted area. In addition, the existing mass of utilities, including paved streets, sometimes fully paid for, makes the first cost of development lower.

Unfortunately, in most blighted areas the land values usually are high; not perhaps in relation to the rest of the city, but in relation to the income of the groups to be re-housed. So long as high land values are accepted in re-housing schemes, it is impossible to rehouse the population except on terms that will, in one fashion or another, nullify the social aims of the project, by overcrowding the land, lessening the amount of recreation area, or providing too limited spatial accommodation for family living within the home. Hence much of the re-housing in blighted areas that has been done under our Federal Housing laws during the past decade has substituted standardized blight for haphazard and informal blight, with very little net gain.

To utilize the existing urban sites for re-housing, land values must be lowered to a point where they cease to be a controlling factor in design—at which point it becomes possible to plan in terms of family units and balanced neighborhoods. I do not believe that this reduction of land values will be possible, without wasteful subsidies to landlords, until each state erects Regional Authorities, capable of planning and building complete communities

both outside and within a metropolitan area. The purpose of such community building would be twofold: to re-house the overspill from the blighted and congested areas, and to reduce the pressure of demand at the center till, in the natural course of things, land values would drop to a point where housing became possible.

The uncoordinated piecemeal rehabilitation of urban areas is a futile process. Housing must be treated as part of a larger plan of civic and regional integration; and only states and cities that have prepared such plans should be acceptable candidates for Federal funds. Most of our efforts to rehouse people in blighted areas have miscarried, because the main object was not to improve the conditions of life and create a stable community, but to improve the financial opportunities of the land-lords, the mortgage holders, and the realty developers.

The failure of American cities to produce plans for their future development as wide-ranging and as far-reaching as those of London and Manchester, makes most of our current proposals for re-housing on blighted areas short-sighted and wasteful. Housing is not a substitute for comprehensive planning, indeed, as currently conceived, it may well prove an obstacle to intelligent long-term efforts.

JOSEPH D. MURPHY

Mr. Murphy is an Associated Professor of Architecture at Washington University, Saint Louis, and is a member of the Planning Commission of University City, Missouri.

The question posed by the Institute of Social Order is: "Can and Should Blighted Urban Areas be Re-housed?" The question highlights a generally accepted fact that our cities are not arranged to serve the needs of contemporary life.

There is no doubt that if our cities are to be useful and healthful factors in the present and future life of their citizens, blighted and slum areas must be eradicated. Whether or not these areas should be used for housing is a very debatable question. Artificial land values are not the only problems involved. Is the blighted area or slum a logical area for housing? Are the existing public utilities and buildings assets or liabilities? Is the area well related to other areas of the city and region? The answer to these and many similar questions depends upon our understanding of the needs of the community and our estimation of what a well planned American city should be.

I believe that a well planned American city is a city which best accommodates the material and spiritual needs of the community of families within it and thereby serves the best interests of each family and of each individual. Basically, therefore, the solution of the housing and planning problem of the American city must be sought first, in a careful investigation and sensitive interpretation of the needs of individuals, children as well as adults, and secondly in imaginative and far sighted planning.

A few of these needs and their possible solutions follow:

1. The pre-school child needs a well planned house and a yard which are convenient, safe, pleasant and inviting and in which he (or she) feels the order¹ so essential to his physical and mental well-being. The single family lot and dwelling is the traditional and democratic solution of this need. Most American families aspire

¹ Reference to "Order," address by Pope Pius XII, Oct. 21, 1945.

to this solution. Economically it is more feasible than any other solution.

2. The child of elementary school age, in addition to his or her earlier requirements, needs a convenient, safe and attractive neighborhood—a wider horizon in which at an early date his place in the community can be felt and exercised.² The solution of this need is very simple but so rarely employed to date that it is unknown outside of the architectural and planning professions. It consists of a neighborhood unit,³ the nucleus or center of which is the elementary, public and parochial, school and related buildings such as churches and libraries, surrounded by a spacious public park from which long strips of narrow parks or public walks extend outward leading to the homes. Approximately 1000 families, or the number necessary to support an elementary public and parochial school, constitute the neighborhood unit. The internal pedestrian circulation provides access between all functions: home to school, to shopping, to parks, to church without crossing any streets. The streets are so designed that they enter the neighborhood as long fingers, cul-de-sac streets. Fast traffic arteries are to the outside framing the neighborhood unit.

The child of elementary school age is thus provided with a neighborhood attuned to his needs, designed for safety and convenience, where in play and study and the necessary household work and errands he is conscious of order and beauty.

3. The teen-aged boy and girl with their still widening horizons need, in addition to their well planned neighborhood, well integrated groups of neighborhoods—the high school being a nucleus.

4. The mother, for the conservation of her health and good spirit needs a well planned home, yard and neighborhood. No matter how modest the home may be it is ideally the single family residence.

5. The father needs conditions of work which are as healthful as his home, partaking of natural light, air, and quiet conducive to good workmanship. He should not have to spend more than one half hour per day in going to and from his work either walking or riding. The solution of these needs are more open business areas and highways designed as are good cars, for safe and uniform speeds of 50 to 60 miles per hour.

These are only a few of the many problems of city planning but I believe them to be the fundamental problems. Imaginative planning must coordinate and give expression to these problems in a comprehensive plan. With this plan before us we may proceed with confidence to assign to our present blighted and slum areas the uses for which they are best suited.

If the needs of most individuals are considered and properly planned for—comfortable, safe, convenient and beautiful cities a true expression of our democracy will result. This can be the American City of the Future.

MSGR. ROBERT B. NAVIN

The Very Reverend Monsignor Robert B. Navin, S.T.D., Ph.D., is Dean of Sisters College of Cleveland.

In answer to the question "Can and Should Urban Areas be Re-housed?", it is my opinion that they can and that the salvation of our larger cities depends to a very

² Reference to early exercise of "democratic responsibility" Father Edward Dowling, S. J., Cana Conference, St. Louis, April 22, 1945.

³ Neighborhoods of Small Homes, Whitten and Adams, Harvard City Planning Studies, Vol. III: The City, Its Growth, Decay, and Future, Eliel Saarinen.

great extent upon rebuilding on sites now admitted to be slum or blighted areas.

The astonishing extent of such blighted areas in our cities is graphically depicted in the December 17 edition of *Life Magazine*. Here we are told that 8,000,000 family units are beyond repair and should be torn down. This is understandable when we consider that over 20 per cent of the houses now in existence have been standing 45 years or more; that over 32 per cent do not have private baths; nearly 28 per cent have no private flush toilets, and 17 per cent do not have running water.

We have always known that slum areas are a moral and social menace. This fact is confirmed by a study that I made of a typical slum area in Cleveland a short time ago during the depression years.

The area studied was equal to less than 3/4 of 1 per cent of that of the city, and was inhabited by less than 2 1/2 per cent of the population of the city.

In this small area occurred 19 per cent of all the murders in the city during the year under consideration, while over a 12-year period more than 21 per cent of all the murders were committed in this section; over 26 per cent of the houses of commercialized vice were found here; 9 per cent of all the unmarried mothers in the city lived in this section; nearly 7 per cent of the cases of delinquency among boys were found here; 10 per cent of the illegitimate births, and 12 1/2 per cent of the deaths from tuberculosis occurred in this area. While the juvenile delinquency rate per 1000 population was 1.77 for the entire county, it was 6.64 in this section. And the tuberculosis rate per 1000 population was 3.5 for the City of Cleveland, whereas in this section it was 19.3.

The same study brought forth even more astonishing figures in regard to the cost to the city of maintaining a slum area. On a per capita basis: the tax-rate income from the area amounted to \$10.12 per person, while the total per capita cost of maintaining the district was \$88.90. The per capita loss in excess of income was \$78.78, or an annual loss of \$315 per family of four.

Considering the land values of this slum area in Cleveland, the annual financial loss suffered in the district would eat up the total value of its taxable property in less than five years. This means that the taxing authorities of the community could buy up all the taxable property in the section, land and buildings, permitting it to lie idle, expending nothing on it and receiving no return from it for a period of five years, and yet by the end of that time they would have saved money on the deal.

For financial reasons then, common sense would dictate that immediate steps be taken for rebuilding our blighted and slum areas.

We would be more humane if we were actuated not so much by financial considerations as by a desire to provide better housing for our low income groups. This would mean lower crime, disease and mortality rates. It would also prevent the spread of crime and disease into neighboring sections and thus would aid in maintaining property values in those neighborhoods.

RT. REV. MSGR. JOHN O'GRADY

The Rt. Rev. Msgr. John O'Grady is Secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Charities and editor of The Catholic Charities Review.

In the past fifteen years there has been a growing recognition of the right of the individual and the family

to decent housing standards as an essential part of the accepted standard of life. It has come to be recognized more and more that the individual and the members of the family cannot live as human beings without decent housing. The ideal thing, of course, is that the individual should be able to secure decent housing for himself and his family through his own efforts, but we know very well that large groups of wage earners, possibly one-third of the wage-earning population, cannot secure decent housing, even when their wages are implemented by legislation guaranteeing certain minimum wage standards, or by well-developed systems of collective bargaining. They cannot secure decent housing through the wage system no matter how it is implemented, no more than they can secure proper protection against the hazards of industrial accidents, old age, unemployment, and illness, by the wage system.

Since it is now clear, beyond reasonable doubt, that nearly one-third of the people cannot secure decent housing through the wage system, government clearly has an obligation to take the necessary steps to provide decent housing for them. This doesn't mean that government should undertake the entire responsibility. It should merely go as far as is necessary to secure decent housing for them at a price they can afford to pay. When there is a discrepancy between the price they can pay and the amount necessary to secure decent housing, government should make up the difference.

Private capital, no matter how implemented, cannot provide decent housing for a very large section of the population at a price that it can afford to pay. According to the Census of 1940, there were about 8 1/2 million families with incomes of less than \$1,000 a year in the United States. These are the families for which private capital has no hope of providing housing. It cannot reach families that cannot pay at least \$20 a month rent on an over-all national average.

Under the new program included in the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill, provision will be made for the building of 500,000 new low-cost housing units in the next five years. This will be at the rate of 125,000 a year. If the 125,000 units should prove inadequate, the President has been given the necessary authority to accelerate the program.

Under the program provided by the U. S. Housing Act, the local housing authority proceeds to make its own study of local needs. It can secure assistance from the United States Housing Authority in making its preliminary studies. These studies must show how far the need for low-cost housing is being met by private capital. If the local housing authority decides to develop its housing project in a slum area, it must secure funds necessary to clear the slum and make it ready for the new construction. It can secure loans from the Federal Government for clearing the slum and constructing new houses. As a matter of fact, however, 36% of the total funds necessary for the financing of the local projects have been secured from private sources through the sale of bonds by the local authorities. There is a very definite tendency towards greater local responsibility for the advancing of loans. In fact, it is believed that with a slight amendment to the Act authorizing the Federal Government to take over the entire operation during a period of default, it would be possible to secure the necessary funds from private sources.

In order to insure proper local interest in the public housing program, the law requires that the local com-

munity must put up 10% of the total cost. This is met by exempting the public housing units from local taxation.

The real contribution that the Federal Government makes to the public low-cost housing program, is an annual contribution to meet the difference between the rents the tenants can afford to pay, and the rents that would be necessary to pay the total cost of constructing and operating a housing project.

After the project is completed, the local authorities select the tenants. They are obliged normally to select those who cannot pay required rents in order to secure decent housing. When the wages or salaries of tenants reach a point at which they are able to pay required rents, they are requested to secure quarters elsewhere. Under the law, the projects are intended solely for people of low income status.

Anybody who has observed the projects sponsored by the local housing authorities all over the country, cannot fail to be impressed by the great gains that have been made. One of the gains most frequently mentioned by local leaders is that the experience in living on the project has helped prepare the tenants for home ownership. Pastors point to a considerable number of families in their parishes who have left the projects in order to buy their own homes. When we say that the program has prepared people for home ownership, we mean that not only have they secured higher incomes, but they have improved their standard of life.

It is not assumed for a moment that the public housing program is a panacea for all the ills of life, that it has solved all the problems of family life; all the problems of juvenile delinquency; all the health and recreational problems. The best one can contend is that it has made definite advances and that it has brought out into the open many problems that present a serious challenge to the Church, to government, and to voluntary and social agencies. In assessing the problems presented by families in the housing projects, one has to keep in mind the conditions of squalor and filth under which they lived for so many years. Nothing short of a miracle could make all these families over in a short period of time. Those who have been interested in the housing program, however, may well take pride in the progress that has been made.

HENRY M. PROPPER

Mr. Propper is Executive Vice-Chairman of the National Committee on Housing, Inc.

Discussion of whether blighted urban areas can and should be redeveloped would seem to be less urgent at the moment than thorough-going study of *how* they are to be rebuilt.

Urban blight is a result of many factors, haphazard and planless growth of cities, obsolescence, changing standards and fashions, among the more important. Fundamentally, however, the primary reason is to be found in the failure of cities to offer an acceptable pattern for family life. For evidence look not to the lower income families who have little or no choice in housing but to the economically self-sufficient family. The great exodus of the past two or three decades to the outskirts of cities or their suburbs has been of such families. They know that the city as it is today is no place to rear children. A definite cycle can be discerned. Young couples immediately upon marriage will remain in a small centrally located section—in an apartment usually. With their first

offspring in prospect they move to the suburbs. There the family grows up until the children marry off, whereupon the now elderly parents may seek again the convenience and lessened housekeeping responsibility of a centrally located apartment. At both ends of the family cycle, ample light, air, sunshine and elbow room are not less desirable but less important perhaps. It is a sorry thing, socially and economically, to contemplate cities populated almost entirely by childless young couples, old couples and families chained to the tenements by low incomes.

If our rebuilding of blighted areas again crowds the land with dense population, leaves insufficient space for parks and open areas and, in a word, continues to ignore essential amenities, another generation in not too many years will have to do the job over again. The danger is real. New York City although not typical may be cited as an example since it has under way the first private enterprise redevelopment project and the largest post-war public housing program. Both are marked by plans for actually increasing the density of population over that which formerly occupied the sites although structures will cover much less area than was occupied by the buildings to be replaced. The compromise here has been to go up into the air with the buildings—vertical rather than horizontal crowding but crowding nevertheless.

Whatever is done by way of urban redevelopment will of necessity be a compromise between social and economic factors. It will require the utmost vigilance to protect redevelopment against the sort of compromise that will sow seeds of new blight.

A. H. SCHELLER, S.J.

Father Scheller is Director of the School of Social Service of St. Louis University.

Students of ecology have shown how cities have grown and slums and blighted areas have developed. Around the core of a new city homes were built. It was in a period when transportation was slow and there was need of living as near as possible to the center of activity. As means of transportation improved, however, people began to move outside of the first ring of homes. They were the wealthier people. The poor had to remain where they were. In a short time the first ring of homes was entirely deserted by the richer class of people. But in many instances the homes which the poor inherited were large and very costly to maintain. Families with low incomes were not able to keep them up. Houses were not painted for years. The drab exterior was only a reflection of the condition of the interior of many of these one-time lovely residences. Four and five families now dwelt where once a single family lived. What was once a home became a shelter and little more.

Real estate men encouraged the flight from the city by planning beautiful residential districts far from the noise and dirt of business and industry. But the real estate men were not interested in making cities more beautiful or in solving housing problems. They saw an opportunity to make a lot of money and they used it. The poor were caught between high rents on the one hand and the impossibility of moving elsewhere. Rents were high because the houses and apartments were near the center of the city. The property was valuable. Owners of the residences did nothing to improve them because that was not necessary in order to keep tenants. No modern conveniences were added; nothing was done to beautify the shelters. In these shelters which often became shacks the

children of the poor were born and raised. They only learned the meaning of home by contrast. All the while someone was making a lot of money by renting these pitiful dwellings. City governments were generally unable or unwilling to take any action against these abuses. In many instances, no doubt, the politicians themselves were making handsome sums of money by rents extorted from the poor whom they pretended to be caring for.

In reply to your question, therefore, "*Can and Should the Blighted Areas of a City be Re-housed?*" I would answer that they can and most certainly should be re-housed so that those who are compelled by force of circumstance to live in these areas have homes becoming to the dignity of man.

But there is a further answer to the question now that transportation is better and the need of living near the middle of the city is less important than it was fifty years ago. Furthermore, the desirability of decentralizing the population for reasons of health, of removing some of the occasions of juvenile delinquency, of offering protection against the disastrous possibilities which the atomic bomb suggests, would urge those who are planning to encourage the construction of low cost houses not in the wretched areas they once occupied but in the clean, fresh air of a community outside of the crowded city.

We have allowed industrial advancement to control our social thinking too long. It is time that we use mechanical inventions, facilities, conveniences to serve us, to serve men, to help people for whom they were intended. This is an opportunity for community planning, for the unselfish promotion of a project that will benefit our fellowman and redound to our own credit and to that of our community.

We know however that it will not always be possible for families to move to homes outside of the city. Furthermore, the blighted areas within a city should not be left uncared for. Some homes will have to be built to replace those that are torn down in an effort to clean up a city. But the planning must be such as to exclude overcrowding and to allow people the conveniences of a modern home. Some of the space once occupied by homes and tenements should undoubtedly be turned into parks and playgrounds if the community is sincere in its desire to beautify its city and to allow all of its citizens to live in decent surroundings.

CARMEN TRANCHESE, S.J.

Father Tranchese is pastor of Guadalupe Church in San Francisco; he was effectively active in a housing project for Mexicans in that city.

No doubt a program of low-rent housing is one of the greatest enterprises our country could undertake. Present urban substandard houses are a detriment to any community: a hazard to health, an eyesore to the city, a dreadful waste of money. Crimes, sickness and misery are bred in slums. If a city would consider its expenditures on hospitals, jails and relief, the cost of housing would seem small by contrast.

But, unfortunately, shortsighted city authorities often cause slums to be hidden so that they are saving. In this statement I have San Antonio particularly in mind but the remark could be made of almost any American city.

The government's primary duty is the welfare of its citizens, and at the present time the welfare of many thousands is jeopardized by slum areas. Row after row of dirty shacks without any health facilities are at the present time being rented to families at unfortunately high rentals.

The owners of these homes report huge profits; they pay little tax, have almost no maintenance cost, no utilities cost (since there is rarely electricity or gas) and very little water bill. In many instances one faucet must suffice for as many as 18 families. Let me illustrate:

In a survey made some years ago it was found that San Antonio had 14,000 houses classed as substandard, that is; no toilets, no water, no electricity and run-down conditions. Moreover, these substandard houses were seriously overcrowded. A health survey showed that San Antonio has the highest death rate from tuberculosis (164 per 100,000). In many places houses were doubled and, occasionally, even tripled so that they faced on the streets and the alleys. In this area not only tuberculosis thrived but all kinds of diseases, including even typhus and leprosy.

The results of these conditions were that hospitals were full to the brim, jails, penitentiaries and reformatories were receiving more and more young people from the area. The fight for clearing up these conditions was a long and difficult one. Finally the government's attention was attracted. We had 13,000 dwelling units built. There are still 12,700 families living in disgraceful conditions.

Apparently private enterprise cannot do the job of slum clearance because the margin of profit is too small. The government then must take the job even though it require 20 or 30 years to complete. I see three great dangers to the country if the federal government does the job: regimentation, dependency, politics.

It is almost unavoidable that there should be considerable regimentation when large groups of families must be fitted into homogenous residential units. Much of this is unavoidable, but it can be greatly reduced. The greatest danger moreover is "home counsellors" who don't leave the tenants free but insist that they follow all recommendations made to them.

Whenever government interferes to solve social problems there will be an increased dependence upon the government. Ambition and initiative are restricted and sometimes killed. Wise management of housing projects can reduce this tendency if the manager fosters initiative and self-reliance in his tenants.

The greatest danger is politics. The administrators of the projects are political appointees. The Board of Commissioners selects employees who are politically acceptable. The employees admit tenants who vote the right way. Of course, this is not a universal condition but an ever-present danger. It is unfortunate that up to the present time no other means of selecting the Board of Directors than political appointment has been devised.

Despite these drawbacks, I consider the need of urban housing so great that we must go ahead and make the best of the dangers.

MARY ELIZABETH WALSH, Ph. D.

Miss Walsh is Assistant Professor of Sociology at Catholic University.

I have lived in a blighted area in the segregated Negro district of Washington, D. C. for eight years and this experience has convinced me that the re-housing of the people of these areas is the most immediate post-war obligation in social welfare and social justice facing our government. Here in the national capital the housing situation is well nigh unendurable for a large segment of the population.

In our area the housing is of two general types, the small frame houses facing on the city streets and the shacks of the inhabited alleys. The former, renting for \$30. to \$45. a month are too crowded and too old, dark and dilapidated for wholesome family life. They are occupied by respectable, hard working people, who struggle to pay these rents and to bring up their families under overwhelming difficulties. Naturally the children do not wish to be cooped up in such unpleasant dwellings and hence they spend their waking moments on the street where they meet both physical and moral dangers. The alley houses are miserable, unsanitary fire traps and so congested that the police can scarcely keep order.

Housing investigations indicate that about one-fifth of our urban population is forced to exist in such unsuitable dwellings. The National Health Survey revealed the correlation between overcrowded, unsanitary dwellings and sickness. The Juvenile Court and Police records show the relation between bad housing and crime.

These conditions have been studied and protested for many years, and yet they continue to exist. The situation represents an appalling waste of the nation's childhood and youth. We deplore the low birth rate but at the same time subject millions of children already born to demoralizing slum conditions. The majority of these children are full of life and vitality, looking on life with hope and anticipation, until they reach an age to question their status and rebel against it.

The private housing industry has catered chiefly to the upper-income third of the population. The middle third is inadequately housed, but the lower income third receives practically no consideration. New houses are almost never built for them and there has never been a systematic plan to meet their needs on a large scale.

The problems involved in rehousing these areas are not few, but they are simple compared to the problems we had to meet during the war period. It is America's disgrace that it will plan for war but not for peace. Billions have been spent for the destructive purposes of war but the ordinary needs of the population for peace time housing on a health and decency level are neglected. It is my belief that an aroused public opinion is necessary to get results.

COLEMAN WOODBURY

Mr. Woodbury is Assistant Administrator of the National Housing Agency.

What is the magnitude of slum areas in American cities? A study by the Twentieth Century Fund reveals that there are approximately 6,800,000 dwellings in slum areas of which 5 million are substandard by dwelling conditions—that is, they need major repairs or lack plumbing and running water—and 1,800,000 are classified as substandard due to location in slum areas. This problem is by no means confined only to large cities. The same study indicates that 19% of these 6,800,000 dwellings are in cities of 500,000 or more, 23% are in cities of 100,000 to 500,000, and 58% are in cities of less than 100,000.

Some analyses have been made of the housing desires and needs of residents of such areas. Such a study made at the site of the Stuyvesant Town project in New York indicates that 59% of the families want to continue to live in the same general neighborhood. Inquiry among the residents on the site of the Knickerbocker Village project reveals a similar desire of families to remain in the area.

Approximately 84% of the site residents had lived in the neighborhood for over ten years. Employment, local ties, and neighborhood associations of various kinds seem to create among residents a tendency to seek a new home in or near the same neighborhood.

With the exception of the low-rent slum clearance public housing program and several Metropolitan Life Insurance Company projects in New York, there has been practically no large-scale rebuilding of slum areas. The cost of acquiring slum areas and clearing them for purposes of redevelopment is far and away beyond their re-use value for profitable purposes. By "re-use value" is meant the price that a developer could afford to pay for such land and develop it for a suitable use. The slums remain because it does not pay, and under present modes of operation cannot pay, to rebuild them. Local reports from many cities indicate that these sites cost from two to six times as much as redevelopers could afford to put into them.

There was once a theory that time alone would solve this problem. It was argued that in time the competitive rebuilding of outlying areas would drain the value out of the slum areas down to the point where they could profitably be rebuilt. But the theory has been shattered by the impact of continued reality. The only thing that has been drained has been the purses of those who, in the final analysis, pay for all the economic and social cost of slums. Meanwhile the slums have continued to grow.

Although local interest in this problem has led to urban redevelopment laws in 20 states, such laws—while providing machinery and powers—have thus far been innocuous because the municipalities have not the means to deal with the fiscal problems involved.

Under the terms of bills introduced in the current, as well as recent sessions of Congress, a locality, through a local public agency, would acquire a slum or blighted area, assemble the land therein, clear it and prepare it for redevelopment. The cost of doing this would be covered by a combination of Federal and local financing. Then, in accordance with a master plan, the locality would sell or lease the land in whole or in part for a variety of purposes.—such as private housing for upper and middle income groups, public housing for low income groups, commercial purposes, and so forth. Some of the land would be retained for public purposes such as parks or public buildings. Any land sold or leased would be made available at its re-use value as determined by the locality. The fiscal aid provided would be substantially sufficient to cover the difference between acquiring the land, clearing it and preparing it for redevelopment, and the returns which the land will yield in re-use.

The need for public action has been recognized; local groups, national associations, city officials, legislators, the builders of homes and those who dwell in them, all who are concerned with the healthy growth of our cities have come to see the problem as vital.

As the National Housing Bulletin 3, *Land Assembly for Urban Redevelopment* declared: "The task ahead is to apply ourselves with vigor to attacking a problem, the solution of which cannot long wait. It will be solved only when the centers of our cities again become attractive places for parents to bring up their children, when they offer openness, greenery, community feeling, and neighborliness."