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What About the Rest of Us?

By CORNELIUS A. ELLER, S.J.

PEOPLE often say, "There are two sides to every question." Would that there were *only* two sides to economic questions! Pope Pius XI's Encyclical Letter, *Quadragesimo Anno*, explains that the wage question has three general sides: one looks to the worker, one to the business enterprise and the third to the community.

But each of these three aspects is as comprehensive as the four cardinal points of the compass, each with as many facets as an old-fashioned crystal ballroom chandelier. An insect crawling on the chandelier can see but a small portion of the whole at any given moment of time. It can never perceive the whole as a unit. We encounter the same difficulty when we attempt to solve a complex economic problem. If we are too intimately involved in one side, our view is likely to be restricted. Restricted views sire simple solutions, and simple solutions of concrete economic problems are not only suspect but about as practical as a parasol in a hurricane.

The internal peace of the nation is being shattered by bitter disputes between management and organized labor over wage rates. To the disputants we can say, "Both of you are partly right and partly wrong. But even the right of both sides combined is not the whole right. There is a third side which must be considered, because it is as intimately connected with the level of wages as the other two. Unfortunately, nobody seems to think about it or care about it, the common good, I mean."

Third Consideration

There are notable exceptions, to be sure. A recent one, which stands out with the conspicuous uniqueness of a tree on a prairie, is the UAW's insistence that GM grant wage increases without raising prices. Perhaps this was only a play to the nickel seats, but we would like to believe that it is as hopeful a sign as the leafy twig which the dove brought back to Noah. Let's hope it's a sign of maturing economic insight.

If you peruse what Catholics have so far written on wages you will find that the greatest stress is laid on the worker's right to a living wage. Perhaps this emphasis was born of prevailing industrial circumstances. In other words, we have thus far, for the most part, looked at wages mainly from the standpoint of the worker and his family. Now and then, we have changed our vantage point and scanned the payroll from the manager's desk in the front office, pointing out that wages must take into account the state of the business enterprise.

But this writer is of the opinion that we have reached a juncture which calls for vigorous stress on the third determinant of a just wage which Pope Pius XI lays down with profound wisdom and compelling force, namely, **the common good.**

The innkeeper and his hired help argue about wages and profits while the traveller is left standing out in the cold. But there will be neither profits nor wages unless the door is opened to the public and its needs are provided for. In the present controversy, all the organized shouting is on the side of labor and on the side of management. Labor asserts that wages must be high because they constitute the bulk of buying power. Management insists that wages must be kept down because they constitute the bulk of business costs.

Both are right, but both overlook the reconciling force which attaches to this fact, that the level of wages is one of the strongest influences that determine the level of employment and the degree of exchangeability between goods produced in different sectors of the national economy.

Papal Views Broad

The passages of *Quadragesimo Anno* which set forth this rounded view of economic society are among the most neglected of that much quoted document. No one can question the economic insight of such words as these: "Another point, however, of no less importance, must not be overlooked, in these days especially, namely, that opportunities for work be provided for those who are willing and able to work. This depends in large measure upon the scale of wages, which multiplies opportunities for work as long as it remains within proper limits, and reduces them if allowed to pass these limits. All are aware that a scale of wages too low, no less than a scale excessively high, causes unemployment . . . To lower or raise wages unduly, with a view to private profit, and with no consideration for the common good, is contrary to social justice which demands that by union effort and good will such a scale of wages be set up, as to offer to the greatest number opportunities of employment and of securing for themselves suitable means of livelihood."

"A reasonable relationship between different wages here enters into consideration. Intimately connected with this is a reasonable relationship between prices obtained for the products of various economic groups, agrarian, industrial, etc. . . ."

These words are like a cool zephyr at the end of a sultry August day. They apply to labor and management alike. The late Supreme Pontiff condemns the "public-be-damned" attitude wherever it is found. His words remind labor unions that obligations in social justice bind them no less than management. Neither management nor labor can rightly regard wages as merely a relationship between the contracting parties, but, if they are to have a proper regard for social jus-

tice, they must also consider the ramifying effects which wages produce upon society.

For the past fifty years we have been hammering away at the principle that property has a social as well as an individual aspect and that, private ownership notwithstanding, property always retains its original destiny, which is the benefit of all men.

Common Good Must Prevail

In this connection we have ordinarily fixed our attention on the vast accumulations of wealth in the hands of the "four hundred." But let us not forget that wages are property, too, and consequently participate in the social destiny marked out by God for the factory in which they are earned. And, going a step farther, may we not say that a job itself is also a form of property, albeit characterized by singular attributes?

If this be so, then we must conclude that workers are obliged to use their jobs conformably to the common good, i.e., in such a way that all the members of the community may derive benefit, not injury, therefrom. The labor union, therefore, is obliged to aim at a wage level which will not only provide a comfortable and secure livelihood for its own membership but which will also permit the rest of the community and nation to obtain employment at comparable levels of recompense.

This obligation is no less real and binding than that which is incumbent upon employers of avoiding wage reductions which create unemployment through lack of buying power, which is the ultimate source of employment. And so, Pius XI insists upon the need of a triple economic security: security for the worker, security for the business enterprise, and security for society.

Both Sides at Fault

There is substantial evidence available to prove that many labor unions conduct their bargaining on the principle that they have a right to as high a wage as the employer is able to pay. If the employer's profits are bloated, these unions believe they are entitled to be "cut in on the gravy." In other words, they have taken to themselves the much condemned business axiom of the "Robber Barons": charge as much as the traffic will bear.

But justice, commutative and social, and charity, not ability to pay more, govern the right determination of wages. If an employer has more than a fair profit remaining after he has paid a wage which fufills all the requirements of justice and charity and after he has provided against all the other expenses and exigencies of his business, then it would seem that the price of his product is too high. The common good is not being served as well as it might be; for the price does not permit the maximum number of citizens to obtain the maximum possible share in the fruits of this particular productive enterprise.

This writer thinks that in such cases social justice demands that prices be reduced rather than that wages be increased. In fact, every price reduction which is not accompanied by a corresponding lowering of money wages increases real wages for every worker—but it is for *every worker*, not only for a particular group.

Economic Balance Needed

We hear a great deal about the maldistribution of wealth. We all agree that, when the masses of people are propertyless while masses of wealth are concentrated in the hands of a few, wealth is distributed contrary to its very nature and contrary to the common good. But we rarely hear that disproportionate differences between the various wage levels of different industries are also detrimental to the common good and contrary to the right distribution of "wage property." This relationship should be "reasonable," no less than the relationship between prices. It should, therefore, be determined by reason, not by force. Those who pursue a wage policy which disregards this relationship do violence to social justice.

What has been written here is very general, and it is not consciously directed against any particular group. It is the belief of this writer that most American economic groups sin in this matter, and, therefore, it has been his purpose to call attention to some pertinent but neglected cardinal principles of social life, according to his understanding of them.

The concrete realization of these principles can be achieved only by the expenditure of colossal intellectual toil. The principles are goals. The economist must discover the means. It is for him to determine the dollar-and-cents levels of wages and prices and profits which will ensure full employment, steady economic progress and equitable distribution of its fruits among all members of the nation.

It is a frightening challenge, but it must be met squarely, otherwise increasing internal tensions and stresses will tear the fabric of our society to shreds.

Executive Committee Meeting

Work on the tentative Constitution of the ISO was completed by the Executive Committee meeting at the Belmont Plaza Hotel in New York City on February 2nd and 3rd. The document will be submitted to the Fathers Provincial for their consideration and approval.

The need of a Constitution was expressed at the Chicago meeting of the former Executive Committee held during Christmas week in 1944. The Fathers Provincial in their annual meeting last Spring directed that a draft be prepared for submission to them and appointed representatives from each Province for the work. In a two day session in St. Louis on September 8th and 9th this group sketched the shape they believed the ISO should take in structure and objectives and returned to their Provinces to invite suggestions on the first draft.

The completed tentative Constitution incorporates later suggestions from many of Ours in different parts of the country, interested and active in the general work of the ISO. It endeavors to satisfy a widespread desire that emphasis be placed on Province participation in the ISO program. To that end the organization of the Jesuit Educational Association, at the suggestion of the Fathers Provincial, was studied and followed as a model of the possible future structure of the ISO and the appointment of a full-time Province Director of ISO is recommended. Father Edward B. Rooney, Secretary of the Jesuit Educational Association, generously made his experience and advice available throughout the discussions.

Present at the New York meeting were: Father Lord, Chairman; Very Reverend Father Leo J. Robinson representing the Oregon Province; Fathers William F. Drummond for the New England Province; Robert C. Hartnett for Chicago; Lawrence P. McHattie for Missouri; Wilfrid Parsons for Maryland; John F. X. Sweeney for New York; Florence D. Sullivan for New Orleans. Very Reverend Father Francis A. McQuade, Provincial of New York, postponed several appointments to be present the first day. Father Leo C. Brown, Director of the Institute of Social Sciences attended as did Fathers Dowling and Duff of the Central Office.

The members of the Executive Committee will assemble again before Easter to continue their work as representatives of the Fathers Provincial. The ISO BULLETIN and the General Meeting are included in the list of subjects for discussion at the next meeting.

Report on European Jesuit Relief Activity

By JEROME E. BREUNIG, S.J.
St. Mary's College

JESUITS in Europe and America are more aware of their union in the same Society as a result of the Relief Activities. From Europe come almost daily acknowledgements for the first waves of parcel post, more detailed accounts of their present conditions, and, in several instances, photographs of the havoc the war has wrought. In America is evidence on every side that provinces, houses and individuals, together with friends and alumni, have joined generously in this common effort.

That the "bond of unity" is being strengthened is attested by the following letter from Father K. Verhofstad, St. Canisius College, Nijmegen, Holland. "In the midst of extensive repairs in our badly damaged college we received your package which, apart from it being most welcome, came to us as a kind of embodiment of the spirit of charity which our Holy Father thought so highly of and so strongly commended to his sons. At the same time it was a stimulus for us to batter our way through the many difficulties that beset us on all sides in order to reach as soon as possible the day when we can change the 'being done good to' into 'doing good to others.' We are very grateful for your kindness and sympathy, which made us once again aware that we, members of the Society, are one in spirit, and never more so than when one of the members is suffering."

Many Thanks Received

The same note was struck in the many other acknowledgements, including letters from Father C. Boyer in Rome and Father Anthony Lucchetti in Genoa and a cable from Very Reverend Father Gliozzo, Provincial of Sicily. The Provincial of Holland, Very Reverend Father Kerremans, wrote: "I have received another 36 parcels . . . Everything was found in perfect order and every article was useful." (Enclosed was a list of the generous donors and their addresses — from Canada to Mississippi, from Pennsylvania to Colorado, from Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas and Missouri.)

Packages sent to Holland, one of the hardest-hit countries, are going through with a minimum of red tape, little or no delay (though the shortest delivery time from consignor to consignee has been thirty-eight days, and no interference. Some of those mailed to Belgium have met with delay for customs duties, but very many have been received already. Some packages have been acknowledged by the French Jesuits, while reports from Italy, Sicily and Greece have been less satisfactory.

Not until February did any information from the Slovak or Bohemian provinces reach the Central Bureau of Information. The latter report, from Prague, written by the Procurator of the Province, Adelbert Pesek, gave some indication of the suffering which they had to endure during the past years. A few quotations are given below.

Bohemian Report

"We were one of the first under the oppressor. At the beginning of the occupation, editors of our newspapers and magazines were arrested by the Gestapo. Our organizations for Catholic youth were disrupted, their possessions confiscated, and the leaders also arrested and taken off to prisons or concentration camps . . . Two of the thirty who had been thus imprisoned died while all the rest returned, although the greater number of them have contracted typhoid and other illnesses . . . The S. S. soldiers took over our Philosophate and so rebuilt it that to this day we have not been able to make the place suitable for occupation."

From the other Polish province of Warsaw, which lost over fifty men during the war, the Provincial, Very Reverend Edmund Elter, wrote during January: "Condiciones in quibus Nostri in hisce domibus versantur fere ubique sat difficiles sunt. Magna ex parte utimur supellectili commodato. Vestes et linteamina detrita. Deest pecunia ad domos et ad eccelsias destructas restaurandas vel reaedificandas. Non deicimur tamen animo, spem enim nostram in Sanctissimo Corde Jesu et protectione nostrorum Patronorum colleamus."

Many Houses Destroyed

Photographs from Belgium and Holland revealed the College of St. Robert Bellarmine at Louvain as a heap of rubble, a burnt out Church and a completely destroyed residence at Coutrai, the St. Ignatius retreat house at Spaubeck destroyed by fire bombs, and what was left of St. Canisius College at Nijmegen after suffering 100 direct hits by large calibre shells.

A five page report from the Turin province, recounting the damages resulting from four years of bombing from the air, included the following eye witness account of an air raid.

"Twilight brings black shadows . . . People crowd trains to find in surrounding country a more quiet and safe sleeping . . . Those compelled to remain begin to live anxious life . . . sirens, sometimes preceding arrival of planes by a few minutes, spread their lacerating, alarming cries. Every one tries to save himself in the deepest refuge . . . hours elapse in cellars, while machine guns are firing ragingly overhead, and bombs dropped by the planes crash through the buildings and put to pieces all the window panes . . . Hours of anxiety and fear for one's own life and for parents, for the future of many families. As planes leave, sirens are heard again, the crowd pours out of refuges, running and fussing in the streets now lightened by the sad and gloomy glow of burning buildings. Howls are heard of people weeping . . . faces troubled with fear, women carrying out their children with eyes full of terror, sad groups of folk aimlessly dragging the few objects saved . . ."

Further details showed Providence at work when a Father had his biretta drilled by a rifle bullet while he continued reading his breviary unhurt, and also when an unexploded bomb was found between the roof and the ceiling of the room of Father Socius.

Provincial Depots Named

On the home front in the United States the most important developments are the arrangements for bulk shipments to Europe and the establishment of provincial depots at Los Gatos, Mt. St. Michael's, Spring Hill, West Baden, Weston, and St. Mary's.

The Central Bureau of Information recommends that anyone who plans to make bulk shipments get in contact with one of the provincial depots in order to obtain the necessary and full information which must be exactly followed. For instance, a careful check must be made on such items as proper crating (specified boxing, stoutly constructed and reinforced), gross weight, net value, contents, cubic measurements, declaration, average value, etc.

Incomplete returns indicate that the various houses of each province have been contributing magnificently to the province depot. According to the reports at the beginning of February the New England province has 5,000 pounds ready for shipment, the Southern province 2,700, Missouri 4,500, Chicago 3,500, Mt. St. Michael's 4,000.

Other Houses Cooperate

In addition to the tonnage shipped from the provincial depots, many Jesuit schools, houses and parishes are continuing to encourage the flow of parcels. More recent reports show the following contributions.

Georgetown University Sodalists collected $300 and packed 72 separate boxes for Belgium. Sodalists at Seattle College are staging a relief drive by means of a tag sale. St. Mary's, Kansas has sent 249 parcels of food. From Florissant were sent sixty pairs of new or slightly used shoes. Woodstock sent 57 packages during the Christmas holidays.

The president of the Catholic Medical Mission Board, Father Edward F. Garesche, S.J., sent 216 pounds of milk chocolate caramels to each of the houses in Belgium and Holland, and also 50,000 Dicalcium Phosphate with Viosterol. He is planning to send the same to our Fathers in France and Italy.

Father John Collins, Rector of St. Robert's Hall, Pomfret, Connecticut, has been averaging 8 to 10 packages a week. The pastor of Holy Trinity Church in Boston, Father Weiser, has organized an efficient, all-out parish drive to send supplies to Europe. In Baltimore, Father John Ryan, S.J., has printed and distributed handy-sized leaflets with a complete resumé of the needs and addresses of European Jesuits.

American friends of the Jesuits have contributed on all sides. A friend in California gave $100 with the message: "Instead of buying Christmas presents for the family this year I thought it best to donate the money to the European Jesuit drive." The grade school at St. Ignatius, Chicago, sent 126 boxes. Two girls' academies, Notre Dame in St. Louis and Holy Angels in Milwaukee, donated 50 packages and 400 pounds of food respectively. The Knights of Columbus of O'Neill, Nebraska, passed the hat for the Jesuits of Europe and matched the gift by a contribution from the Court to reach the total of $62.50.

Apostolate of the Sea

By WILLIAM A. RYAN, S.J.
Woodstock College

AN APOSTOLATE which would have been very dear to the hearts of Ignatius and Xavier, one which seems to be too little known to Ours in this country, is work for merchant seamen. Here is an opportunity for a social apostolate with far-reaching consequences in this day of swift travel and communication.

For many years now work among Catholic seafaring men has been organized on an international scale under the aegis of the Apostolatus Maris with headquarters in Glasgow. Here in the United States the work is just beginning to get on its feet. The YMCA, the Salvation Army, Protestant groups have beat us to the punch. But, because of war, many priests in port cities are coming more and more into contact with seamen. All are practically unanimous in stating that the work is most fruitful, that the bad name which seamen had in former times is losing its foundation, that granted the opportunity to approach the sacraments, seamen will live up to their religion just as mechanics, steelworkers, or any others.

Seamen's Difficulties

Seamen labor under a two-fold difficulty: the exigencies of their life make the regular reception of the sacraments next to impossible, and the environment in which they live and into which they step when leaving the ships is, to say the least, not exactly conducive to sanctity.

The aim of the Apostolatus is to bring the Church to the seamen since they cannot always come to her, and secondly (and this is a long-range target) to Christianize their environment by Catholic Action among the seamen themselves.

Organized in 1922 in Glasgow under the late Archbishop MacIntosh, the Apostolatus has fostered maritime clubs all over the world; through local Ordinaries it has had port chaplains appointed in practically all ports; it has enlisted the invaluable help of lay workers. Practically non-existent in this country before the war, it has lately taken great strides. Through local Ordinaries, and with financial aid rendered by the War Relief Services of the NCWC, maritime clubs have been opened in New York, Brooklyn, Newport News (Va.), Mobile, New Orleans, San Pedro, San Francisco, Portland (Ore.) and Seattle. Another is to open shortly in Boston.

Jesuit Connection

Many Jesuit names are connected with the Apostolate, foremost among them being Father Martindale. Father Pla in Sante Fe, Argentina, Father de Staercke in Calcutta, Father Vandenbusche in Trincomalee, Archbishop Roberts in Bombay, are just a few of the names that come to mind.

Membership is not restricted to seafaring men: ALL Catholics are invited to join. Priest-members offer Mass once a year; associate members fulfill their obligation by reciting daily the following prayers:

Sacred Heart of Jesus, have mercy on all seafarers.

Our Father. Hail Mary. Glory.

Our Lady, Star of the Sea, pray for us.

St. Peter, pray for us.

St. Andrew, pray for us.

Lord save us, we perish. (500 days indulgence).

Prayers Requested

I quote from the latest issue of the magazine *Apostleship of the Sea:* "Never has the seamen's need for prayers been so great and so urgent as now. To meet this need we have published Missal Cards, with a picture of Our Lady of the Good Winds and the short Apostleship of the Sea prayer. These cards can be obtained *gratis* from the AMIC (Apostolatus Maris Internationale Concilium). Those who wish to have them in large quantities can help us to extend this service by an offering of one shilling per hundred copies. Please make the Missal cards known to your friends and ask them to pray for the seamen, living and dead."

Can it be that the insistence placed on prayer by the Apostolatus is what has tided it over the ups and downs of its existence, especially the rough, rugged days of the war?

The organizing secretary, Arthur Gannon, Esq., can be reached by writing him at Petersgarth, Blairgowrie, Scotland. He will be only too happy to furnish information and propaganda material to anyone requesting it.

How Help?

How can Ours help? First of all, by prayer. Then, those who are in port cities from time to time find an opportunity to help out at the maritime club if there is one, or by making themselves known to the port chaplain. Too often there is a single port chaplain with miles of docks and waterfronts to cover who must squeeze his work for seamen in between his duties as pastor or curate. These men will be grateful for any help from other priests. Seminarians and scholastics have in many instances rendered great service by visiting Marine Hospitals and maritime clubs.

The writer, at present serving as chaplain at the U. S. Marine Hospital in Baltimore, expects to have soon a number of copies of Father Martindale's pamphlet, "The Sea and Its Apostolate" which he will gladly forward to any of Ours in port cities requesting them. First come, first served as long as they last!

JESUITS IN CO-OPS

By MARY G. DOOLING
Secretary, ISO Co-op Committee

CATHOLICS in cooperatives have come in for a fair share of attention in the past few years notably during the Rochdale centennial celebration. Yet, nowhere has there appeared a review of contributions made to Co-ops by Jesuits and Jesuit organizations. A brief record of some of these may prove interesting to readers of the ISO BULLETIN.

There are many Jesuits who have contributed tremendously to the growth of the cooperative movement; so many that it would be dangerous to try to list them all for fear of overlooking some. However, among the prominent ones are: Father LaFarge, who is a philosopher of the movement and Fathers Joseph McDonnell and Michael Ahern of Weston, who for many years have promoted co-ops in the Academy at Weston as well as appearing regularly on cooperative extension programs in New England. There are the Very Reverend Father L. J. Robinson of Oregon and Father William Drummond of New England who have done graduate theses on cooperatives, and many more who are doing special work along these lines at present. There is Father Wilfrid Parsons, who has had no small influence in the movement in an advisory capacity. His "Intercredal Cooperation" and "God in Economic Life" are widely read and quoted in cooperative circles not only in the United States but in other countries as well.

Fr. McDonald Pioneered

As far back as the initial meeting of the Cooperative Committee of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference in Richmond, Virginia, in 1937, we find Jesuits prominent in rural cooperative work. The late Father George McDonald was the organizer of the first Cooperative Committee of the NCRLC and served as chairman of it until his death in 1941. It is a statement of resolutions drawn up in great part by Father McDonald and approved by the National Catholic Rural Life Conference that appears in various books and pamphlets as a Catholic endorsement of cooperatives. Monsignor Ligutti has always emphasized the pioneering work of Father McDonald in the Conference.

In recent years rural life summer schools have found assistance from among those at St. Marys, Kansas. Among the Jesuits who have lectured for the schools are: Fathers Rawe, Adams, White, Meehan and Demeyer. The writers group at St. Mary's has also contributed widely to the promotion of cooperatives by contributing articles to magazines both Catholic and secular. Numerous articles have been written by Fathers Faherty, Demeyer and Scott.

Cooperators within the Society have not limited themselves to speaking and writing on the subject. We have examples of practical projects in successful parish credit unions such as those directed by Father Murray in Pueblo, Colorado; Father Sebastiani in Trinidad, Colorado; Father Moylan in Omaha and Father Warner in St. Louis.

Cooperatives have found their way into the curriculum of several schools. During the past semester Father Ernest Foley has been teaching a course in consumers cooperatives and credit unions at the Boston College Intown School. Father Smith has emphasized the subject at Crown Heights Labor School in Brooklyn, and Father Hetherington has gone into actual demonstration of co-op buying at the Xavier Labor School in Cincinnati.

Co-ops on Missions

The development of cooperatives in Jesuit missions is finally beginning to be known as it should. In recent months the achievements of missions in Jamaica have been told through the press and world mission symposia in various parts of the country. Even this publicity doesn't do justice to the magnificent work of Father John Sullivan in the general field of cooperatives and particularly in credit unions; Father Kempel and his egg marketing and bakery co-ops and Father Judah's work in marketing co-ops and more recently in the development of a co-op for religious goods in Kingston.

In British Honduras, a hurricane in September touched off credit union activity which has resulted in a cooperative program for the rehabilitation of homes which were smashed in the storm. Father Ganey, after several years of uphill work, is finally receiving support for his projects which will probably establish co-ops beyond any doubt in British Honduras. Father Sutti started the parish credit union in Belize and Father John Knopp has begun credit union work in Stann Creek.

India is going into cooperatives in a practical fashion in Jesuit mission areas; missionaries in the Philippines are making plans along these lines; Father Madaras is experimenting with a plan for campus co-ops in Bagdad. Before many years cooperatives will be an accepted social tool in all our missions.

Two prominent national organizations, sponsored by the Society, serve as centers for distribution of materials and other help in all Jesuit programs.

Sodality Activity

The only Catholic organization in the United States which has a full time department devoted to the promotion and organization of the cooperatives is the Cooperative Department of the Sodality Central Office. Approximately ten years ago the late Father George McDonald began the work of this department. Since that time there has not been a cooperative program in the National Catholic Rural Life Conference annual meeting, in the biennial conference of the Cooperative League of the United States or any other important national cooperative program on which a representative of the Cooperative Department of The Queen's Work has not appeared.

This office, in collaboration with the Semester Outline, has had a complete program for high school and college cooperative study for the last ten years. The resulting interest and accomplishment along cooperative lines on several hundred Catholic campuses would take pages to record. Admittedly, pitifully few Jesuit schools have taken part, but the impetus for the first and only Catholic campus cooperative program came from a Jesuit organization—the Sodality.

For at least the last seven years cooperatives have been a part of the Summer School of Catholic Action. It is impossible to estimate the exact number of credit unions and other cooperative organizations which have resulted from these courses but the number is large.

This department was responsible, with the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, for organizing the Catholic Cooperative Committee to Celebrate the Rochdale Centennial in 1944. The work was eminently important in bringing to the public news of the work of not only Jesuit cooperators but of all Catholic work along these lines.

Legislation Discussed

It would be safe to say that hard one major item of legislation of nationa. and in some cases of state, importance dealing with cooperatives and general consumers problems has not been brought to the attention of the Cooperative Department of The Queen's Work for some discussion and suggestion.

The activity of this department has not been limited to lectures, outlines for programs, articles for magazines, etc. The work of this department has been

(Turn to Co-ops, page 18)

The British Family Allowances Act

By FRANCIS J. CORLEY, S.J.

LATE IN 1941 Sir William Beveridge, the well-known British economist and social planner, was appointed to head a committee to which had been assigned the task of investigating the social needs of the British people. The investigation continued through more than a full year before Sir William Beveridge made his revolutionary report.

The effects of this report upon England, and even the rest of the world, have already been tremendous, and it is likely that the directives which Sir William has laid down, especially in Part V of his report, "Plan for Social Security" will continue to influence the steady transition to Government care of social welfare for a long time.

Many of the measures which were recommended in the Beveridge report have already been incorporated into British legislation. It is likely too, that many more of his recommendations will be adopted by the present Labor-dominated Parliament.

1. Allowances in the Report

In the sixth part of his report Sir William devoted several pages (154 to 158) to a consideration of the entire question of Family Allowances, which he called Children's Allowances. He recommended Family Allowances very strongly for two reasons in particular. The first reason was the relative impossibility of scaling wages to family sizes rather than to "the product of a man's labour."

The second reason was that unemployment compensation, like wages, must be relatively uniform and should not, in Sir William Beveridge's opinion, be scaled according to the size of families. Consequently, in order to provide adequately for large families it is necessary to make special provisions "by giving allowances for children in time of earning and non-earning alike."

Sir William added further reasons for the necessity of Family Allowances. Notable among these is the urgent need in Britain of holding up the swiftly declining birth rate. "It is not likely," Sir William said, "that allowances for children or any other economic incentives will, by themselves, provide the means and lead parents who do not desire children to rear children for gain. But children's allowances can help to restore the birth rate, both by making it possible for parents who desire more children to bring them into the world without damaging the chances of those already born, and as a signal of the national interest in children, setting the tone of public opinion."

Children a Public Trust

Sir William saw, too, the wisdom of providing properly for the intellectual, moral and physical well-being of the children upon whom would fall the repsonsibility of maintaining the British Empire. Family Allowances, furthermore, were to be regarded as a help and a relief to parents in carrying out their responsibilities, and as a formal and public acceptance of new responsibilities by the community.

In order to benefit parents as much as possible the allowances granted to families, Sir William recommends, were to be completely non-contributory. That is, the allowances were to be paid entirely out of National funds raised by taxation, and none of them were to be taken from the worker's pay check or the employer's funds as, for instance, in the case of many of our American Social Security provisions.

Aids All Except First

Sir William's recommendation was that the grant should total eight shillings a week for each child. After careful consideration of all arguments for a scaled allowance, in which grants would be decreased as the number of children increased, ("whatever experts may say, every mother of six knows that six children do not cost six times as much as one child to feed, clothe and warm"), his final proposal was a compromise whereby no allowance would be paid for the first child. The full allowance of eight shillings weekly would be given for each succeeding child, no matter how large the family might become.

The practical effect of this will be that when the parent is earning there will be no allowance in a family with one child only; and that, as the size of the family increases, the average allowance for each child will increase in accordance with the following scale:

No. of children in family	Weekly allowance per family	Average weekly allowance per child
1	Nil	Nil
2	8/-	4/-
3	16/-	5/4
4	24/-	6/-
5	32/-	6/5
6	40/-	6/8

Prolonged study was given to all of Sir William Beveridge's recommendations and finally a bill was drawn up following in general the outlines of his proposals for Family Allowances. Although there was considerable debate in Parliament not only about details of the legislation, but about the very principle of Family Allowances itself, it soon became evident that the principle of grants for children had become almost universally accepted.

2. The Family Allowances Act

On the fifteenth of June of last year the British Parliament enacted a law granting regular Family Allowances to all children within the United Kingdom and Scotland. Family Allowances was one of the measures urgently recommended by Sir William Beveridge in his report to the Crown (1942). His recommendation provided that a grant of eight shillings a week be given for each child in a family after the first. The sum of eight shillings was arrived at by taking nine shillings as the provisional post-war cost of maintaining a child and deducting one shilling as an estimate of the services already provided by the Government for children (for instance free schooling, school lunches, health care, etc.).

The bill, as it was finally passed, differs in many respects from the recommendations outlined by Sir William Beveridge, but all of the amendments tend, it would seem, to improve the bill and to make it more satisfactory as a measure of social welfare particularly for the well-being of children. Although the grant has been reduced to an allowance of five shillings in cash weekly for each child after the first, the amount granted in service and material has been considerably increased so that the total benefits approximate the eight shillings recommended in the Beveridge report.

Two-Fold Aim of Law

Parliament had two purposes in drawing up and passing the Family Allowances Act. The first object of the bill was to ease the financial burden of parents with large families and, consequently, to promote the health and well-being of their children. The second purpose of the bill was to remove the financial handicaps which "sometimes make the birth of a child a cause for regret rather than a cause for rejoicing, as it ought to be," as Sir William Jowitt remarked in the debate on the bill in March, 1945.

Under the provisions of the Act the sum of five shillings per week per child is paid by the treasury through the Minister of National Insurance to each

family having more than one child. As in Australia, New Zealand and France, the wage granted in England is taken to be adequate for the necessities of husband, wife, and one child. Consequently, Family Allowances are only granted for succeeding children who, presumably, would not be adequately provided for in the basic wage paid to British workers.

Although the allowances are granted in favor of the child, the Act explicitly states that the money may be used for the benefits of the family as a whole, that is, the money need not be spent explicitly for the child in whose favor it is granted. This is an important consideration because, although it is necessary to provide against abuses whereby the allowances might be squandered and the child suffer, it would greatly complicate administration of the bill if the use of funds were severely restricted to the good of an individual child.

Wife Receives Grant

The allowance in every case is paid to and belongs to the wife because normally it is the wife who cares for ordinary household expenditures, particularly those concerning any of the children. This is an amendment of the bill as it was originally drafted. For various reasons those who drew up the bill had originally named the father both as the recipient of the allowance and as its proprietor. In the debate, however, in connection with the second reading of the bill a great deal of discussion centered upon this point and decision was finally reached to give the allowances to the mother after the example of several of the dominions. Although the allowances belong to the wife, they may be received by either party.

According to Section Two of the Family Allowances Act the grants are made, as has been said, to every child after the first. Payment is made monthly from the time of birth until the child has attained the age of 16 years, or until the following August if the child is in school or apprenticed.

Thus a family of three children would receive ten shillings weekly in cash in addition to the services granted to all children. It must be remembered that the grant will only be ten shillings for the three children because the first child is always excluded from the cash benefits of the Act.

On the other hand the advantage which British children gain from allowances partly in cash and partly in kind must be remembered. Each child receives approximately three shillings worth of service, which is vastly more than any family would be able to purchase for the same sum in cash. Thus the actual benefit to a family under the British law for a family of three children amounts to the sum of nineteen shillings weekly: Ten shillings cash for the second and third child and three shillings of service for each of the three children.

Costs Very Great

It is impossible to estimate the total cost of Family Allowances for the whole of Great Britain. Sir William Jowitt presented to Parliament a preliminary estimate of £57,000,000 for the cash grants and a total of £60,000,000 to cover the cost of meals, milk and other services. This total of £117,000,000 is £4,000,000 higher than the estimate Sir William Beveridge had made in his report in 1942, yet it is at least £2,000,000 lower than the current estimated cost of the allowances as reported in *The Economist* (London) of September 30, 1944.

Since the allowances will aid some 2,500,000 families the cost for each family would be something in the neighborhood of £46.8 annually. It is interesting to compare this figure with the rate of endowment for Australia which amounts to approximately £23.6. When it is remembered that the Australian Government grants only five shillings cash and no further allowances in kind or services it will be clear why the cost per family in England is approximately double that in Australia.

It must be added further that since the British Pound is worth approximately 80c more than the Australian Pound, as of December, 1945, the comparative value of the British Family Allowance grant is, even if only the cash allowance is taken into consideration, 20c per week per child greater than the Australian grant in terms of American money. Thus an Australian child receives the cash equivalent of 80c (5s. at 16c) and the British child, a cash equivalent of $1.01 (5s. at 20c).

In order to safeguard both the Government and families eligible for allowances, it is required that all marriages, births, and deaths be recorded in the Register General and submitted to the administrative authorities in charge of the Family Allowances Act. Families eligible for allowances must present to the Minister of National Insurances, certificates proving the birth of their children who are eligible for Family Allowances. In addition to the certificate of birth, proof must be available that the child is undergoing full-time instruction in a school or full-time training as an apprentice if he has passed the age of 16 years.

Duplication Avoided

Grants are not paid to children when they are removed from parental responsibility, as for instance, when they are living in an approved school and their needs are cared for under the provisions of the Children and Young Persons Act, nor when for any other purpose they are under government care.

Because children are provided for in many different ways it is necessary to protect the Government against costly duplication of benefits as, for instance, when a child is cared for under the provision of the Widows and Orphans Pensions Act (which is analogous to the American Aid to Dependent Children). The general provisions of the present British law are such that allowances are not given for children if they are helped under any other form of aid, except in cases where the cash grant under other laws would not total the five shillings allowed the child under the Family Allowances Act. In that case a supplementary allowance is granted to raise a total cash aid given the child to the sum of five shillings to which he is entitled.

It might be well to say a word about the assistance given to children in school and other services provided by the British Government for children. In March, 1945 in a report on the assistance being given to children Sir William Jowitt remarked in Commons that free milk was even at that time being distributed in 27,000 out of 28,000 schools in England and Wales. In addition to the free milk, 14,000 canteens had at that time been set up to service with warm meals about 19,000 of the schools in England. The Ministry of Education reported at the same time that the program would be completed just as soon as possible so that these services would be given in all of the British primary schools.

Other Child Aids Planned

There are no detailed provisions in the Family Allowances Act for other services to be given to children, but it is the intention of the Government to give special kinds of care, notably medical examinations and treatment as a further supplement to the cash grant, the free schooling, school lunches, and so forth.

In any assistance so extensive as this a huge administration will be required. Provision has been made for ordinary execution of the act, for necessary registrations and investigations, for eliminating abuses and duplications under the provisions of other Acts.

A splendid departure from customary procedure in Family Allowance laws, and unique, so far as I am aware, is the provision in Section 25 of the Act for reciprocal arrangements with other parts of the British empire where Family Allowance legislation is in force. Thus, apparently, a citizen of Australia, for instance, or New Zealand, or New South Wales, could secure benefits under the British law once negotiations for reciprocal aid had been completed. Similarly

(Turn to Family, page 22)

The Traffic Tower

Easy Solution After Isidore Lubin filed the formal statement of American policy on the question of slave labor with the Allied Reparations Commission which met in Moscow, nothing further was done about the problem. Even though the American policy condemned the use of anyone except war criminals and members of criminal organizations, prisoners of war have been used as reparations labor ever since. Recently Dr. Lubin remarked that the whole problem would probably solve itself because by the time any peace treaties are signed, the French, Soviet, and other users of reparations labor "will not have any further desire for labor services from Germany."

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Braintrusters Needed Walter Lippmann commenting on the men about Truman says, "There is an American Myth and legend that the plain people like mediocre men in their Government. This is a politician's fable. A cult of mediocrity, which is a form of inverted sovereignty, is not democracy. It is one of the diseases of democracy."

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Or Pagan Schooling? The two first divorcees receiving their divorces in 1946 in Chicago were named respectively Alice O'Mara and Betty McKarney. Either this is an instance of two mixed marriages gone wrong or the Irish are not missing from the divorce ranks.

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Churchill's Folly The Chicago *Daily News* headlined the news from Yugoslavia under the caption "Slavs Lose Freedom." It admits that under Tito all the freedoms had gone except the freedom of religion and this is on the way. They have gone further in the matter of religion than even the Soviet. This was what apparently everyone expected.

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Crime Flood The crime record illustrated by one week in Los Angeles shows that the post war days are really with us. 545 cars were stolen that week, 452 people arrested for moral offenses, there were 437 attacks, 350 burglaries, 3183 thefts from persons, 136 robberies, 127 assaults, 82 assaults with deadly weapons, 24 attempted burglaries, 19 attempted rapes, 18 rapes, 16 attempted murders, 4 murders, 1 kidnapping, 1 homicide and 1 mayhem.

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Aye, There's the Rub *Time's* comment on the attitude of democrats in opposition to Communism is significant: "It is not so much that the democrats did not have a creed as that they found it difficult and embarrassing to reconcile their belief with their action."

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Reminder From one of the newly created Cardinals, Archbishop Jules Saliège of Toulouse, comes this judgment: "For us, Communism has a particular significance. It is evidence of our unfulfilled duty."

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Bilbo's Stand Mississippi's Senator Bilbo announced his candidacy for re-election on a program that promises to fight the fair-employment practices commission, the anti-poll tax law, the anti-lynching bill, and the loans to England. He also opposes conscription on the grounds that it will give Negro boys ideas above their place in life.

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Socialist Utopia? According to the *United States News* the United States has been experimenting with socialism in the Puerto Rico six-year plan. Apparently this small-scale experiment is directly along the line that is being employed by England on a large scale. The private power plant which produced the electricity of the Island has been taken over by the government. The rail and bus lines are operated now by the government. The telephones will be nationalized if the authority can agree with the International Telephone and Telegraph on a price. All this has been put into effect by Governor Tugwell, long regarded as distinctly Leftist by commentators.

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Hopeful Estimates Unemployment in the United States during the year 1939 reached the level of 8,396,000. During 1945 it dropped to as low as 718,000. It is expected during 1946 to rise to 6,871,000, and by 1947 to fall to 4,238,000. As sociologists seem to feel that there are normally around 2,000,000 people who are unemployable, this record is not too appalling.

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Aid for Religious Schools On December 15, 1945, Congress granted to the National Housing Administrator $191,900,000 to be used for the transfer of temporary housing to any educational institution for use or reuse in providing temporary housing for the families, or, in the discretion of the Administrator, for single veterans attending educational institutions. The Administrator had been authorized on December 11 to move surplus houses to such institutions. In the debate on December 11 the question was explicitly asked by Senator McClellan whether "the houses could be transferred to non-tax-supported educational institutions, such as religious colleges." The answer given by Senator Johnston of South Carolina was that "the houses could be moved any place where veterans could use them."

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Youth Problem Grows During the war days 2,000,000 between the ages of 14 and 18 were employed. Most of them have lost their jobs. Many of them are still away from home and deprived of education, have been accustomed to large incomes and thus have the makings of huge juvenile deliquency problems.

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Despair in Germany An indication of the gravity of conditions in Germany was inadvertently disclosed by a Chaplain visiting the Central Office urging intensification of efforts to ship food and medicine to Germany. No material that could be used for suicide or abortions should be included, he remarked in passing.

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Year's Record Summing up the nation, *Time* in the issue of January 14 notes the following facts: 1944 American citizens drank 190,000,000 gallons of hard liquor; Reno had a record 8,590 divorce suits, and in one county of Tennessee there were five times as many divorces as marriages; the United States was reaching a new level in crime, but despite this fact the national health was exceptionally good, 2,900,000 babies were born, and the population had risen 1,400,000.

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Letters of Protest What becomes of your letters of protest to the State Department is disclosed in the January *Information Sheet* released by the State Department. The bulk of the mail addressed to the President or to the State Department is read, analyzed and answered by the Public Views and Inquiries Section of the Division of Public Liaison. Regular reports on the opinions expressed in letters received go to the policy offices of the department. Over the past 18 months subjects of greatest interest to writers of letters, it is indicated, have been the United States policy on Palestine, UNO Conference at San Francisco, the problems of foreign relief, United States policy on Spain and on China.

"The mail is not necessarily considered to be indicative of the trends of public

opinion," the *Information Sheet* asserts, "but the letters are of interest for the broad range of organizations and groups represented by the writers."

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On the 31st of January, 1946, Representative Clare Booth Luce, who recently announced that she will not stand for re-election to the House, introduced a bill requiring that equal pay be given for equal work without respect of the sex or color of the worker. It is her hope that this bill will secure just remuneration to all workers without introducing the evils inherent in the Equal Rights to Women Amendment which was approved by the Senate Judiciary Committee on January 21.

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Fickle France There have been 19,000 divorces in France thus far in 1945 or 10,000 more than in the last pre-war year, official statistics revealed today. In 1919 the figure was more than 13,000. At least 10,000 of the requests for divorces this year have come from prisoners of war who returned to find children born during their absence or their wives living with other men.

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Railroads The data on war-time operation of the nation's railroads, recently issued by the Interstate Commerce Commission, show that the passenger services of the railroads made a profit for the first time in more than fifteen years. It was not until 1942 that these passenger services began to show a profit, upwards of forty million passenger miles a year, climaxed by the large loads of last summer, when passenger traffic was going on at the rate of nearly 100 million passenger miles a year. It seems clear that under the present railway passenger organization that the railroads will lose money on this service unless they carry at least 40 million passenger miles a year. Experts have grave doubts that this high load will be possible in normal times, and there is some discussion of the advisability of surrendering all passenger-carrying initiative to the airlines. From the figures, it seems to be quite certain that freight transportation is the sure way to railway efficiency and solvency.

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No Returning Home A decisive refutation of all propaganda that liberty exists in Russian-occupied areas was provided by the action of several thousand war refugees about to be deported from internment camps in Sweden and returned to their homeland. For more than a week over 3,000 prisoners conducted a hunger strike in a vain effort to attract world attention to their plight. When this failed and the Swedish police and troops appeared at the camp gates to carry out the order, the last desperate course of doomed men was taken in an attempted mass suicide. Some of the prisoners were Germans who had sought refuge in Sweden during the war but most were Lithuanians with a scattering of Estonians and Latvians who were dragooned into the German Army and who escaped to Sweden at the first opportunity, according to the identification of Representative Daniel F. Flood of Pennsylvania in the course of a speech on the floor of the House of Representatives.

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Conscription Tactics As predicted, the Commies are embarrassing us by their opposition to military training. In an editorial commenting on President Truman's message the *Daily Worker* said: "We oppose President Truman's proposal because we oppose the foreign policy for which it is to be the instrument."

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Bundles to Moscow American food gifts to Russia in 1945 included 310,000 pounds of meat, 106,000,000 pounds of lard, 8,541,000 pounds of butter, 110,000,000 pounds of sugar and 38,000,000 pounds of vegetable oils, the AP reports.

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Superseniority Again A case is being tried in the Detroit Federal District Court which involves another lay-off of a civilian employee of the Carboloy Company in favor of a discharged veteran. The civilian has brought suit for damages involved in the loss of his job and the company is asking the Court whether the discharge was justified under the provisions of the Selective Service Act, Section 8.

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Atom Bomb Race Before a joint meeting of the American Philosophical Society and the National Academy of Sciences Dr. Irving Langmuir, Nobel prize winner and associate director of the General Electric Research Laboratories, described four stages in a hypothetical atomic bomb race. Stage one is that in which the United States will have the atomic bomb. During this stage we might acquire a sufficient stockpile to wipe out all the cities of any nation we might wish to attack. In the second stage one or more other nations will produce bombs, but not in sufficient quantity to destroy all our cities. At the third stage others will be able to destroy all our cities. The fourth stage would be reached when one nation would have sufficient bombs to cripple its enemy in one surprise attack so completely that there could be no retaliation. Dr. Langmuir added that Soviet Russia could reach this fourth stage before the United States if that nation "went all out on it."

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CIO and Soviet Len de Caux, editor and publicity director of the CIO News, has written several articles on Russia and the CIO delegation's visit to the Soviet for recent issues of the paper. Currently the News presents three articles on life in the Soviet Union.

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Less Child Labor Improved child-labor laws have been written into the legislative books of seven states, Illinois, Maine, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, California, and Nebraska, as well as Hawaii. Five other states, Georgia, North Carolina, Oregon, Texas, and West Virginia, have revised and improved their compulsory school-attendance laws. Child-labor legislation was approved by one house of the legislature in Georgia; the bill will be considered by the other house when sessions resume in January, 1946. The Illinois law raised the minimum legal age for work during school hours to 16 and permits after-school work only to those who are 14. Special provision is made for farm labor and for child actors traveling with a professional theatrical company. These advances in Child-Labor legislation, remarks THE CHILD, published by the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, are the more remarkable when it is remembered that they were made in wartime during a severe labor shortage.

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Jews and Pope In recognition of the work of the Holy See in rescuing Jews from Fascist and Nazi persecution, the World Jewish Congress has made a gift of $20,000 to Vatican charities, Dr. A. Leon Kubowistski, secretary-treasurer of the agency, announced after being received recently by Pope Pius XII.

NOTICE

Through Mr. Joseph V. Sommers, S.J., of St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kansas, the Catholic Action Committee there announces that it has an extensive bibliography of Catholic Action which has been compiled through the years since 1943. Copies of the bibliography may be secured from Mr. Sommers.

ISOccasions

Father E. A. Conway is playing an important part in the discussions on what is to be done about what President Truman prefers to have called "atomic energy" and what the world knows as "the bomb."

A National Committee of Atomic Information, "a clearing house established by 60 national organizations to provide a medium through which they can cooperate with the atomic scientists and their colleagues for public understanding of the scientific facts of atomic energy and their implications for science" has been established at 1621 K Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. Father Conway is Treasurer of the organization. (Incidentally, the Committee has just published a comprehensive bibliography of current literature on the bomb and issues a bi-weekly bulletin.)

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Several Kansas City unions have cooperated in making obligatory for their apprentices attendance at a series of lectures on the "Fundamental Principles Upon Which Organized Labor Is Based," delivered by **Father John C. Friedl at Rockhurst.** It is hoped that these introductory lectures will impress upon young workers not only the value of union organization, but the worth of worker's education as well.

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Among the nationally known authorities who spoke before the Community Race Relations Institute in St. Louis, February 12 to 17 was **Father Raphael C. McCarthy of St. Louis University.** Father McCarthy also spoke at the opening of American Brotherhood Week on February 17.

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Father R. A. Lassance of **Marquette University** has given his lecture on "Industrial Democracy" to the several parish Holy Name Societies and, recently, to the Marquette Chapter to the National Economic Fraternity. **Father Edward A. McGrath** has discussed the moral aspects of atomic bombing before the Serra Club and other organizations in Milwaukee.

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"Public Affairs in the Atomic Age," a series of lecture-discussions on capital problems of the day by a group of lecturers and authors, is directed by **Father James L. Burke** in the program of the Boston College Institute of Adult Education. "Marriage as a Way of Life" is another Institute Course given by **Father James D. Sullivan,** Regent of the School of Social Work.

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From Jamaica, B.W.I. comes new evidence of **Father John Peter Sullivan's** energy and imagination: the first issue of a monthly paper published by the Sodality Credit Union; an announcement of a new department of St. George's College Extension School called the Institute of Industrial Relations offering courses "to all men and women sincerely interested in harmonious labor-management contacts"; and a listing of the Courses in Cooperatives taught by Sodalists trained by Father Sullivan and using his text "Blueprint of Jamaica's Tomorrow."

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Father J. E. Wise, Dean of the Evening School of Adult Education of **Loyola College,** Baltimore has arranged weekly seminars for Night School students. **Father Dennis J. Comey,** organizer and Director of the Institute of Industrial Relations at **St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia,** was the first of the visiting lecturers. Father Comey spoke on "The Labor School Movement." The newly appointed Assistant Director of NCWC Social Action Department, Father John F. Cronin, S.S., spoke the following week. His topic was "Communism and Labor."

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The Social Order Forum of **St. Ignatius Loyola Church,** New York City, directed by **Father Edward Hogan** holds weekly meetings of Employer, Employee and Professional Groups. It now plans four general monthly meetings to which the parishioners and public are invited.

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The Sodality at **St. Xavier High School,** Cincinnati, has been aiding Santa Maria Nursery. Under **Father Uhl's** guidance the Sodalists are now beginning work among the poor, especially for shut-ins and in hospitals.

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"Ability to Pay" was the subject of **Father Bernard W. Dempsey's** Presidential Address at the Catholic Economic Association Convention at Cleveland.

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At the 75th annual meeting of the American Prison Association and the National Prison Chaplains' Association **Father Anthony N. Glaser, S.J.,** chaplain of the Penitentiary of the City of New York, Rikers Island, was elected president of the Chaplains' organization. Father Glaser has been in prison chaplain work for 14 years. For the first time in the history of the American Prison Association wardens and chaplains met in a special session to discuss their problems.

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The Theologians Social Order Academy of **Weston College** has sent to the Central Office mimeographed outlines of some of the talks its members have given.

Father F. J. Donoghue and **Mr. Robert McEwen** shared a number of meetings discussing the "metaphysics" of money as opposed to its "physics." **Father A. S. Woods** lectured on "The Negro and American Politics" the same evening **Father Francis X. Curran** offered "A Few Comments on Religion and the Negro in America." The question of Workers' Education was adumbrated by **Joseph S. McBride;** the Rights of Women in Industry was treated by **Frederick J. Adelmann.** "The Evolution of the Rights of Labor in the U. S. Courts" was the title of a talk given by **Father James Daugherty,** followed by presentation of "The Catholic Attitude towards the Rights of Labor" by **John D. Crowley** and of "The Protestant Attitude" by **Father Walter Jaskievicz.**

The Combined Social Order Academies—that of the Theologians together with the members of the Philosophers directed by **Father William F. Drummond**—welcomed Federal District Court Judge Arthur D. Healey, member of the House of Representatives 1932-41, who gave the background of the social legislation of those years. At Christmas time the distinguished Dominican author, Father Thomas Gilbey, serving as a chaplain in the Royal Navy, visited Weston and lectured on "Socialism in England."

Father Joseph F. McDonnell has been speaking again this year in the State University Extension Courses. His topic: "The Social Significance of Cooperative Enterprise." **Father M. J. Ahern's** lecture in the same series is "Are Cooperatives Radical or Revolutionary?" To the men of the First Friday Club, organized by **Father Timothy McCarthy** of **St. Mary's Church,** Boston, **Father J. E. Risk** pointed out "Our Enemies on Labor Problems."

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An interview with **Father Philip Carey,** director of the **Xavier Labor School,** appeared recently in the *New York World-Telegram* under the by-line of Alice Moldenhawer. The interview explains the purpose of Catholic labor school work. "My hope," Father Carey observed, "is that we will be able by a process of education to train an alert and well-informed body of men who will then work within their associations and their unions towards a constructive development of society."

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Woodstock College heard a lecture recently by Mr. Archibald Glover, a Negro layman, who is a member of the Brooklyn Interracial Council. He out-

(Continued on Page 18)

Vocational Groups for Eire

By BERNARD W. DEMPSEY, S.J.

Report of Commission on Vocational Organization 1943, *Eire, Dublin: Published by the Stationery Office,* 539 *pages, price* 7/6.

FOR the persons who are genuinely interested in the objective of the I.S.O., this book would have to be included in any list of more than three titles of the most important books on the subject. In one respect, the book is difficult to review for the treatment is largely factual and must be read in its concrete setting to be of any great value. But this reading of the analysis of an economy very different from our own, in terms of vocational organization, is most instructive.

Considered merely as a report, the document is exemplary, being broken down into chapters and subdivisions with each paragraph numbered. An analytical table of contents covers 42 pages and makes it possible to find any topic very readily and to understand its relation to the other ideas. In addition to this there is a fifteen-page index.

For the purpose of the I.S.O., Part I is undoubtedly the most useful. Chapter I, "Definition and Theory," examines the meaning of vocational organization and deals ably with its differences with the corporate state. Chapter II gives an excellent history of vocational organization. This section is not complete and has one or two notable omissions, but it is still the best treatment of the subject that can be found in one place. Part II is devoted to a study of the status of vocational organization in contemporary society outside of Ireland. This is extremely well done both in gathering together information about known vocational systems and pointing out vocational elements in other types of organization where they might easily be overlooked.

Part III deals with the status of vocational organization in Ireland, at the present time, and again is extremely fruitful in finding vocational factors in existing Irish organization. To us this section is particularly valuable in that the complete analysis of the society so different from our own yet fundamentally the same in providing a community with the essential union services gives the reader many entirely new ideas concerning our own economy. The differences in scale and composition of their problems increases the value of the study rather than otherwise.

Vocational Assembly Urged

The commission recommends the adoption in Ireland of a national vocational assembly composed of six units: the professions commission, conferences for agriculture, industry, and commerce, and councils for transport and finance. The agriculture conference is to have forty members in the assembly; industry, twenty and the other groups, ten each. These one hundred elected members will themselves "co-opt" twenty additional members.

The national vocational assembly will have three principal functions, coordination, planning and consultation. Its principal resource, however, (page 441) will be the obvious general benefit of the vocational system—that the income and out-put of each group, that is, their contribution to national product and their share therein will be analyzed by persons conversant with economic facts. The basic instrument of vocational organization is that it provides accurately that knowledge and information which was the indispensable condition for the operation of free competition but which free competition rarely furnished.

Criticisms Analyzed

The commission devotes itself to three principal criticisms. The first is scarcely a valid one, though commonly heard. "Vocational organization does undoubtedly produce throughout the country a network of trade unions and other bodies. Whether or not the recommendations contained in this Report are adopted, there will be an increasing tendency throughout the country to develop employers' and workers' associations. But these bodies cannot be called a bureaucracy, for they are free, representative and elected. Their officials cannot be called a bureaucracy: the conditions, methods of working and outlook of these men and women are the very antithesis of bureaucracy. They are in the closest possible contact with the affairs which they administer and the people whom they represent; they are subject to the most exact and public responsibility; their names are known to all; their policy is determined by the bodies which employ them, and their tenure of office depends entirely on the satisfaction they give these bodies. The members and officials of vocational bodies constitute, in fact, a body which is the very opposity of bureaucracy."

The second objection refers to cost and is shown not to be valid.

Checks Monopolies

"A third criticism is that vocational organization might make it easier for monopolies or 'pressure groups' to grow, to the exclusion of the small man and the detriment of consumers. In reply, we point out first, that vocational organization is a protection for the small man, whether independent craftsman or small-scale employer. Moreover, under vocational organization the growth of monopolies would be more easily detected. Thirdly, effective remedies are provided in the various National Conferences and the National Vocational Assembly, where all branches are organized, leading to the preservation of a just balance between them and the elimination of the unequal advantages due to a high degree of organization in one trade and lack of organization in others. Fourthly, by organizing Parish Guilds and persons engaged in home duties, vocational organization provides a means of representation for consumers and, finally, we have in different parts of our Report made special provision for the protection of consumers and of the community."

The Pope and Social Structures

By MORTIMER H. GAVIN, S.J.
Institute of Social Sciences

WHILE this is being written, the nation is torn by the greatest conflict between workmen and their employers yet known in the history of the country. The major industries of the economy lie idle and unproductive. The fires of the steel mills are banked, and the auto assembly lines stand motionless. Meanwhile the people clamor for the products of industry. In this juncture of affairs the words of Pius XI are so timely as to seem written by one observing the present struggle.

"... The demand and supply of labor divides men on the labor market into two classes, as into two camps, and the bargaining between these parties transforms the labor market into an arena where the two armies are engaged in combat. To this grave disorder which is leading society to ruin a remedy must evidently be applied as speedily as possible. But there cannot be question of any perfect cure, except this opposition be done away with, and well-ordered members of the social body come into being anew, *vocational groups* namely, binding men together, not according to the position that they occupy in the labor market, but according to the diverse functions that they exercise in society. For, as nature induces those who dwell in close proximity to unite into muncipalities, so those who practice the same trade or profession, economic or otherwise, combine into vocational groups. These groups, in a true sense autonomous, are considered by many to be, if not essential to civil society, at least its natural and spontaneous development." QA 83

No Peace Possible

In the present crisis, officials of government are straining to apply a remedy as speedily as possible. The grave disorder of the moment will pass. A settlement is expected momentarily: it will probably come before this is in print. But it will be an "ad hoc" settlement. There cannot be question of a perfect cure so long as there exists no true social order. What we have now is an artificial, unnatural order maintained by external restraints. Not certainly in every case, but in too many instances, the smooth and normal processes of production are possible only because of a period of truce between the parties, observed for selfish, opportunistic motives, and one which will break out in a new battle and open war when either party may find it to its advantage to make the break. Pius XI summed it up:

"Society remains today in a strained and therefore unstable and uncertain state, being founded on classes with contradictory interests, and hence opposed to each other and consequently prone to enmity and strife." QA 82

Two-Fold Reform

The Holy Father saw no simple cure for the condition. But he recommended some medicine that he guarantees will work. The prescription is two-fold—the reform of morals and the reconstruction of social order. The reform of morals is the spirit that must give force and vigor to the whole program; it is essential to it. No mechanical planning, no device, however well engineered, can succeed without sincere good-will and integrity in the human agents who administer the plan. Yet the plan of structure itself, the organization, is equally necessary for the reconstruction of society. It is of that we speak here.

"The aim of social legislation must therefore be the re-establishment of vocational groups." QA 82

This is the keynote of the section in *Quadragesimo Anno* in which the Pope presents his plan for the structural scheme of the new social order. Let us look at his suggestions as they apply to vocational groups in the industrial field.

It is of the essence of the vocational group that it be built upon a foundation of free associations of the parties who compose the natural unit of an industry or profession. Thus, in the steel industry, the free unions and the free employers associations, with perhaps the societies of technicians and financial experts associated with the industry, are all directly concerned with the manufacture and distribution of steel for the use of society. Each of these groups has its own special problems and interests; but over and above these particular interests is the common purpose, the common goal forming a common bond. It is this community of interest, superior to immediate and special interests, of which Pius XI makes much in the treatment of this subject.

"Order, as the Angelic Doctor well defines, is unity arising from the apt arrangement of a plurality of objects; hence, true and genuine social order demands various members of society joined together by a common bond. Such a bond of union is provided on the one hand by the common effort of employers and employees of one and the same group joining forces to produce goods or give services; on the other hand by the common good which all groups should unite to promote, each in its own sphere, with friendly harmony." QA 84

Here is a principle of unity within groups and between various groups. It has application on two levels. First, in the union of all agents in the single industries, steel, transportation, oil, meat-packing, mining, autos, and so forth; then, in the union of all in a coordinated organization on the national scale, binding the whole economy together in pursuit of the common goal of all, the common good.

Freedom of Form

The exact form of structure which the group will adopt will vary from place to place, from industry to industry, from country to country, according to local needs, circumstances, traditions. Pius XI makes a point of this great freedom:

"It is hardly necessary to note that what Leo XIII taught concerning the form of political government can in due measure be applied also to vocational groups. Here, too, men may choose whatever form they please, provided that both justice and the common good be taken into account." QA 85

Within the single vocational group the various component elements of workers, employers, technicians, managers, maintain their own separate organizations—trade unions, employers' associations, technicians' societies and so forth. But they must be mindful always of the relation of their own interests with the common aims of the whole organization, and of the whole organization with the common good of the community and the nation.

"The common interests of the whole group must predominate; and among these interests the most important is the directing of the activities of the group to the common good. Regarding cases in which interests of employers or employees call for special protection against opposing interests, separate deliberations will take place in their respective assemblies and separate votes will be taken as the matter may require." QA 85

Public Status

No place explicitly stated, but implicit in the papal instructions and agreed upon by all students of the matter, is the natural necessity of granting to the organized vocational group the privilege of status as a public-legal body. To take its place as an intermediary society between the individuals and the state, the group must be vested with the authority to direct its members within its own sphere, and to make effective the regulations it decides upon as a self-governing body. This is the ordinary interpretation of the encyclical passages:

"The state should leave to these subordinate groups business of minor importance. It will thus carry out with

greater freedom, power, and success the tasks belonging to itself, because it alone can accomplish these; watching, directing, stimulating and restraining, as circumstances suggest or necessity demands. Let those in power, therefore, be convinced that the more faithfully this principle be followed, and a graded hierarchical order exists between the various subsidiary organizations, the more excellent will be both the authority and the efficiency of the social organization as a whole and the happier and more prosperous the condition of the state." QA 80

"...Justice, truly operative, must build up a *juridical* and social order able to pervade all economic activity." QA 88

Relying on these and other passages as well as on the nature of the case, the common opinion of Catholic social writers holds that the directives and regulations of the vocational groups must assume the force of public law, subject, of course, to review by the supreme judicial power of the state.

People of a cynical, or even of an over-cautious, turn of mind are inclined to smile at the idea of granting public-legal status to any industrial group in this country. "Neither the operators of business nor the unions connected with them are responsible enough or sufficiently mature," they will tell you. Well, although this is matter for a separate paper, let the objectors recall that the railroads have just about all the degree of organization, the machinery, and the record of responsibility that is necessary for such a grant. The same is almost equally true of the needle trades industry in men's and women's wear: the joint boards, the high degree of union and employer organization, the long and stable functioning of self-regulation, discipline and responsibility. Other examples could be cited.

General Pattern

The general pattern of the vocational group structure sketched below is not all explicit in papal documents. The Popes have not drawn more than the general lines; it has been the task of students, sociologists, economists, political scientists, to elaborate the papal idea. Omitting those details in the vocational group proposals that are controversial, we can indicate the broad outlines of the structure as conceived by the majority of Catholic authorities interpreting the Pope.

When any industry has been sufficiently organized, both employers and employees, into unions and associations so that they are able to form a joint council and to effect joint agreements regulating the conduct of a major part of the industry, and the group can satisfy the public authority that it is a self-governing body, honest, responsible and disciplined, then it is ready for the granting of public-legal status. This grant of authority creates a new responsible public entity, a public institution where before there was a collection of private organizations, a new public body similar to a municipality, functioning within the jurisdiction of the state, but making laws and regulations for its own governance in all those things that are proper to it.

The powers that seem most necessary for the effective functioning of the groups, and which they should enjoy under their juridical status within the state are the following. They are listed here substantially as enumerated by Trehey.

1) Regulatory—with reference to such matters as working conditions, apprenticeship, wages, hours, production.

2) Administrative — with respect to the organization of different services of the industry, e.g. employment bureaus, training, social insurance, management of funds.

3) Disciplinary—with respect to imposition of sanctions and penalties for violations of regulations.

4) Jurisdictional — with respect to establishment of labor courts, dispute tribunals, and procedures.

5) Representative — with relation to cooperation with other vocational groups, and with the political authorities.

Authority

The authority within the vocational group would reside in joint councils of employers and employees elected democratically directly by their respective unions and associations. Normally there would be councils on the local, regional, and national level. The local council would supervise the activities of the units of its industry in one city or local area, or even of one plant or establishment. Regional councils, made up of delegates from the local councils, would look to the common concerns of the same industry throughout the whole of each region, as for instance, New England. Its function would be to know the problems of the region, study conditions, and make decisions or recommendations to the national council in cases where there is need for adaptations of policy or divergences from general prescriptions made for the whole country. It should also supervise the application of group regulations in its region. The national council, composed of delegates from the regional councils, should coordinate the work of all the regions, represent the whole industry before the government, cooperate with the national councils of other vocational groups in other industries and professions.

Liaison councils would maintain relations with other groups in two ways. Between those groups which are working in related fields but as independent industries—for example, meat packers and leather workers, or cereal, grain brewery, bakery workers—coordination would be effected by a council representing the various industries. Secondly, between industrial, agricultural, commercial, financial, liberal profession groups, there will be need for coordinating councils also, in order that by mutual planning and cooperation they may make the greatest possible contribution to the common good.

This is the broad pattern of the vocational group organization of society as proposed by the Pope and the authoritative students of Christian social order. It is a flexible plan, one that can be adapted to manifold situations and might manifest itself in multiform realizations. It is essentially democratic and natural. It is worlds removed from fascistic molds, and from the corporate state. It is designed to obviate the straight jacket of too much political government, by putting the direction of vocational matters in the hands of those best able to regulate them. It is a corporate society as opposed to a corporate state—two very different ideas.

"Let those free associations, which already flourish and produce salutary fruits, make it the goal of their endeavors, in accordance with Christian social doctrine, to prepare the way and to do their part towards the realization of that ideal type of vocational groups which we have mentioned above." QA 87

"If therefore we consider the whole structure of economic life, as we have already pointed out in our encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, the reign of mutual collaboration of justice and charity in social-economic relations can only be achieved by a body of professional and inter-professional organizations, built on solid Christian foundations, working together to effect, under forms adapted to different places and circumstances, what has been called the Corporation (i.e. the vocational group)." *Divini Redemptoris* 54

A Few Readings

Corporate Democracy, Bernard W Dempsey, S.J., pamphlet, Central Bureau Press, 3835 Westminster Place, St. Louis, 1941, 23 pp.

Simple and accurate. The best short treatment of the organic concept of society as it is used to explain the nature of the corporate social order.

What is Corporative Organization?, Richard Ares, S.J., (tr. by Thomas Fay, S.J.) Central Bureau, 1939, 96 pp. A catechism of corporate theory prepared for the "Ecole Sociale Populaire," Montreal. Simple in style, but covers the

Our Industrial Future

By JAMES F. HANLEY, S.J.

THESE days we are accustomed to hear social theorists decry the fact that peaceful America is worse off economically than wartime America was. "If," these theorists expostulate, "if we could only have the thriving and productive arrangement of our wartime economy as a permanent thing in our country, the social problem would be solved." Mr. O'Shaughnessy* does not agree with this popular conviction. The conclusion supposes that everything was quite well ordered in the economy at war, and Mr. O'Shaughnessy denies that such a supposition can be maintained in the face of basic evidence.

After examining the data for 1942—a very good war year, when unemployment was at the vanishing point, wages high, and prices moderate—he finds that one-third of our American families were dependent upon a wage income that was far below what was necessary to provide adequate standards in food, clothing, housing, and medical care. As a result of his investigations of wartime income, the author of *Economic Democracy and Private Enterprise* states that the advocates of our present "free enterprise system" have small grounds for complacency.

**Economic Democracy and Private Enterprise. By Michael O'Shaughnessy, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945, pp. 117. $2.00.*

The first section of the book is devoted to exploding the myth of social efficiency in our wartime economy, and it goes on from there to develop the thesis that our present system of social and economic organization is incapable of either abolishing the threat of economic depression or elevating living standards among the "disinherited third" of our population.

Condemns Pressure Groups

As Mr. O'Shaughnessy sees it, the present organization lacks the proper mechanism for concerted action by all the people for the common good. The old, *laissez faire* individualism of the person has been displaced by the new individualism of the pressure group, and we have Big Business, Big Labor, and Big Farming acting in selfishness and greed to the detriment of the common good. In his long career as a leading figure in the petroleum industry the author of this book has had frequent experience in Congressional investigations of social maladjustment. Drawing on his own experience as a witness before these committees of Congress, Mr. O'Shaughnessy exposes the inadequacies of present legislative technique. He shows how the various pressure groups, acting purely in their own interest, make it impossible for government to act intelligently. Valuable and necessary information is withheld, issues are confused by publicity and propaganda devices, pressure is exerted along political lines, the common good is disregarded.

Unless these inadequacies are overcome, basic social gains will not be attained. Unless the rampant corporation, the irresponsible unions, and the self-seeking chain farmers are brought under social control, the economy, whether in peace or at war, will continue to give tangible evidence of failure in depressions and widespread material want.

Has Counter-Proposal

The larger section of this book deals with a definite method of bringing the divergent pressure groups under a system of social control in which the activities of all would be directed, not to the selfish ends of the pressure groups, but to the common good of the whole society. To accomplish this end Mr. O'Shaughnessy proposes a system of vocational groups.

Ever since the appearance of *Quadragesimo Anno* it has been customary for Christian social theorists to point out that a true solution of the social crisis can be had by transforming labor unions, employers' associations, and consumers' leagues into vocation groups whose function it would be to deal with production, pricing, and wage problems in the interest of the whole people. Charts have been published to show just how this organization of society would look on paper, and a number of volumes have appeared in efforts to popularize this concept of organic action.

No Impression Made

None of these efforts has met with a great deal of success, because they have neither been able to capture the imagination of large numbers of people, nor have they escaped being targets of unfriendly critics, who have branded them as fascist and undemocratic. A principal cause of this lack of success is that efforts to popularize the vocational idea have either been highly speculative or, if they have been descriptive, too general.

Economic Democracy and Private Enterprise does neither of these things. It attacks the problem of vocational organization in the concrete circumstances of modern America, pointing out that this type of organization, far from being fascistic, fits very well into the framework of our established laws. Congress has the power to charter corporations. Congress is urged to use its power and force the various pressure groups to operate in the national interest. Thus there would come into being a group of semi-regulative bodies, which would be able to present schedules of wages and prices for all industries and professions in the United States.

These schedules would not have the force of law. Rather, they would be concrete and factual guides to legislative action by Congress. They would furnish the lawmaking body with accurate data, obtained first hand from workers, managers, and consumers; and, as a result, the Congress could frame adequate laws to insure joint action by the whole community towards the elimination of the threat of depression and towards the gradual betterment of living standards among the low-income families in our nation.

Book Well Received

This little volume has been well received by people of all shades of social opinion. Its clear exposition of vocational groups in their relation to American legal institutions (a positive statement of the Principle of Subsidiarity) gives the general reader an idea of what vocational groups really are.

If this were its only contribution to Christian social thinking in America, the book would deserve high commendation. But it does more than that. It points out

(Turn to **Future**, page 22)

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main points well. A short and good bibliography.

Chapters on corporatism in Nell-Breunning, *Reorganization of Social Economy;* Husslein, *Christian Social Manifesto;* Vergil Michel, *Christian Social Reconstruction;* Bruehl, *Pope's Plan for Social Reconstruction.*

Foundations of a Modern Guild Order, H. F. Trehey, Catholic University Press, 1940. A doctoral thesis. This and the book mentioned next are the two most exhaustive treatments printed in the United States. They give very full bibliographies of French and German works on the same subject.

Some American Approximations to the 'Industries and Professions' of Pius XI, Munier, Catholic University Press, 1943. A study of the possibilities for vocational groupings in America and an appraisal of what we have in the way of embryonic approaches already made.

French and German authors have done much more in this field than English authorities, although the Irish Jesuits, as well as the English Jesuit, Father Watt and his school, have made many splendid contributions.

Industrial Democracy

By JAMES P. GOODWIN, S.J.
Institute of Social Sciences

CONSTITUTIONAL democracy has been the historical answer of human beings to the problem of control of political power. In the formulation of this answer, the Church of Christ has had a continuous, significant say.

Pope Pius XI pictured in *Quadragesimo Anno* an economic order ruled neither by Capitalist nor Socialist despots but by the representatives of all the people engaged in economic activity. True, he did not call his system of vocational orders democratic; rather he declared "that what Leo XIII taught concerning the form of political government can, in due measure, be applied also to vocational orders. Here, too, men may choose whatever form they please, provided that both justice and the common good be taken into account."

But Pope Pius was precise in distinguishing the structure of vocational orders from the political and bureaucratic anatomy of Fascism. Moreover, Father Parsons' observation that the system of vocational orders can function truly only under a democratic regime, that "as Pope Pius depicts it, it is itself a democratic form of industry, inasmuch as it is autonomous, self-governing and decentralized," appears warranted by a study of the encyclical and the implications of vocational orders.

Because the natural occupational groupings that already exist and simply await juridical recognition are to be autonomous, self-governing and decentralized, their construction will be in harmony with the basic, democratic constitution of the United States. This is important, since a democratic nation will presumably reconstruct its social economy along traditional lines. Only those institutions anywhere will prove fitting, will, in fact, have any chance of success, which are in conformity with the existing, basic institutions, thought and social habits of a people.

But there is another reason for naming the vocational groups democratic and for representing them as such to the people of our country. The reason is this: As constitutional democracy is the historical institution devised for the control of political power, so industrial democracy is that socio-economic order designed for the control of economic power.

Definition

To understand this proposition, we must attempt a definition of industrial democracy and analyse some of its implications.

We call that social economy democratic, wherein economic power is so diffused throughout a people that the representatives of labor and the representatives of consumers, together with the representatives of ownership and management, share, under a constitution, in shaping those economic policies which affect their mutual interest and the common good.

Economic power may be defined, in general, as the capacity to make direct decisions in the economic sphere which have a wide social impact and the ability to exert influence in the extra-economic sphere, as in politics and in the broader social field. More specifically, it is the capacity in smaller or greater degrees to frame and administer policies concerning the distribution of income, the pricing of commodities and services, size and maintenance of plant, entrance of new firms, rate of technological change, preferential treatment of buyers, strategic advantage in purchase of materials, the rate and quantity of production, and related decisions. In the extra-economic field, economic power is the ability to influence the character of legislation through the use of lobbies and other pressure groups, and in the broader social field, to mold public opinion through possession and use of the press and radio.

Concentration of Economic Power

Pius XI in three masterful paragraphs, painted the features of our modern economy. The ominous feature he revealed in unmistakable lines. The modern economy is characterized by the concentration of "immense power and despotic economic domination . . . in the hands of a few . . . not the owners, but only the trustees and directors of invested funds, who administer them at their good pleasure." How has the tyranny been enthroned? The Pope answers, "as a natural result of limitless free competition." He then traces the outlines of a sociology yet to be written, a sociology of the dynamics of economic power which moves first to establish dictatorship in the economic province, then to achieve mastery of the state and finally to acquire domination in the international domain.

Two years after the appearance of *Quadragesimo Anno*, Berle and Means published their monumental work on the concentration of economic power in the United States. Later, the Twentieth Century Fund presented further empirical evidence to all details to the picture drawn by the Pope. Next, in the late thirties and early forties, the statistical studies of the National Resources Committee, the volumes of testimony offered to the Temporary National Economic Committee and the numerous monographs of the same committee, containing the research of many investigators, made available abundant data in corroboration of the fact of "despotic economic domination," a revelation embarrassing to all those, like the National Association of Manufacturers, who persist in contrasting socialism with our free, American enterprise system.

For the sake of emphasis, some fragmentary facts should be recalled: Berle and Means discovered that 200 largest non-banking corporations in 1929, controlled between 45 and 53 per cent of the non-banking corporate wealth and between 35 and 45 per cent of the non-banking *business wealth* of the country. The language of their conclusions could have been lifted literally from the encyclical: the control of this vast wealth was exercised by a handful of managers who directed the policies of the big 200. The National Resources Committee came upon the same 200 in 1939 and found that the giants had increased their percentage of the assets of all non-financial corporations to 57 per cent. The story with the same monotonous theme could be drawn out, the concurrence of separate witnesses and the accumulation of evidence adduced, but there is no need; the conclusion of Pope Pius has been substantiated: "Free competition is dead· economic dictatorship has taken i' place."

Dangers

The gigantic corporations of our da) make possible if not inevitable anonymous, undercover violation of social justice, the predatory activity of the socially irresponsible.

But the future danger inherent in such concentration is even greater. Wherever centralized control exists, wherever social power converges to a center, the possibility of its capture by a well-organized political faction is always present. And this possibility is thoroughly understood today by a faction propagandizing for a bloodless "Managerial Revolution."

In such an environment, where concentrated power is used for the selfish purposes of private groups, Socialism has its own peculiarly attractive appeal to the disorganized, collective mass; it can, with a show of plausibility, claim to represent the democratic aspirations of what Pope Pius XII, in his Christmas message of 1944, describes as the "shapeless mass of individuals . . . waiting for the impulse from outside, an easy play-

thing in the hands of anyone who seeks to exploit their instincts and impressions."

Industrial Representation

A consciousness is growing in the United States of the need of industrial self-government democratically organized along functional lines. In December of 1940, Phil Murray, president of the C.I.O. submitted to the government his plan of Industry Councils. The plan provided for the creation in each basic defense industry of an Industry Council to be composed of equal representation from management and labor together with one government representative who was to serve as chairman.

The plan further recommended the creation of a National Defense Board whose composition was to consist of the same type of representation as that of the Industry Councils. The proposed functions of this over-all Board were the following; to establish rules for the operation of the distinct Industry Councils; to advise each Council of the consumer needs and armament requirements as well as the *general* price level that should prevail in its industry.

Murray's plan was specifically drawn up for the benefit of our war-time economy, but leading C.I.O. men, as the two spokesmen, Golden and Ruttenberg, evidenced in their "Dynamics of Industrial Democracy," hoped for extending the program into peace-time economy, with, no doubt, some modifications in the war-time powers of the National Board.

Permanent Councils Desired

The plan was never given a try, but a measure of cooperation between management and labor was introduced into many firms through the inauguration of joint boards to facilitate administration and to elicit the valuable suggestions of workers on better methods of fostering production. This wide experience opened up a promising glimpse of the vast advantages in broader collaboration between the two groups.

Recently, President Truman expressed the hope of an embarrassed government and of many citizens in his address delivered at the opening of the November, 1945, Labor-Management Conference: "The time has come for labor and management to handle their own affairs in the traditional, American, democratic way."

No Blueprint

What will be the democratic way when applied to the economic sphere? One point is sure: no one has yet decided; moreover, no single person can or should attempt to decide definitively. We believe, in the language of Pope Pius, "that the end intended will be the more certainly attained the greater the contribution furnished by men of technical, commercial and social competence, and, still more, by Catholic principles and their application."

We are not surprised at the immense difficulties inherent in the task of a Christian reconstruction of human society. We are deeply confident in the power of God's grace which has inaugurated and kept in operation through the ages the institution of the family and that immensely more complex institution, the supernatural society of the Church. Above all, we draw inspiration from the thrilling words of the present representative of Christ our Lord:

"The Church cannot overlook the fact that the worker, in his efforts to better his lot, is opposed by a machinery which is not in accordance with nature, but is at variance with God's plan and with the purpose he had in creating the goods of the earth . . . what man, and especially, what priest or Christian, could remain deaf to the cries that rise from the depths and call for justice and a *spirit of brotherly collaboration* in a world ruled by a just God . . . The call of the moment is not lamentation but action: not lamentation over what has been, but reconstruction of what is to arise and must arise for the good of society . . . He who would have the star of peace shine out and stand over society should reject every form of materialism which sees in the people only a herd of individuals who, divided and without any internal cohesion, are considered as a mass to be lorded over and treated arbitrarily; he should strive to understand society as an intrinsic unity, which . . . tends, with the *collaboration* of the various classes and professions, towards the eternal and ever new aims of culture and religion. (Christmas Message of 1942)

Structural Outline

In this spirit, I suggest the following: The structure of Industrial Democracy in the United States would parallel our political framework; analogous to the States would be the distinct, self-governing, industrial, professional and agricultural groups. Each group would elect a council with equal representation from management and labor. In place of Phil Murray's government chairman, a representation of consumer interests chosen by the professional groups, government and municipal employees and similar service groups seems preferable. The number of such Industry Councils would be based on a pattern like that charted by the National Resources Committee in "The Structure of the American Economy." (Cf. chart x.)

The distinct Industry Councils would safeguard the principle of decentralization by providing for local and regional bodies where advisable. Consumer representation may or may not be introduced into these local and regional organizations according to the prominence or absence of consumer interests. Where it is at all probable that the common good is at stake in these smaller assemblies and not merely the mutual interests of labor and management, then they ought to call for representation from the professions.

Most students of the encyclical are agreed that an economy-wide Council should be formed by the representatives from the Industry Councils. Its presence in the organization of Industrial Democracy would be analogous to the position of our federal government in the political order.

An Industrial Constitution

The development of a basic law limiting the range of decisions left to the discretion of popular representatives is as fundamental in the control of economic power and the safeguarding of rights as is the guarantee of representative government in the political order. The men who form the Industry Councils would, therefore, in line with the tradition of our democracy, probably call a constitutional convention. Delegates would be chosen by the suffrage of all engaged in each industry. Representation in the convention would be composed on the same basis of representation in the separate vocational groups. Meanwhile, Catholic social philosophers and scientists should work on their contribution to an American Industrial Constitutional law.

Importance of a Dream

The two spokesmen of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, Clinton Golden and Harold Ruttenberg, concluded their excellent work, "The Dynamics of Industrial Democracy," with a plea, the plea for a vision: "Men live by dreams as much as by bread, if not more so. They fight for ideals more than they fight to keep material things. Industrial Democracy is still largely a dream—an objective towards which the workingman strives, an inspiration that drives him and his chosen leaders onward . . . Whatever the practical mechanisms, though, to be successful they must be coupled to a dream—a dream of a free, prosperous, secure, happy life. Only by the dream of great things have a free people been able to accomplish great things."

To the extent that American Jesuits help to clarify the dream into the substantial shape of reality, they give an added meaning to the canticle of our Lady: "Deposuit potentes de sede, et exaltavit humiles. Esurientes implevit bonis: et divites dimisit inanes." Or is the vision of Industrial Democracy an illusory, wholly unwarranted, accommodated sense of Scripture?

CAN THE POOR BUY FARMS?

By JAMES McSHANE, S.J.

PROBLEM: Poverty stricken Mr. Jones has five boys and an 80-acre farm. The five boys want farms. How are they going to get them?

Answer: They will need a certain minimum (a) loan; (b) learning; (c) liberalized taxation and (d) cash income.

a. As to the *loan*, every year about 10,000 farm tenants were becoming owners in pre-war days—through government loans. These loans were provided for in a so-called Tenant Purchase Act. We could go into detail as to needed amendments but there is no need for that. The essential idea is that the money was loaned very carefully, was repaid by them, and loaned again. Senator Bankhead sponsored the plan. He has long sought an increase in the size of this fund, which is now too small. He would like, say a half billion dollars added. Otherwise not many boys can obtain farms. Other provisions of the Farm Ownership Program would be liberalized by an act called Bill 1507—Bankhead Amendment.

For example, a fine farm may be available at $8,000, but a clause in the bill says no loan will be made over $7,000, and the deal is impossible. There is no need to go into these details. Borrowers kept up their payments; administration costs are about right. The main need in the legislation is for more money in the revolving fund.

b. *Learning.* A good farm management plan includes such items as a variety of cash crops, balance between grain and live stock, rotation of crops, good soil building practice, all opposed to monoculture such as planting only wheat or cotton. One government agency dealing with half a million farm families who were broke talked and prodded them into producing more for home use—more vegetables, eggs, milk products. A good farm management plan was made a requisite for loans under the Tenant Purchase or Farm Ownership Program.

c. *Taxation.* These are the homestead exemptions, as they existed the last time I looked at a list:

For example—The first $5,000 value of the property is exempt in Florida, South Dakota, Mississippi.

Alabama	$2,000
Arkansas	1,000
Florida	5,000
Georgia	2,000
Iowa	2,500
Louisiana	2,000
Minnesota	4,000
(as to tax for operating)	
Mississippi	5,000
North Carolina	1,000
(Constitutional provision)	
Oklahoma	1,000
South Dakota	5,000
Texas	3,000
Utah	2,000
(Constitutional provision)	
West Virginia	
Wyoming	500

In West Virginia homesteads have a tax limit of 1%, non-homesteads have a limit of 1½% outside and 1% within a municipality.

Base Tax on Income

Taxation should be in proportion to the income from the farm, not in proportion to the improvements. Picture 10 family-type farms of 200 acres each in a Kansas County. Each farm has a home, barn, and all the buildings necessary for livestock. Mr. Banker wants to buy the 10 farms, move the buildings off, run his machines on the fields for grain farming. Taxes now are based on improvements. Mr. Banker saves tax money by getting rid of buildings and families. Taxation of this kind penalizes the farm family and farm home. Taxation on income is fair. It places the burden on the richer farms. Without going into detail, we may note in passing that this plan has been found successful in one county in Western Kansas—Trego.

If it is necessary in order to provide plenty of good farms, all the large farms, which comprise thousands of acres, can be taxed so that they will be sold in smaller units. The system of supplying loans and good training should be tried first and might prove adequate.

The problem is a very real one. In some of the most fertile counties of Iowa and Illinois, rich men hold 400, 800, and even 2,000 acres of the best land. Often the small farmer can obtain only a farm with light, poor soil. He should have a chance at a good farm.

Slow Monopoly Division

A thoroughly practical bill can be and has been drawn to break up the land monopoly. One way to write the bill is to say "to take effect through surtax five years hence." Time is thus allowed for orderly liquidation of surplus land. The surtax rises, let us say, 2%, 4%, 8%, on each thousand dollars of farm income above a certain level. Bills similar to this have been introduced in one or two states. In North Dakota a farm organization (Farmers' Union) backed such a bill, but there was not enough public demand to put it through.

d. The young farmers need *cash*. They have to save money and get good prices for what they sell.

1. They should not be lazy, raising only wheat and loafing most of the year. Many an odd job of carpentry or machine repair helps the small farmer pay for his land. At times one-third of the income of farm families comes from sources off the farm.

2. Our young farmers must show skill, returning plenty of productivity to the soil, rotating crops, etc. They must show skill in producing and marketing animal products, skill in buying and using the equipment adapted to their needs.

3. The big booms and depressions in farm prices must be controlled so as to eliminate great fluctuation.

All Fluctuation Harmful

A nose dive in prices wipes out the borrowers who are trying to pay for farms.

A sudden boom is bad, too. Rich investors buy up farms at inflated prices. This of course prevents the young farmer from finding a farm reasonably priced that he can pay for out of future income. The young homesteader can't compete with the rich buyer.

How can prices be held at a reasonable level — not too high, but high enough to pay legitimate expenses? Several plans have been offered; some of them have been tried. We may illustrate one of the plans with wheat.

Let's suppose 90c is a price for wheat which will pay a decent wage and legitimate expenses. In our country we use up the same amount of wheat each year —almost exactly the same amount. We'll represent the amount by 750, (for 750 million bushels).

Not so long ago we had far more than 750 on hand—1300 and more. If all 1300 were dumped on the market at once, there would be no way of keeping the price up to 90c.

One of the plans (called the AAA for short) which was tried, limited the number of acres planted to wheat. The idea of course, was to hold the surplus down and the price up. Limiting acreage was not a 100% success.

Better Price Plan

The present writer thinks there is a far better plan which we will call a plan for marketing allotments.

We can set forth the bare essentials of the plan in a few words. Each farmer in the plan is allowed to raise all the wheat he wants to for use on his own farm. (Incidentally the marketing allotment plan applies to other products. The farmer himself determines how he is going to use his land for hay, pasture, wheat, beans, etc.) The farmer will be assigned a quota as to how much wheat he can *sell*.

A small farmer has been selling on the average of 500 bushels each year.

He will be allotted a quota of 500 bushels for cash sale. If he raises more, he can store the surplus, feed it to chickens, eat it, or do anything else with it on his own farm.

A board of 3 men will determine that in 1946. The price must be 90c to pay the farmers' expenses. The board also makes the allotments, based almost entirely on the sales of each farm over 10 years. The board sells abroad what we do not need at home. We may represent the export by "100." The domestic price, 90c, is higher than the foreign price. A loss is sustained on each of the "100" bushels sold abroad. The loss is borne by all the wheat farmers, each according to his share. The 90c domestic price was set high enough to take care of this.

Bill Already Formulated

The foregoing plan has been put in the form of a bill introduced into Congress, but is receiving no attention now. It has been recommended by the last President, the Vice President, Secretary of Agriculture, and other officials.

As the bill (H. R. 43) stands, it provides that large factory-type farms should not be allowed to market quite as much grain, in proportion, as the small farmer. The limitation is not severe at first, but can, of course, be made more severe later, if that seems desirable. As the Bill stands, one of the men on the 3-man board would ex-officio, be the Secretary of Agriculture.

There in an outline you have the plan for allotting quotas as to the marketing of crops, in order to maintain farm income. A good loan, learning, liberal taxation, and income; those are four things needed by the future owners of farms.

ISOCCASIONS

(Continued from Page 10)

ined the problems that confront Negroes in urban "black belts."

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18 articles and pamphlets on social and kindred subjects were published by authors from **Woodstock College** during the last four months of 1945.

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Father John C. Friedl, Director of the Institute of Social Order at **Rockhurst College, Kansas City,** has a group of labor men at work on the draft of an ideal constitution and by-laws for a labor union. The work was undertaken recently after management representatives who were collaborating with the union men on an ideal Labor-Management contract insisted that labor must state clearly its own responsibilities. The purpose of the present study is to write into both constitution and by-laws a clear statement of the responsibilities which labor must accept.

New Conscription Bill

On Thursday, January 17, 1946 Senator Johnson (D., Colo.) introduced another bill to provide for universal military training on behalf of Senator Carville (D., Nev.).

In his statement presenting the bill Senator Johnson said: "I desire to say that I am not in favor of this particular bill or any other bill providing for conscription." The bill (S. 1749) has been referred to the committee on Military Affairs.

The measure provides that high school and college education may be completed uninterruptedly, even though all youth will be required to serve one full year in the Armed Forces. In institutes of higher learning a course in military and naval theory must be given. Administration of the course will be in the hands of a board whose chairman is the United States Commissioner of Education. On the board would serve three college or university presidents appointed by the President of the United States, the Army Chief of Staff, the Chief of Naval Operations and the Commander of the Marine Corps.

All youths would be compelled to register for military service at the age of 18. Those in high school would be automatically deferred until their school work is completed. Those who did not intend to continue studies would be obliged to spend a full year in military training. Others who desire may take a full year of training before entering upon a college course.

College students, on the other hand, would continue their studies uninterruptedly during the normal school year but would spend the three-month vacation period in a training camp of one of the military services. A student who discontinued his college course would be compelled immediately to serve any uncompleted portion of his military service.

The Carville bill is far less drastic than many which have been proposed, but it is still conscription.

Co-ops (from page 5)

built on the practical foundation of actual experience in organizing credit unions and cooperatives of various types.

The other national organization, the ISO Cooperative Committee, has been organized only three years but has made definite, if not sensational, progress.

As a project of the ISS, the first World Mission Institute was held in St. Louis, July 3 to August 3, 1945. This was the first institute of its kind ever to be held. Of the 28 priests attending, four religious orders were represented. The main courses taught were credit unions, consumers cooperatives, and marketing cooperatives. The influence of this institute has been felt not only in the United States but in many countries. Its success has prompted plans for a similar institute in the summer of 1946.

At the summer meeting of the ISO Cooperative Committee it was suggested that all efforts of the committee be bent toward creation of extension departments in our colleges. That is a large order and one not easily filled. However, we find on examination that the extension department of St. Francis Xavier University in Nova Scotia was not built in a month or a year but has been a progressive growth over a period of many years. We need one Jesuit college to show the way in this country. The logical place for us to look for the lay leaders in co-op work is in our colleges. There are the ideal future managing directors for credit unions and educational directors and national organizers for cooperatives. Perhaps we can interest students while they are still under-graduates. If not, then through extension departments we will spread cooperative interest and action among Catholics.

To date the Jesuits have made a worthy contribution to the promotion of cooperatives. There is an ever widening field in which we may work. Both Father John Thomas, chairman of the ISO Cooperative Committee, and the Cooperative Department of The Queen's Work will be more than pleased to hear from any who have even the faintest interest in learning the co-op way. There is an immense need which may be filled by Jesuit co-op leaders.

CONVENTION

As we were about to go to press a copy of the program for the Seventh Annual Convention of the American Catholic Sociological Society, Cleveland, March 2 and 3, arrived at the Office. Included among the speakers are the following Jesuits: Ralph A. Gallagher, "The Challenge of the Delinquent"; John Coogan, "A Flank Approach to the Race Problem"; John O'Connor, "Disintegrating Factors in American Family Life."

Publishers' Galley

THE STATE IN CATHOLIC THOUGHT

A Treatise in Political Philosophy—By Heinrich A. Rommen, LL. D., St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1945. $6.00.

The book in review here, though not a product of the ISO, serves to illustrate, as an example in one field, the kind of achievement the Institute is aiming for. And works like this are very much needed these days. In the school of political thought, and by participation in other schools also, the trend is constantly widening toward the entrenchment of the force theory, despite all the noble devotion to democratic rights and liberties. Thus, for instance, Ralph Barton Perry of Harvard in his *Puritanism and Democracy* informs us that modern democracy had its accouchement under the Enlightenment. If he means modern democracy in the French, and hence an unsound, sense he can hardly be disputed. But if he means democracy in the sense of the sound principles laid down in the second paragraph of the Declaration of Independence, he is wrong. The French sense of the 'general will,' which the Enlightenment contributed, is in keeping with the force theory. The principles of the Declaration, however, are in strict accord with the age-old Catholic tradition, and this is one of the things that Dr. Rommen helps to make abundantly clear. A Constitution is, of course, as essential to sound democracy, as is a proper recognition of the dignity, rights and liberties of man on which the Constitution should rest. No one can intelligently peruse Dr. Rommen's book without realizing that Constitutionalism is a necessary outgrowth of the Catholic tradition in its purification of the old Greek and Roman inheritance. Yet Charles Howard McIlwain in his *Constitutionalism, Ancient and Modern*, has completely disregarded this tradition, and can go so far as to express it as his opinion that if it had not been for religious schism absolutism might have destroyed constitutionalism. A few comparisons like these serve well to show how an achievement like Dr. Rommen's is so very much needed.

Dr. Rommen issued this work as a recent member of the staff of St. Joseph's College, West Hartford, Connecticut; but he evidently labored over it for a long time, for it is too scholarly and too exhaustive to have resulted from anything but lengthy and arduous study. He is not satisfied with merely stating Catholic political teaching; he states, analyzes, and contrasts all the other types of political teaching as well. So much so that this volume might be called a Dictionary of political thought in contrast with Catholic teaching. And the author takes pains to make quite clear the significance of what he means by 'Catholic'. In his Preface he says, "The adjective 'Catholic' here means, so to speak, the place where this political philosophy grew and found its home. It does not imply that this political philosophy is based on theology or revelation." He goes on in his Introduction to show how this department of the 'philosophia perennis,' like other departments, can be the possession, as it is and has been, of non-Catholics. Also in the Introduction he conveys a conspectus of the range to be covered: "Thus industrious research, penetrating thought, and sympathetic insight into the changing problems and the unchanging principles have produced a Catholic political philosophy that in its architecture is a synthesis of inheritances of almost 2,000 years of intellectual exertion."

It is the essential content of this 2,000 years of exertion that he proceeds to present to us. But he is not just a mere reporter. His own critical evaluation is current from beginning to end, and he does not overlook notable Catholic writings which have failed in wisdom. Starting with those considerations that reveal an adequate concept of man and nature, as one might expect, the volume is divided into four parts: Philosophical Foundations, The Philosophy of the State, Church and State, The Community of Nations. These parts are divided into Chapters, totalling thirty-two in all, followed by an Index.

Naming some of the Chapters may give an idea of what to look for: The Idea of Man; The Contents of the Natural Law; The State as a Moral Organism; The Nature of the Common Good; Sovereignty; The Modern Secularized State; The Basis of International Peace; etc. No library can afford to be without this masterly and most timely condensation; teachers of the other social subjects will like to have it at hand; and it will supply many an urgent need in parochial or general study clubs.

M. A. Meagher, S. J.

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RUSSIA AND THE WESTERN WORLD

—The Place of the Soviet Union in the Comity of Nations. By Max M. Laserson. New York: Macmillan. 1945 275 pp. $2.50.

At a time when the major obstacle to successful UNO activity seems to be the Russian enigma, this synthesis of the U.S.S.R.'s doctrinal and practical evolution is as timely as it is illuminating. Professor Laserson's education at St. Petersburg, his brief political activity in the Kerenski Government, and his numerous publications on Russian politics guarantee his factual reliability, while his Latvian origin and long absence from Russia make for an objectivity which is preserved throughout the book.

"Russia and the Western Word" could be appropriately sub-titled "A History of Soviet Compromise, National and International." Making due allowance for the Red variations of Machiavellianism, Professor Laserson submits as his thesis that "Bolshevik evolution is to a great degree the result of compulsory political and sociological causation. We should, therefore, never ascribe too much cleverness, maneuvering or even diabolical shrewdness to the men responsible for the Soviet foreign policy." (p. 166). While noting the internal ruthlessness and external brigandage which characterized Russian development, he is primarily concerned with analyzing those local causes which stimulated national and international policy revision.

Russian policy at home and abroad has veered between the ideal and the real, between the theory of propagating international revolution and the practical necessity of erecting within her borders a stable, efficient refuge for socialism. After ejecting Kerenski's regime, the Bolsheviks had to act quickly and in disregard of unreal theories. Internationally, the Bolsheviks came to realize the futility of world communism when confronted with political ostracism and a league of capitalist nations. The story of compromise, prompted by the exigencies of internal recovery, was continued by Stalin's desertion of Lenin's theory and the nationalist victory over Trotsky's internationalism. From then on the role of the Comindel (Commissariat of Foreign Affairs) increased, while that of the Comintern dwindled even to final dissolution. Pure communist economic theory was unworkable and so five year plans were substituted; new social classes replaced those levelled by revolution. The Bolsheviks recrossed the chasm to pre-1918 history to find supports or props for state welfare. Family life and modified ownership were restored, religion was again encouraged by a professedly atheistic administration. The achievements of Holy Mother Russia under the Czars were republicized while the resuscitation of Russian nationalism was officially sponsored.

Stalin made additional concessions. The state returned to more traditional concepts of law and found stability in a new constitution. A limited relaxation of centralization introduced a federated structure which would satisfy minority ambitions and yet preserve loyal dependence upon historic Russia. The changes were gradual and in themselves often unimportant, yet they all converged to

establish this fact: despite lip service to world ideals, Russia was in reality becoming a national state after the western model. True, dictatorship is still enthroned at the Kremlin, but democratic principles which inevitably resulted from the reforms are permeating the people at large.

In foreign affairs, too, Professor Laserson observes a similar evolution. The strict adherence to traditional Communism in Lenin's Russia dictated international intransigence until his death. As Russia developed along nation-state lines, aloofness waned: she restored diplomatic relations with similar states of the west and finally entered a League with them despite their capitalist affliction. The necessity of national defense and national welfare led the Bolsheviks to outstrip Czarist territorial ambitions; it guided the expansion into the Baltic nations, Poland and Slav neighbors to the south-west.

Russia was moving, really and symbolically, ever westward. The late war showed Russia her dependence upon the western Powers and the advantages of continued cooperation with them. A refusal would mean war, which the Russian state could ill afford. She took her place as a founding member in the UNO, an international venture but so at variance with the Lenin concepts. The author feels that now Russia is too closely bound to the western powers, too deeply involved in the UNO to withdraw. The present disagreement is due to a new Russian quest for compromise. The USSR wishes to find in the international sphere a parallel to their own national federation which balanced powerful central control and autonomous Soviet republics. They hope to settle somewhere between realistic "national Clemenceauism" and ideological "international Wilsonianism."

Professor Laserson has presented a provoking interpretation of Russian policies in which familiar facts are felicitously combined. His work is clear and most readable, while his conclusions are heartening in a period of international tenseness. Only time and watching can tell the validity of his analysis.

Joseph A. Rock, S. J.

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LABOR TODAY AND TOMORROW—By Aaron Levenstein. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1945. 253 pp. and xiv. $2.75.

The author of this eminently readable running commentary on today's labor world teaches in a couple of labor schools, and is on the editorial staff of the *Research Institute of America*. Both activities have apparently prepared him well to recognize the roots and fruits of industrial discord, and to explain the crisis from the differing viewpoints of the several interested parties. Other books on the current labor situation treat of many of the topics dealt with by Mr. Levenstein, but the vivid, on-the-scene style of his work plus his reportorial objectivity make the reading of *Labor Today and Tomorrow* very pleasant as well as very profitable.

Labor's yesterday, today, and tomorrow evidently is conflict. Conflict means at least two disputants and an issue. Mr. Levenstein presents the recent background and current history of quite a few issues of conflict, from the viewpoint of the several contestants. The Sewell Avery case, taken as representative of the almost universal struggle between labor, management, and government factions in the country, is used as the focal point throughout a large part of the book.

The book deals with labor relations in the war period. Coercive practices of management didn't stop with the early 1930's. Labor, on the upward trek once more, continues its battle for a larger slice of the industrial melon. Government, saddled with a military job of primary national importance, and caught between the fires of its two industrial arms, has to adopt some forceful methods itself: thus extending the struggle to a three-quartered affair with not much quarter given. In his treatment of industry's approach to national defense needs, the author offers rather conclusive evidence for the charge that American individualism and capitalistic free enterprise is fundamentally selfish. An apparent lack of interest on the part of many industrialists in the national welfare moved the government to step in itself and assume responsibility in expanding the steel, aluminum, magnesium, rubber, aircraft, shipbuilding, munitions and other industries. In the preliminaries to that expansion, government found too, not only the selfishness of private industry, but likewise evidence of one of the contradictions of the free enterprise system, namely, that left to itself it tends to eliminate competition and establish monopoly.

The dynamic activity and unchanging inconsistency of our communistic brethren is handled rather effectively. So are the psychological issues underlying the famous no-strike pledge, the over-all commendable record of the WLB beset by so many difficulties from within and without. Separate chapters are accorded to the various "battle-fronts" of the wartime American industrial war: the battle over maintenance of membership, over stabilization, the rights of management, labor's furtive pushing into concerns hitherto considered purely managerial; over the Fair Employment Practices commission, and over the proposed national service legislation.

Labor's house divided against itself, communistic sneakeries therein, and the effects of international unionism thereon, receive some plain speech. The difficulties confronting the veteran in his quest for work come in for a chapter of good exposition.

An encouragingly fine tribute is paid to the Church's interest in labor troubles, and to several leaders, such as Father Drolet of New Orleans, Bishop Haas, Msgr. Ryan, Father Boland, and Father Smith of the Crown Heights Labor School. This reviewer cannot recommend the book too highly to readers of the ISO BULLETIN.

Joseph B. Schuyler, S. J.

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FOR US THE LIVING—By John J. Mahoney. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1945. 329 pp. $3.00.

About twenty-five years ago, Dr. Mahoney initiated a course in the Department of Education of Boston University entitled "School and Society." His book, "For Us the Living" is the product of these years of research into the problems of Civic Education. As in other matters, the public schools have been elected to undertake the work of transmitting the principles of good citizenship. Once upon a time, Americanization courses were the vogue; now, however, the social and political, as well as civic, development of young Americans is being emphasized. Dr. Mahoney draws on his experience to meet the teacher's needs in this regard.

According to the author, Civic Education is not a separate course in the curriculum, but includes and involves all subjects, methods, student activities and administrative and supervisory procedures. The teacher has not fully performed his duty when he has given his class only the intellectual training and the information-content of, say, history or arithmetic. The students should be helped to become good citizens by their teacher's purposive use of the opportunities for civic training implicitly contained in every subject. A Springfield (Mass.) school teacher who was asked to explain the much-publicized "Springfield Plan" for intercultural education was hard-put for a definition of it. The best she could do was to call it an "infusion." I do not know whether Dr. Mahoney would subscribe to this as a summary of his thesis, but while reading his book, one comes to understand what the teacher must have meant.

The need of religion in the public school is recognized as basic. Yet,

teachers "are of course stopped from teaching 'a religion' within the public school's four walls. But this prohibition does not free them from the responsibility of emphasizing the undeniable fact that America's tradition is religious as well as democratic . . . Without any question the teacher who presumes to engage in teaching of the kind indicated treads on dangerous ground. But when we say that, we merely call attention to a difficult problem which public educators, interested in education for democracy, should face and try to solve. To ignore it is a 'safe' policy. But it is not educational statesmanship." (p. 67.)

A teacher in a Catholic school, with Christian Doctrine as the core-subject and the spirit of Christ as the co-ordinating agent of the entire educational program will be strengthened by learning something of the struggle which other teachers face who have to look to social, civic or political life to find a soul for their work. For that reason alone, the book is worth reading. In addition, teachers will find much of value to implement the social worth of their teaching—a point well worth meditating for readers of the ISO BULLETIN whose work confines them to the classroom. Prejudices, bigotry, duties of voters, qualities of political candidates and of public office-holders, the responsibility of the individual towards the community, the problem of living in harmony with others and such matters could furnish practical instances and illustrations for use in Catholic schools. For Catholic educators, too, must be vitally concerned with the work of producing good citizens as well as good men.

Edward Duff, S. J.

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THE EXPANDING COMMUNITY.—A Political Philosophy For Today. By John MacDonald. Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons. 1945. ix, 176 pp. Index. $2.25.

"Where exactly are we now"? is the question this little book answers." John MacDonald, Professor of Social Philosophy and Social Psychology at the University of Alberta, analyzes and compiles the attitudes of the peoples of the English-speaking 'Democracies' on questions of the day.

The book is entitled *The Expanding Community*. It's subtitle, "A Political Philosophy For Today," is misleading because, as the author tells his readers in the beginning of the book, he is only interested in examining the development of thought and attitude. It is for "practtical statesmen and specialists" to work out in the light of the social and political "discoveries" exhibited in the book "where we go from here."

The author writes in the role of a social psychologist. It is only incidental that he introduces any philosophy. From the tone of the book and from a statement in the first chapter in praise of John Stuart Mill one would judge that Dr. Dent is a Utilitarian. However, in a final chapter he professes that there are four "constants" which are beyond argument: respect for human life, truthfulness or veracity, respect for property rights and what is called 'charity.' But it is almost impossible for the author to judge the real significance of "where exactly we are now" as he doesn't seem to know where we came from or whither we are going.

Professor MacDonald is concerned with what he calls "The Sense of Community." It is a feeling among people that they are all "in the same boat," a union that results from a common defense against a common menace. Besides he mentions that this 'defense' is a greater unifying force than the "brotherhood of man." "That is still in the realm of utopian dreams."

He then goes on to show where these common menaces are, and how the people are reacting toward them, e.g., Private Property vs. Public Ownership, National Sovereignty Unlimited, Government Planning, and Democracy.

There is nothing extraordinary about the observations of the author. He shows that with regard to the above mentioned problems people take a conservative 'middle-of-the-road' view.

There is no discussion of a new world organization in the book.

The style is clear and direct. Those interested in social psychology will find this book easy reading.

Timothy L. McDonnell, S. J.

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WHAT THE INFORMED CITIZEN NEEDS TO KNOW—Edited by Bruce Bliven and A. G. Mezerik. New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce. 1945. xiii, 377 pp. $3.00.

This is not a handy manual for the recent immigrant with information about how to register for voting, how to call the police or fire department, and what an alderman does. Nor is it, as it might well be, an encyclopedia of factual data, a sort of citizen's *World Almanac*. Nor is it, although this it comes closest to being, a series of brilliant essays by outstanding authorities upon all of the significant national and international questions of the day.

Instead the book contains 22 quite uneven chapters on as many crucial problems. Not one of the subjects treated, except perhaps the comparatively ephemeral problem of war surpluses, could be omitted; it might, on the other hand, be respectfully suggested that chapters might well have been included on the increasingly important question of state vs. federal government, on the significance of international air travel, and particularly on the various organizations for the regulation of money, food supply, education and culture, and so forth, which have sprung up as affiliates of UNO.

Six of the chapters treat of international topics: UNO by Mr. Stettinius, America and World Trade, World Industrialization, Our Relations with Russia, The Inter-American Family, and Relief and Rehabilitation. Some of Mr. Inman's remarks concerning Inter-American relations will rightly annoy Catholics.

The sixteen chapters on national affairs concern jobs, inflation, monopoly, surplus, planning (monetary, resource development, agrarian, urban, and social), science, MVA's, heath, housing, taxes, small farms, veterans, minorities, politics, labor, and a final chapter by the two editors on what might best be called, to use the editor's own expression, "dynamic stability." The term is based upon the analogy of an airplane. At rest it can be tipped over by the wind; in flight it goes along smoothly. The presumption is that our whole society is right and that we must just keep it going along this way through "difficult ways to magnificent hopes." But there is such a thing as a tail-spin.

The authors are almost all public figures and authorities on the problems they discuss. Outstanding are the contributions by Secretary Wallace on Full Employment, Senator O'Mahoney on Patents, and Charles Abrams on housing.

There are two appendices. The first contains the texts of the Atlantic Charter, the UNO charter, the GI Bill of Rights, and five other documents. The second lists books on all of the topics discussed.

Francis J. Corley, S. J.

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MARCHING BLACKS—By Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. New York: Dial Press, 1945. 218 pp. $2.50.

Marching Blacks purports to tell the story of the Negro's growth in terms of his increasing mass power; its sub-title lists it as "An Interpretative History of the Rise of the Black Common Man." But it is too superficial to be historical; too emotional to be impartially interpretive. Poor handling of a basically sound thesis debases it into a fervid emotional story of Negroes marching up the glory road of freedom, up to Canaanland and out of the wilderness of Egyptland. From its flamboyant title to the "Glory Halle-

lujah" that crowns its close, *Marching Blacks* smacks more of the emotionally repetitive spiritual than of the scholarly work one would expect of an educated Negro leader.

Any value the book may have lies in the insight it gives into the mind of a Negro leader (Powell is a U. S. Congressman from New York); in its listing of proven techniques of non-violent direct social action; and in fleeting glimpses of Negro leaders and mass organizations. Some of the injustices it portrays may sting the white conscience. This is one book that the student of race relations may bypass without fear of great loss.

M. B. Majoli, S. J.
Race Relations Conference
St. Marys, College.

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In the bewildering welter of uncertainties after World War II Waldemar Gurian discovers five tendencies which he reports in the January, 1946 issue of *The Review of Politics*. The tendencies are: 1. contradictory demands for global solutions to our problems and for local rights—for a world-state, on the one hand, and for autonomy (India, Java, etc.) on the other; 2. opposition to selfish, gigantic corporations and cartels, yet realization that the system most violently opposed to them (Soviet Russia) "creates the most all-embracing system of slavery"; 3. the shifts in centers of power, which make Russia and England now supreme in Europe; 4. the increasingly dominant position of the United States; 5. the conflicting tendencies of extreme naturalism and a tremendous longing for religion.

NOTICE

Mr. John Taylor Egan, Assistant Commissioner for Project Management of the Federal Public Housing Authority has supplied us with about 50 copies of a Bibilography on Public Housing and Related Subjects, compiled in December, 1945. They will be sent to those who request them as long as the supply lasts.

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The Central Office has on hand a very limited supply of reprints of an article by Father John LaFarge on "Anti-Semitism," from *Religious Education*. Copies of these will be sent to anyone requesting them as long as the supply lasts. Address: Institute of Social Order, 3742 West Pine Blvd., St. Louis 8, Missouri.

COMING MEETINGS

Rural Sociological Society, The Hollanden Hotel, Cleveland, Ohio, March 1-3, 1946.

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American Sociological Society, The Hollanden Hotel, Cleveland, Ohio, March 1-3, 1946.

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The American Catholic Sociological Society, Hotel Cleveland, Cleveland, Ohio, March 2 and 3, 1946.

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National Catholic Educational Association, Hotel Jefferson, St. Louis, Mo., April 23-25, 1946.

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Jesuit Educational Association, Hotel Jefferson, St. Louis, Mo., April 22, 1946.

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National Conference of Social Work, Hotel Statler, Buffalo, New York, May 19-25, 1946.

*

Catholic Press Association, Boston, Massachusetts, May 23, 24, 25, 1946.

Family (from page 7)

a citizen of Great Britain could receive aid while resident in New Zealand. These provisions will include the North of Ireland just as soon as the legislation, already undertaken there, has been enacted. At the conclusion of his exposition at the Second Reading of the Bill, Sir William Jowitt, Minister of National Insurance, remarked, "I hope that we shall be able to bring about reciprocal arrangements with other places."

Successful passage of this bill brings to an end the long and courageous campaign which has been waged in England since as far back as 1910 for aid to families. In his yet unpublished doctoral thesis on Family Allowances, Father Hubert Callaghan, of Holy Cross, points out that the Fabian Society began a campaign for this legislation 35 years ago. In 1918 the Family Endowment Society was founded expressly to champion this cause. It was this long and courageous struggle which finally won British public opinion and public leadership over to the cause of Family Allowances. It may well be that a similar campaign will be needed in the United States to achieve the same results.

In considering the provisions made in Great Britain for aiding parents in their task of raising children properly we have come to an example much closer home and to an economy much more closely resembling our own than any thus far considered. Even though Great Britain, as the Prime Minister remarked in his address to the Congress last November, is much farther along the road of nationalization than are we, there are still great similarities. And the needs of a young couple, just starting out on the glorious work of raising a family, are as pressing in Los Angeles as in Leeds.

Future (from page 14)

the definite problems to be met by active advocates of vocational organization.

There is the basic problem of transformation: will a forced amalgamation of labor unions, employers' associations, and consumers' leagues lead to vocational groups in the true sense? If not, what further, intrinsic change is called for?

The book treats the legal aspect of vocational society in America: but will the standards worked out by the vocational groups be effective if used only as a guide to legislative action by Congress? If not, what other method of control is possible by the people themselves under the Constitution?

There is the matter of social and economic efficiency: will a plan of social control on a national basis be effective if, as at the present time, legislative control of productive enterprise is limited to pricing control? If not, what constitutional changes would be necessary for concerted social action in the common interest?

These and a multitude of other questions and problems arise out of the discussions in Mr.. O'Shaughnessy's book. They are big problems, requiring the best efforts of all sincere advocates of Christian social reform, and it is well for those interested in such a reform that they realize the magnitude of the task Pope Pius XI imposed on them when he said in *Quadragesimo Anno*: "First and foremost, the State and every good citizen should look and strive toward this end: that the conflict between hostile classes be abolished and harmonious cooperation of the Industries and Professions be encouraged and promoted."

NOTE

You will do yourself a distinct service if you will send notice of change of address to ISO Central Office. Our only source of information on changes is the Province catalogues which are issued several months after most changes are effected.

THE NAPKIN BOX

JESUIT RELIEF

The cooperation received by the "Bureau of Information for European Jesuit Relief" from the Jesuits of the United States has been excellent. As a result, wide-spread publicity has been given information relative to parcel post and bulk shipments gathered from domestic and foreign sources and covering postal, export and import regulations. As an instance of this ever ready cooperation: Father Duff, of ISO, expedited some very necessary printing during the rush of the pre-Christmas holidays. Father Lord generously insisted that ISO "foot this bill" as a contribution to European Jesuit Relief. Thus Christmastimed publicity was possible.

Reports on difficulties encountered by Ours and their friends in sending packages to Jesuits in Europe and the solution of these difficulties as effected "on the spot" have enabled the Bureau to work out many of the "bugs" in foreign mailing and shipping.

The Bureau of Information is sincerely grateful for the cooperation and response of the American Jesuit in this charitable and socially important work.

Thomas A. O'Connor, S. J.
European Jesuit Relief
Saint Mary's College
Saint Marys, Kansas.

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JUSTICE FOR THE NEGRO

I wish to reply to the letter of Fr. John P. Markoe (ISO BULLETIN, January, 1946, page 10), in which he gently insinuates that one of the principles enunciated in my casus on the Negro question is false. Permit me to give a few words of explanation regarding the principle objected to, namely, that "scholae Jesuitarum, ut institutiones privatae, jus habent sive recipiendi sive excludendi quoslibet juvenes qui in eas ingredi velint."

It is quite obvious that everybody is held to the observance of the laws of justice and charity. No one is ever allowed to violate these laws. That doctrine is elementary, and so, in a case of conscience that is destined for Jesuits only, it may reasonably be assumed as known and understood. No one, and hence no Jesuit high school principal, is permitted to violate the laws of justice and charity. Let that be clear.

But the whole point involved in Fr. Markoe's discussion is the principle quoted above, namely, that Jesuit schools as private institutions have the right to receive or to reject whomsoever they wish. We are speaking here of a strict right, that is to say, of a right which is based on a positive claim in strict justice. Let us ask this question: If this or that individual boy has a right to enter one of our schools, on what title does he base this right? Unless he has a title in strict justice to admission, he cannot be said to have a strict right to enter this school. If he has no strict right to enter, the school has a right, insofar as strict justice is concerned, to bar him. We take it for granted that social justice and charity are given their place in the principal's decision. That should be clear from the context of our whole article on the Negro question.

Edwin F. Healy, S. J.
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JAPANESE OCCUPATION

I'm on my way back to the good old U.S.A. after spending a little over three months in Japan. There are a lot of questions in my mind for which I have no answers. Maybe there are no answers; Maybe the ISO has already discussed them—I haven't seen a bulletin for quite some time. I think the questions are pretty important. Maybe you will find some of them worthy of the attention of the ISO.

Every officer and enlisted man that I met in Japan has one predominant thought in his mind, "When am I going home?" There is a good deal of bitterness and not a little hopelessness. For them and for the priests with them it would be a tremendous help if some of the following questions could be clarified:

I. IS OCCUPATION OF JAPAN NECESSARY? WHY?

1. To disarm the Japanese. That is one answer. If that is the whole answer then the following objections must be cleared away. Most of the ammunition, guns, ordnance material has been rounded up long ago, but why just stand guard over it week in and week out. Either return it, destroy it, or bring it home. For example I was aboard three Jap subs, supposedly the largest in the world. Each had an American crew on board, but all three were just sitting there tied up to a sub-tender.

2. To give them an idea of our civilization and standards. The fraternization that is going on is not elevating the standards of the Japanese. Further, we are easy on Japanese labor parties, but allow Jap women to do some of our most menial jobs. We work them on Sundays. Whenever priests objected against organized prostitution we were confronted with the answer, "Oh that's a recognized profession in Japan; the Japs think nothing of it." In our division, at least, unwanted food or clothing was thrown away rather than given to the Japs.

3. Perhaps occupation may be compared to a fire department or riot squads which are kept in reserve for possible trouble. But if you were to take away all the matches and flints and other means of making fire from the people could you not reduce a good deal the strength of the fire department?

4. Let the Japs see our great military strength. But why? They've already seen most of it. Now for the most part our bulk of men and equipment are in camps to which the Japs haven't access.

5. For fear of Russia. This might possibly be the answer.

6. For a combination of all the above reasons. Then why is there so much idleness. It's true that some outfits are working very hard, but their work is concerned with bringing in supplies and taking care of our own men.

II. HOW LONG IS OCCUPATION NECESSARY?

This is not an easy question to answer, but it might be answerable if we can find out the answer to the first question. It is a rather hopeless feeling to know you are several thousand miles from home, and not know why you are there or not have the faintest idea when you will be able to leave.

III. WHO SHOULD DO THE OCCUPYING?

If you put this question to any GI, his answer will be "Let some of the Stateside boys take over. Let Joe do it. I want to go home."

If you ask him if he is in favor of conscription, the answer is generally no but he definitely does want conscription if its the only way he can get out. If you put the question this way: "Would you want your kid brother to go through what you did?" The answer is universally "No."

My experience has been solely with Japan, but I think the principles involved cover all the zones of occupation. I'm against conscription, but, Father, it isn't enough for us just be against conscription. I think we have to have some plan to offer. Maybe it would be possible to make the Military life attractive enough for volunteers. I doubt it, but it might be possible. For instance it might be possible to set up American communities in some of the larger cities where wives of the servicemen could live.

Immorality is pretty open in Japan, and a lot of our kids are succumbing, a lot of our good kids are falling.

Maybe there is a thought or two in this letter worth discussing. Maybe it has been hashed over already. Anyway, I've got it out of my system. Do what

you want with it. I know you are very busy so please don't bother answering. When I get to the States I may be able to get out, though I still have a couple months to do.

Signed by a Chaplain

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CHAPLAINS IN INDUSTRY

The mention made in the December, 1945, ISO BULLETIN of Chaplains in Industry should provoke no end of thought in the minds of priests interested in the workingman. That field of apostolic endeavor is even as important as the chaplaincy in the armed forces. Many priests were justly alarmed at the leakage from the faith among poorly instructed Catholic service men not the least cause of which was the inadequacy in numbers of priests. In too many camps in this country the ratio of ministers to priests was twelve to one although the Catholic percentage was forty. Under such circumstances a protestant minister could make a deep impression on Catholic personnel.

The big reason why Catholic chaplains were outstanding in both World Wars was because they were right up front with their men. In a word, to influence men you must be willing to go along with them: "the religion of the man who goes to bat for me is good enough for me."

During the late war one industrialist who employed more than eight thousand Catholic men and women asked a Bishop for the services of a priest who would take care of religious services for the thousands of Catholics who otherwise would have great difficulty in attending Mass. The plea was rejected and one reason given was that pastors complained that such a procedure would take the people away from the parish. The natural result was that an alarming number of those employees did not attend Mass at all.

How many soldiers and sailors would have persevered in religious practices had not the chaplain come to them? This writer knows of one particular training camp where Mass attendance was less than thirty per cent among eight thousand Catholics. Sunday Mass was provided by a lone chaplain and two priests from neighboring parishes, but the fact that the men seldom if ever met their chaplain had much to do with the absenteeism. Unless we get into the field of the Industrial chaplaincy now we shall live to witness that field taken over by protestants just as they have taken over the armed services.

In my estimation the priest in industry has the following advantages:

Ex-service men who will man industry have the highest regard for priests, because they have seen them in action during the war.

The presence of a priest in industrial plants would go far to dissipate the libel that the Church is not interested in the workingman.

As chaplain a priest could act as liaison between labor and management giving both sides the benefit of his moral and ethical training.

From a purely pastoral standpoint such a chaplain could contact so many fallen away or weak Catholics and he could bring them back to their parishes that were not aware of their existence.

Chaplain on Leave

Thirty-two Jesuits, four from each Province, have been asked to contribute to

THE APRIL ISO FORUM

on the question:

"What Are the Chief Social Problems of the Day?"

I S O BULLETIN

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