

# I S O BULLETIN

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## THE S OF I. S. O.

By JOSEPH BECKER, S.J.

*The Editors of the Bulletin welcome Fr. Becker's article concerning the purpose of I.S.O. and cordially invite comment upon it or the important question which it raises. Nothing could be more beneficial to I.S.O. than a careful delimitation of the field in which it is to work and the means it is to use in achieving a better "social order."*

IN more than one part of the Assistancy this writer has heard the I.S.O. criticized severely as an organization without an objective. And he has heard the conclusion drawn that such a large-scale enterprise as the I.S.O. should not have been launched until its function had been determined in considerably more detail. The writer does not agree with this conclusion; does feel that there is considerable truth in the premise on which it is based; and suggests that even if the I.S.O. has not so far deserved the censure, it may soon.

### Learning on the Job

Fishermen who hear of a new fishing ground need not wait until they have devised exactly the best equipment for the new work. A rough approximation, followed by an actual fishing expedition may really be the quickest way of finding out what sort of new gear the new locale and the different fish require. Now, before the ISO was founded there was a pretty general conviction in the Society that something called "opera socialia" constituted for today's Jesuits a fishing ground that was as new in some sense or other, and demanded of us an activity new in some sense or other. The American Assistancy concurred in this opinion, and decided to start immediately a new program of activity in this newly emphasized field of the "opera socialia." It decided to begin the work even though the field itself was not yet clearly defined nor the type of organization required clearly discernible. Such knowledge was eminently desirable; but it could be acquired fastest by getting *something* in operation. We decided to learn on the job. We simply relieved a few boats and crews from work at the regular fishing grounds and sent them out to the new one to learn by actually trying just what there was to be caught and how to catch it.

Learning on the spot may be expensive, but within limits it is faster. And as to expense, delay also may be expensive. The last General Congregation seemed to think that in the matter of the "opera socialia" delay might be very expensive. And so, the first I.S.O. meeting was called, that free-for-all at West Baden, with Father Lord

announcing to us the first morning: "Here we are. What do we do? You tell me."

That was the way the I.S.O. began. In the circumstances, that was probably the best way for it to begin. But we must concede to its critics that it was not the ideal way for it to begin. We must concede that the *causa finalis* of the new organization was not adequately determined. In fact, we must not merely concede it; we must insist upon it. Unless we do insist with ourselves on the fact, we are not likely to address ourselves to the difficult task of improving the situation.

### Vague Nature of Job

The scope of the I.S.O. was and is vague. One simple way of perceiving that fact is to take the ISO BULLETIN, and going through its issues from the beginning list the various subjects treated. What does it *not* cover? The list will reflect faithfully the early contention that the I.S.O. was concerned with "everything that had or could be given a social slant." Whatever "social slant" meant, the BULLETIN interpreted it so widely for a time that ISO threatened to become coterminous with S.J.

The vagueness of the scope of the I.S.O. is discernible also thru an analysis of the word "social" in its title. "Social" is the operative term in the title, is the word that carries most of the burden of stating what the nature of the new organization is. And what does it state? Have we ever set down which of its many meanings is our meaning? Or have we rather accepted its vagueness as a comfortable refuge? The word "social" is vague. It has not a simple meaning; still less a single meaning. For example:

1. In the UN there is a "Social and Economic Council." In this sense it excludes economics. Is this our sense?
2. In its ninth annual report the Social Security Board says: "A three-way division of costs (between employers, employees and government) would make possible a rational assessment of the three types of responsibility: individual, industrial and social." Is this our sense of the word so as to make it synonymous with governmental?
3. Schwer, in his *Catholic Social Theory*, divides the matter of one of his chapters according as it relates to "Spiritual Conditions" or "Social Conditions." What is this meaning, and is it ours?
4. In another chapter, the same author makes a division according to "the social, political and economic order." What does it mean here?

**Calls for Some  
Intensive Analysis**



5. The Atlantic Charter declared that one of its goals was a thing called "Social Security." The American bishops have endorsed a thing with the same name, and forty nations possess programs by that name. But the programs show great differences. Has the term a single meaning even here? And what is it?

6. A part of social security is called "Social Insurance," which Rubinow (*Quest for Security*) attempts to define in a long chapter. He notes that it has been called at times "State Insurance," although there have always been private plans as well, those set up by the trade unions. It has been called "Workmen's Insurance," but some forms have included middle-class and self-employed people. It has been called "Compulsory Insurance," but some of the plans have been voluntary. The author finally remarks:

"When one is confronted with such a confusing situation the term 'social' is extremely convenient. It is a handy word, and perhaps that is the real reason why the term 'social insurance' has gradually replaced all earlier terms, until it is now used universally and almost exclusively."

In the name "I.S.O.," the word *social* is the central word figuratively as well as literally, and only to the degree that it is made clear will the scope of this new organization be made clear. We must concede to the critics of the I.S.O. that this clarity has not yet been attained.<sup>(1)</sup> Indeed, we must join them in insisting on it. It is easy of course to spend too much time too early on the process of definition, and thus waste time; but up to the present we can hardly be said to have incurred that danger.

#### The Work Ahead

We might borrow a leaf from the author last mentioned, Rubinow. He did not stop with his demonstration of the obscurity attaching to the term he was interested in ("social insurance"), but went on to attempt to diminish that obscurity. He listed with precision the elements of "social insurance" and then managed to derive a definition which was immediately and almost universally accepted because it was so much more exact, and therefore useful, than its predecessors. Let us take courage from the example and subject our term "social" to the same intensive analysis so as to arrive at a similarly precise and useful definition.

As a matter of fact, the Executive Committee has been occupied during the past year with this very work of analysis in connection with the task of writing the I.S.O. constitution. In its successive drafts, the committee has already made a notable advance in clarifying the function of the I.S.O. But it is doubtful if the task is so far accomplished as to render unnecessary participation by the general membership of the I.S.O. Rather, a task so complex and so open to varying opinions is especially appropriate for just such general, and continuing, participation. Continuing—because the world is always changing and presumably the work of the I.S.O. will have to change with it.

In the I.S.O. we had to start "doing" without much benefit of theory; but we need not continue indefinitely thus to ration ourselves. We have had enough experience now to profit from a general, fundamental discussion of this new organization that we have been so busy forming. Perhaps the editors would see their way clear to inviting such a general, fundamental discussion?

The present writer certainly does not consider himself especially equipped to contribute to such a discussion; but

he is willing to submit a preliminary article, if the editors wish it, just by way of an ice-breaker. It would, for example, point out the two possibilities in determining the genesis of the I.S.O.: the one, that it is a very belated response to a very old condition; the other, that it is a very modern answer to a really new need. And the article might go on to suggest three or four such modern conditions as might possibly be used to explain the I. S. O.

## INTRODUCING

### New Members of ISO Central Office

APPOINTMENTS during the summer bring to eleven the number of men attached to the Central Office of ISO. Of the newly appointed men four are members of the Missouri Province: Fathers Anthony J. Adams, Arthur A. Barth, Thomas S. Bowdern and Frederick Zimmerman. Reverend Florence Sullivan is a member of the New Orleans province; Reverend Joseph Cantillon belongs to the New York province, and Reverend Thomas Fay is a New Englander.

Father Adams has been active in Rural Life work and is chairman of the ISO Rural Life committee. He is the author of several pamphlets in that field and has lectured widely throughout the mid-West under the auspices of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference. His two latest pamphlets, "The Ethics of Commercial Farming," and "Are Our Rural Areas Overpopulated?" are both published by the ISO Central Office. In addition to teaching in the Summer School of Catholic Action this summer, Father Adams lectured in a number of convents and other institutes.

Father Bowdern is former president of Creighton University, Omaha, and past chairman of the West Central Area of the National Conference of Church-Related Schools, as well as a member of the National Commission on Christian Education of the American Association of Colleges and Universities. Father Bowdern's work in the Society has been largely devoted to educational and vocational fields. His doctoral thesis was a study of some 2,750 religious vocations.

Father Barth has had considerable experience in editorial capacities. In addition to several years as editor of the Missouri province *Jesuit Bulletin*, he has compiled and edited an illustrated booklet which describes Jesuit Life to prospective vocations. Father Barth will concentrate on the expanding field of ISO and Queen's Work publications.

Father Zimmerman's experience both as an Army chaplain and as an assistant director of Camp De Smet will serve him in good stead in youth work with ISO. Father Zimmerman resigned his position as principal of St. Louis U. High school to become an Army chaplain and has not yet been discharged.

Father Sullivan has been pastor of Jesuit parishes in Miami and Tampa. During his time in these two cities he became active in labor circles and won the widespread confidence of union men throughout the state of Florida. His work greatly influenced the educational departments of the Florida AF of L union.

While he was librarian at Woodstock College, Father Cantillon conceived and organized the first Mission Symposium. Since that time similar symposia have been conducted in many cities of the East and mid-West. Father Cantillon is interested in coops and credit unions and will devote himself to this field as a member of the ISO Central Office.

Father Fay, who is on terminal leave as a military chaplain, completed graduate studies in youth work before entering the Society. It is likely that he will continue this work with ISO.

<sup>1</sup> At least we Americans, ourselves, have not attained it. There was a committee in the last General Congregation charged with the matter of the "opera socialia." Possibly the minutes of this committee would yield a precise analysis of the crucial adjective. But a conversation had with one of the members of that committee has left this writer with meager expectations.



# SEE YOU IN CALCUTTA

## Mission Institute Has Cosmic Flavor

By JOHN PETER SULLIVAN, S.J.  
Jamaica, British West Indies

**C**ONVERGING on St. Louis from all over the map, surging up from China, India, Ecuador, Peru, Guatemala, the Republic of Honduras, British Honduras, Alaska, Ceylon, from the Sioux Indian reservations of the Dakotas and from Jamaica in the Caribbean, thirty-two Catholic missionaries, some veterans, some rookies, some young, others not so young, some Jesuit, others Maryknollers, priests, scholastics, brothers . . . the second edition of the Mission Institute for Social Work on the Missions took over St. Louis University this past July and early August. Dedicated to an intense, four weeks' concentration on the focal theme: social work on the missions, the Institute is now pleasant history as the students scatter off to sundry rail and plane and ship lines for fields afar.

### The Far Horizons

Now a social target demands a range, a direction finder. Naturally that meant Father Edward L. Murphy, S. J., of Weston College, Massachusetts, who urged us to raise our sights as he opened up the far horizons of missiology, and that nothing less than the Holy See's own panoramic vision of mission objectivities.

What about colonial governments and American missionaries? Father Thomas Coonan, S.T.D., Ph D., sometime Professor of History at St. Ambrose College, Davenport, Iowa, and Father J. P. Sullivan, S.J. of Jamaica attempted to answer that imperative question.

You know the unending theme song of the foreign missionary is support and where and how to get it. At this point Father Calvert Alexander, S.J., Editor-in-chief of Jesuit Missions, entered the picture and presented solid facts on government aid.

To ballast down any exuberance the other lecturers might have Fathers Leo C. Brown, S. J. and Bernard W. Dempsey, S.J., of the St. Louis University faculty proposed scientific economic considerations relevant to mission application.

The missions are predominately rural in complexion. Hence it was logical that Father William J. Gibbons, S.J., Associate Editor of *America*, should not only accept the rural challenge but more: meet it squarely. In fact the missionaries felt that Father Gibbons' provocative contribution to the hookup between soils and souls was really different.

### Coops Emphasized

As in the first edition of the Institute last year, so this year likewise the major emphasis, as far as social techniques were concerned, was placed down hard on the cooperative apostolate as a reinforcement for the sacramental and the catechetical on the mission front. Introducing, therefore, Miss Mary G. Dooling, National Director of the Cooperative Department attached to The Queen's Work who handled the Credit Union approach to mission problems and who, from the spontaneous reports of the missionary students, did a really competent job of it. Reckoning in actual mission experience Miss Dooling had the edge on the rookie missionaries in class in that she had spent three months in early '45 observing mission coops right on the ground floor in the British Honduras and Jamaican fields of action. Father J. P. Sullivan, S.J., of Jamaica discussed cooperative marketing as well as some of the practical, *ad hoc* aspects of British colonial policy.

Some were quite dubious as to how a Boston Irishman could handle with restraint and objectivity British colonial policy. But that's another yarn.

### China Theatre Report

The genuine, authentic ring, if we consider actual mission experience, was struck and definitely by the men of the China contingent. For Brother James E. Finnegan, S.J., and Father Ralph J. Deward, S.J., both of the California Province, had spent about a dozen years in the Celestial Kingdom and three years of that period in a Japanese internment camp. While the Maryknoll Chinese delegation had three ex-internees: Father William A. Kashmitten, M.M., secretary of the China Synodal Commission in Peiping and Director of the Lumen News Service, Father John McLaughlin, M.M., and Father Cornelius F. Wolott, M.M., the latter two having spent ten years and seven years respectively in South China. Other veterans included Father Aloysius Smith, S.J., now flying off to the new Missouri Province assignment in the Republic of Honduras and Father James J. Dolan, S.J., returning to pick up where he left off in Jamaica some years ago. Both Father Smith and Father Dolan had been army chaplains during the war.

All the Jesuit provinces in the U.S.A. were represented at the Institute except Maryland and New York, the Philippine men having taken off for the Orient before the course at St. Louis got under way.

### Resurgence of Colonial Peoples

The recent resurgence of colonial peoples in political, economic and self-governing lines puts a new load on the shoulders of the old line missionary. He just has to be "up" on all these things. The sacraments alone are not enough. Hence understanding, sympathy, and an intelligent approach to these new aspirations of native peoples are *sine qua non* for the 1946 model of the American foreign missionary. Previous hit and miss training is out.

If thanks are due, and they are, then first of all to Father Alexander and to Miss Dooling for their strenuous, behind-the-scenes work of preparation; to Father Leo Brown, Dean of the Institute and to the Institute faculty; to Father Lord who gave a delightful dinner to the students; to the Rector and faculty of St. Louis University for their kindly hospitality.

### See You in Calcutta

If I could make an observation: personally I have hardly ever been so dramatically impressed by the sweeping Catholicity of the Church as in this gathering. It was almost palpable. You could feel it in the air, in the discussions, in the off hand conversations of the missionaries. Different countries. Different languages. Different cultures. Different problems. Yet all this divisibility was caught up and fused and unified in the indivisibility of the Mystical Body of Christ tangible in the world wide mission fields represented. And the conversations? Practically cosmic! For example, at the breakup of the Institute I heard one China-bound veteran, a Maryknoller, shout down the street to an India-bound rookie, a Jesuit . . . "so long; see you in Calcutta . . ."



# BACK OF THE YARDS COUNCIL

ISO Report, Part II

By EDWARD DUFF, S.J.

A LIST of the things the Back of the Yards Council has done is a little difficult to discover since everyone seems to prefer to talk about "the new community consciousness and the new pride in the neighborhood" as the chief achievement of the Council. Forced to leave the Park by order of the politicians, the Council now has headquarters at 4600 Ashland which serves as a service center for the interests of the community. Red Cross and Community Fund drives are run from here, petitions started for the continuation of O.P.A., questions answered on dealing with government agencies, campaigns inaugurated to clean-up alleys or to paint-up houses or to plant trees in the neighborhood. The shelves of the office contain a lending library conducted by the Third Order Franciscans. A credit union functions with Father Henri Barendt as Treasurer but more for its educational value, apparently, than for the financial help it provides.

The neighborhood newspaper without change of editor or ownership became the "Back of the Yards Journal", an expression of the new community consciousness. Servicemen from overseas, you are told, met and advertised the fact that they were from Back of the Yards. Perhaps their sense of solidarity was occasioned by reading the paper, 5,000 copies of which were mailed out each week. The Council's office was especially helpful during the war settling allotment difficulties for the soldiers, answering worried inquiries about the health of those at home. A recording machine sent overseas records with messages from loved ones at home; presents of missals, prayer books, sports equipment were mailed.

The city did satisfy the Council's demand for an infant welfare station the use of which was recommended from the pulpits of the Catholic Churches. Infant mortality figures fell promptly. To further education, Bishop Shiel awarded five Scholarships at the Lewis School of Aeronautics to the Council.

## Delinquency Reduced

Juvenile delinquency in this district where the population is 95% Catholic seems confined to rowdyism and stealing. The merchants of the area used to count on \$900.00 a year loss from juvenile shoplifters. The Council persuaded the storekeepers to turn the offenders over to a jury composed of members of the Executive Committee which always includes the culprit's pastor who see what's wrong at home and frequently find the boy a job. Joe Meegan explains: "You see, we know about everyone in the neighborhood through labor unions, churches, clubs, language groups. We can reach them and make them understand where the law will only frighten them. There is no publicity, we keep no records or charts, and it's all done on a neighbor to neighbor basis. It seems the best way to us." The police captain, John Ryan, is pleased with this handling of petty offenders and says: "So few require jail that we have no lockup."

He will tell you, too, that the Council is prompt in taking care of matters where food or clothing is needed or where there is sickness. Jobs go a long way towards solving juvenile delinquency when lack of spending-money is the common reason for stealing. The Council finds jobs in the department stores and other industries of the neighborhood and in a single day (according to Father Plawinski) placed 1,600 boys and girls with the N.Y.A. This jury cure of juvenile delinquency pleases the priests, of

course, who are happy to get at a home situation before it becomes irremediable.

The Council also sponsors a recreation program (it has leased a large lot on 47th and Damen for a playground and manages a summer camp) and athletic tournaments but doesn't hesitate to deal directly with the numberless clubs—social workers would call them gangs—boys inevitably form. The clubs are given money for their activities and, though social workers object to the practice, the responsibility of handling funds and planning expenditures gives the boys a new seriousness, it is claimed.

Where does the Council's funds come from? The Community Chest contributes a sizeable amount, possibly \$10,000 a year or rather returns that amount, for the Council is the official collecting agency for all drives. An annual "Jungle Jamboree" is held each summer. And the Council takes one-fourth of the proceeds of a fabulously successful Bingo that Meegan manages in one of the parishes.

## No Race Problem

A Race Relations committee of the Council was formed after the riots in Detroit and conducted a survey of rumors about Negroes in the schools of the neighborhood. It was found that what few dangerous rumors were current were spread by outsiders and the Committee felt its work was justified when during the packing strike this year the Negro employees for the first time joined the whites on the picket line.

The local Chamber of Commerce withdrew from the Council for unspecified reasons to be succeeded by a new organization "The Back of the Yards Businessmen's Association." The merchants of the district approve of the Council and contribute to its activities as they doubtless would for any community project. They cannot be displeased, however, at a "Shop Back of the Yards" campaign the Council sponsors at Christmastime.

Labor and the Catholic Church are the two centers of interest in the lives of the people Back of the Yards. They are also the two chief supports of the Council. It is not surprising, then, that the entire program of the CIO Packingworkers obtains literal endorsement from the Council. "The packinghouse workers have our wholehearted support as we know it would mean a more prosperous community," Joseph B. Meegan, the executive secretary, declares. When a strike was threatened in February for higher wages, the Executive Committee of the Council met and voted its support. When the strike was called, the Council backed it, set up a kitchen at the Guardian Angel Nursery Home that fed 500 on the picket line and the Council's truck brought coffee for the marchers. Father Plawinski, the president, joined the picket line along with Father Ambrose Ondrak, O.S.B., wearing "sandwich boards." Sigmund Wlodarczyk, field representative of the union, is an officer of the Council.

Labor is interested in the Council because it provides a valuable neighborhood backing, committing, for example, the merchants who are members, to decisions favoring the union. The Church is interested in the Council because, among other reasons, it establishes a valuable link with the laboring man. Thus, one of the priests of the district admitted that the men preferred to hear Herbert March, the Communist labor leader, rather than him, until he made concretely clear to them his real interest in the improvement of their working conditions.



Much of the current publicity on the Back of the Yards Movement underscores its political possibilities. Alinsky's lyricism when speaking about Peoples' Organizations seems to suggest them as a coming form of government, a community soviet. The Council doesn't hesitate to use what political pressure it can muster for the facilities the neighborhood needs, its meetings and congresses are an open forum where aldermen are invited to give an account of their stewardship but the officers of the organization have no such ideological dreams. Nor personal political ambitions.

They conceive the Council as a pooling of neighborhood resources to help the neighborhood help itself, as an information center where people can get directions on how to protect their rights and obtain assistance, as a sounding-board of community attitudes. Forty thousand of the neighborhood work in the stockyards, and conditions there are of compelling concern to them. The Council, therefore, representing not merely labor but the merchants and the churches, will back them in their efforts to improve conditions in the meat plants. The flats the people inhabit are in bad disrepair. The Council, therefore, will give the children of 14 parochial schools a form headed "Do you like where you are living" listing 13 typical violations of building and sanitary codes and report the finding on 3,621 houses in 600 blocks to the Health Commissioner and the Building Commissioner. When no action was taken, the neighborhood newspaper printed the facts and the politicians began enforcing the laws. Interestingly enough, it is enforcement of laws, not badly needed new housing, which the clergy wants. They are not eager to lose their old parishioners by having tenements demolished.

### Key Man Superb Catholic

How completely the success of the Council's activities depend on the energies and self-sacrifice of Joe Meegan is hard to gauge. Certainly he is the key-man, a superb Catholic, competent, resourceful, uninterested in politics or financial gain. Is there one in every neighborhood?

The Back of the Yards Council has a good record in achieving a community spirit, in overcoming racial and religious isolationism. It has brought the people of the district, apparently, a new confidence that much can be accomplished by corporate effort, that there are many government helps they can obtain if they know about them. It has given the clergy an opportunity to work together for the improvement of local condition and to back the demands of labor. Whether this last might prove embarrassing in the future is an interesting question. Union officials were talking about the need of government control of the packing industry "like it does public utilities"—which gives one pause when it is remembered that Herb March, Regional Director of PWOC is at the very least a faithful party-liner. The Lutheran church whose pastor, Rev. Herman Brauer, was treasurer of the Council pulled out of the organization as an aftermath of the strike.

The President of the Council, Father Plawinski, has no doubts. The churches, he told the National Conference of Catholic Charities in Brooklyn in 1944 "are simply translating into action the immortal dictum of Pope Leo XIII in his great Encyclical Rerum Novarum"... the Church improves and ameliorates the condition of the working man by various and useful organizations; does its best to enlist the services of all ranks in discussing and endeavoring to meet, in the most practical way, the claims of the working classes."

But it is still not clear what part the ISO can play in the growth of similar Neighborhood Councils. The essence of them lies in their "grass roots" character—"We the People will work out our own destiny."

## Unions Fight Communists

THE action started by the United Steel Workers and the Utility Workers in fighting Communism within the union has been imitated in the past weeks by several other groups. The most drastic action was taken by a group of locals of the United Furniture Workers (CIO) who withdrew from the union because it is Communist dominated and are seeking affiliation with some other union, probably the International Woodworkers of America.

Morris Muster, who helped organize the union in 1937 and who has since been international president, resigned his position because he refused to head a Communist-controlled organization. Of the 42,000 members not more than 8,000 are actually Communists, but nine years of patient boring have placed them in important positions and have won tremendous power in the union. Communists have often started as office employees and worked their way into administrative positions.

### 48 Locals Object

By 1946 they had control of the five largest locals of the union and with these in hand could dominate elections at the Detroit convention of the UFW. After the Communist slate of officers was elected 48 locals of the union organized a committee in Washington on June 29 to request Philip Murray to reorganize the Furniture Workers independently of CP members.

The American Newspaper Guild (CIO) had trouble with left wing delegates during their recent convention at Scranton. In the only question which was made a political issue between the Communist and non-Communist elements the right wing group succeeded in winning. The question concerned the locale of the 1947 convention. Left wingers wished to hold it in Los Angeles, where party line pressure would be strong because the 1947 convention would involve election of officers for the next two year term. On a roll call vote Sioux City was chosen as the scene of the 1947 convention.

Joseph Curran's fight against Communists in the National Maritime Union can hardly be called successful to date, but the NMU president took vigorous action recently in attempting to eliminate CP members and followers. His attack was not directed explicitly against the party, The Wage Earner reports, but against individual members who are doing harm to the Maritime union.

It would seem, too, that Phil Murray's division of the California into a northern and southern sector is an effort to weaken the power of Harry Bridges who loses, by this action, control of the Los Angeles area.

### Communists in Movie Industry

At a recent meeting of AFL unions connected with the motion picture industry a resolution demanding an investigation of these "Communist dominated" unions was passed. Herbert K. Sorrell, president of the AFL Conference of Studio Unions, was charged by the group with being a Communist stooge. This is merely another shot in the long campaign that has been going on for more than two years to eliminate Communists from the studio unions. The long and bitterly-fought jurisdictional strike between the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees (IATSE) and the Conference of Studio Unions (CSU) was basically a part of this feud. Similarly the consistent sniping at Richard F. Walsh, president of the IATSE is part of the CP reaction. The present attempt to expel Sorrell from the Los Angeles Central Labor Council for alleged membership in the Communist Party and for actions disloyal to the AFL is part of the campaign. If the council expels him there is likelihood that he will take a good part of his Conference of Studio Unions over to the CIO.



# The Traffic Tower

**Honor Catholic Coops** Two important tributes were paid to the cooperative movement and particularly to its development in Eastern Canada, by officials of the Catholic Church and by the United Church of Canada, according to a report by the MARITIME CO-OPERATOR.

The Right Rev. P. J. Nicholson and the Right Rev. M. M. Coady were elevated to the rank of Domestic Prelates during the ceremonies following the consecration of Bishop Landry at Sydney, Nova Scotia, May 1st. In announcing these elevations, His Excellency Hildebrande Antoniutti, Apostolic Delegate to Canada and Newfoundland, declared:

"I have been particularly glad, on other occasions, to express publicly the appreciation of the Holy See for the splendid work accomplished by the St. Francis Xavier University of Antigonish in the important field of cooperative activities. In choosing some of the best leaders and workers of this movement for the high responsibilities of the episcopate, the Holy See shows in an eloquent manner her ardent desire that this same movement be enlarged and may benefit other provinces.

"We are exalting this movement because it corresponds to the teachings of the Church; it satisfies the needs of our people; safeguards religious and social liberties; protects the rights of well-established families; assures their peaceful and prosperous life; strengthens the ties of human brotherhood among workers; respects the freedom and dignity of men and guarantees the progress and prosperity of the country."

**Brazil Organizes** The hierarchy of Brazil, announces the London Catholic Herald, is organizing a sweeping program of Christian Social Action with branches in every diocese. Objects of the social campaign are "broadened child and maternity care, assistance to poor families, public health improvements, adult education, organization of workers, youth instruction in sociology and study of agrarian problems."

**Russia 300 Miles East** Add to the long list of treaties and agreements which the Soviet Government has violated the agreements reached at Yalta concerning Poland and at Potsdam concerning Germany. Not only has there been no attempt to establish a democratic government in Poland, but even the semblance of free elections has been disregarded. In the recent referendum on the question of a unicameral or bicameral legislature in that country the will of the people as reported by Premier Mikolajczk was overwhelmingly (5 to 1) in favor of a bicameral system. Yet the government installed by the Soviet issued a statement that the election results gave a three to one vote for the unicameral system.

Similarly even the provisions of the Potsdam agreement, iniquitous as these were, are not being carried out by the Soviet. They have expressed their intention of keeping military occupation troops in the Russian zone indefinitely and will control all sea and rail lines of communication to the east. Moreover they appear to have no intention of permitting economic unification of the four zones. Unless Germany is unified there can be little hope that the dismembered parts will have any prospect of assistance. The policy being carried out in both Poland and the Russian zone of Germany appears to be precisely the same as that which has governed the Soviet occupation of all central European countries. It would seem that occupa-

tion will continue in every portion of central Europe from Germany down to Yugoslavia and that troops will be withdrawn only from Bulgaria and Finland. Aside from the serious threat which these armed forces will be to any democratic government in the occupied countries, is the other alarming fact that Russia will thus be maintaining at the expense of her satellites a huge standing army which will not only fortify the buffer states but will be a continual threat to western Europe. Father Jean Minery expressed the apprehension and unrest which all western Europe experiences at the present time when he remarked, while in St. Louis recently, "you have no idea what it means to live in France today with the Russian army just 300 miles east."

**Fair Education Practices** The Thomas-Hall-Taft bill (S.181) is intended to give aid to schools throughout the country with the intention of equalizing educational opportunities in all states. As the bill comes from the Senate Committee on Education and Labor it restricts this aid to children in public, tax-supported schools even though the total number of children of school age in any set is used to compute the amount of aid to be given. Thus although children in parochial schools will be included in the population estimates they will not benefit in any way. Senators Murray, Walsh, Aiken and Morse presented a minority report on the bill in which they protested this restriction:

"Implicit in the concept of democracy are the existence of differences of opinion, philosophy, and culture. It is not democracy's function to destroy these differences, but to provide a healthful and proper environment in which they can flourish and mature, or perhaps to wither and die, and in which the values they develop may be integrated into the culture and thought of all Americans. Thus, as we see it, the Federal Government in providing aid to education must be careful, not only not to interfere with local or State systems of education, but not to encourage or discourage one system of education as against the other. Its aim must be the general welfare of all its citizens. Federal aid to education must not operate merely for the benefit of some children, be their number ever so large, but for all children. To do otherwise would, in effect, penalize those who are not eligible to receive the benefits of the act, and inequity would result."

**CP-Front Women's Group** In Paris last November a group of women from most of the countries of Europe and the western hemisphere gathered to organize an international women's organization. Out of this meeting, which was dominated by Communist influence, came the Women's International Democratic Federation. The secretary general of this new federation is Mlle. Marie Vaillant-Couturier, who had been elected a Communist delegate to the first French Constituent Assembly.

In March of this year the American delegates met with a small number of women in New York to examine the report from the WIDF meeting in Paris and to undertake formation of an American affiliate. Out of that meeting came the Congress of American Women.

Among those who are active leaders of the Congress are Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, member of the CP national committee and one of the delegates to the original Paris meeting; Dr. Bella V. Dodd, legislative chairman of the New York CP; Mary Van Kleeck, a long-time CP associate, and Ruth Young, of UEW, CIO, who was a delegate to the national CP convention in 1945.



The Congress held a meeting in New York on May 25, to which outstanding women's organizations throughout the country were invited to send delegates. Purposes of the meeting were to formulate an organizational plan, accept provisional constitution and by-laws, elect officers, develop working commissions, and formulate an action program.

Most important result of the May meeting was a series of resolutions which constituted another serious attack upon the American home. Part of the organization's objective "is that women should be servants of the world—not servants of the home. America should unlock millions of doors that have imprisoned millions of women. Women must be let out of the kitchen into the world."

The government is asked to establish subsidies "to make child rearing a function of the state instead of the family. Meals, dishwashing, laundry services and other home activities are to be put on a communized basis.

Material for discussion groups on three topics, political action, the status of women, and child care and education, is supplied to interested women for a \$1 fee from Congress headquarters at 55 West 42nd Street, New York.

**Streit Publishes** Clarence Streit, an international journalist and editor of the book, "Union Now," announces publication of a journal of the world republic to be called "Freedom and Union." It will be an illustrated monthly, devoted to international affairs, which will oppose all totalitarian forms of government, restrictions on civil liberties, racism and materialism. The first issue will appear in September.

**OPA & UNRRA** The lack of a hold the line policy with regard to OPA is certain to bring a great deal of hardship to middle and low income workers in the United States. Inflation and high prices will not only involve the probability of another dreadful series of strikes, but serious hardships for those whose incomes do not fluctuate with the advances and recesses in costs. Actually more terrifying is the thought of what advanced prices will mean for the starving millions of Europe and Asia whom UNRRA is attempting to help. Even under a system of controlled prices the United States was falling seriously behind its relief commitments. Now, with prices soaring, the limited budgets which private relief agencies have at their disposal will be exhausted in a short time and widespread starvation may easily result.

**What God hath joined...** The Texas Knights of Columbus in convention at Amarillo drafted a solemn resolution to "make a united front, spiritually, socially, and legally, in a manner and form provided by our Holy Mother the Church, to help wipe out the disease of civil divorce."

**In Her Own Way** The most disturbing news concerning the atomic bomb in recent weeks was not the tremendous power of the under water explosion at Bikini, nor Russia's refusal to forego the veto power in connection with control of atomic energy nor even Mr. Evatt's doubts concerning UN's authority to control atomic energy, but Mr. Gromyko's warning to the world that Russia intends to handle her atom bomb problem *in her own way*. In his address of June 19 and in later statements he made it clear that: 1. Russia will not submit to international dictation concerning atomic development. Control is to be left entirely on a national basis. 2. Russia will not submit to inspection of atomic energy installations by international authorities. In effect this

means quite simply and bluntly that Russia is going to go right ahead developing atomic energy as quickly as possible. He could hardly have stated this more clearly had he said that the Soviet Government intends to embark upon the atom bomb race behind the iron curtain. Under the circumstances it would seem that the proposals made by former Ambassador Bullitt (see page eight of this issue) concerning our attitude towards Russia are the only practicable solutions. It may be that in time Russia will recognize the horrible dangers of an atomic race and accede to the world's demands.

**Labor Digest** A new monthly labor magazine, to be called the "Labor Review," will begin publication in September at 83 Virginia Park, Detroit, Michigan. The magazine will imitate the popular digest form and reprint feature stories and use items from AFL and CIO unions throughout the country. The publication will attempt coverage also of the entire trade union movement throughout the world. Ray Lancaster, formerly of the CIO organizing staff, will edit the magazine. His assistant will be Ben Yomen, formerly of UAW-CIO. Yomen will do cartoons and general art editing. Subscription price is \$3.00 a year or \$5.00 for two years.

**Quick Recovery** CIO-PAC recovered quickly from the sudden death of Sidney Hillman and completely reorganized its top committee. Philip Murray himself now heads the committee which will be run by the assistant director Jack Kroll, vice-president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. The top committee now consists of 12 members: Philip Murray, James B. Carey, the vice presidents of nine top CIO unions and Allan S. Haywood, CIO organizing director. Van A. Bittner, who was formerly a member of the committee, has resigned to give full time to the CIO organization drive in the south. It is interesting to note that all publicity activities of CIO-PAC during the year 1944 cost less than \$500,000. Their present fund raising campaign has not yet collected \$100,000.

**Not Far Enough** Most proposals for atomic energy control leave ownership of mines in private hands. In some cases mining and primary production, both of which are universally acknowledged as "dangerous stages," are to be entrusted entirely to civilians. It is highly doubtful whether these two extremely dangerous steps in atomic energy development can safely be left under private control, even though apparently fool-proof inspection regulations are established. The Acheson-Lilienthal report alone withdraws ownership of mines and basic production plants from private and even national ownership and entrusts them to the international authority set up within UN. Since this method of control seems to be the only one which offers reasonable assurance against abuse, we must hope that eventually the international commission will decide in favor of the Lilienthal recommendation. In his UN report of July 21 Father Graham, secretary of the Just World Order Committee, calls attention to an unfortunate oversight in the Atomic Energy Commission Organization. He points out that no attempt has been made to consult the small nations whose ownership of iranium and thorium deposits make them vitally interested in the question of atomic control. If UN is to accept a proposal to internationalize all atomic energy deposits, such nations as Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, Norway and Portugal should be consulted even in the earliest stages of discussion.



# THE DUTCH TRY IT

## Christian Democrats and Socialists Collaborate

THE Netherlands have already begun the experiment which is discussed in this month's ISO FORUM, Collaboration Between Socialist and Christian Democratic Parties. The socialist party and the Catholic People's Party want a clear Parliamentary majority and are attempting to solve their differences sufficiently to carry on a successful government. Changes in the socialist policies during the past few years have made possible this collaboration. Most outstanding of these are: 1. The party no longer opposes religion, as was the case when it was completely Marxist in its ideology. 2. It recognizes the fact of spiritual goals and the need of spiritual means in achieving even political and economic reform. Thus Professor Willem Schermerhorn, leader of the Netherlands' Labor Party, asserted in an address at the University of Louvain recently: "Spiritual forces determine the direction of our social development. They are not only decisive for the attitude of the human soul towards God, but they imply also that through man God is at work in this world and for this world . . . The strengthening of Christianity, through man's Christian attitude towards life, is the best antidote for the mechanization of the mind. I am one of those who believe that in the deepest depth, from now on and in the future, the decisive struggle will be concerned with the activation of the values based on Christianity." (CIP). 3. A genuine desire for Christian and Catholic collaboration. This has been particularly true of the CCF in Canada, the Labour Party in England, and now the socialist Labor Party in Holland. Since the Christian democrat and the socialist parties in Belgium, Luxembourg and

Italy want parliamentary majorities at the present time, and similar majorities may soon be obtained in France and Germany, this question of collaboration with socialists is intensely vital and of tremendous importance for the future of Europe.

## TOWARD INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS

IT WILL be a long time before we have in the United States the fully developed system of industrial councils, such as the popes are advocating. But various organizations are at work striving in that direction slowly but steadily. The recent proposal of Walter Reuther, president of UAW-CIO, is an intelligent step in that direction.

Shortly after his election he proposed that the automobile industry work toward a guaranteed annual wage by establishing a sliding scale of automobile prices to eliminate the seasonal fluctuation in auto sales.

In order to accomplish this he proposes establishment of an automotive Industry Council. This council would be composed of representatives of management, labor, the government, and the consumer. Their initial responsibility would be to establish a price scale which would level off the heavy spring sales and fill in somewhat the slumps during late summer and winter.

If the sales could be spread out more evenly through the year a more balanced production schedule would be settled upon and employment could consequently be made more stable. In pre-war years a large number of extra employees would be taken on for the seasonal rushes and then laid off during the slack period.

If Mr. Reuther is successful, even after several years of agitation, he will have taken a long step toward the realization of the papal program.

## BULLITT'S FOURTEEN POINTS

The most forthright recommendation for American conduct toward the Soviet Union is found in William C. Bullitt's recent book, "The Great Globe Itself," in which he urged a hard, realistic opposition to Russia's imperialistic ambitions. Here are the 14 points of Mr. Bullitt's program. They are worthy of study:

"1. Support the UN as strongly as possible, while recognizing that the UN is not a security organization because the Soviet Union and the other permanent members of the Council, by exercise of their veto power, can prevent any action by the UN.

"2. Give the people of the United States the facts which reach our Government with regard to events in all areas in which the freedom of the American press is in any way restricted.

"3. Cease in all official communications and utterances to describe the Soviet Union as a 'peace-loving democracy,' and treat it for what it is in fact, a totalitarian dictatorship, whose aim is to conquer the world for Communism.

"4. Furnish to the Congress of the United States the facts which prove that Soviet Imperialism can be prevented from extending its control over Europe, the Far East and the Near East, only if we are ready to join the other democ-

racies in action now to prevent fresh Soviet aggression—and that Stalin does not dare risk war with us.

"5. Maintain the superiority of our air force, and increase production of the atomic bomb.

"6. So long as the Soviet Government adheres to the Communist creed of world conquest, do not give the Soviet Union the atomic bomb, or any economic or financial assistance that may enable it to hasten the day when it is able to manufacture the atomic bomb.

"7. Assist the democracies economically and financially.

8. Develop and strengthen the Inter-American League, in accordance with the terms of the Act of Chapultepec.

"9. Start conversations designed to lead to the creation of a European Federation of Democratic States, open to all States which are not puppets, and have democratic governments and enforce a Bill of Rights.

"10. Start conversations with the other democracies of the world, designed to prepare within the framework of the UN, united and immediate action in case of further Soviet aggressions; and to produce eventually within the UN, a Defense League of Democratic States,

to include the Inter-American League, the British Empire, China and the European Federation.

"11. Maintain steady and active opposition to the efforts of Soviet Imperialism to swallow Manchuria, North Korea, North China, Iran, Turkey and those states of Eastern and Central Europe and the Balkans which it now controls.

"12. Treat the Soviet Union with the most scrupulous fairness, frankness and reciprocity, respecting its rights under international agreements, and insisting that it respect ours and those of the other democracies.

"13. Give the peoples of the Soviet Union daily, in their own languages, the facts of world affairs, stressing the truth that we stand for their freedom, no less than for our own.

"14. Act, and use our influence with the other democracies, to hasten the process of raising the dependent peoples we and they now control, to democracy and independence and association with a Defense League of Democratic States."

### NOTICE

Additional copies of the Acheson-Lilienthal report are available in the Central Office for those who will write asking for them.



# ISO FORUM

## EUROPE'S DRIFT TO THE LEFT

### *What Do European Catholics Think About It?*

*Introduction by*

**ROBERT A. GRAHAM, S.J.**

*Department of Research, Institute of Social Order*

ONE of my assignments from Father Lord on the occasion of my recent ISO-America trip to the London United Nations General Assembly was to sound out European Catholics on the significance of the predominantly leftward trend of politics in England and on the Continent. Does this drift to the left portend a threat to the Church, to her interests or principles?

We had before us the surprising victory of the Labour party in Great Britain. The fact that a major part of the Labour party's program included the nationalization of the mines and of the Bank of England made people wonder whether Socialism had triumphed. Not a few people in this country felt that a catastrophe had occurred. (I might add that not a few persons in Britain thought so, too!) The possible threat to Catholic principles and interests was highlighted by the fact that the intellectual leader of the Labor party is Harold Laski, a man whose antipathy to the Catholic Church and her principles is well known.

Across the Channel, too, there was cause for trepidation in many minds. As a result of the first postwar general elections to the Constituent Assembly three major parties stood out. These were the Communists, who with their allied groups had 151 members, the Socialists with 139 and the MRP with 150 members. Figuring largely in the program of these parties was the nationalization of the mines, certain large banks and insurance companies, as well as partial nationalization of the Merchant Marine and inland water transport. In these same elections of October 21, 1945, the parties of the right suffered heavy losses.

#### **Heavy Swing to Left**

The results of the election in France, with the unexpected strength of the Communists particularly, was disquieting enough. But to many persons abroad, who in all likelihood had not been familiar with the political developments among Catholic groups during the resistance, another feature was not so much disturbing as mystifying. This was the fact that the MRP (*Mouvement Republicain Populaire*), a body commonly regarded as a "Catholic" party, came through with flying colors. If the success of the French Communists was surprising, that of the MRP was equally so.

The mystification of Catholics abroad increased as they began to study the program of the MRP. This new party advocated the nationalization of industries, of private monopolies and of credit. This was, in short, a party

of the "left," if that word designates a direction towards increased state control of industry. It is evident that in the coming years Catholic will not be synonymous with conservatism or reaction.

There are two questions in our minds as we study the political developments in Britain and the Continent. These are: 1. Is a trend "leftward" necessarily indicative of un-Christian gains? 2. How do Catholics abroad explain the existence of the Catholic parties of the left and their dominant role?

#### **Party Members Speak**

The best persons to answer those questions are the parties concerned. The contributions that follow are the results of my inquiries. If in some respects these contributions lack uniformity of approach, it must be remembered that the approach was frankly not meant to be uniform. I asked politicians and churchmen, young and old, British and Europeans. These papers may seem to be answering different questions. If this is so it is not because I didn't ask the same question wherever I went, because the question took on a different meaning for each person and for each country.

In some instances I was not able to get possession of a formal statement.

For instance, it was my privilege to have an informative conversation in Brussels with Father Joseph Arendt, S.J., the venerated head of the Belgian Christian Syndicalists. Our interpreter was a young Netherlander, Brother Klaasen, who was awaiting an opportunity to get to the Belgian Congo as a missionary. He did a good job, despite the fact that he hadn't worked with English since he joined the Society.

#### **Distinction Important**

Father Arendt provided me with a significant distinction between "nationalization" and "socialization." Nationalization, such as Britain's program for the coal mines and the Bank of England, means outright state ownership. Socialization merely implies extensive state regulation within a framework of private enterprises and private ownership *ad bonum commune*. He was not too sure that nationalization was at all necessary in order to achieve economic prosperity in the modern complex world of industry. In fact, Belgium at that moment had lost somewhat its enthusiasm for nationalization of the mines as it saw the trouble that France was getting into.



To my question whether Catholics could cooperate with the Socialists in economic matters—a question that many in the United States had been asking — Father Arendt said, yes, provided we remember that the Socialists have both a politico-economic program and a cultural program. We would be getting ourselves into many dangers, he said, if we overlooked the fact that the Socialists have an entirely different cultural outlook upon the role of the family, of parents and of schools, as well as of the state and indeed of man himself. However, it is possible to join with the Socialists on many specific issues, he conceded.

### Need Nationalization

It was also my privilege to interview Mr. P. J. S. Serrens, who is a member of the Netherlands Parliament, as well as General Secretary of the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions, with headquarters in Brussels. He saw no necessary incompatibility with Catholic principles in the current developments towards increasing state control of industry. Surveying for my benefit the history of Socialism since the days of Karl Marx he concluded that much of the nationalization programs of today derive not from Marxian principles directly, at least not in their undiluted vigor, but from the sheer necessity of a desperate economic situation. "Is it not preposterous," he asked, "to expect private enterprise to cope with the huge problems of European postwar reconstruction?"

In Brussels, too, I had the opportunity of interviewing M. Paul Schaeven, a young man of 31 called "the banker of the resistance," who had just been elected to the Chamber of Deputies, as a member of the new Christian Social Party (*Parti Social Chretien*). When I asked him what relation there was between his party and the old pre-war Belgian Catholic Party, he answered with a smile: "In the Catholic Party before the war there was a group that was 'social' and a group that was not 'social.' This is the party of the group that was 'social.' If the others wish to come in, they do so on our program."

From these comments one might conclude in general that Catholics in Europe are not particularly alarmed at the leftward trend of the political and economic structure that has become evident since the war. Rather they are proud that Catholics and Catholic groups are playing a leading role in this movement. At the same time they are not closing their eyes to the risks and dangers of a Europe gone left. But let the following speak for themselves.

### RAYMOND JOUVE, S.J.

*Les Etudes, Paris*

*We are grateful indeed to Père Jouve for this able exposition of the situation and issues that confront Catholics in France. Probably the readers of the ISO BULLETIN will agree that the reputation of the French for clarity of thought and expression is fully upheld here.*

The Revolution of 1848 established universal suffrage in France and created a Constituent Assembly in which the parties of the right represented order and included the majority of Catholics opposed to the anti-Christian revolutionary principles. Since then, despite a continuous evolution towards a dissociation of politics and religion, the name of Catholic has been constantly associated in the public mind with those who are opposed to a democratic regime. Even today, through force of habit deliberately encouraged by anti-Christian forces, men continue to link the words "Catholic-Bourgeois," and "Catholic-Right-Wing Reactionary."

It is by relation to these parties of the right, (heirs of the parties of 1848 when bourgeois and Catholic were synonymous), that the parties of the left are defined. The leftists, speaking in the name of the people or the masses,

strive to diminish absolute authority, and to avoid personal dictatorships (the fascism or nazism of our days), or any other form of political or economic organization which tries to transact affairs without consulting the persons concerned. So democracy is left, by relation to dictatorship, socialism is to the left by comparison with democracy, and communism is left by comparison with socialism. In the present French political make-up, if we consider just the three main parties, the Mouvement Republicain Populaire is right; the Socialist, center; and the Communists, left.

To follow French politics in the past 25 years it is necessary to recognize that, apart from some crises of a short duration, the parties of the left have increased in number at an almost steady rate. The right, strictly so-called, whether it be the *Action Francaise*, or the Moderate Republicans, has almost disappeared. The last elections eliminated the Radical Socialists.

The old Christian Democrats or Catholics of the left have increased their ranks under the name of the *Mouvement Republicain Populaire*, and have figured in the Chamber as a party of the right, in spite of their advanced program of social reform. The Socialists and Communists constitute what might be called "the leftist groups," with a socialist-communist ideology derived from Marx and Juarès.

### Leftist Dangers

To understand the threats which might be presented to Catholicism in France by the parties called "leftist," it is necessary to distinguish their philosophy from their politics, the basic assumptions of their concrete proposals (their *Weltanschauung*) from their activities. This refers particularly to the Communists, whom we might take as the prototypes of the leftist parties.

Catholicism is not threatened, at least in theory, by the establishment in France of an economic democracy such as the left parties propose. The nationalization of the basic industries, of public services, of transportation, of light and power, of the postal services, if this has no other object than to assure the security and well-being of the people, far from being in conflict with Catholicism is in fact quite compatible with its teachings. According to all Catholic writers and the Encyclicals, the first obligation of a state worthy of the name is to advance the common good.

This holds also for the elimination of the abuses of private property, for the withdrawal of privileges from an oligarchy which is oblivious of its obligations to the working classes. Here, too, nothing is more compatible with Christian teaching than to strive after means of solving the conflict between Capital and Labor. Free opportunity to intellectual development and to education by all social classes is also in complete conformity with the teaching and traditional practices of the Church.

### Careful Guidance Needed

The obligation of Catholics, in France as elsewhere, is not, then, to oppose these structural reforms which are for the most part in the direction of greater social justice in seeking to eliminate the abuses which have weighed all too heavily on the working man and the poor in certain countries, and which have aroused class conflict. Our obligation is rather in being vigilant in uncovering threats hidden under these reforms which are in other respects justifiable in themselves.

I have said that the parties of the left have not only a program. They have also principles. They have a doctrine; they have a "mysticism." This mysticism—call it communist mysticism—is derived from the doctrines of Karl Marx, adapted by Lenin and others, and based on an anti-Christian conception of the world called "historical materialism." Catholics can no more accept totalitarianism



under a Fuehrer than they can under a dictatorship of the proletariat. They, too, are defenders of human liberty. They should keep their eyes open to take care lest under the pretext of liberty the parties of the left do not suppress liberty: freedom of the trade unions, freedom of teaching, and finally, liberty of conscience.

For the leftist ideology, wherever it has revealed itself in its true colors—we have already seen this happen in many countries—has suppressed these essential liberties, which we have received from Christianity. They will leave us trade union liberty, yes, but a *single* trade union movement; they will leave us liberty of instruction, but suppress the free (Catholic) school. Freedom of thought, yes, but not for the non-conformist press.

### Task for Catholics

The problem for Catholics, and it is here that we need leaders with clear vision, is to know how to separate the wheat from the cockle in the leftist program, to discriminate between policies aimed indirectly against the Church (which is being accused as "fascist"), and reforms legitimately proposed in the name of genuine social justice.

It is this two-fold aspect of the activities of the so-called parties of the left, which causes division of opinions among Catholics. For these two aspects are not easily susceptible of separation. The division resulting among Catholics is capitalized by political leaders to range Catholic against Catholic with the aim of gaining the greatest number of votes and seats in the political assemblies. One cannot over-emphasize how much damage has been done to the Catholic cause by these divisions among us.

On the left, we have the communizing Christians, who, conscious only of the necessity of a revolution to extirpate the abuses of capitalism and of the powerful financial oligarchy still in our midst, are ready to support communism and to accept the "outstretched hand." They hope that *afterwards*, the Church will shine with all the more brilliance when it has abandoned what they consider as its privileges and when it has thus become totally disengaged from temporal involvements.

### Conservatives Oppose Change

On the right, the conservative Catholics see the advantages they stand to lose in a change of the social structure, and in the name of Catholic principles they try to oppose these changes. Without going so far as to demand that in France, where a majority of the people are Catholics, the Catholic religion be recognized as the religion of the state, they resist the separation of Church and state. They seem to regret the passing of the Vichy regime which subsidized and aided Catholic schools and institutions. Before the condemnation of the *Action Francaise* Catholics of the right supported the doctrines of Maurras.

It can no longer be alleged categorically that the Catholic Frenchman is necessarily a man of the right. This is especially true since the Liberation in which so many Catholic votes contributed to the success of the MRP, the party which became one of the three major political parties at its very first test.

### Catholic Program

The obligation of Catholics is clear: Never to oppose social progress which aims to improve human welfare especially that of the working class; to fight against the anti-Christian doctrines which inspire the "leftist groups"; and finally, to defend the liberties which remain to us and which we have in most instances purchased dearly. For this end, union and solidarity are indispensable.

I might add that the threat from the left is sometimes on one specific issue, sometimes on another.

Until the liberation of France by the Allied Forces and the French Forces of the Interior, Catholics and Commu-

nists united with each other in the underground resistance. Subsequently elected by popular vote, they possess important positions in the Provisional Assembly. But they became quickly divided from each other, and this on the school question. An appearance of liberty was left to Catholics to open their schools. But this was a denial of liberty in the refusal to allow them a system of freedom of education, and in leaving them alone with the burden of supporting their schools, despite the fact that these schools were performing the task of public instruction.

The school question is one instance in which the leftist groups can threaten the interests of the Church. It shows how necessary it is for Catholics of the left and Catholics of the right to unite with each other and to form a front of Christians which can resist the hidden but persistent processes of deChristianization of France and of Europe by the parties of the left.

### DR. E. M. J. S. SASSEN

#### *Executive Councillor of the Province of Noord-Brabant*

*Dr. Sassen spent a good deal of the war years in a German concentration camp where he had abundant time to think over the new problems facing the postwar world. Not the least of his lessons derived from conversations with Socialists and Communists imprisoned with him. These lessons you will find reflected in the course of his comments. Dr. Sassen has played a leading role in the re-organization of the Catholic party in The Netherlands, now called the Catholic People's party. He has served as a delegate to the meeting of the International Labor Organization at Montreal and to the United Nations Assembly in London.*

The majority of the countries represented in the United Nations seem to have "left" governments and nearly all European countries in UN have them at present: Great Britain, France, Norway, Denmark, Belgium, The Netherlands; and of course the Soviet Union and her satellites; the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Jugoslavia, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Besides these twelve countries—and besides former Germany!—there are however 13 European countries *not* represented in the United Nations. They are Iceland, Eire, Finland, Sweden, Switzerland, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Austria, Hungary, Albania, Rumania and Bulgaria. Some of them cannot, or can hardly, be considered as democratic states. So Spain, on the one hand, and Rumania and Bulgaria on the other. Iceland, Finland, Sweden, and Italy too have "left" governments. In Switzerland the Socialist party is represented in the government and takes part in the majority coalition consisting mostly of non-Socialist parties.

In Austria and Hungary you have governments composed of all parties, including the Communists. This is surely done under Soviet pressure. In both these countries as a result of recent elections the Communist party is very small in number—though not in pretensions. The socialist parties in these two countries are nearly as strong as the Christian-minded groups: the People's party in Austria and the Small-holders' party in Hungary. No sufficient information is available about Albania. Portugal has a somewhat exceptional position, having a non-fascist one-party system. The relations with Great Britain and the six counties in Northern Ireland seems to dominate more than anything else the political situation in Eire.

### The Leftist Trend

In the following remarks on present leftward trends in Europe we do not refer to the British Labour party, nor to the Communist parties in the various European countries. The latter are obviously always following Moscow directives. They cannot therefore be said to be national parties, though they use national items for their propaganda. But up till now, the Communists have not succeeded in establishing a fusion with any Socialist party,



not even in Eastern Germany.

[In the Soviet-controlled zone a fusion between the Socialists and the Communists has recently been effected under circumstances that clearly point to coercion. The Socialist party in the American and British zone has refused to recognize the merger. Ed.]

For the moment, the communist influence in Western Europe seems to decrease. The Soviets show a more vivid interest in Eastern European countries, in China, in Japan, Indonesia and the Arab world, possibly "to win the West by winning the East," as Lenin used to say.

You can distinguish in the present leftward trends in Europe two often cooperating groups: the old socialist parties and new groups of a progressive Christian or Catholic inclination, as the latter are now existing in France, Italy, Belgium, The Netherlands, and perhaps also in Austria and Hungary. In most of the socialist parties there is some uneasiness and tension, some battle between a pre-war and a post-war generation as a result of which the following changes are likely to take place.

### Socialists Modify Tenets

They are as a whole no longer indoctrinated by Marxism. They are less reluctant to recognize the value and necessity of stable, though not yet clearly defined, moral standards, to be observed in human society. There is a growing feeling that neutrality in respect of those standards is impossible for any state; that "democracy"—not at all a univocal notion—should at least mean not only "anti-fascism" but also "anti-totalitarianism" and should require a freely organized, self-conscious and self-determining nation. In view of the economic failures of the past, the enormous unemployment of the pre-war period, and the dire distress in which this war has brought Europe, they are strongly anti-capitalistic and urge a policy of socialization of key industries and of controlled economy. As a matter of fact, socialism has given to Europe and to the world statesmen of considerable qualities, like Atlee, Bevin, Spaak, Trygve Lie and many others.

The progressive Christian or Catholic parties of the left are constituting something new in European political life of today. For the above-mentioned reasons they sustain to a large scale the same social and economic program as their socialist colleagues. They are strongly opposed to what they see as a rather conservative, unsuccessful and ineffective economic policy of the Christian parties during the pre-war period, though this judgment may not be completely fair to their predecessors.

Their anti-capitalistic opinions are taking shape in promoting some system of "joint-management" as broadly outlined in *Quadragesimo Anno*. They are perhaps more reluctant in respect of government controls but they accept them temporarily as an emergency measure.

### Defend Human Rights

Their basic principles regarding human rights, tasks and limits of state power, moral standards and "democracy" are far more clearly defined in the light of a "philosophy of common sense" along the lines of Neo-Thomism. Authors like Jacques Maritain and Denis de Rougemont have a great influence. These parties support strongly the rights of free Christian (Catholic) education, by means of well-equipped confessional schools, youth movements, press and other organs to influence public opinion.

But there is on the whole—though not to the same degree in the various countries—a great reluctance to establish themselves again, as was the case in the pre-war period, as specifically Christian or Catholic parties. They feel that Christianity is far more than a directive for politics. Too close a relation between religion and politics does, in their opinion, more harm than good and hampers

other people from having a clear and distinct outlook upon what are basically the essence and the tasks of the Church.

### Collaboration Possible

A successful cooperation between the two above-mentioned groups in the present European leftward trend might create a possibility to restore, to defend and to strengthen the Western, "Atlantic" civilization and its very Christian essence. But such a successful cooperation depends widely on the restoration of social progress, full employment in a free society and better standards of life. The present standards of life on the European continent are bluntly *undecent*. This is a great moral, social and economic danger and concerns not only the respective countries, not only Europe, but the world, and notably too the U. S. A. We in Europe are well aware that you in the States do not like such things as "joint-management" and controlled economy. But are you fully aware of our desperate social and economic situation? If so, you will concede that there is no other way to go, considering the devastation of millions of houses, thousands of factories and mines and complete systems of transport and communications. The blockade of foreign dollar-accounts in the U. S. A. too is a form of government control. Beware another "isolationism" that leaves Europe alone. One day or another it would find the U. S. A. alone and unable to maintain all those values for which your soldiers have so valiantly fought this war and for which so many of your heroes have given their precious lives.

### P. J. S. SERRARENS, M.P.

*Mr. Serrarens is General Secretary of the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions, with headquarters in Utrecht, Holland. His comments below on this present topic have special value and interest on account of his long experience in the trade union movement on the continent. He was recently re-elected a member of the Parliament of The Netherlands, on the ticket of the successful Catholic Peoples' Party.*

It is undeniable that since the last world war in which communist Russia took such a prominent part, communism in Europe has had the advantage of the propaganda resulting from admiration of Russian courage, tenacity, skill and overwhelming superiority.

It is a pity for the democratic idea that the Western powers did not reach Berlin before the Russians did.

On the other hand, experience of Russian occupation seems to work as counter-propaganda (cf. the results of Austrian and Italian elections.)

In the Western part of Europe however communism is a force with great vitality and a great anti-Christian force.

There are in reality in Western Europe three important groups: communists, socialists and Christians.

The evolution in the post-war time proves that Christianity is not dead at all, that it does not withdraw to the catacombs but fights in the open field with great success.

A century ago socialism and communism meant rather much the same. At present the evolution of socialism in the direction of social reform without a revolutionary character is to be seen everywhere. Socialism however has great weak spots in its opposition to communism: it has the same origin and if Marx is abandoned by all the leaders of thought in present socialism (already before the last war Henri de Man took the lead in this respect (cf. his book: *Au delà du Marxisme*), the slogans of communism are rather much the same as those which socialism used formerly.

Theories as those of historic materialism may appear antiquated for the student, but the materialist doctrine and its consequences, hatred of religion or at least an anti-religious bias, are still working like yeast in the rank and file of socialist masses, which remain under the influence of the communist propaganda.



There is no clear demarcation line between communism and socialism, though on a whole moderate socialism has abandoned the Marxist theories in order to become a reform party.

In most of the countries in Europe socialism changed completely its attitude towards religion and continued the evolution of which *Quadragesimo Anno* speaks (par. 113 and 114).

But the danger of the attraction which communism, with its radicalism and its very violent propaganda, exerts on the masses constitutes a danger for socialist organizations.

The opposition of socialism to communism is moreover weakened by the post-war evolution in the trade-union field.

### World T. U. Federation

After the other war, socialist trade unions (and the A.F.L.) were affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions which was opposed to the Moscow Trade-Union International. At present socialist and communist trade-unions (and the C.I.O.) belong to the World Trade-Union Federation, in which organization the communist wing represents a great strength owing to the fact that the Soviet government strongly supports the policy of the World Trade-Union Federation.

Already in the year 1850 Marx wanted the revolution to be permanent "till all more or less possessing powers will have ceased to be dominating, till the power of the State has been conquered by the proletariat and the league of proletarians, not in one country only, but in all countries, has made such progress as the competition of proletarians ceases to be and at least *the most decisive productive forces are concentrated in the hands of the proletarians.*" (Address quoted by Stalin, *Probleme des Leninismus*, p. 96.)

As a matter of fact communists demand that the means of production as a whole be brought in the hands of the state and they want to bring the State in their hands by democratic or by revolutionary methods.

Socialists do not go so far nowadays, though they did formerly.

At present European socialists demand the socialization or nationalization of the means of production, though they are satisfied as a rule with the nationalization of the most important means of production in the key-industries.

Christian leaders of thought in Europe do not reject Nationalization as a method which may be suitable in a given occasion, they reject it only as a general method.

In complete agreement with the theory of *Quadragesimo Anno* with regard to the subsidiary function of the State, they think that the supreme political authority of the country as guardian of the common-welfare ought to intervene in economic life if industry does not live up to its duty, if e.g. economic concentration results in an economic power which *Quadragesimo Anno* rightly calls a dictatorship (cf. "potentatus successit liberae competitioni" et par. 106).

This concentration constitutes a danger for economic life as well as for the State itself and the whole of the community. We need not dwell on this point, as it is obvious. Here the State has the duty to intervene: it cannot leave it at that "abiectio reipublicae maiestatis" (par. 109) and remain "serva . . . hominum libidini et cupiditatibus tradita et mancipata" (Ibidem).

### State Intervention

But on the other hand, it may be necessary to intervene for other reasons too. If at a given moment credit is refused for certain trades which do not yield important profits, the State will have to take measures in order to

maintain those trades for the community.

"It must not be so," says the *Mouvement R publicain Populaire* in one of its pamphlets "that the development of a given trade which is necessary in the economic planning be made impossible by the refusal of credit on account of motives of private interest." (*La nationalisation des Entreprises*, p. 8).

If mining, railways or other public utilities prove to be seriously handicapped by the fact that they are in the hands of private enterprise, state intervention may be necessary.

This state intervention may mean state ownership of certain means of production, it may take the form of a mixed ownership under the leadership of the public authorities, but at all events this is the leading idea: Nationalization or socialization is rejected as a general system, it is accepted wherever it proves to be necessary in order to save the State from financial despotism or in order to ensure the fulfillment of the economic task by any sector of economic life.

The measure of State intervention will depend on the general interests which the State will have to guard.

### JEAN MOUTON BRADY

French Student

*This writer is a University student presently engaged in preparing himself for a diplomatic career. What is probably most interesting is the insight this letter gives into the thinking of the generation which came to maturity during the years of the occupation. At the same time a hint is given of the splendid resources which young France possesses and which in time will prove to be the salvation of Europe.*

The war is over, but peace has not brought the calm and tranquillity that the people had been expecting.

In Europe particularly, the end of hostilities has brought many problems to the foreground, problems whose solution is urgent.

Famine that threatens after five years of undernourishment, widespread destruction that deprived millions of people of their habitations, the instability of political parties and of governments, the moral ruin, which is perhaps the gravest of all, all these facts do not encourage the new generation to look to the future with very much confidence.

How long will this situation last? In my opinion at least as long as the question continues to be asked that everyone asks today: "When will World War III take place?"

Surely no one wants to say that war is inevitable. But I believe that no serious reconstruction can take place in Europe as long as the spectre of war (atomic war!) continues to haunt the minds of men. It is an unhappy fact that at this moment, in the four quarters of the globe, men are asking themselves if war between America and Russia can be avoided.

### International Tension

In Paris where I am writing this we do not know very much about what goes on in other countries. But the atmosphere is exactly that which preceded Munich and the war of 1939. The people are restless and listen attentively to the news that brings word of tension among the Allies. Whatever happens in Germany, in Poland, in the Balkans, in Greece, Italy, Iran, China and Manchuria is recounted by the journals with sensational headlines.

What is the position of the average Frenchman with regard to the two camps? On the one hand there is the Russian bloc, huge, and reminiscent of the dynamic German bloc of Hitler. Some people admire the Russians, others detest them, but everyone fears them (even the communists, at least those who have seen the bolsheviks face to face!). On the other hand the Anglo-Saxon world is more reassuring, but it is not fully understood, and no



one is sure that its ideals of liberty and independence do not conceal an economic imperialism, the servant of Mammon.

If events obliged the Frenchman to make a choice, I believe that this would mean civil war. No government would have the authority to impose a decision.

### Spiritual Resources

In sum, Europeans and especially the French, are aware of their position. But they also know that in the domain of moral values and of the things of the spirit they have accumulated irreplaceable treasures in the course of centuries and that these are the only things that can show the world the way to its liberation. They know that it is neither capitalism nor collectivism which will save men but only a truly authentic Christian civilization. This can overcome the two ideologies shot through with materialism.

The story is told of Jules Cambon, during the Spanish-American war that being asked by a young woman which side he preferred, replied: "Thanks, I don't take either tea or coffee."

And so, that will be my answer, too. I think that in 1946 the Frenchman will answer, if he can, "Thanks, neither tea nor coffee!"

You understand, of course, that I speak for myself. I have no right to pretend that every French student thinks as I do. But my opinion is shared by very many of those best informed and best familiar with international questions, particularly in Catholic circles. That is why I think that our friends in the United States should hear and know these views.

### A BRITISH LAYMAN

*A distinguished English Catholic layman, who for good reasons cannot be named, makes these observations on the leftward trend in postwar Europe:*

The word "socialism" no longer has the terrors it once had. Government controls in wartime were necessary for us in Britain to win through the crisis of the war. In peacetime they are no less necessary to enable us to concentrate all our resources on winning through the no less difficult crisis of peace.

You in the United States seems to be about fifty years behind Britain in your views on the sanctity of private enterprise. You are thinking now the way we were thinking fifty years ago. We British believe that we control the government that controls our business. This is sufficient guarantee of our liberties. We feel that we cannot assure the liberty of the greatest number without more coordination and control than in the past.

But Britain is far from going communist. In fact it is farther away from communism than during the war. Euthusiasm for Russia has cooled noticeably. The victory of the Labour party undoubtedly meant a leftward movement. But there is still the extreme left to criticize the government. The Labour party is nevertheless in many ways in a stronger position to defend free democratic rights than its predecessor.

### Communist Threat

Will Europe go communist? Russian world influence has receded steadily in the past year, particularly in those regions occupied by the Red Army. Our British soldiers coming home from areas where they have seen the Russians in occupation are the most anti-Russian of all. But we ought also to remember that Europe is in a condition of semi-starvation. If the crops should fail again next year as they did this year, no one can predict what might happen. Anyone who wants to can stir up trouble under those circumstances.

Italy, once believed on the way to communism, has become more and more anti-Russian. This is partly due to the Soviet support of Jugoslavia's claims on Italian

territory, partly due to Soviet support for demands for reparations from Italy and to the Soviet claim to Italian colonies, and partly, here again, to the anti-communist feelings of men returning from Russia and Russian occupied territory. The Italian communist party loses prestige because the people think they take orders from Moscow. But if Italy starves anything can happen. Here, as elsewhere in Europe, the weapon against communism is food.

You ask about France and the MRP. The *Mouvement Republicain Populaire*, to which M. Bidault belongs, is a very encouraging development. But it has been said that there are "two Catholic Churches in France." One is that which supported the Nazi-sponsored Petain government to the end, or at least acquiesced in the German occupation. The other is that which regarded Nazism as the enemy of Christianity and therefore carried on war against it.

### Danger in Conservatism

We fear perils from the left, from communism; perhaps we do not recognize sufficiently that there are perils from the right. In the past, and in some countries, the Church has sometimes tended to rely too much upon the ruling class and vested interests to be the protectors and defenders of her rights. In many countries the right has failed to live up to what the Church expected of it. There are great perils in adhering too tenaciously to the right under the impression that it alone can give "order."

In Spain the attempt to identify the interests of the Church with Nazi and Fascist policy, and the tendency to sacrifice liberty to a mistaken idea of "order at any price," has done much harm and has tended to obscure the fundamentally anti-Christian character of all forms of totalitarianism, whether Nazi, Fascist or Communist. Where this "order" ceases to provide liberty for the Church, then it is time to relinquish such a policy.

Today the ruling class is not the few at the higher levels, but the rank and file of the population.

### LEWIS WATT, S.J.

*Campion Hall, Oxford*

*Our American Catholics are familiar with the work of Father Watt as the expounder of the economic-ethical aspects of the Papal social doctrines. This concise evaluation of the Labour party's program, from the viewpoint of Catholic ethics, is especially significant and illuminating. Particularly interesting is his contention that the question is not now one of the right of private property.*

The British Labour party won a victory in the last general election which, by its completeness, surprised everybody, not least the Labour party leaders. Owing to the British electoral system the large Labour majority in the House of Commons grossly misrepresents the relative strengths of socialist and anti-socialist opinion in the country, for analysis of the total votes cast shows that these are almost equally balanced, with a slight bias in favor of the Labour party and therefore of its program of nationalizing (with due compensation) the coal-mining industry, the heavy section of the iron and steel industry, fuel and power, transport and the Bank of England. The leaders of the party do not base this program on hostility to the ownership of private property but on the claim that it is the only method by which the community can be protected from exploitation by the steadily increasing power of capitalist corporations and combines. In so far as this claim is justified, the Labour program is in full accord with the teaching of Pius XI (*Quadragesimo Anno*, paragraph 114) and of Pius XII (*to Italian Catholic Workers' Associations*, March 1945). The question for British Catholics is whether or not the claims made in favor of nationalizing the undertakings mentioned are economically and socially justified; not the simpler issue of defending the right of property.



## CHRISTOPHER HOLLIS, M.P.

*In between sittings of Parliament Mr. Hollis was kind enough to give the ISO an interview. He was one of the few candidates for the Conservative Party who was lucky enough to be elected in the Labour landslide. When I asked him why he, a student of history and an academician, decided to go into politics he answered, "The first reason is, they asked me to run." But, he continued, "there is such a thing as making social progress the be-all and end-all of civilization. There is plenty of room for some one on the other side who is in a position to speak out for liberty. We have to beware of tags and slogans. Threats to true liberty can come even from social programs otherwise praiseworthy. The threat to Europe today is not a political one, essentially, but a religious and cultural one. These are the values we must watch for. Of what good is social progress such as that proposed by the Labour party if it ends with the destruction of liberty? We shouldn't go off after "fascism" or "nazism" and overlook the threats to liberty that exist right at home under some other harmless name. We have to prevent the rise of a new fascism under the guise of anti-fascism."*

*The newly-elected Conservative member of the House of Commons had the chance to express his views on this point in his maiden speech in Westminster, October 15, 1945. Here is the speech:*

I claim the indulgence of the Committee for a maiden speech, and I promise that I will not keep the Committee long at this late hour. The Government are asking for very large powers. We are told in a speech of obvious sincerity by the hon. Member for West Renfrew (Mr. Scollan) that they are justified in asking for these powers because they will use them for public purposes. We are told by another hon. Member that they will use them for the general good. No one wishes to doubt the sincerity of hon. Members, but unfortunately the problem is not as easy as that. Many of the things that were said by Karl Marx were not true, but one thing he said was that human history consists of new governing classes arising out of, and extracting, old governing classes in the name of the general good, and then establishing their power in their place.

I was reading the other day the speeches of Richard Cobden and it struck me how very similar were the phrases which he used to the phrases used by hon. Members opposite. At last sectional interests would be overcome, legislation in the future would be solely for the general good, and the only difference was that those arguments which Richard Cobden used in order to establish the capitalist system, hon. Members opposite are now using to overthrow it. Surely the one certain lesson of politics is that dreams do not come true. What emerges after five years of a legislative programme is very different from what people wished to emerge, and I do not say that in any criticism of right hon. Members opposite except in so far as it is a criticism of them to say that they are human beings. But whatever the world will be like in five years time, it will certainly by no means be the world which right hon. Members opposite wish it to be.

### Loss of Liberty

Some ten years ago, shortly before he was shot, Governor Huey Long of Louisiana said a very striking thing. He said, "It is child's play to create a Fascist party—all you have to do is to call it an anti-Fascist party." That was perhaps a somewhat cynical observation, but, if anyone looks around the world that has existed during the ten years since Governor Long was shot, I doubt whether he can deny that there is an unpleasant degree of truth in the cynicism. We were told the other day that liberty marches on. I will not dispute the aphorism, if only because I am not quite certain what it means, but a much more important truth about liberty is that it is continually under fire. First one element in the body politic, and then another,

gets too strong, and the test of statesmanship is, at any given moment, to see who is the enemy of liberty and not to waste the ammunition of the country in attacking abandoned dug-outs on deserted battlefields.

There may have been a time in the history of this country when kings had too much power, a time when landlords had too much power, Hon. Members opposite are eminent Victorians if they imagine that is the danger today. They are creatures of a bygone age, preaching gospels which went out of fashion in Queen Victoria's day. Nobody could imagine that it was capitalists who had too much power today when the poor, cringing creatures could hardly blow their noses without getting relief from a Government Department. It has been a very wise tradition of the English people to be most reluctant to part with exceptional powers to the Executive, or to the bureaucracy. That is why there is a very strong case that this Committee should be extremely reluctant to vote exceptional powers. On the other hand, there is the case that the times are exceptional, and that the immediate abolition of all exceptional Regulations, or legislation, would cast the country into chaos.

### Restrictions Necessary

How are we to reconcile these two problems? They can only be reconciled by a compromise, and, surely the obvious compromise is that proposed by one or other of these Amendments—that the exceptional powers should be granted, but that they should be granted for a very strictly limited time.

We are not asking the Government to say today that in two years' time the world will be normal. Everybody admits that it may be necessary for the Government to come down to the House again in two years' time and ask for further exceptional powers, which, if they have good reasons for asking, will be granted. But the all-important point is that exceptional powers should be granted for short periods, subject to continual examination and debate, in order that the people of England, willingly accepting discipline when it is necessary to accept it, should, nevertheless, be continually reminded that England was once a free country, and that, God helping us, she will be a free country again.

### A YOUNG POLISH STUDENT

*The writer of these observations, if he seems to have vigorous views, certainly gives evidence that he has cause to be emphatic. He is a Polish lad who "fled" (his own words) from his native country only a few months ago. For his own safety and that of his family his name may not be given here. But as an eyewitness account of what is going on his testimony is important and creditable. It is obvious he doesn't think much of "the leftward trend."*

When the Bolshevik army occupied Poland in 1939 no one knew what to think of them. The biggest part of our country was taken by the Germans. Then the German-Bolshevik war broke out (1941), and at the same time incredible news began to spread over the country. Thousands of men, women and children were found killed in the most disgusting way, in the prisons of Lemberg (Lwow). Other thousands were deported to Siberia. Then as the German army pushed back the enormous disordered flock called the Red Army, there came the first Russian prisoners.

There is one extremely important point to make: they did not know how to express their joy and gratitude for being forever (as they thought) delivered of that hideous regime based on lies and unknown terror. I spoke to the



people who went to Russia then to see if the horrid tales of the poor Russians were quite true. And indeed, the infinite misery of the Russian population was quite evident. I write here only that what they told me.

Private property is completely abolished; everything belongs to the government; the Catholic religion is persecuted; everyone suspected of being an "anti-revolutionist" is thrown into prison for five, ten, fifteen and more years. To be openly opposed to the government was punished by death.

To understand better that terroristic system read their constitution. It is full of liberties—of religion, of speech, of congregation, of opinion, of press (nonsense, there can be no private press in the "red paradise!").

### Red Army Advances

I saw the practical application of all these liberties when they came for the second time to Poland in 1945. Everyone awaited them with impatience, like the beautiful day of deliverance. And they came. Not far from Lemberg, they came to a convent of Sisters of the Immaculate Conception, and wanted to violate all the sisters. When they resisted, the soldiers took ten of them, laid them down and cut them in two pieces with knives.

As the whole of our territory was occupied, the "government" published everywhere that it wanted to take all the money from the rich men and give it to the poor ones. For that purpose they introduced new currency and giving 500 units to everyone and taking away all the money he had to change. For example, when someone had 500 old units of money, he got 500 new ones. When he had 1000 old ones he also got 500 new units. For a million zlotys, if someone had it, he was sure to get—500 new ones.

The real intention of that plan was to reduce the whole population to misery immediately, yet with the possibility of telling the proletarians that only the rich "bourgeoisie" lost their money.

And there they were deceived. It was precisely the opposite. The workers, the small farmers, and peasants lost in an instant everything they had managed to hide during years of occupation by the Germans.

### Communist Occupation

A second terrific blow opened the eyes of the most fanatical communists! Those who had fought heroically for independence during six long years, those who had laid down their lives by the hundreds of thousands for the liberty of Poland were proclaimed traitors. The NKVD raged in the whole country. New rules of terror fell upon us while the world heard that a new, independent and democratic Poland was flourishing under the protecting wings of Russia.

Thereafter 2,000 persons a day were deported, arrested, killed or tortured in the whole country. Recently more than 100,000 people were arrested as anti-revolutionists. It is an incontestable truth that the Russians were the ones who perpetrated the monstrously hideous massacre of Katyn, where twenty thousand Polish officers died.

A friend of mine spoke frequently to the Russian soldiers to learn their opinion. The soldiers were afraid to express their dissatisfaction. The officers said, "When we finish with Germany we shall go to crush down the plutocrats in England and America." And still some Americans talk of giving the Atomic Bomb to Russia. And still some Americans think that they will come to a peaceful end with these monsters.

### Danger of Bomb

It is absolutely certain that the moment the U. S. A. gives the atomic bomb to Russia it will be used to destroy them. Such an act would be the most tremendous tragedy

(and surely the last one) not only in the history of the U. S. A. but of the whole mankind. Crush the monster down before it will be too late, is the only intelligent solution. "If the U. S. A. would stop giving everything to Russia, we would be completely ruined and powerless in thirty days," a member of the NKVD told my father. And he spoke the truth. The USSR power is a complete humbug. Their offensive against the Germans succeeded beautifully it is true: 1) they had American arms, unfortunately, and victuals; 2) the Germans already had the Allied armies on their rear.

But on the other hand, if they, during that senseless waiting, succeed in developing the atomic bomb, they will certainly use it upon the U. S. A. and that with no pity, without ceasing and without mercy till the utter disappearance of the last vestige of its power and beauty. And there would be no more peace on the globe for civilization, for culture, for science, religion or honesty.

### WILFRID BAKER

*Catholic Workers' College, Oxford*

*At the Catholic Workers' College, Oxford, which is conducted by Father Leo O'Hea, S.J., is Wilfrid Baker, a Durham miner. Before he came to Oxford, Baker was a checkweighman in the coal industry. And when he finishes his two-year course at the Catholic Workers' College he will return to take his place again with the coal miners—but better equipped to exercise leadership. He has these comments to make on the nationalization of the coal mines proposed by the Labour party:*

The curse of the mining industry is distrust and suspicion, deeply rooted and not without reason. The British miner is always alert to any moves by the owners to increase output, especially when he is told that the plans are for his benefit. He has found that anything which makes coal easier to work means his being asked to produce more coal for the same pay. I have served my apprenticeship in the murky depths amid muck and water and gas, body aching and eyes blinded with sweat. The tradition has been handed down to us by our fathers and grandfathers, a tradition of long hours, high targets, low wages, pigsty houses, a tradition of struggle for redress by union organization and political endeavour.

The miner is loyal to his leaders and justly proud of his union. Its structure and achievement has been a great work on the part of men with little learning and it has had an educational value of its own. The miners control efficiently the local government of their own districts, and send their own members to Parliament. They have come to rely on their combined strength in the union; they can be tough fighters, and long experience has taught them to seek reform also by legislation.

The miner wants higher pay, shorter hours, better compensation in case of injury. The nation is accustomed to cheap coal and cheap coal has meant cheap labour to maintain profits which, in his circumstances, the miner regards as exploitation.

Today there are economic arguments for nationalization—the high degree of capitalism required for efficiency—but for generations nationalization has been a household word for the miners. They welcome the Bill, now passing through Parliament, because it will mean that the efforts, risks and sacrifices asked of them, will go to the benefit of the country and not to provide unearned profits for others. Let me add that Catholics form a high proportion in most mining areas, that they are strong and loyal as Catholics while they share the general views of the mining community and play an active part in the various movements and organizations by which the miners struggle for a better life.



# NEGROES AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS

## Is Indirect Attack Possible?

By JOHN M. FRAUNCES, S.J.

The exchange of letters between Father Healy and Father Markoe taught me a great deal. It seems that an impasse has been reached, and that we are unable with our present store or use of knowledge—I don't know which—to blaze the trail to the solution. At any rate I do not see how Father Healy and Father Markoe can come to an agreement unless one of them abandons ground he is now holding. Before this soiled napkin is pulled out of the Box and thrown into the wash, I should like to ask a few questions, in the hope that someone can correct or corroborate opinions the discussion helped form in me.

Father Healy begins his solution of the case (admission of Negroes into a Jesuit high school) by saying: "As a private institution, a Jesuit school has the right to receive or to reject any pupils who apply for admission." Later, this principle was worded: "As far as strict justice alone is concerned, Jesuit schools, as private institutions, have the right to receive or to reject whomsoever they wish. However, obligations arising from other virtues may sometimes modify this right." As I read back over the solution, it seems to me that the rewording of the principle would cause no change in it, and that it simply makes explicit the sense that the whole context of the first wording demands.

### HOW MAKE THE NEGRO AGREE

Granted the principle, no one can quarrel with the solution. Rather, the question arises: What is the case to be solved? Certainly not the admission or rejection of Negroes. For if the school has a strict right to admit or reject applicants as it wishes (the principle stating its right is an unrestricted universal), no one may licitly question its action in rejecting a Negro. It is obvious chicanery to make it out that a man is a 'casus conscientiae' when we admit that he is exercising his rights. The only legitimate *problem* is how are we to make the Negro see and agree that the school may rightly reject him.

But I doubt the principle. A private school, whether Catholic or not, is an institution performing a public service, and in the case of Catholic schools we should say that one of our purposes in having them is that the public service may be better performed. This public service seems to be an essential part of the school's function, for the training

given in a private school to one who must live as a citizen is a matter of public welfare. It directly affects the common good. Moreover, we intend that our Catholic schools shall affect the common good. I cannot express in words the paramount importance this public function has—such importance, in fact, that without it the school itself has no meaning. You cannot explain, use, justify, or even understand a Catholic high school, giving training in Religion, Language, Science, Mathematics, etc., without thinking of its public function.

### SCHOOL SERVES PUBLIC FUNCTION

For its public function is its final cause, not ultimate, it is true (that is salvation), but genuine; and it is its final cause both by its nature and by our intention in using it. It is certain that any consideration of an object which neglects its final cause will leave you ignorant of the knowledge necessary to explain the morality of the object and of its use. We cannot solve the question of admitting Negroes to a private school without considering its final cause. Without it we cannot understand, much less formulate, the school's rights and duties. For without the final cause we cannot understand the school itself. This is why I am doubtful of the principle stating the school's right. I think that it does not include the school's final cause.

An analogous case may help to show what I mean. The principle stating the school's right is not true, unless a more general principle is also true, that is: A private institution has the right to serve or not serve whomsoever it wishes. This more general principle includes, for instance, railroads, by means of which I hope to move my trunk. Now, according to the principle, the railroad may in strict justice move or not move my trunk *as it wishes*, and it needs no other reason. But is that true? I doubt it. The railroad, although private in its ownership, is public in its function; and I think it likely—even certain—that its public function can alter intrinsically its right to serve whom it likes.

### WHAT ACTUALLY HAPPENS

There are other considerations too. Let us look at what actually happens. A Catholic private school is founded, receives its civil charter and ecclesiastical approval. It issues its catalogue

stating its policy and requirements, the policy and requirements according to which it has its civil charter and ecclesiastical approval. It advertises in organs which are directed to all classes—diocesan papers and national Catholic magazines, to mention two organs where I can remember having seen such advertisements. It needs and seeks the patronage of the public. In all of this there is no hint that color has anything to do with admission. In practice we find that heresy, presumably material, does not always bar admission, although one might rightly expect that in a Catholic school it would. I will admit for the sake of the argument that one may found a school exclusively for whites, exclusively for Catholics, exclusively for Turks. This exclusiveness then becomes part of its charter and approval, part of its policy and requirements. It also becomes part of the necessary information to be given out in making a bid for public patronage. For the public has a right in strict justice to know the true character of any institution that asks for its patronage. If a school which seeks public patronage admits or rejects applicants according to norms not contained in its charter, etc., is it not dishonest? And when the dishonesty is practised in a matter so integral as the school's public function—that by which it has its rights and duties to the community—is it not unjust?

### DRASTIC IN PRACTICE

I do not conclude that private schools must admit without hesitation all capable Negroes who apply. The solution of the case of conscience says that because of circumstances our schools usually should admit Negroes, whom otherwise they could rightfully reject. I should say rather, that when a Negro may be rejected it is because circumstances temporarily excuse the school from obligations it must otherwise fulfill.

This theoretical difference resolves into very drastic differences in practice. I confess that I want it to be true that the private school must in justice admit Negro applicants, for I have then a basis in principle on which I can recommend (and sometimes command) practical solutions of the race problem, and analogously of the social problem.

As citizens we have the duty to contribute to the common good. We are protected by the common good; it is only just to pay in like coin for that protection. Race prejudice harms the common good. It is a problem the citizens must solve. Whatever may be the duties and capabilities of our repre-  
(Turn to page 19)



## ISOccasions

A school for Delayed Vocations will be opened in September by the New England Jesuits under **Father George M. Murphy**. Modeled on a similar school conducted by the English Jesuits at Osterly, it will receive candidates for all dioceses, religious orders and congregations. In general the age group will be restricted to those between twenty and thirty-five years. Candidates for admission must have successfully completed at least three years of high school. Students will be prepared for entrance into the seminary philosophy course in two years, or will be ready to begin Junior College after one year. All students must give evidence of having a serious intention of preparing for the priesthood. Tuition is \$250.00. War veterans entering the school can benefit by the provisions of the G. I. Bill of Rights. It is hoped after a year that boarding facilities will be provided. **Father Murphy** can be contacted at 300 Newbury Street, Boston 15, Massachusetts.

### Detroit U. Shows How

As a part of the Chicago Province program to work towards the objectives of the ISO **Father Robert C. Hartnett**, Detroit University, with the approval of the local authorities and **Father Provincial**, organized last May a summer session of "Social Thought and Action" for priests of the province. The purpose of the course was to give a brief introduction in the social sciences to interested teachers and pastors who had received no special training.

Classes were held each day from 10 to 12 and from 4 to 5:30, June 10-21 at the University of Detroit. The basic content of the two-week program was **Father John Cronin's** new book, "Economic Analysis and Problems." **Father Henry Wirtenberger** gave the basic lectures which followed the outline of **Father Cronin's** book. In addition to the ideas presented in his lecture **Father Wirtenberger** brought to his classes a large supply of books on various social topics so that the students might have an opportunity at first hand to examine the books and select those which would be most suitable for future study. This material was supplemented with lectures given by laymen representing industry, labor and the Government. **Father Hartnett** spent one entire day outlining Catholic teaching on the state and economic life.

In addition to the lectures those attending the sessions toured a modern industrial plant and attended a program of the Detroit Interracial Council on advances in racial relations.

It is to be hoped that this splendid beginning will not only be continued in the Chicago province, but will spread to other provinces of the Assistancy as well. Such an institute as **Father Hartnett** planned and conducted at Detroit can be an invaluable instrument for giving the basic facts needed in ISO work to a small group of interested and active workers. Priests trained through such a session will be eager to learn more than can be presented to them in so short a time and will be far better fitted to carry on the tremendously important work which must be done immediately if we are to influence even to a slight degree the social order of our own country and of the world. The school in Detroit can be a guide to others interested in establishing short summer courses and should be an inspiration to trained priests in all of our colleges to undertake similar projects.

### Martyrdom for Catholic Ruthenia

**Fordham University** was sponsor and host to the Eighth Annual Conference on Eastern Rites and Liturgies held in New York in April. Principal topic of discussion was the recent Papal Encyclical, "All the Eastern Churches." In it the Holy Father expresses his deep affection and concern for the Eastern Rite Catholics of Ruthenia. A panel discussion focusing attention on the tragic condition of these persecuted members of the Church followed with **Father Desmond A. Schmal** of Mundelein Seminary participating. The conference concluded with a pontifical concelebration of the Byzantine-Slavic Liturgy (Mass) at St. Patrick's Cathedral.

### Cardinal Spellman Approves

The Social Order Forum of St. Ignatius Church, New York City, has been singled out for special blessing and encouragement by His Eminence **Cardinal Spellman**. **Father Edward Hogan** is its moderator. In addition to the discussion groups already meeting two evenings a week at the parish house, a third composed chiefly of war veterans is being formed. Members of the parish and their friends attend the *monthly* open forum in great numbers.

### Ohio's Social Action School

Several Jesuits attended the Social Action School for priests at St. Charles Seminary, Columbus, Ohio, June 17 to 28. Thirty priests were present from all over Ohio, from neighboring states, from Louisiana to Ontario, Canada. His Excellency **Bishop Haas** of Grand Rapids and **Father George Higgins** of N.C.W.C. Social Action Department kept lively the

discussion on the Catholic position and O.P.A., Minimum Wage Laws, F.E.P.C., Wagner Act, etc. **Bishop Ready** of Columbus expressed his strong support of the work.

### Closed Retreats for Colored

Eleven closed retreats to Negro groups have been conducted during the summer months at Manresa Retreat Home, South Kinloch Park, Mo. (near St. Louis), where **Father Otto Moorman** has been zealously laboring so many years. These retreats were organized by **Father William S. Bowdern**, recently discharged from the armed forces. Six retreats for Negro women were given, five for Negro men. An average of fourteen persons made the retreats at Manresa, the only exclusively Colored Retreat House in the United States. Holy Angels' Manresa boasts of private room accommodations for sixteen retreatants, a modern dining room, kitchen and lounge. A cave chapel, constructed of stone, is an almost exact replica of the Ignatian Cave at Manresa.

Catholic Charities, Inc., of Buffalo, N. Y., has given concrete recognition of the excellent work being done in child welfare by the **St. Ann's Child Center** in that city. A generous donation of funds will help the center to continue its work.

### Paris Action Populaire

In a letter to **Father Klaas**, of St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kans., written at Easter, 1946, **Father Stanislaus de Lestapis** describes the Jesuit Action Populaire near Paris. Social "Weeks" are inaugurated by the Jesuit Fathers for the diocesan clergy who then translate the ideas there discussed into parish social action. **Father de Lestapis** thinks that "there is at this moment in France a fine regeneration of the Family. We meet young married people intensely devoted to Catholic Action, earnest apostles among other married couples. . . . At the Action Populaire we also publish magazines, few of which I think have reached you (in the U. S.) as yet."

### Arm Load Free

**Father John J. O'Hara** of St. Mary's Church, Pendleton, Oregon, spoke on "What the Church Expects of the Home" in a one day Social Hygiene Institute conducted at Pendleton for the counties of eastern Oregon recently. A large non-Catholic gathering was provided with an arm load of T.Q.W. pamphlets (e. g., "Modern Youth and Chastity") given away free.



## Rural Life Report

During the summer, besides participating in all of the S.S.C.A., Father Anthony Adams, head of the ISO Rural Life Committee, inaugurated Rural Life Institutes for Sisters working in rural communities. Four hundred Franciscan Sisters attended the Institute at St. Teresa's College, Winona, Minn.; one hundred, the Institute at Our Lady of Good Counsel Academy, Mankato, Minn.; one hundred fifty, at St. Mary's Academy, Prairie du Chien, Wisc. Days of recollection for rural groups were enthusiastically received. Father Adams also participated in a Rural Life school for pastors held at St. John's University, Collegeville, Minn., for priests from Minnesota, Iowa, Wisconsin, the Dakotas.

Father James Meehan of St. Louis U. High gave three talks on Education and Leadership at the Rural Life Institute for Priests held at Lincoln, Nebraska, July 24-25. One hundred twenty priests of the Lincoln diocese were present as was their Bishop, the Most Reverend Louis Kucera.

## ISO of Rockhurst College

The United States Department of Labor has undertaken to distribute a report on the ISO of Rockhurst College, Kansas City, Missouri, which is directed by Father John C. Friedl. The report describes the purpose and organization of the Rockhurst Labor School, the courses offered in the year 1945-46, the composition of the student body (97 union and non-union men and women), the unions represented by the union-member students (19 are so named). With the Labor School now eight years old, Rockhurst is preparing to open in September, 1946 a new division of Business and Industrial Relations.

## "Phenomenal Achievement"

Father Leo Brown, head of St. Louis U's I.S.S., on July 29 was named special representative of Secretary of Labor Schwollenbach to mediate the five-month-old dispute between the Granite City Steel Company and 170 machinists. The strike, longest in the history of the steel industry, had kept 1600 production employees idle. Five days after starting to work Father Brown announced the parties had agreed to arbitrate. "Father Brown had completed a phenomenal achievement in accomplishing this agreement to arbitrate," a member of the arbitration board declared. A. F. Kojetinsky, regional director of the CIO United Steel Workers said, "I think Father Brown has done a very splendid piece of work."

## Announcing . . .

# CATHOLIC ATTITUDES

a publication of the  
*Institute of Social Order*

▶ this ISO newsletter replaces the former HISO bulletins and will attempt to popularize and make practical—on high school level—ISO ideas and ideals

▶ it will be sent free of charge to all Jesuit high schools and scholasticates

## Negroes and Private Schools

(Concluded from page 17)

representatives in solving this problem, in actuality it is the citizens who will do it, and without them it will not be done. When a Negro applies for admission to a private school, the problem of race prejudice becomes particularized in the Negro and the Principal (who, I shall assume, runs the school.) However unwilling they may be, this is the fact. Their problem must be settled along principles that promote the common good. For if a citizen ever has to contribute to the common good, surely it is when in his ordinary course of life he meets a danger to the common good.

### INDIRECT ATTACK

Then, if ever, he must act. To admit the Negro is the direct attack on the problem. But, assuming that the Principal has an obligation in justice to admit the Negro, assuming also that circumstances temporarily excuse him from fulfilling his obligation, is he thereby excused from all effort to solve the problem of race prejudice? Is he excused from attacking the problem indirectly? for example, from instructing parents whom he meets socially or on school business? from indoctrinating his pupils with principles of interracial justice? from contributing financially or morally to the cause of interracial justice? I do not think so. By his very vocation the problem has become his, and he must do what he can to solve it in his life. In other words, since the problem now belongs to him, I do not see that the reasons which excuse the Principal from solving the problem directly also excuse him from solving it indirectly. Or again, I do not see that the impossibility of fulfilling an obligation imposed by the common good also excuses a citizen from influencing conditions so that the fulfilling of the obligation will become possible.

Nor (and this is *obiter dicta*) does it seem that the bigness or littleness of what an individual can do alters the seriousness of the obligation, since the

common good is obtained in practice by the multitude of acts—both big and little—performed daily by the majority of citizens.

### VOCATION TO SERVE

This question of admitting particular persons to private institutions that give public service—schools, hotels, theatres, restaurants—of admitting particular workers to jobs, is settled or not settled on the theory of rights and duties of owners to human society. Those who have no theory cannot settle it. All will agree that in general those who own such institutions have a duty by reason of their vocation to serve the public. But most will hesitate when you ask them if this duty-in-general ever becomes particularized. They will scarcely ever say that this owner has a duty to serve this person, or that this person has a right to be served. If you agree with this, then it makes no immediate difference whether the duty-in-general is one of strict justice, charity, or liberality. For, if it cannot be particularized, it cannot be enforced. No one ever has to fulfill it. It is inoperative. I do not believe that God has left human society, His own foundation, so hamstrung. The possibility of particularization must exist. Where is it?

I think it exists whenever in the ordinary course of his life and vocation a man finds himself in circumstances involving good and evil. This is why I said above that the problem of race prejudice becomes specified in the Negro and the Principal when the Negro applies for admission. If the Principal ever has a duty to an individual, it is when the individual applies; if the individual applicant ever has a right to a service offered to the public, it is when he comes and asks for it. If neither has the right or duty then, can someone tell me when they do?

### IN BRIEF: THREE POINTS

I have tried thus briefly to indicate that there are reasons for working positively on three points: the definition of rights and duties of private schools (and analogous institutions) according to their final cause; the obligation of attacking a problem indirectly when direct attack is impossible; the particularization of that 'ens rationis,' duty-in-general. I have used only natural principles so that my remarks will have universal application. When it comes to the Catholic school, we have yet to consider its deeper reality: that private though it be, it is an auxiliary of the Church, a public institution, whose end—one's by divine decree, the other's by participation—is to dispense year after year the saving work of redemption.



# NEW ISO Pamphlets

PRICE 10 CENTS

## THE ATOM BOMB MEANS WE MUST HAVE PEACE

by ROBERT A. GRAHAM, S.J.

Father Graham is the official Jesuit reporter with the U. N. He stresses the need for a real internationalism.

## THE ETHICS OF COMMERCIAL FARMING

by ANTHONY J. ADAMS, S.J.

Father Adams, head of the ISO Rural Life Committee and NCRLC lecturer, warns of the dangers of assembly-line farming.

## COMING SOON: FAMILY ALLOWANCES

by FRANCIS J. CORLEY, S.J.

# ISO Forums

PRICE 10 CENTS

## ARE OUR RURAL AREAS OVERPOPULATED?

Edited by ANTHONY J. ADAMS, S.J.  
and EDWARD DUFF, S.J.

Experts throughout the U. S. answer a decided NO! Read why.

## REHOUSING URBAN SLUM AREAS

Edited by FRANCIS J. CORLEY, S.J.

Best solutions to a No. 1 city problem by real authorities.

(N. B.: These forums have appeared in part in the ISO Bulletin.)

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# THE NAPKIN BOX

## THE NEAT REPLY

I liked the following paragraph in an article by Father LaFarge, and am passing it on to those who might not have come across it in the original.

Any mention of education for better race relations is sure to elicit from some quarter the expression "We need evolution but not revolution": the understanding being that it is revolutionary to consider any improvement or any change in the system of race relations in this country. I reply that it is never a revolution to bring order into disorder. The condition of race relations in this country is not a system; it is not order, though in certain cases as a mere mechanical arrangement it may have the appearance of order. It is profoundly disordered, and how deeply disordered only a very few people have a concept.

"Evolution or Revolution?" *Inter-racial Review* (Reprinted in *The Catholic Mind*, May, 1946).

It's very good to see euphonic bromides handily disposed of.

J. H. McCown, S. J.  
St. Mary's College  
St. Marys, Kansas

## A TIME FOR ACTION

The I. S. O. BULLETIN for April 1946 on page twenty-four, under the heading, "Some Social Readings," cites an article which I submit should be cited again lest it be lost. The article appeared in the "*Homiletic and Pastoral Review*" for February 1946, pp. 347-355. By Joseph C. Donovan, C. M., J. C. D., it is entitled, "Three Seminarians Visit Canadian Jocists."

I submit that this article is a challenge to the I. S. O.

I refer to two statements of Fr. Donovan. The first is that the working plan of Jocism is to "Observe, Judge AND Act" (italics and capitals mine). We Jesuits are certainly experienced Observers and Judges of the social scene. Witness the I. S. O. itself as well as daily life. The second statement is that Jocism is an answer to the question, not "What ought to be done?" but "WHAT WILL WE DO?" Of course we must answer the first question before the second. The point I wish to make is that Observe-Judge-Act should be an integral process.

Now the challenge, I respectfully submit, is this: Are American Jesuits (and the I. S. O. means American Jesuits) to do any *acting?* and more specifically, is the I. S. O. to result in any form of what the Pope means by *Actio Catholica?*

The I. S. O. is professedly modeled upon "*Action Populaire.*" and "*Action*

*Populaire*" is a result of the Papal social encyclicals, allocutions and epistles which specifically commend formal Catholic Action. (Is there, by the way, a collection of these documents in English?) The Jesuits of Belgium and France started to organize laymen into units of Catholic Action with both adolescent and adult divisions. This 'movement' (Jocists insist on the word 'movement' to better indicate the dynamic nature of the organization) spread to French Canada. Substantially the same thing was begun in Spain, Germany, Italy and Latin America (at least these).

There is a time for Observing and Judging, and there is a time for Action. When American Jesuits have Observed and Judged how are they to Act? Alone and directly? Or will they act in cooperation with the Pope and the Hierarchy through the lay-leaders of *Actio Catholica*, just as French, Belgian, Spanish, German, Italian and Latin American Jesuits have done *and are doing?* I am not here referring to retreats, Cana Conferences and other types of talk (certainly themselves most valuable), but to an organization by the I. S. O., that is, organization by American Jesuits of the cell-technique of the Holy Father's beloved *Actio Catholica*.

Stressing each individual word in the question (I hope it is not a rhetorical one): "We will do . . . what?"

Lewis Delmage, S. J.  
Weston College  
Weston, Mass.

## NOT ONE, BUT THREE

You may or may not be interested in several errors in the BULLETIN column one of page 28 of the June BULLETIN. The title of the Grail simplification of Quadragesimo Anno is "This is Justice." You state that only one of these simplifications has been published. I have been using three of them for several years. In general I find the BULLETIN very helpful for teaching purposes.

William G. Downing, S. J.  
The Creighton University  
Omaha 2, Nebraska

One of the problems involved in raising children has been solved by the Catholic Children's Book Club, which is operated by the America Press, 70 East 45th Street, New York, 17. Books are selected for four groups: boys and girls aged 6-8, boys and girls aged 9-11, boys aged 12-16, girls aged 12-16. The books are not "spiritual" books, but regular publishers issues carefully selected by an advisory committee for the various age levels. Literature about the club will be sent to anyone requesting information.



# Publishers' Galley

**GOD IS ITS FOUNDER.**—By Bake-well Morrison, S.J. Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee, 1946. XI+275 pp. \$2.00.

Father Morrison, the Director of the Department of Religion of the Saint Louis University, has completely re-written his college text, *Marriage*, published twelve years ago. That book was printed in the form of a set of notes; the new book, *God Is Its Founder*, is written in lecture form in conversational language. This style too often gets out of hand with clumsy phrases or even sentences that confuse the reader and force him to go back and read parts a second or even a third time.

The content is good with an emphasis on character-building in childhood and adolescence as a serious though remote preparation for a happy marriage. Good discussion is devoted to the meaning of marriage, to points of instruction for those planning marriage, to the marriage ceremony itself, concluding with excellent material on mixed marriages, contraception and divorce. In all these chapters no problem related to marriage is left untouched, although the chapter on divorce is perhaps the best and most convincing of all.

The discussion of sixteen cases and sketches does much to add clearness and interest. The new title is not an improvement but the book is better than its predecessor.

Thomas S. Bowdern, S.J.

**PROFITABLE LABOR RELATIONS.**—

By Paul Mooney. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1946. XI+209 pp. \$2.50.

This book is concerned almost entirely with the internal relationships of management and employees rather than with the contacts between unions and management, but it has many worthwhile lessons for both elements of industry. The author, Paul Mooney, was for some years General Manager of Public Relations and Personnel for the Kroger Grocery and Baking Co. In his capacity of personnel manager he undertook a program of retraining checkers in all Kroger stores. The beneficial effects of his training program are recounted in the first part of this little book.

The second part of the book deals with the selection and training of supervisory personnel. Store managers cannot do an adequate job if they have received no training and are given no responsibility. Mr. Mooney's campaign with the Kroger Co. was designed to distribute responsibility to all possible levels of employment and to give all employees as rational a preparation as possible for the job they were to do.

Some valuable lessons for employers are contained in the volume. Most important is respect for the individual employee, for his human dignity, his intelligence, his initiative. Second is the importance of job training not only for efficient work but for contented employment. Mr. Mooney's suggestions for more satisfactory personnel relations can help any employer.

**OUR WAY TO PEACE.**—By Robert A. Graham, S.J., with the collaboration of William L. Lucey, S.J., and James L. Burke, S.J. The America Press, New York, 1946. 96 pp. 25 cents.

This very valuable pamphlet is designed for discussion groups, study clubs and the general reader who desires a rapid survey of the structure and functions of the UN. It contains the Charter text and a seventy-five page commentary on the major articles of the San Francisco Conference. After a brief introduction on the growth of the international ideal, Father Graham proceeds to a consideration of the aims of the Charter, Membership, Organs (General Assembly, Security Council, Subsidiary Councils), Regionalism and Trusteeship. Ample citations from Papal utterances are woven into the commentary.

Following each chapter—and this I regard as the outstanding feature of the pamphlet—are Topics for Discussion. While these are complete, penetrating and superbly selected with relation to the Charter itself, they exceed the data contained in the commentary. A selected bibliography, consequently, could have been introduced with great profit.

As regards the UN which the Charter establishes, there is much room for disagreement. At best it is a step in the right direction, a transitory stage in the evolution of a world federation. Father Graham seems to stop short of the conclusions to which his premises lead. He excuses the retention of national sovereignty on the grounds of political realism, even though this directly militates against the essence of international organization. At times the author reflects the nations' hesitation to take a stand as convinced internationalists. This reviewer prefers a more positive position, such as Father Graham indicates in his comment upon the Veto Power (p. 31), pseudo-regionalism (p. 39) and the trusteeship of strategic areas (p. 57).

We hope that from this beginning, Father Graham will elaborate the authoritative commentary on the United Nations Charter.

Joseph A. Rock, S.J.

**LABOR POLICY AND LABOR RELATIONS** in Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, Vol. XXII, No. I, May, 1946. Columbia University, N. Y. IV+107 pp. \$2.50.

"Labor Policy and Labor Relations" held the day at the semi-annual meeting of the Academy of Political Science in New York City on April 11, 1946. Two topics centered the discussion: a) desirability and workability of a national wage policy, b) can organized labor and organized management continue their struggle for dominance in the American economy without wrecking that economy itself? Part I of the present *Proceedings* treats labor policies and labor conditions, giving both sides of the question as argued by competent spokesmen. Part II is concerned with the settlement of labor disputes. Part III treats of the international repercussions of our at-home labor policies. This number of *Proceedings* is a definitely worth-while reflection of diverse current opinion on labor policy and labor relations. In an article entitled, "A National Labor Policy," Donald Richberg adds another attack to the long series he has made on the National Labor Relations Act.

**CONFLICT AND COOPERATION IN INDUSTRY** in The Journal of the Social Sciences, Vol. II, No. I, Feb., 1946. Association Press, N. Y. pp. 55. 50 cents.

Between 1933 and 1946 a startling transformation in the whole labor scene has taken place. Unions which in the early thirties fluctuated between two and three million members now have fourteen to fifteen million. Steel, automobiles, rubber, textiles, electrical equipment have come forward with some of the strongest unions. Here to stay, labor unions are having a decided influence on the economics and politics of the nation. Antagonisms between management and labor work themselves out in the broad fields of public relations, psychological appeals to working people, pressures on government. The authors take pains to try to ascertain how all this will affect our future development. Not much new information or striking analysis is provided by the three editors. Each, offering his independent conclusion, is cautious. Co-editor Cornhauser declares that "strong labor unions independent and able to exert economic and political pressures opposed to those of big business, are essential for the nation's democratic progress."

For the unions there is the danger that they become selfish and divert themselves from the interests of the working people as a whole. A selected bibliography is provided.



# I. S. O. MAGNA CARTA

## Provincials Approve Basic Document

Constitution for the Institute of Social Order approved  
by the Very Reverend Fathers Provincial at their annual  
meeting, New Orleans, May 2, 1946

### PREAMBLE

**I**N conformity with the 29th decree of the XXVIII General Congregation of the Society of Jesus, and in obedience to the Letter of the late Very Rev. Father General Wlodimir Ledochowski to the Fathers Provincial of the American Assistancy of the Society of Jesus, dated January 25, 1939, an Institute of Social Order was established in New York under the supervision of the Rev. Francis X. Talbot, S.J., editor of *America*, and the direction of the Rev. John P. Delaney, S.J., August 3, 1939. In May, 1943, the Fathers Provincial of the American Assistancy of the Society of Jesus appointed the Rev. Daniel A. Lord, S.J., to reorganize the Institute, and this reorganization was carried out at West Baden College August 30 to September 5, 1943. Finally, during the annual meeting of the Provincials of the American Assistancy, May 7 to 11, 1945, the Provincials appointed a temporary committee to draw up a written Constitution for the Institute with the purpose of establishing norms for a more effective organization whose purpose would be to put into better effect the directives of the Popes and the American Bishops, and the above named decree of the XXVIII Congregation of the Society of Jesus, as set forth in the *Instructio* for the Institute of Social Order. This Constitution, having been duly approved by the Provincials of the American Assistancy, is hereby promulgated for a period of three years; after that it will be revised from experience for final promulgation.

### ARTICLE I

#### NAME

1. This organization of the Society of Jesus in the United States shall be known as the Institute of Social Order.

2. Social Order is here understood to mean the formation of the temporal society in which the material and spiritual goods of mankind are properly directed to the common good with due regard to the individual and social nature of man.

3. The Institute is an organization of American Jesuits devoted to helping in the reconstruction of Social Order in the United States through social doctrine and social practice.

### ARTICLE II

#### OBJECTIVES

1. In general the objectives of the Institute of Social Order are to promote and coordinate social thinking and social action in accordance with Catholic principles:

A. By providing means for collective study of social problems.

B. By providing centers, national, regional and local, around which Catholic social action may be formed.

2. Specifically to study contemporary problem-areas and to work toward the solution of social problems through the various ministries of the Society of Jesus. Problem-areas include: the family, youth, social education, employment, industrial relations, the distribution of income and wealth, rural and urban life and institutions, cultural

minorities and interracial relations, social legislation, the citizens and government (federal, state and local), a just world order, and other areas of similar social import.

3. These objectives of necessity also include the recording, stimulation and promotion of the works of charity traditional in the Society of Jesus.

### ARTICLE III

#### ORGANIZATION OF THE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ORDER

The Institute of Social Order shall be organized on a national and provincial basis:

1. On the National Basis the Institute shall consist of:

A. A Board of Governors made up of the Fathers Provincial of the American Assistancy.

B. An Executive Director appointed by the Board of Governors.

C. An Executive Committee consisting of the Executive Director, of the Province Directors of the Institute of Social Order, and the Directors of the Institute of Social Sciences, of the Department of Research, and of the Office of Social Activities.

D. A Department of Research consisting of a permanent and qualified group.

E. An office of Social Activities (OSA) consisting of a permanent and qualified group.

F. The Institute of Social Sciences.

G. National functional committees integrated with the Department of Research and the Office of Social Activities.

2. On the Provincial Basis, the Institute shall consist of:

A. A full-time Province Director in each Province appointed by the Father Provincial.

B. Province groups to be organized by the Province Directors.

### ARTICLE IV

#### MEMBERSHIP

1. All Jesuits of the American Assistancy shall be eligible for membership.

2. In addition to ex-officio members, active membership shall be determined by the Province Directors with the approval of the Fathers Provincial in accord with the aim of the Institute of Social Order of enlisting as many Jesuits as possible.

3. All members of the American Assistancy in conformity with documents set forth in *Instructio*, are invited to collaborate in the work of the Institute of Social Order and to use all of its facilities in the measure that these are applicable to their work.

### ARTICLE V

#### FUNCTIONS

1. The national authority in the government of the Institute of Social Order shall rest with the Board of Governors. Consequently all recommendations of the Executive Director, all resolutions passed at national meetings, all public statements of general policy, as well as all actions of the Executive Committee that affect the social policy or practice of the entire Institute of Social Order, shall be subject to the approval of the Board of Governors.



2. The Executive Committee shall be the governing and policy-making body of the Institute of Social Order. The function of the Committee shall be:

- A. To formulate the policy and program of the Institute of Social Order, modifying these as circumstances may demand.
- B. To issue such directives and make such recommendations to the Director of the Office of Social Activities, the Directors of the Institute of Social Sciences and of the Department of Research, as are considered necessary or desirable for the carrying out of its policy and program.
- C. To authorize plans for studies and projects to be undertaken by other units of the Institute of Social Order.
- D. To inaugurate the study of problems of national or regional scope.
- E. To establish, or, if voluntarily established, to approve National Functional Committees.
- F. To issue from time to time public statements on matters of social interest.
- G. To present through the Executive Director an annual report to the Board of Governors.

3. The functions of the Executive Director shall be:

- A. To act as the Secretary of the Executive Committee and, when it is not in session, as its administrative officer in expediting the work of the various elements of the Institute of Social Order.
- B. To call special meetings of the Executive Committee in addition to those provided for in Article VII, 1. B and C.
- C. To make an annual report on the Institute of Social Order to the Board of Governors and to the Executive Committee.
- D. To receive an annual report from the director of the Institute of Social Sciences.
- E. To designate representatives for non-Institute conventions and meetings.
- F. To make necessary contacts with national ecclesiastical groups and social agencies.
- G. To arrange for national conventions of the Institute of Social Order, with the advice and cooperation of the Executive Committee, and to act as the presiding officer at these conventions.

4. The Institute of Social Sciences:

- A. Its functions shall be:
  - a. To provide a school in which Jesuits may be trained in the social sciences and Christian social doctrines and may qualify for the usual degrees in social sciences.
  - b. To offer special courses not leading to a degree for other Jesuits in order to help them in their social apostolate.
  - c. To furnish personnel for Office of Social Actions and the Department of Research.
  - d. To provide a school of social sciences for lay and religious students.
  - e. To serve as a center of social research.
- B. The Institute of Social Sciences shall be an integral part of the Institute of Social Order.
  - a. The Jesuit members of its faculty and student body shall be members of the national Institute of Social Order.
  - b. The Director of the Institute of Social Science shall be appointed by the Board of Governors, shall be a member of the Executive Committee of the Institute of Social

Order, and shall act as the executive of that Committee in carrying out recommendations of the Executive Committee, and shall submit an annual report on the Institute of Social Sciences to the Executive Committee, through the Executive Director.

5. Department of Research:

- A. Its function shall be:
  - a. To contribute by research and scholarship to the elaboration of a social policy for the United States, and to the development of social programs for the Institute of Social Order.
  - b. To make fact-finding studies regarding social conditions and events for the use of the various elements of the Institute of Social Order.
  - c. To cooperate, with the approval of the Executive Committee, with other Jesuits doing social study or research.
- B. The full-time members of the Department of Research shall be appointed by the Board of Governors.
- C. Advisory members, not necessarily living with the full-time members, shall be appointed by the head of the Department of Research, with the approval of the respective Provincials, as need may arise.

6. Office of Social Activities:

- A. Its function shall be:
  - a. To prepare and to distribute to members of the Institute of Social Order materials for use in programs of social action.
  - b. To create, or to inspire the creation of, popular literature on social questions.
  - c. To promote and encourage practical experimental projects along social lines.
  - d. To keep the members of the Institute of Social Order informed of the tactics of the enemies of Christian social order.
  - e. To edit "The ISO Bulletin."
- B. The Office of Social Activities shall at all times be in contact, personally or by mail, with the Province Directors.

7. The functions of the Province Director shall be:

- A. To act as the instrument of the Father Provincial in all that pertains to the Institute of Social Order.
- B. To represent his Father Provincial on the Executive Committee.
- C. To see to the organizing of Province groups in his Province.
- D. To act as a contact between the Province groups and the Office of Social Activities.
- E. To make contacts with local ecclesiastical and social agencies.

8. The function of the Province Groups shall be:

- A. To engage in cooperative study of regional and national social problems.
- B. To act as the natural channels of the social doctrine of the Institute of Social Order through the various ministries of the Society.
- C. The Province Groups shall:
  - a. Meet at the call of the Province Director, for example to discuss problems submitted by the Department of Research.
  - b. Report results of its meetings, discussions, and surveys for distribution by the Office of Social Activities and for use by the Department of Research.



- c. Form committees for special objectives and needs.

#### 9. National Functional Committees

To bring together on a national level men engaged in similar social pursuits and similar social activities and to strengthen individual efforts by union, and to place united strength at the disposal of the Provinces, through the Department of Research and Office of Social Activities, National Functional Committees shall be established.

- A. National Content Committees shall be formed along national lines for the development and promotion of social thinking.
- B. National Channelling Committees shall be formed to facilitate the development of national social activities.

### ARTICLE VI

#### FINANCES

1. The Executive Committee through the Executive Director shall handle the finances of the national activities of the Institute of Social Order. The Executive Director shall present a financial report each year to the Board of Governors.

2. Province Directors shall arrange finances with their individual Provinces.

3. All stipends, gifts, perquisites, as well as honoraria, royalties and other incomes acquired by reason of office or activities by full-time national members of the Institute of Social Order shall belong to the Corporation, the Institute of Social Order.

4. Returns from books and other salable material produced, published, and distributed by the Institute of Social Order shall belong to that Institute.

5. The Institute of Social Order shall arrange to build up financial resources, always considering the character of its work and the prior right of other Jesuit institutions.

### ARTICLE VII

#### MEETINGS

#### 1. National:

A. The Board of Governors shall meet once a year.

B. The Executive Committee shall meet annually and at the call of the Executive Director or the Executive Committee itself. The majority of the Provinces represented at the Executive Committee meeting shall constitute a quorum.

C. A general convention may be called by the Executive Director with the consent of the Board of Governors.

2. Provincial meetings shall be held at the call of the Province Director and with the approval of the Father Provincial.

3. Meetings of special groups, regional or national, may be called by the Executive Director with the Consent of the Board of Governors.

### ARTICLE VIII

#### AMENDMENTS

1. Proposals for Amendments shall initiate in the Provincial Group or with the Executive Committee or at a National Convention.

2. For presentation to a National Convention for vote, these amendments must be submitted one month in advance of the National Convention.

3. All amendments shall be passed by a majority of a

## Chicago's Negro Mission

### Five Hundred Catholics Among Fifteen Thousand

"I WOULDN'T walk down there at night," said one of the Fathers jauntily in the Recreation Room at St. Ignatius High School, Chicago. "Down there," was to St. Joseph's Church, 1413 W. 13th St., a dependent mission of Holy Family Parish. Father William B. Cetnar, the Pastor, scarcely heard the remark. Fifteen thousand Negroes living in an area two miles by a half-mile are in his parish. They all have a very real respect for the Roman collar, Father Cetnar will tell you. How many of the 15,000 are Catholics, you ask. Five hundred and fifty according to the books, is the answer. And, as for families where mother and father and children are all Catholics, there are only 25. Clearly Father Cetnar has an enormous job to do.

For one who didn't know there was such a place as St. Joseph's Chapel at the time of his appointment (it gets no separate mention in the catalogue) Father Cetnar has learned a great deal. Of course, he has had the invaluable guidance of Father Arnold J. Garvy, a veteran apostle of the Negro, whose vast information on the field has made him the key man in the Midwest Conference of Negro Problems. He learned the proportions of his task when his first Sunday Collection amounted to \$2.75.

#### What a Home Can Be Like

Twelve city blocks had been razed to make way for a new federal housing project and many of Father Garvy's former parishioners had been forced to move. The new project, "The Robert Brooks Houses," is named, interestingly enough, after the first serviceman killed in World War II—a colored boy. The people who live in them are domestics, stockyard workers, railroad employees—knowing for the first time what a home can be like. Father Cetnar will tell you that Negroes splurge their money on gambling and flashy clothes because the tenements in which they are forced to live are beyond all attention.

From this laboring class of Negroes come the 302 children who attend the eight grades of St. Joseph's School taught by the Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth. From these school children come the majority of the conversions that St. Joseph's has made, for less than one-third of the students are Catholics and many of the children ask to be received into the Church. Father Cetnar has made it a policy that no boy or girl will be baptized before spending two years in the school and before the mother and father have been instructed in the essentials of the Faith so that they will know what the children will be expected to do.

In addition to the 300 in the school, St. Joseph's has 99 children from nearby public schools coming each week for religious instruction during relief time. Very few of these are Catholics but there are six more than last year. For, from the relief time group, six were converted and are now in the school.

National Convention.

4. They shall then be submitted by the Executive Committee to the Board of Governors with its recommendation or comments.

5. The amendments must be confirmed by the Board of Governors before they become part of the Constitution