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ISO'S THIRD NATIONAL CONVENTION

Chicago Meeting in Retrospect

By JOSEPH F. CANTILLON, S.J.

PROMPTLY at nine in the morning of Tuesday the 3rd of September, the third national convention of the Institute of Social Order opened its sessions in Loyola University Downtown, in Chicago. From then until the late evening of Friday the sixth, two hundred and eighteen Jesuits toiled in earnest discussion over all the problem areas named in our new Constitution—the family, youth, employment, industrial relations, distribution of income and wealth, rural life, urban life, cultural minorities, inter-racial relations, legislation, citizens and government, just world order, and other areas of social importance.

The Cardinal Comes

Since his episcopal consecration in 1921, few bishops in the United States have done as much for the "opera socialia" as Samuel Alphonsus Stritch. At this moment, he heads six different departments and bureaus of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. Therefore, it was peculiarly appropriate that Samuel Cardinal Stritch should deliver the real keynote address of the ISO meeting in Chicago.

Almost before we had settled in our seats at eleven-thirty that first morning, the quiet, incisive voice of Chicago's Cardinal was delivering a real challenge to thought and action. He reminded us of what an infinitesimal part Catholic leadership played in our country's political, economic and sociological trends. The members of the ISS must have been specially gratified by his insistence that we needed not merely pamphlets and popularizations on social issues, but profound and scientific explorations of all the basic questions. To our educators, he seemed almost to re-echo the words of the late General when he reminded us that, if the social apostolate failed, we would not have any schools to operate. His sincere plea for greater efforts made a profound impression on us all.

General Sessions

The general meetings were held every morning from nine-thirty until twelve, and also in the evening from seven-thirty until ten o'clock. Their general purpose, this year, was to stimulate the thinking of Ours over the "hot" questions of the day, particularly through the platform appearances of competent laymen. These timely questions included the Communistic infiltration of labor unions, the political implications of atomic energy, the use of industry-wide bargaining, and the Catholic democratic movement in Europe. These general meetings were the real high lights of the four day meeting. Such men as the two union representatives who spoke, Mr. Paul Weber, Dr.

Edward Shils, Mr. George Hunton, Dr. Leo Schlichting were very well prepared for their assignments. The pattern of these general meetings usually ran as follows: A) a preparatory speech by the Father-Chairman, who shaped up the question and stated the particular qualifications of the lay speaker; B) a fairly lengthy talk by the guest, detailing the factual background, together with his own conclusions as to action needed; C) questions to the layman both from other Jesuits on the panel and from the ranks of the convention.

Audience Participation

If you did not attend the Convention, you may have a pen-picture of a somnolent group of Ours listening in sympathy, apathy or silence to some pietistic layman "saving the saved." But any such dream picture would have been shattered at the very first general meeting if you had heard Father Smith of Brooklyn, Father Twomey of ISS and Father Comey of Philadelphia quiz the two guest from the Congress of Industrial Organization about the alleged fellow-traveling policy of the national CIO office. This audience participation continued throughout the four days of the convention, despite the crowded schedule and the Chicago heat. It has often been said that we are the most talked-at group in the country, but we are always ready to sit down and listen to the rare competence of the men so carefully gathered by Fathers Brown, LaFarge, Wirtenberger, and Graham. The speakers themselves were of the highest type of Catholic laymen. They knew, and they spoke clearly and forcibly of what they knew. When it came time for questions, the Roman-collared audience did not abash them one bit, even when they quietly contradicted their clerical hecklers! All present agreed that they had both learned and been edified, in the best novice-ship sense. The full program, in details, will appear in our next issue (the November Convention issue).

Committee Meetings

Afternoons, from two-thirty until the delegates saw fit to adjourn, were given over completely to individual content and channeling committee meetings. The delegates scattered to the various classrooms of the four story building, and there attacked the individual problem-areas of each group. Obviously, no reporter could cover twenty-one groups. Obviously, also, the meetings varied in excellence and in numbers, largely depending upon the preliminary work of the chairman and upon the interest of the delegates. One group numbered two men; another numbered over fifty!

One feature upon which Father Lord and the Office of Social Activities is to be congratulated was the presentation to each delegate, as he registered, of thirty-six pages of reports on past meetings and resolutions of each committee. With these reports in hand, each committee did not go back over previous issues, but went on from the point of the last national meeting at West Baden in 1944. Unfortunately, the personnel of the committees had changed considerably in the two years that had elapsed. The most concrete, practical action of the convention came out of these smaller groups. Their planning for the future will appear in our November issue.

The Constitution of the ISO

This general convention was distinguished from its two predecessors by having a detailed framework in which to carry on its deliberations. Each delegate received two copies of the new document, one in the September BULLETIN, the other a reprint. In his introductions to the day's work each morning, the National Director stressed various features of the new document. Each delegate present must have read those three pages long and often, as was evident when Father McHattie, the Executive Committee member from Missouri, formally presented it for approval on Friday morning. Each section, more particularly those on organizations, functions, and objectives was debated and questioned from the floor. As each word, each phrase was clarified, a general feeling of satisfaction that the ISO now worked within easily definable limits seemed to pervade Room Four Hundred and Four. Father John Sweeney, Father Lord and Father McHattie deserve the thanks of all for their explanations that Friday morning. At the end of the session, all voted unanimously to approve the document for the year 1946-1947. Amendments will be taken up by the Executive Committee in their quarterly meetings and by the next national convention.

Olla Podrida

No statistician counted the Coca-Cola consumed, but one sharp-eyed secretary from St. Louis testifies that four cases disappeared on that very warm Friday—

The Morrison lobby presented a curious mixture some evenings with cosmeticians, hod-carriers and Jesuits in convention assembled—

Jesuits from other countries were a pleasant international note at our meetings with Mexico, Holland, Belgium and Canada represented.—

We shared the Loyola Building with dozens of eager-looking young G. I.'s, filling out registration blanks for the Fall sessions—

On the last day, the photographer urged us to put a "clear" look on our faces—

Even if you didn't remember his face, you could always spot an ISO delegate walking along Madison, Clark, or Franklin Streets by the very adaptable brown envelope he carried. The Central Office furnished these upon registration—

A history professor found himself a committee sole, and so the dissolution of said grouping was unanimously voted by members.

Washington bureaucracy had nothing on us, when it came to alphabetizing—OSA (some said ISA), ISO, ISS, etc.—

Although the 4th floor corridor was not quite as devotional a setting for our Act of Consecration as the West Baden atrium, yet all followed Father Nevils with prayerful attention—

The thoughts of many delegates strayed to the eight Provincials traveling to Rome, and to the Society picking

its new General at the Center of Christendom that very week.

The People Responsible

The indefatigable and efficient President of Loyola, Father James Hussey, without whose cooperation nothing could have happened.

His able assistants—Father Molloy, Father Dollard, and Mr. Daniel Conroyd—particularly for the thousand details connected with the daily celebration of Mass by two hundred priests, as well as for the ever welcome refreshments and luncheons.

Father Loyd Hatrel, Miss Prendergast, Miss Fischer, Miss Macken and Miss Rosemary Crump—whom we met when we registered and to whom we went in all our difficulties, great or small.

Father Austin Schmidt, for a charming Thursday evening.

The staff of AMERICA, four of whose members were responsible for at least twenty-five per cent of our total program.

Father Lord. That rousing vote of thanks on Friday morning conveyed but the faintest echo of our gratitude!!!

The November issue of the BULLETIN will be devoted entirely to a detailed report of the Chicago Convention.—Ed.

LIAISON FOR A CHRISTIAN PEACE

When the great sessions of the San Francisco conference began without any invocation or recognition of God's existence there was protest throughout the world. Americans petitioned Secretary of State Stettinius requesting that the sessions of the San Francisco conference be blessed with an invocation to God's help. Church leaders have vainly continued this petition since that time. The Holy Father's public utterances have had the same purpose, namely, to impress upon the world the necessity of recognizing Almighty God and the tremendous moral issues which are involved in establishing the UN and concluding the series of peace treaties. This campaign was continued in the recent meetings of the World Council of Churches at Cambridge, England, and the International Conference of Christians and Jews which met at Oxford.

Most significant was the statement issued by the council seeking a world commission on international affairs in which all religions and explicitly the Vatican might collaborate in presenting moral and religious questions to the world. The commission has already been established with a total of 30 members all drawn from Protestant and Eastern Orthodox bodies. While it still remains to be seen what collaboration will result from this attempt, it is heartening to see pressure from so exalted a level being brought to bear upon the men who met at Paris to decide the future of the world. It will be remembered that at the time the provisional committee of this same World Council of Churches was meeting at Geneva last February, a new society was being established in Rome under the blessing of the Holy Father and the leadership of Father Charles Boyer, S.J., to unite Christians in an effort for mutual collaboration toward peace (ISO BULLETIN, April, 1946, page 8).

It is possible that the two great religious bodies, Catholicism on the one hand and Protestantism with the orthodox churches on the other, have established two organizations for the same purpose of collaboration toward mutual understanding and world peace. If this is the case the most urgent step for the realization of a tremendously strong moral pressure upon the men at Paris is a liaison between these two groups.

MEET THE SRC

By **BERNARD A. TONNAR, S.J.**

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IF you are interested in America's future, then you will be happy to meet the SRC. If you are a Southern Jesuit, SRC can be your friend and helper. So—why not meet the Southern Regional Council, Inc.?

One day during the past summer, a letter came which Father Superior opened for my convenience. The letter struck me forcibly. One sentence brought a fervent amen from my lips. "The problems of the South are real. The South lags behind the rest of the Nation. The South is poor. Its resources, human and natural, are not fully developed. The South has too much sickness, too much ignorance and prejudice. The problem touches us all..." Being a Southern Jesuit, I was extremely interested to find the cure for my land. The Southern Regional Council had sent the letter and invited me to be a member. I accepted. Now I want to tell you what I found in SRC.

The origin of the Southern Regional Council is as fascinating as its program. It was born in February, 1944. At this writing it is walking rapidly forward. Many factors played important roles in its formation. Soon after World War I, when the KKK was inciting racial conflicts in the Southland, a few just men got together and formed the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. These organizers had the idea that white people and Negroes could work together and solve their problems jointly. The Commission wanted to take the next steps towards greater racial understanding and tolerance. Its record during the twenty-five years of its existence before it merged into the SRC has shown the valuable contributions it has made. Two million pamphlets and leaflets have fluttered from its presses; thousands of Southern women have been marshalled to combat lynching and other injustices towards the Southern Negro; it was the backbone of the SRC; it drew up plans to study the economic, educational, and social development of the South which is now under the supervision of the SRC.

Durham Conference

While the Commission on Interracial Cooperation was busy with its plans for a better South, a group of Negro Southerners met in Durham, North Carolina, to discuss their problems and the changes which would not only benefit the Negroes but also the whole South and nation. Most of us have either read the Durham statement of these progressive Negro leaders or have heard about their frank and courageous opinions.

Soon after the Durham Conference, white Southerners met in Atlanta, Georgia, to consider the statement from North Carolina. Admitting that the Southern Negroes of Durham had the key to a better Southland, these white men agreed to support their Negro friends and asked that a joint meeting be held composed of members from both conferences. This Collaboration Committee met in 1943 at Richmond, Virginia. This meeting urged "the general adoption of the Durham statement" and directed that a continuing committee be charged with "the responsibility for working out methods and practical means of approach."

This was done in Atlanta. The resolution passed here was prefaced with the following: "In the name and spirit of America's science and education we seek to find and to tell the truth. In the name and spirit of America's

**Help the South
to Help the U. S. A.**

democracy we seek the way of equal opportunity. In the name of America's patriotism, we strive for loyalty to the American dream, for leadership to guide, and for statesmanship adequate to carry the burden of the new America. In the name and spirit of America's Christianity, we search for the new faith of fellowship. In the name of humanity, we propose to substitute the measures of the good society for the old biological struggle for physical survival. In the name and spirit of all these and the living reality of a complex world, we dedicate ourselves to the task of doing the most and the best that can be done here and now."

Pooling of Efforts

The resolution would set in motion the formation of SRC. "We urge the South to pool its efforts and set up a strong, unified, Southern Regional Council, constituted of representatives of both races and of private and public groups. Such a council, in subscribing to the new declaration of principles, would work with and utilize all other available agencies and individuals in private and in public life and especially with a similar national group when established."

On February 16, 1944, the Southern Regional Council was incorporated under the Georgia state law as a fully chartered organization. Her portals swung open to admit white, black, brown, and yellow; Protestant, Catholic, Jew—any faith or no faith at all so long as the individual had faith in mankind—businessman, farmer, laborer, professional worker, student or housewife; Democrat, Republican, Socialist or Independent—and the interested Jesuit.

SRC is a non-profit, non-denominational, non-political organization. It is pro-democracy and pro-humanity. It wants to help the South and thus help the USA. Its creed is simple, strong and sane: it believes the poor sick South can become prosperous and healthy; it is confident this section of America can be purged of poverty, hatred and fear; it believes in the ideals of democracy; it firmly holds that the Negro has not been given his full rights in the South where democracy is narrow and bounded with the chains of prejudice; SRC believes the Negro must be given equal opportunity in the school, on the job and at the polls. To hold back the Negro, states SRC, is to hamper the South's development.

Self Diagnosis

The Southern Regional Council hopes to promote this creed by operating through its state divisions and affiliated state and local committees which will carry its aims and activities into all communities of the South. It will cooperate with other agencies devoted to Southern progress. It hopes to study the problems of the South and seek solutions. By conducting surveys, it expects to diagnose the economic and social ills of Dixie. It wishes to mobilize the people of the South for intelligent, democratic cooperation, to work towards a better understanding between races. With its presses running full time, it hopes to flood the South with progressive literature. And SRC has already done all these things. They are not hopes or wishes or expectations. They are realities. The creed of

(Turn to SRC, page 10)

PRIESTLY VOCATIONS:

By **ANTHONY C. O'FLYNN, S.J.**
St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kansas

Supply and Demand

A RECENT questionnaire answered by more than eighty archbishops and bishops reveals an interesting situation concerning priestly vocations in the United States.

Many sections of the country, particularly in the densely populated Catholic East and Middle West, are blessed with an over-abundance of vocations. For example, a bishop of a diocese in New England writes: "The actual situation here is one of an oversupply of priests." From a diocese in the State of New York we hear: "We regularly are unable to absorb in this diocese all the vocations that are offered to us." From the Middle West, a Wisconsin diocese tells us: "Even though many chaplains volunteered to serve in the armed forces, we were never short of vocations." An Ohio diocese confides: "Our local supply of vocations is sufficient for us to choose and eliminate at our discretion." From these replies it is clear that in not a few sections of the country priestly vocations are plentiful.

On the other hand there are large areas, mainly in the South and South West, which are in dire need of priests. To cite a few examples—from the South: "There are few native vocations, and I will be interested in hearing from you further"; from the Texas border: "Thanking you for your letter which holds out some hope of perhaps getting some desirable candidates for the priesthood in this Diocese . . ."; from the Far North: "The harvest indeed is ripe and the laborers are few. Whatever you may be able to do to send more laborers into the harvest will be greatly appreciated." Thus we see the need of priestly vocations in many sections of the country.

In past years many of Ours have found that it is not too difficult to direct some of the overflow of vocations from deeply Catholic regions to less fortunate districts. Often a candidate, who because of advanced years or meager educational background is unacceptable in his home diocese, will find a ready welcome in a nearby diocese, or at least in some part of the country where Catholics are few and native vocations rare.

The following chart, based on information received from diocesan authorities through the above-mentioned questionnaire, indicates the needs and acceptance requirements of various dioceses.

Regarding the answers to all the questions, if no information was given, the space is left blank. If the answer given was that each case must be handled individually, this is indicated by an asterisk.

(1) answers the question: Do you accept candidates (including ex-service men) from outside of your own diocese? In the answers: Y stands for Yes, N stands for No, O stands for Occasionally.

(2) answers question: To what age are you willing to accept candidates?

(3) lists answers to question: How much previous education is required for acceptance? In answers:

GSC stands for grammar school completed.

HSC stands for high school completed.

HSCP stands for high school completed preferred.

JCC stands for junior college (2 years) completed.

C stands for college.

CC stands for college completed.

(4) gives replies to the question: What financial re-

quirements per year for board and tuition in the seminary must candidate be prepared to meet? In answers:

JC stands for junior college.

P stands for philosophy.

T stands for theology.

W stands for whatever candidate can afford to pay.

(5) replies to query: Do you make it a policy to accept ex-seminarians and ex-religious? In answers: Y stands for yes, N stands for no.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Baltimore-Washington	*	*	*	\$0	
Boston	N				
Chicago	*	*	*	*	
Denver	N				
Indianapolis	N				
Los Angeles	O		*		N
Milwaukee	N				
New Orleans	O	*	*	*	*
New York	*	*	*	*	
Omaha	N	*	HSC	\$0	N
Philadelphia	N				
Portland, Ore.	Y	30	HSC	\$200 JC \$0 P & T	N
San Antonio	Y	*	GSC	*	*
Santa Fe	Y	20	GSC	\$200	N
Albany	*			\$0	
Alexandria	Y	25	HSC	\$0	Y
Amarillo	Y	25	HSC	Pay 1st yr. Then \$0	*
Belleville	N				
Bismarck	Y	*	HSC	*	*
Boise	N				
Reno	Y			W	N
Richmond	Y	*	*	\$0 or W	*
Rochester	N				
Rockford	Y	*	*	W-JC \$0 P & T \$0 or W	N Y N
Sacramento	Y	*	C		
Saginaw	O		HSC		N
St. Augustine	*				
St. Cloud	Y	*	*		N
Salt Lake	Y				N
San Diego	Y	37	HSC	\$0 or W	N
Savannah-Atlanta	Y	20	HSCP	\$0	Y N
Scranton	N				
Seattle	Y				
Sioux City	N				
Sioux Falls	O		*	*	N
Spokane	Y	22	HSC	Pay 1 yr. Then *	N *
Springfield, Ill.	Y	*	JCC	\$0 P & T	
Springfield, Mass.	N	*	JCC	W	
Steubenville	Y	25	HSC	\$0 or W	*
Toledo	N		JCC	\$0	N
Trenton	N				
Wheeling	N				N
Wichita	N				
Wilmington	Y	*	GSC	*	N
Winona	*				
Youngstown	N				*
Ukrainian Greek (Phila.)	Y		GSC	W	N
Belmont Abbey	N				
Juneau, Alaska	Y			W	
Brooklyn	N	*	*	\$0	
Camden	O				
Cheyenne	Y	*	*	*	N
Cleveland	N	*	*	W	
Columbus	O	*	*	*	*
Corpus Christi	Y	30	HSCP	\$0	N
Covington	Y	*	*	*	
Dallas	Y	20	HSC	Pay to T \$0 T	N
Davenport	Y	*	HSCP	Pay JC \$0 P & T	N

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Duluth	N				
Erie	O	*	JCC	\$0 P & T	N
Evansville	N	20	HSC	W	N
Fall River	N				
Fargo	N				
Fort Wayne	N				
Gallup	O	18	HSC	\$0 or W to \$600	N
Galveston	Y	28	HSC	\$250	N
Grand Rapids	N				
Green Bay	N				
Hartford	N	20	HSC	\$400	N
Helena	Y	22	CC	\$400 or W	*
Lafayette, Ind.	N				
Lafayette, La.	Y	30	HSC	\$200	N
Lansing	N				
Lincoln	Y	30	HSC	Pay to T	
Little Rock	Y	*	GSC	\$0 T	N
Natchez	O				N
Ogdensburg	O		HSC		
Oklahoma City-Tulsa	N				

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Paterson	O	25	JCC	\$0	*
Pittsburgh	*		JCC		
Portland, Me.	N	*	JCC	W	N
Providence	N				
Pueblo	Y	21	HSC	\$500 or W	Y
Raleigh	Y	19	HSC	\$200	N

Special requirements and preferences are indicated by a few dioceses. Pueblo and Corpus Christi want candidates willing to learn Spanish and to work among Spanish-speaking people. Others are prepared to receive Negro candidates. A few are willing to accept ex-seminarians and ex-religions.

It must be remembered that information given in this article states general policy only, and permits of exceptions in particular cases. Ultimately, of course, every candidate must be passed on individually before being accepted. This information may, however, afford greater surety to Ours in directing candidates to apply to a specific diocese.

CANADA'S C. C. F.

By GORDON GEORGE, S.J.

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THE principles of Catholic social philosophy can be applied to a concrete political program, but the job has its difficulties. Catholic lay and clerical leaders everywhere are translating these principles into concrete political programs and functioning political parties today, notably in the Christian Democratic parties of Europe. But the thorny problems of collaboration are a constant headache.

That was the conclusion delegates to the ISO Chicago convention in Chicago drew as they listened to the *America* panel on Christian Democracy. Dr Schlichting spoke of the Dutch difficulties and their solutions. Don Luigi Sturzo's "Popolari" seemed again on the march in Father Coffey's enthusiastic account. The speeches of Father Graham, Father LaFarge, and Father Masse all told the same story—that political leaders must go beyond bare principles, but must go cautiously.

The growth of Socialist parties throughout Europe, the de facto 'socialist' governments in Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and the need of finding allies in the fight against Communism make the question of collaboration with Socialists important and urgent. Crossing the water to this side of the ocean, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation of Canada is another case in point.

A thumbnail sketch of this Canadian movement would begin with 1932 when small dissident Farmer and Labor groups backed by the University intellectuals of the League for Social Reconstruction, banded together at Calgary to form the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. The following year at their first convention they distilled their plan of social reform into the "Regina Manifesto" which proposed: "to replace the present capitalist system by a social order in which the domination and exploitation of one class by another shall be eliminated, in which economic planning will supersede unregulated private enterprise and competition."

Specific proposals called for a National Planning Commission; socialization of all financial machinery, banking, currency, credit and insurance; social ownership of transportation, communications, electric power and "all other industries and services essential to social planning...mining, pulp and paper and the distribution of bread, milk, coal and gasoline, in which exploitation, waste or financial

A Problem in Practical Politics

malpractices are particularly prominent, must next be brought under social ownership and operation.

In addition the plan provided for the nationalization of all Canada's undeveloped natural resources; regulation of prices for the common good; encouragement of co-ops; freedom of association for labor and its effective participation in the management of industry; socialized health services; constitutional changes necessary to introduce the new order, but without prejudice to racial and religious minority rights; steep taxation to lessen income inequality; freedom of speech and assembly for all.

Revives Socialism

That, as you can readily see, goes a little further than mere tinkering with "free enterprise." The echoes of the Regina Manifesto reached as far as Wall Street where Thomas F. Woodlock, in his *Wall Street Journal*, warned prospective American investors:

"That it is good old 'orthodox' socialism is clear enough... What can one say of this oldest of old friends but: Well here you are again, looking as young as ever."

By 1943 the C.C.F. had the bankers and industrialists worried too. (Canada's industry shows a concentration even greater than that of the U.S.A.) The movement was growing fast. Gallup Polls placed the C.C.F. above all other parties in the favor of the electorate. Big business swung into action. Disgusted with the feeble efforts of the old parties to stop the new movement they began to take direct action themselves. The annual reports of Canada's ten chartered banks spoke in sober terms of the "Socialist Menace." Behind the scenes the hastily organized, "Society for Individual Freedom—Opposing State Socialism" liberally financed by large corporations, started its campaign. From Vancouver to Halifax, radios blared the warning that human liberty was in the balance. Miles of advertising print rolled off the presses, and smiling workers, strong and self-reliant trudged across the pages hailing the virtues of free enterprise.

When election day rolled around in June of last year, the C.C.F. found that its wings had been clipped. They had only 20 members in the new parliament as against 119 Liberals and 65 Conservatives. Wartime prosperity, a more experienced and better-financed political machine and the astute propaganda of big business had undoubt-

edly contributed to the victory of the old line political parties. But no one believed that the C.C.F. had been scotched and many felt that the failure of "free enterprise" to make good in the immediate postwar years would springboard the "socialists" to power.

Party Condemned

Very early in its career the C.C.F. had received a stinging rebuke from Monsigneur Gauthier, Archbishop of Montreal, who issued a vigorous pastoral to the effect that anyone who supported the party was playing with fire. As the movement increased in power, Catholic opposition in the English camp, became more vocal. Perhaps loudest in its opposition was the *Canadian Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, which has the largest circulation among English Catholic periodicals in Canada. (The *Messenger* more or less combines in itself the functions of the *American Messenger* and *America*. The articles were written by non-Jesuit staff members.)

If we can judge from the press there seem to have been more Catholics against, than for, the party. Their contention was that it fell easily within the terms of Papal condemnations of socialism. They liked to quote Harold Winch, fiery British Columbia Leader, who was reported to have said that when the C.C.F. came to power it would immediately "introduce socialism and enforce it by using police and military force to suppress opposition."

Some Catholics Approve

Other Catholics gave enthusiastic support to the movement and were just as liberal in quoting *Quadragesimo Anno* to show that the C.C.F. was a close approximation to Papal demands for social reform. They quoted the words of M. J. Coldwell, National Leader of the Party: "the C.C.F. is not socialist in the way defined and condemned by the Catholic Church." A few Catholics were numbered among the elected members of the Party in Parliament.

Feelings between the two groups at times ran high. In the Nova Scotia Legislature a Catholic member (Liberal) rose and stated openly that the Church forbade Catholics to support the C.C.F. He quoted sections of *Quadragesimo Anno* in support. Accosted later by the C.C.F. House Leader (also a Catholic) he was forced to admit that he had never himself read the Encyclical—the texts had been supplied him by a priest.

This was the muddled situation that met the Canadian Hierarchy when they met in Plenary Council at Quebec in 1943. Clearly all were not saying the same thing according to the Apostle. Direction was sorely needed. It was an open secret that some of the Bishops, especially those from the West where the more radical elements of the party are lodged, desired an out and out condemnation. In the East some felt that the laity should rather be encouraged to join the party and exert their influence against these radical elements.

Democratic Spirit Present

The following considerations must have weighed heavily in their deliberations. By and large the movement was, in its constitutions and spirit, democratic—the rank and file members were ultimately responsible for policy. The party rejected class warfare and the use of violence and had openly and persistently spurned the amorous advances of the Communist Party. It did not deny the right to private property nor did it propose outright confiscation to achieve its ends.

Moreover it had become the rallying point for many undoubtedly sincere searchers for social reform and was the spearhead of an attack on very patent social injustices. To be forced to condemn it would have tragic conse-

quences. The party would be driven farther to the left, involved Catholics would be soured, others embittered and all hope of the moderating effect of the Catholic influence permanently removed. Their Lordships had a very difficult problem on their hands—one that could no longer be ignored.

Recently a thoughtful article on the need for Catholics to cooperate with "socialism" seemed to state that the Canadian Hierarchy had approved of the C.C.F. It would, I think, be more accurate to say that at their Plenary Council, they merely declared it *indifferent* from the point of view of faith and morals. In fact the Canadian Bishops were so anxious not to appear to be "approving" the movement that their official statement was widely misunderstood as a condemnation. They did not mention the C.C.F. by name but declare that "the faithful are free to support any political party upholding the basic Christian traditions of Canada, and favoring needed reforms in the social and economic order."

Despite an explanatory editorial in the *Canadian Register* stating that the Bishops had given the C.C.F. a clean bill of health, the controversy raged on. The *Register* was accused of putting its own private interpretation on the Bishop's statement. (As a matter of fact they had been instructed by the Bishop's Committee to write as they did). The next cautious move to clarify the situation was a featured article written for *Commonweal* (March 3, 1944) by the Editor of the *Register*, in which he reviewed the whole situation and at last made the intention of the Plenary Council, quite clear.

As It Stands Today

As it stands today, then, Catholics may no longer be so free in condemning the party on the ground of morality. However the debate continues on social and economic grounds. Like so much of the social controversy of the day the arguments are mostly negative.

One group supports the party because they are violently opposed to the evils of present-day capitalism. The other attacks because it hates socialism. The latter make use of arguments similar to those so well developed by Hayek in his *Road to Serfdom*; the C.C.F. will be pulled by its own weight down the steep road to totalitarianism.

Like Hayek they are weak on the positive side. They keep reminding us of the dictum of Pius XI, that Socialism is nothing more than Communism, afraid of its own principles. Those who support the movement claim that the C.C.F. is the only stop gap to violent revolution. Most of their arguing is a diatribe against concentrated wealth, monopolies, and the vicious circle of the capitalistic economy of scarcity such as could be found in the books of Laski or Cole or Norman Thomas. These too are weak on the positive side.

Finally and unfortunately there is a not inconsiderable third group—those Catholics who don't bother to think about it at all.

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THE F. D. I. C. PROVES ITS WORTH

By RUSSELL M. BOEHNING, S.J.

Mount St. Michael's, Spokane, Washington

**No Bank Failure
in Two Years**

NOW that the period of war prosperity is over, and strikes and general price raising have expanded our monetary system to a point approaching inflation, these questions come to the fore. If America experiences another depression will the banks fail? Is the Federal Government able to prevent a recurrence of the banking catastrophies of 1907 and 1930? To avert such an evil the Government has developed a very strong force in the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.

The little bronze plaque displayed at each teller's window is the Federal Government's "Good Banking Seal of Approval." This little shield indicates that all depositors are insured. The F. D. I. C. provides a maximum insurance for each depositor of five thousand dollars. By many this system is called "socialism among the banks," for the Government stands guard over the nation's deposits.

The idea of deposit insurance is not a new one. Such a plan was enshrined in the Safety-Fund System of New York early in the nineteenth century. Under this system the depositors of failed banks were reimbursed from a fund contributed by all banks. Again, after the Panic of 1907, another attempt was made by eight separate States to insure deposits; but in nearly every case it failed after incurring a large deficit.

General Coverage Needed

According to the principles of good banking and insurance, the risk must be well diversified. This was the cause of the States' failure; their risks were too concentrated. It was like a company carrying its own fire insurance; or simply, putting all its eggs in one basket. Banking insurance must of necessity be on a national scale so as to spread the risk widely over diverse conditions. But to be a success, this insurance must be coupled with adequate machinery for enforcing uniform standards of banking practice.

Until the last decade the United States has had a *laissez-faire* attitude towards banking. With \$25,000 and a vault in which to put it, any group of individuals were able to obtain a charter which permitted them to open a bank. Thus, men with no experience and little ability were determining the policies of commercial banks. Banks sprang up like mushrooms throughout the country.

Nor were these little-restricted banks without real value in the economic development of the United States. Nowhere in the history of nations has a country developed so fast as has the United States during the past several generations. And much of this expansion was made possible by the wild speculation of bankers who were willing to take great risks for high interest rates. The development of the United States may be contrasted with that of a nation with a conservative banking system such as Canada, which has a very admirable banking record.

Origin of F. D. I. C.

The F.D.I.C. arose as almost a necessary consequence after a long and disgraceful American banking history that established a record without parallel. During the heydays of the twenties, there was an average of six hundred bank failures each year. During these ten years approximately one-fourth of our State and one-tenth of our National banks suspended activities. From 1930 to 1933 there were nine thousand more bank failures.

Out of this financial chaos came the F.D.I.C. It was able to establish itself during the depression and to prove profitable. One of the sound features of Federal Deposit Insurance lies in the fact that the stockholders of the insured banks still bear the first risk of loss. Self-interest, therefore, proves a powerful incentive for sound management and operation of the bank and for prudent extension of credit.

The F.D.I.C. receives income from two principal sources. The greatest of these is from the deposit insurance assessments paid by the insured banks at the annual rate of one-twelfth of one per cent of the average deposits. During 1945 these assessments amounted to \$94 million. The second source of income is derived from the interest and profit on investments and miscellaneous income. During 1945 this amounted to \$27 million. Another \$8 million was recovered from previous losses. The total losses and expenses for the year were \$4 million. The net increase of the Surplus of the Corporation was \$125 million. And the number of banks insured during this period was 13,495. The F.D.I.C. is ready to pay off the deposits up to \$5,000. In 1945 this amount fully insured 96.4% of all bank accounts in 92% of the banks in the United States and its possessions.

Operation of Corporation

When a bank can no longer meet the demands of its depositors, the Corporation immediately prepares to pay the insured depositors. Promptness is one of the chief features of the F.D.I.C. It considers this essential to avoid adverse economic reactions in the area, to reduce the inconvenience of the depositors, and to maintain confidence in the banking system. Deposit accounts are liquidated in the regular business of the closed bank, or in a nearby bank, in much the same way as the regular closing of accounts.

One great weakness of the State and Federal bank inspectors has always been their reluctance to close a bank in critical times as soon as the bank gets into trouble. In all good faith, they scold, compromise, and hope for improvement, but they lack the actual financial power to assist the stricken bank. However, when the F.D.I.C. finds a bank practicing unsound banking policies, it issues a strict warning and gives the bank 120 days to mend its ways. At the end of this period, if the bank has not rectified its policy, the Corporation notifies each of the depositors that no further deposits will be insured and that the insurance on present deposits will expire two years from date. This is a tremendous moral force, since it broadcasts the weakness of the bank to those who can compel its amendment.

When the bank assets become frozen, the F.D.I.C. has three choices. It may close the bank, pay off the depositors, and liquidate the assets. Or it may buy up or lend against slow assets — long term investments — thus enabling the bank to continue in business, or, finally, it may put through a consolidation, a merger.

Has Other Functions

Besides acting as an insurance agency for the deposits of the nation, the F.D.I.C. also acts for the general economic welfare of the country. It is the experience of the Corporation that stricken insured banks should not always be liquidated, their deposits paid off, and the banks thus eliminated from their communities. There may be a need for banking facilities in the community, and opportunity

for profitable operation may still exist. In such cases the F.D.I.C. has shown itself ready to take its losses while making provision for the continuity of banking services.

The law permits the Corporation to make loans or to purchase assets from stricken banks where such action will reduce the risk, avert a threatened loss to the Corporation, or facilitate a merger. It further provides that the Corporation, upon the closing of an insured bank, may organize a new National bank and operate it for two years. The purpose of this temporary bank is to continue banking service of a limited nature to the community where the closed bank was operating. If the newly formed bank is not taken over by private enterprise, either by the inception of a new bank, or by a merger with an established bank, the temporary bank is liquidated.

A merger of two banks involves either the reduction of banking facilities or an extension of branch banking. In rural districts there is generally but one bank, and a merger is impossible. In urban districts, on the other hand, a merger often results in partial or even total monopoly. In such cases the Corporation can best serve the interests of the depositors by absorbing the impact of the banking disturbances in the community and keeping all existing banking facilities open. In some cases advances to banks are not always feasible. Sometimes the affairs of the banks are in such a condition that it is to the best interest of all to place them in receivership and remove them completely from the banking system.

F.D.I.C. Improved Banking

The establishment of the F.D.I.C. under the Banking Act of 1933 was the beginning of a new era in American banking history. The purge that the banking system underwent during 1930 to 1933 eliminated most of the reckless banks and has naturally resulted in a low ratio of failures since that time. Since the beginning of this new era there have been only 398 bank failures. There have been no failures since May, 1944, the longest period since 1870.

During the twelve years of the Corporation's existence there have accumulated to the \$289 million of capital stock originally provided, \$640 million of surplus. The administrative expenses for the same period have amounted to \$41 million. The net deposit insurance losses and expenses are estimated at \$32 million. Since the beginning in 1934, the Corporation has disbursed \$300 million to protect depositors in 398 insured banks.

The question inevitably arises: How is the F.D.I.C. prepared to meet possible future emergencies? Can it stand the test of another depression? Newton has given us scientific laws whereby we can predetermine how fast a body will fall. But who can determine how severe a depression may be? If there were only a recession, there would be no difficulty. If there were a moderate depression, it is very probable that our banking system would be successful in meeting all eventualities. But in the case of a severe depression, there would be no certainty as to the outcome. The F.D.I.C. would make a valiant effort to safeguard all deposit accounts. But it is evident that its reserve of .6% of the insured deposits would be insufficient to check a sudden severe crash. However, to meet such contingencies the F.D.I.C. has two strong weapons.

Aids in Depressions

First, the F.D.I.C. operates in collaboration with the Federal Reserve System in protecting the deposits of National banks and the State banks that are members of the Federal Reserve System. Through its strict examinations and requirements, the Federal Reserve System is able to foster sound banking practices. On insured banks under the sole authority of the State, the F.D.I.C. exerts much the same influence. Many of the potential banking dangers

such as operating on impaired capital, concentration of risks, are thus prevented. America is thus forearmed with a strong healthy banking system.

The Federal Reserve System has a further power granted to it under the Banking Act of 1933. Reserve banks are authorized to issue Federal Reserve Bank Notes by depositing with the Treasurer of the United States the direct obligations of the Government or other selected instruments acquired by the Reserve banks in the course of their operations. In accordance with this provision, if the Reserve banks are discreet in making loans, they can convert their securities into bank notes when their customers require an increased amount of currency.

The second strong weapon that the F.D.I.C. has is its capital and surplus reserve of \$929 million consisting of Government bonds and cash. In case of emergency for deposit insurance purposes, the Corporation is authorized to borrow \$975 million. Nearly two billion dollars to anchor the savings accounts of America! Coupled with this is the Federal Reserve System's authority to liquidate select assets for Reserve Bank Notes. These two form a mighty protection for 92% of the operating banks in the United States and its possessions.

In short, during only twelve years of operation, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation has made secure the deposits of America, has virtually wiped out bank failures, and has restored confidence in our banking system. The Corporation deserves a glowing tribute as a work of legislative foresight, expert management, and good will.

An article in the U. S. News (August 30, pp. 44-45) reports that F.D.I.C. has been so successful in guarding banks that it has no current claims; the last bank failure occurred more than two years ago. Because F.D.I.C. is strong financially and able to repay the \$289 millions loaned by the U. S. Treasury and the Federal Reserve Banks in 1933, Chairman Maple T. Harl plans this repayment over a period of four years. Principal job of F.D.I.C. at the present time is to *prevent* bank failures. It has already saved several, located troubles in others, assisted many financially. Other banks have been taken over by more solvent institutions, or in desperate cases, by the F.D.I.C. itself. Ed.

C O M I N G . . .

CATHOLIC ATTITUDES

The first issue of this new ISO publication will appear on October 5. It is being sent in quantity only to Jesuit high schools and scholasticates since it is primarily designed for those of Ours who teach in high school or are preparing to do so. Others interested in ISO materials of this nature may request that their names be placed on the mailing list.

Permission is hereby granted to Ours only to duplicate any ATTITUDES material for classroom use. Sufficient copies will be sent to each school for display on classroom bulletin-boards and elsewhere.

A letter of further explanation is being sent to each Jesuit high school principal and scholasticate dean.

DELIMITING THE ISO

A New Instrument to Meet New Needs

By J. M. BECKER, S.J.

IN a previous article the writer suggested that the time had come (the preliminary work of organization being now well advanced) for the ISO to determine more precisely the nature of the task to which it is dedicated. This article is by way of beginning that analysis — a very modest beginning.

The ISO is our own creation, and we can therefore make it mean whatever we wish. We can stretch the "S" of it to mean as much, or contract it to mean as little as we like. However, if we leave the discussion with such large boundaries it is almost certain to become unmanageable. But we can keep it within limits by agreeing at the outset that the ISO is primarily the response of the American Assistency to the new emphasis which the last General Congregation gave to something called "opera socialia." That at any rate will be the assumption underlying this article. The discussion then revolves, obviously, around the more definite topic of what the Congregation meant by that specific action.

In general, we have a choice of these two interpretations: 1. The new emphasis on "opera socialia" is essentially a belated response to old conditions, rather than a reflection of new developments in the modern world. 2. The new emphasis stems directly from differences in our world from that which the early Jesuits knew. It may be a long time before we can say to a nicety just how much of truth lies in each interpretation. The historians of a much later day may have to interpret accurately the meaning of the times in which we live. But we can at least decide now what *we think* is the correct interpretation. And that at least we must do; for what *we think*, rightly or wrongly, in this matter will determine the scope of the work we assign to this new instrument of the American Assistency.

The writer inclines to assign greater importance to the second interpretation, and because space is so limited will confine himself to presenting that conception of the ISO: as an instrument designed primarily to meet new needs arising out of new conditions, conditions which began earlier, indeed, but which are culminating in our day. The plan of the article is simple: to list four trends which constitute major changes in a world which an earlier Society knew, and which may constitute the main reason why modern Jesuits have thought it necessary to create a new organization.

1. The Secularization of Society. One of the great trends has been towards the secularization of society. The early Jesuits worked in a world which was still officially Christian, and had just been Catholic. It was a society accustomed to live by a revealed religion. The great public debaters of that day were the theologians, and the output of the printing presses was theological to an extent inconceivable now. Today, the public is disturbed by the least sign of state interest in religion; its own interest has considerably abated, to say the least, and in place thereof it has substituted an absorbing concern for a this-world prosperity.

To the extent that this change is real, it may require of the Church, and of the Society, an increased activity in the realm of the "temporal." It may be that in order to come out our own door today we may have to use this new door of the world more extensively. And the ISO, if it is the Society's specific answer to this change in the world,

would have this explicit concern for the temporal, and largely material, well-being of society as one of its distinguishing characteristics. And the editors of the *Bulletin* could include it among their criteria for selecting and rejecting material.

2. The Organization of Society. An obscure phrase; but let it stand, for readers to improve upon. What is meant is the marked trend away from extreme individualism to a more vivid consciousness of corporate living. Schwer¹ is on fairly common ground in stating that in Europe up to the 13th century there was a strong emphasis on communal life; from the 13th to the 16th a swing to an equally strong emphasis on individual living; and then a swing back, slow at first but gathering great force in our day, to a preference for achieving goals by communal rather than by individual action. Where the early Jesuits saw in politics the emergence of the separate nations, in economics the birth of *laissez-faire*, and in theology the disappearance of the doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ, we have seen the creation of UN, the nationalization of the Bank of England, and the appearance on the "sheet" of a thesis or two dealing with the lost doctrine.

Is this change, also, part of the explanation of the ISO? Is it the growth of the technique of doing things by organizations that makes *opera socialia* more important in our day? To the extent that it is, we may want to charge the ISO with explicit concern for the "organized" character of modern life—especially in those fields where organization is new and existing agencies of the Society have not been accustomed to dealing with them. Labor is such a field, for example, and so is management. Cooperatives and credit unions are further economic examples. In politics, there is the activity of "pressure groups" on every level of government: federal, state and local.² The ISO might also interest itself in such liturgical reflections of this trend as the *missa recitata* and communal chant. Obviously, to the extent that this concern for communal, organized living does pertain to the ISO, it furnishes the editors of the *Bulletin* with another useful criterion.

3. The Democratization of Society. Democratization is taken loosely here to mean a trend towards equality of status for all members of society. We are said to be living in the Age of the Common Man. In politics, the trend has reached to universal suffrage, and many historians, Hayes among them, make this the thread on which they string the story of modern Europe. In economics, it has resulted in a multitude of arrangements whereby extremes of wealth and poverty are mitigated: minimum wage laws, progressive taxation, and, not least, social security programs.³ This spread of political power to the masses of the people and their use of it for new purposes is definitely a modern phenomenon. Where the early Jesuits had to form the conscience of a Catholic king in the Christian exercise of political power, we have to form the consciences of a multitude of Catholic voters—most of whom are too poor to come to our schools.

¹ *Catholic Social Theory.*

² Thus, the aged in Colorado receive higher pensions than in other states for the very simple reason that they are organized.

³ In the United States a significant move occurred last July when in the Federal re-organization the offices of health and of education were brought over and joined with the social security board in a common agency called the Federal Security Agency.

There is no doubt that the lower-income classes have become more important, both as agents and objects, in both politics and economics. Shall we understand the Congregation's increased stress on "opera socialia" to be connected with this change? And shall we therefore assign to the ISO the job of gearing the work of the Society to this new phenomenon? To the extent that we do, the *Bulletin* will have another criterion for its use. How that criterion would be applied is a bit obscure; but it might, for example, result in reporting a speech to a Voters' Club, a retreat to laborers, and a collection for Christmas baskets, while neglecting a similar speech to Alcoholics Anonymous, a similar retreat to the well-to-do, and a similar collection for the missions or Jesuit Relief.

4. Rationalization of Society. By this term is meant the process of subjecting the phenomenon called "society" to formal analysis. The process is old; but in modern times it has taken on a new face by reason of the birth in some cases, the great growth in others, of the sciences responsible for that task. Anthropology, sociology, political science, economics, statistics — these intellectual disciplines constitute instruments of social control which are largely specific to our modern world. We should consider whether the Congregation's new emphasis on "social works" is connected with the new stature of these "social sciences," and whether an explicit concern for these latter should be a distinguishing characteristic of the ISO and an added criterion for the BULLETIN.

As a matter of fact, if the ISO accepts the first three characteristics it will most naturally have the fourth. The social sciences had their main growth in the last couple of centuries, which means the same period which witnessed the trend towards material well-being—of the masses—achieved by communal activity. It was in the service of these trends that the social sciences developed, and they in turn contributed greatly to the vigor of the trends by giving them a language and rendering them articulate. As a consequence they bear, in both their bodies of doctrine and their organization of principles, ineffaceable marks of that fellowship. If the ISO concerns itself with the great trends listed above, it will inevitably concern itself with the modern instruments for their control.

Two Suggestions

These four possible characteristics of the ISO require further analysis, certainly, correction most probably. They are offered only as a beginning of what should be a leisurely and occasional but persistent process of self-analysis for the ISO. In the meantime for the period while we are still feeling our way (the qualification is important) the writer would venture two suggestions:

1) In the beginning let us err rather on the conservative side in deciding what is an ISO responsibility. Although we can stretch the "S" in the ISO very wide logically, it may be practical wisdom to include for the present only those activities which clearly require this creation of a new organization. Cana Conferences, convert classes and child clinics, for example (may the alliteration protect the example from the charge of discrimination!) would not seem to exhibit such dependence.

2) Of the four characteristics offered above, let us give greatest weight to the third, and make the ISO conspicuous among the works of the Society by its Concern for the Common Man, and in particular for those of the common men who constitute The Poor. The third characteristic thus stressed would provide a certain automatic integration among the four⁴; but the main reason for the stress

is something quite different. It will tend to keep our social program supernatural and will aid us to come out our own door after we have dared to go in through the world's. It will also aid the world very much in coming out our door with us. A real love of the poor has always been one of the most distinctive badges of Christianity,⁵ and certainly one of its most powerful advertisements.

CIO UNDER FIRE

Mill operators in the South are getting desperate at the CIO threat to their wage hegemony in the area. The bitter ten-month strike of more than 4,000 cotton textile workers against six mills in South Carolina, Tennessee and Georgia has brought operators, not to a position of cooperation, but to an extreme of desperate reaction. Not only is there a threat of injustice and the use of strike breakers, but the American Wool and Cotton Reporter urged drastic action against unions and foreign born labor leaders. "Why can't the textile manufacturers fight it out and hire thugs themselves to out-picket the pickets? That's the way it used to be in the old days and in the old days this was a pretty good country... Let the textile employees get together and set the wages and the loads and the production demanded and then if there is any trouble let every employer go on strike." This is as direct an attack upon the National Labor Relations act as any made in recent years.

SRC (From page 3)

SRC is becoming known by more Southerners every day in every week. Its publication, *The New South*, is read; its pamphlets, leaflets such as *Brothers in Black*, *America's Tenth Man*, *Understanding Our Neighbors* and *Economic Value of the Negro to the South* have found their way into many prejudiced Southern homes and have done well. *America's Tenth Man* has reached its twenty-fourth printing, an aggregate of 275,000 copies.

This work and printing costs money and SRC needs support. Financial aid comes from the American Missionary Association, the Catholic Committee of the South, the Committee on Woman's Work of the Presbyterian Church, the General Education Board, the Home Mission Board of the Methodist Church and other Organizations. An annual dues of two dollars also helps to promote its activities.

As I have stated, membership is open to all classes, all faiths, all races with one restriction. The individual must come from some part of the South. This area includes the following states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. At the annual meetings held on the second Wednesday in October, every member in good standing is entitled to vote, either in person or by proxy. Those people who live elsewhere and who wish to keep in touch with the work of SRC by receiving its literature regularly, may become Associates of the Council by paying a fee of two dollars annually.

The organization is guided by a Board of Directors composed at present of 64 persons; 58 elected, 6 *ex officio*. Each of the thirteen states in the area is represented. The racial composition of the Board is 27 (42%) Negro members and 37 (58%) white members.

If your interest has carried you this far, why not go farther and join? Let your name and the S.J. be listed with Gerald P. O'Hara, Bishop of Savannah-Atlanta, who is a member of the Board of Directors.

⁴ The Common Man is multitudinous—so that work with him automatically involves work with organization, and attention to the sciences of group activity; and he is necessitous—so that work with him inevitably includes work for his material welfare.

⁵ Galatians 2. 7-10: a striking example.

ISO AND THE CANA CONFERENCE

By EDWARD DOWLING, S.J.

The Institute of Social Order introduced the Family Renewal Day or Cana Conference in New York, January, 1943, with a day directed by Father John P. Delaney, then director of the ISO. When the ISO headquarters was moved to St. Louis, Father Lord encouraged these gatherings for married couples as an ISO activity. Since that time the ISO has been one of the radiating centers for the promotion of Cana Conferences, which have in the meantime been taken up by a number of organizations.

The Sodality of Our Lady at all of its 1946 sessions of the Summer School of Catholic Action gave courses in the content and mechanics of the Cana Conferences, which were attended by about 90 priests and seminarians. Each month *The Queen's Work* has an account of the Cana Conference development nationally. Father Lord has authorized the expenditure of several thousand dollars for secretarial work, printing, etc., for the promotion of Cana Conferences.

National Organizations

The National Council of Catholic Women has undertaken the promotion of Cana Conferences through their many influential outlets, and the subject occupied a prominent place in the discussions held at the national convention in Kansas City in September, 1946.

His Excellency Bishop O'Hara of Kansas City spoke at the first Cana Conference held there, which was directed by a priest of the ISO staff, and he has placed the resources of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine behind his effort to make the Cana Conference a two-day meeting at the diocesan retreat house.

The Notre Dame Club of St. Louis applied to the ISO for a director for their first Cana Conference, to which Notre Dame University sent the Rev. Louis A. Putz, C.S.C., of the religion department as an observer. The *Notre Dame Alumnus*, in its June, 1946 issue, published a full-page article on the subject, recommending the Cana Conference for other Notre Dame clubs. Recently Notre Dame University held a Cana Conference on its campus for their married veterans and their wives.

Engaged Couples

Cardinal Stritch has set up a committee of priests and married couples to sponsor the Cana Conference development in his archdiocese. He specifically urged it at all of the diocesan clergy retreats this year. Some years ago, when Cardinal Stritch was Archbishop of Milwaukee, he was very zealous in providing conferences for engaged couples. The Cana Conference for engaged couples has reached a higher development in Chicago than in any other place in the country. It consists of an all-day Cana Conference, followed by three evening sessions, one of which is addressed by a doctor, one by an official of the chancery office, and one evening is given over to a panel discussion led by married couples.

Knights of Columbus Councils in St. Louis and Washington, D. C., have experimented with Cana Conferences, hoping they would spread to other councils. Their national magazine, *Columbia*, published an article on them in the April, 1946 issue. It was written by Frank Riley, a lay staff member of the ISO.

In the brief time since the ISO introduced the Cana Conference, a number of successful experiments have been made, such as the two-day conference, the care of children during the conference, the interracial Cana Conference. On October 13, 1946 a Cana Conference at Fontbonne College, St. Louis, Mo., introduced an innovation when college daughters were brought into the discussions with their parents at a Cana Conference lasting from 6 to 10 p. m.

Numerous Dioceses

Among the dioceses in which the ISO, through a staff member or other means, has participated or helped in the organization of Cana Conferences are: New York, Philadelphia, Brooklyn, Rochester, N. Y., Baltimore-Washington, Pittsburgh, Toledo, Chicago, Milwaukee, Green Bay, Belleville, St. Louis, Omaha, Denver, San Antonio, New Orleans and Montreal. Literature and correspondence with the ISO office has contributed to the starting of Cana Conferences in the Lafayette, Mobile, Detroit, Cleveland and St. Paul dioceses.

The publicity in the metropolitan press of these dioceses has been supplemented by a very generous battery of magazine articles. In addition to the monthly articles in *The Queen's Work*, some of our readers may find source and propaganda material in the articles on Cana Conferences which have appeared in the following magazines: Missouri Province *Jesuit Bulletin*, March, 1945, which was reprinted in *The Catholic Mind*, June, 1945; *Catholic Mission Digest*, May-June, 1945; *Directors' Bulletin*, June, 1946; *Orate Fratres*, July 29, 1945; *Novena Notes*, April 5, 1946; *Columbia*, April, 1946; *The Living Parish*, Nov. 1945; *Family Life Education* (service published by the American Institute of Family Relations), April 1946; *Alumnae Journal* of Trinity College, Winter, 1945. Invariably these articles have been very generous in acknowledging the ISO and Jesuit contribution to the Cana Conference development.

"Cana Conversations" Radioed

Another experiment which was sponsored and is being financed by the ISO is the radio program on St. Louis University's Station WEW called "Cana Conversations," in which priests of the ISO staff, including Fathers Lord, Bowdern, Duff, Corley and Dowling, hold fifteen-minute unrehearsed chats with husbands, wives and children on the spiritual significance of the ordinary things of family life. Titles of these "Cana Conversations" being currently broadcast are: The Warrior Returns, Family Recreation, Family Vacations, The Emotional Cycle of Couples, Can the Family Afford a Car?, Household Help, The Post-marital Problem, Dividing Housework, Home Work, Planning a Wedding, Are Fathers Necessary?, Family Conversation, Budgets, Mealtime in the Home, Morning in the Home, Low Cost Housing, Loneliness, Drinking in the Home, Politics and the Family, Proxy Mothers or Sitters, Nursery Schools, Emotions in the Home, Reading in the Home, Sunday in the Home, Parenthood, Extravagance in the Family, Adopting a Baby.

In the St. Louis area ten Protestant couples and two Jewish couples have made Cana Conferences. Two conferences have been sponsored by couples of mixed marriages.

Alumni Cana Conferences

Jesuits can help in the Cana Conference movement and help couples by assigning the subject as high school compositions, college term papers and graduate research theses. They can sponsor Cana Conferences in their parishes and during their missions, in alumni groups and among the married G. I. students in their colleges, as Notre Dame University did.

Alumni societies can be revitalized by bringing the wives into the orbit of the influence of the old school tie through periodic Cana Conferences.

Priests can urge married members of their own families to start or participate in Cana Conferences.

The war between husband and wife is more costly, grim and life-destroying than the recent, well advertised skirmishes between Hitler and Roosevelt or the management-labor tiff. In the efforts for peace between those serried ranks, the ISO has from its beginning done its stint.

SUPERCORPORATION'S HEYDAY

By ARTHUR A. BARTH, S.J.

EARLY summer of 1946 saw the release of a report prepared by the special senatorial committee appointed to investigate economic concentration and World War II.¹ This document of some 360 pages is closely packed with a wide variety of startling facts, figures and charts.

The investigation, which was conducted by three economists of the now-defunct Smaller War Plants Corporation: John M. Blair, Harrison F. Houghton, and Matthew Rose, was concerned principally with concentration of economic power in *manufacturing* since it is in this form that monopoly most widely affects the public interest. In the 35-year period between 1909 and 1944 U. S. *manufacturing* output rose 496% while output in minerals increased by only 254% and in agriculture but 167%.

The study is limited to a presentation of facts; it does not pretend to analyze their economic, political or social import. Even the facts as listed do not present a *complete* picture. But granted necessary limitations the report is remarkably well done. The following items, taken at random from its pages, will serve to give some idea of the gradual squeezing out of small, independent business firms and their displacement by the powerful supercorporation.

"Big firms," says the report, "those with 500 employees or more, remain a tiny minority in the business population, but their size and power has grown more dominating than ever. In 1944 these large firms represented only 2% of all manufacturing firms in the U. S. and yet they accounted for 62% of total employment."

The industrial giants—firms with employess of 10,000 or more—accounted for only 13% of total employment in 1939 while in 1944 they employed 31%. Again corpora-

tive income figures are striking. In 1918 corporations with annual net incomes of \$250,000 or under took 23.4% of total corporate income; by 1942 this had dropped to 11.6%.

Furthermore, "the relatively few giant corporations of the country which have come to dominate our entire economy are themselves largely owned by only a few thousand stockholders and are controlled by a mere handful of huge financial interests." An investigation conducted by the Securities and Exchange Commission has revealed that 75,000 persons (0.06% of the population) own one half of all corporate stock in the country. One-seventh their number—10,000 persons (0.008% of the population)—own one-fourth.

Eight groups of bankers, the report shows, control 106 of the 2550 largest corporations. Moreover, "the eight interest groups are by no means independent of each other, coming together on boards of directors and in many other activities. Most of the giant corporations, furthermore, have influence and controls which extend to medium sized and small companies, and most of them are bound together, in one way or another, through trade associations and such "peak" associations as the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers."

Sixty-three of the largest corporations now have more working capital than *all* listed manufacturers had in 1939. With their huge reserves these corporations "could purchase approximately 71,700 smaller manufacturing corporations which represent 94% of the total number in the United States."

Prime War Contracts

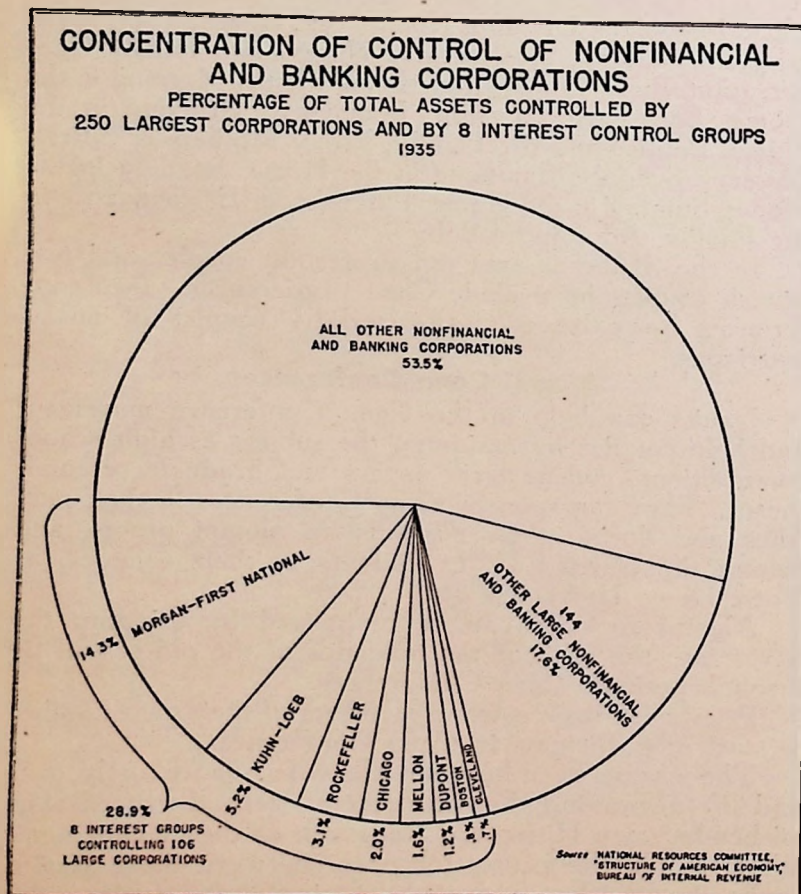
One of the main causes of this greatly heightened degree of concentration in the 1940's is the fact that the great bulk of nearly \$200 billion in prime war supply contracts went to a *very small* number of firms.

"Companies obtaining prime contracts secured thereby the instruments of economic power. They received substantial profits. They obtained materials and supplies, since they were granted priorities and allotments. Further than this, they were granted the power of determining how much of these priorities and allotments should be passed down to subcontractors, who the subcontractors should be, and how much each should receive.

"In addition, a prime contract gave the company a right to expand its facilities under extremely favorable tax conditions, and an *option* to buy government built plants after the war.

"These are but a few of the instruments of power inherent in prime contracts. There were many others, including the scientific and technical research conducted at government expense in the laboratories and plants of these companies."

The report lists one hundred top corporations which were awarded contracts by the government. These corporations "held 75% of the prime contracts outstanding on September 30, 1944." General Motors received \$13,813,000,000 of these prime contracts or nearly 8% of the total. The top five (three aircraft corporations, two automobile companies) received 20.5 percent.



¹Economic Concentration and World War II, Report of the Smaller War Plants Corporation to the Special Committee to Study Problems of American Small Business, United States Senate, June 14, 1946. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington.

Big Business Rolls Merrily Along

Contrary to general expectation, the report says, subcontracting was never carried on extensively. In fact "most of the value of the subcontracts placed by the big prime contractors went, not to small firms, but rather, to large concerns. In 1943, 34% of the value of prime contracts sublet went to other large companies (those employing more than 500 workers).

Even those small concerns which did receive subcontracts frequently lost out. "By becoming subcontractors, many small firms lost their status as independent enterprises. It remains to be seen whether they can regain their independence."

Atomic Power

In the field of atomic research development the big fellows on the inside again have benefited extraordinarily and stand to realize even more in the future. \$1,300,000,000 was spent by the government on three atom bomb plants which were operated by Eastman Kodak, Union Carbide and duPont. Moreover, "most of the equipment for these plants was built by large corporations such as Westinghouse and General Electric."

"The concerns which made the equipment for the manufacture of atomic materials, and the firms which operated the plants, will inevitably have a tremendous head start over all other firms in scientific knowledge, and production 'know-how' in the adaptation of atomic power to peacetime uses."

Outlook for Future

The report provides a long list of figures which prove conclusively a high degree of economic concentration in 1939. This movement has continued to grow apace. "The 63 largest manufacturing corporations increased their net working capital during the war to nearly \$10,000,000,000. With this highly liquid capital they can increase their power in a multitude of ways.

"They can launch sales and advertising campaigns on a scale never before contemplated. They can expand sales outlets, sources of materials, and products. They can purchase all the usable government-owned facilities at their option price. They can purchase the assets of 71,700 smaller manufacturing corporations, 94% of the total number in the United States."

Such possibilities are day by day becoming realities. "The fact that Big Business is now actively engaged in buying up smaller companies suggests that it will follow other courses of action designed to increase its economic power."

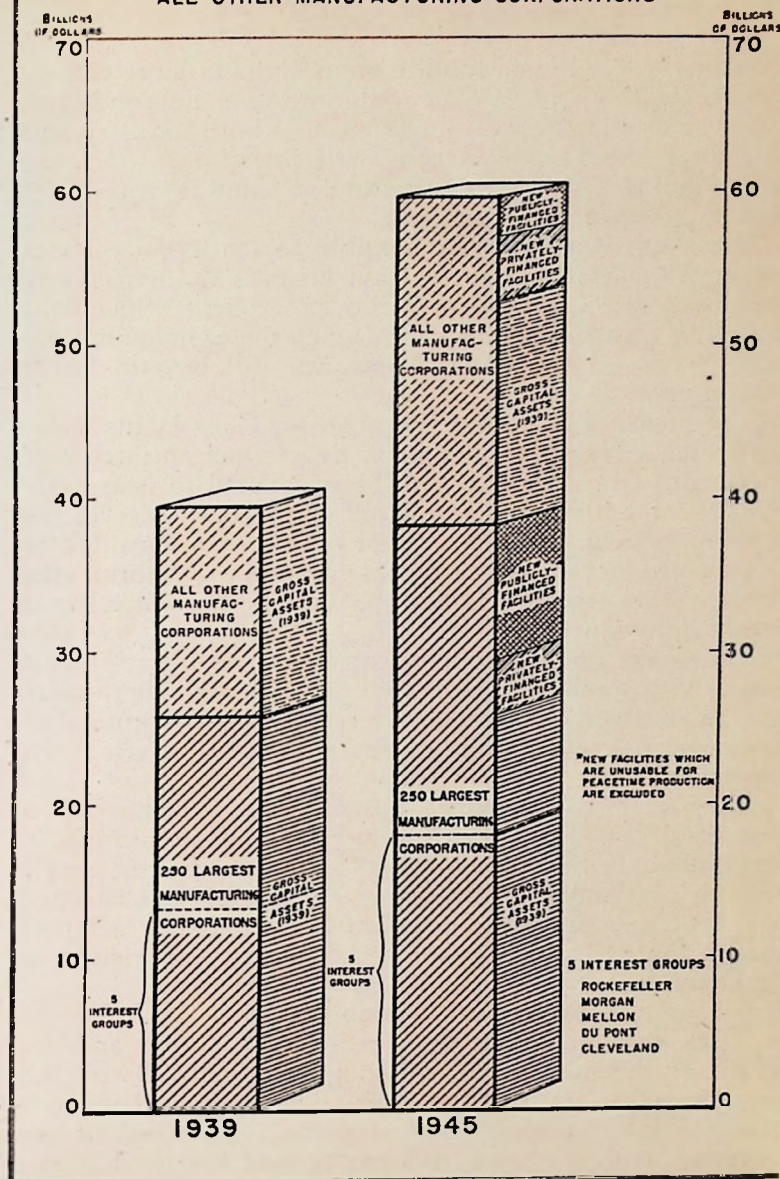
Trend Inevitable?

Can anything be done to stop this trend? The report believes so. "Concentration not only can be held to its pre-war positions; it can be reduced substantially below that level. This, however, would require an anti-trust program, a small business program (including financial aid), and a surplus disposal program directed, specifically, to assist small business on a scale never before contemplated."

Up to the present, little seems to have been done to implement any of these proposals. Organized labor—the one group powerful enough to exercise a restraining influence on big business—is too much concerned with its own problems and its fight with management to be very much bothered about the interests of the small business man. Meanwhile the supercorporations roll merrily along.

USABLE* PRODUCTION FACILITIES

250 LARGEST MANUFACTURING CORPORATIONS AND ALL OTHER MANUFACTURING CORPORATIONS



Billion Dollar Club

Reports were issued in mid-September which declared that 43 U. S. corporations now have each more than a billion dollars in assets. Together, these firms control more than one-fourth of the total assets of all industrial concerns, banks and insurance companies. The total combined assets of this billion dollar club is in excess of 101 billion dollars.

On September 15 in a radio address Senator Murray (Dem.) of Montana urged the creation of a special governmental board to study and report "on the status of competition and monopoly."

Murray together with Thurman Arnold, former assistant attorney general, voiced the opinion that "if the trend to monopoly is not stopped, we will soon be a totalitarian nation."

Positive suggestions as to what is to be done about the situation included: 1) more funds for the anti-trust division of the Justice Department, 2) more authority for government agencies "now delegated certain limited powers to check up on violations of existing law," and 3) a "board to co-ordinate anti-trust activities and to make recommendations to the President and to Congress intended to develop a well-rounded, consistent anti-monopoly program." Legislation to "prevent monopolistic practices concerning the use of patents and patent pools" was also proposed.

CANADIAN FAMILY ALLOWANCES

By FRANCIS J. CORLEY, S.J.

May Point the Way
for the United States

IN many ways living conditions in Canada more closely resemble those of our own country than do conditions anywhere else in the world. As regards both industry and agriculture there are marked similarities; our cities are much alike; the provincial structure in Canada greatly resembles our own state structure.

For these reasons it is possible to learn more about Family Allowance measures from Canada than from any other country. Consequently the experiment which was enacted in Canada in July, 1944, when the Dominion Government passed a Family Allowance Bill, should be of great interest to us.

The measure had been discussed in Canada for many years, and a Jesuit, Father Leon Lebel, was an interested proponent. Consideration had been devoted to it as early as 1929, and it had come up for study repeatedly in the intervening years. There was always some opposition to the measure, notably from representatives of Ontario, who felt that the province would be unduly burdened by a Family Allowance law.

When the measure finally came to a vote, however, it passed with unanimous approval, even though there were some in the Parliament who were still highly skeptical of the undertaking. There are many reasons for their skepticism.

They fear, for instance, that the Dominion has taken upon itself an altogether too great financial burden in undertaking to raise \$240,000,000 annually for the single measure of Family Allowances. This large sum is equal to 1/3 of any pre-war Dominion budget and is a larger amount than all of the other social security provisions in the Dominion at the present time.

Represents Large Burden

They fear, too, that the burden of taxation and the benefit of the allowances will not be equally distributed throughout the entire Dominion. This will be true to a certain extent, since Ontario, the most disturbed of the provinces, will pay some 46.8 per cent of the tax bill and receive only 29 per cent of the Family Allowance disbursements. It isn't true, however, that Quebec will profit unduly from the measure, as opponents of the bill argued. That province will pay approximately 33 per cent of the tax bill and receive in return about the same amount. The additional benefits will be given largely to Saskatchewan and to Prince Edward Island.

There are other worries too which trouble opponents of the measure, for instance, the possibility of undermining parental responsibility, the likelihood of the waste of Family Allowances on useless expenditures, the possibility of reduced wages as a result of Family Allowances. There is some doubt as to whether a satisfactory system of liaison between Dominion authorities and the Province Governments can be worked out.

Details Criticized

Some who approve the general idea of aid to families with growing children believe that the assistance should be given largely in kind, rather than in quality. They urge that such services as free milk and meals for school children, medical examination and other family health facilities would be more democratic and less likely to be abused. In the end it was decided to give only cash benefits and allow the families to purchase whatever was of greatest practical value for their own individual needs.

Whatever may be said for these uncertainties—and most of them have been carefully considered by both opponents and advocates of the bill—it is likely that satis-

factory solutions to all of them will be found only after a period of practical experimentation.

Even among those who approve the idea of Family Allowances in principle there is not whole-hearted approbation of the law that was actually passed. There are details of administration which might have been better arranged and two important provisions of the bill have been seriously criticized. Quebec, for instance, is completely dissatisfied with the reduced scale of allowances for large families, which will be explained in a moment. Several provinces likewise disapprove of the reductions made for families with larger incomes, as will also be explained. So serious has been Quebec's opposition to the reduced scale for large families that a special province law has been passed appropriating additional funds to equalize the grants for all children however large the families may be.

Aid Scaled by Age

The basic scale of grants for children provide monthly payments to parents of all dependent children under 16 years of age. Because the cost of raising a child increases as he advances in age, the grants are scaled upward according to the age of the child, as follows:

Monthly Grants

Under five years.....	\$5.00
Six to nine years.....	6.00
Ten to twelve years.....	7.00
Thirteen to fifteen years.....	8.00

These amounts remain uniform for the first four children in any one family. As the family size increases beyond four children the allowances are reduced in size. For the fifth child the grants are reduced one dollar at each level:

Under five years.....	\$4.00
Six to nine years.....	5.00
Ten to twelve years.....	6.00
Thirteen to fifteen years.....	7.00

For the sixth and seventh child the grants are reduced by two dollars; for all subsequent children, by three dollars.

The defense which is offered for this measure is that the cost of raising children in a large family is relatively lower since many expenses need not be repeated with each additional child. There is, of course, considerable warrant for this position. Thus, it isn't necessary to purchase a new baby buggy for each new child. It is also possible for young children to use clothing, books and toys which older brothers and sisters have outgrown.

Quebec Limited

The practical effect of this provision is that the relatively larger families of Catholic Quebec are not given a proportionate share of the Family Allowance benefits. In the province of Quebec the average number of children in completed families is 6.2, whereas the average for the whole of Canada is only 4.3. There is not so marked a difference in the average for all the families. The average for Quebec in this category is 2.9 children per family, whereas for the whole of Canada the average is 2.4. The total number of large families in Canada might be of interest:

Number of families		Number of children under 16
2	have	15
6	"	14
44	"	13
105	"	12

The conditions demanded by the Government for eligibility are as follows. 1. The child must be a dependent; 2. He must be under 16 years of age; 3. He must be attending some kind of school or be receiving equivalent training; 4. He must have been born in Canada or must have been resident there three years.

Since the Family Allowances law is intended to aid particularly low income families, a sliding scale of income tax deductions will take back portions of the grant from all families with an annual income of more than \$1,200. For incomes which range between \$1,200 and \$3,000 as the tax deductions are reduced the amount of Family Allowance money that remains with the family is reduced. Thus a family having an income of \$1,800 a year will retain only 70 per cent of the full Family Allowance grants, and a family with an income of \$2,900 a year receives only 10 per cent of the full amounts. No allowances whatever are paid to families whose income exceeds \$3,000 annually.

Others Have Same Scale

This provision resembles the restrictions placed upon family allowances in New Zealand and Australia, as well as in some of the European countries. Since 57.1 per cent of all Canadian families receive less than \$1200 income annually it will be seen at once that the bulk of the population are given full Family Allowance grants. Moreover it is altogether likely that the large families will constitute the largest proportion of the low income group. In Canada less than 1/5 of the families provide more than 4/5 of all the children.

In July, 1945 the first payments were made, when checks were mailed to most of the 1,500,000 families in Canada. These payments benefitted approximately 3,500,000 children under the age of 16 who are in the Dominion. The assistance came to approximately \$14.50 for each family and averaged about \$6 per child. The total bill for Family Allowances will amount to approximately \$20,000,000 monthly so that the bill which Canada has sent to itself will be something like \$240,000,000 annually.

This is a huge sum of money and represents a very serious undertaking for Canada's Federal economy. The measure will have to prove itself convincingly if it is to continue in the Dominion, and it is likely that sharp attacks will be brought to bear upon the measure as the tax burden makes itself increasingly felt.

Many Approve Bill

The bill however, has strength and ardent advocates. Social workers throughout the Dominion, unlike those in the United States, are intensely interested in the measure and have given their whole-hearted support. Thus the Canadian Association of Social Workers stated in a memorandum to the Dominion Government that "we submit Family Allowances are a necessity in the country." A survey of the heads of social and welfare agencies indicates that they were over-whelmingly in favor of the measure.

This is the first time that family allowance legislation has been enacted on the North American continent. It is an important step because it marks the closest approach to our own country and the one most likely to be studied by both advocates and opponents of Family Allowances in the United States. Success or failure in the Dominion will condition very largely the future of the American legislation. If the law succeeds in Canada, there is some likelihood that it might be enacted here; if it fails there is little possibility that a similar bill could be passed through Congress.

The Sherman Act and Corporatism

By JAMES McSHANE, S.J.

St. Louis University

One potential road-block on the way to the Industrial Councils which Pius XI has so earnestly recommended is the charge that they foster monopolistic practices. If this is the case determination of prices and production quotas by such Councils would be actionable under the Sherman Anti-Trust act. Father McShane's note suggests that the act could not be construed to cover such Councils.

WHEN the so-called "trusts" had grown to great power in this country, the Sherman act was passed to curb them. Sometimes the Sherman act is said to be aimed at destroying monopolies. It is well to remember that many public utilities are monopolies, for instance, the only Street Car Company in one city, the only electric or gas company. Government bureaus regulate such quasi-public enterprises.

At the time the act was passed in 1890, it was taken to include all combinations of firms in the same field. The courts of England, for instance, looked with disfavor upon all contracts restraining trade, e.g., I sell you my shoe repair shop, and according to the contract of sale, I am not allowed to open a competing shop.

Later the courts began to look to see whether the contract said, "I'll not open a competing shop in this town, or in this state, or in this region. Hence, the old common law "rule of reason" was revived. We might express the rule by saying that the court must exercise its common sense to determine whether a contract is too harmful to the public interest.

Under such restrictions contracts were upheld if their scope were not broader than the interests of the parties required, and if the effect upon the public were not injurious—in short, if the contracts were not unreasonable. This "rule of reason" was revived by courts in the United States in 1911.

Direct price-fixing clauses in connection with otherwise reasonable plans were declared illegal in 1927, and an opinion on the legality of indirect price-fixing was handed down in 1940, so that both direct and indirect price-fixing became illegal. One of the more interesting cases involving the Sherman Act and restraint of trade is the case of the United States vs. Associated Press, decided in 1943. The opinion, written by Justice L. Hand, points out that "in a legislature the conflicting interests find their respective representation or at any rate can make their political power felt; the resulting compromises so arrived at are likely to achieve stability, and to be acquiesced in. But it is a mistake to think that courts are never called upon to make similar choices i.e., to appraise and balance the value of opposed interests and to enforce their preference... The Congress has incorporated into the Anti-Trust acts the changing standards of the common law, and by so doing has delegated to the courts the duty of fixing the standard for each case."

The courts, therefore, exercise a legislative function. In the above case the court decided that the "by-laws of the AP unlawfully restrict the admission of members." We have seen two grounds on which courts apply the Sherman Act and prohibit contracts in restraint of trade: price-fixing and restrictions on the entry of a competitor into a given field. As the law stands the companies which dominate an industry cannot conspire to set the prices for their product nor prevent a new firm from entering the field. In the case of each contract the court must decide whether the restriction imposed is unreasonable.

The Traffic Tower

Fragile Peace Struggles "What human voice could speak in the titanic décor as the images flew! After the showing the delegates returned to Luxembourg Palace, where frail peace struggles to be born." This was the comment of *Paris-Press* on the showing of Bikini atom bomb pictures to 150 delegates at the Paris peace conference recently. Aside from the political implications of the showing, which at the State Department's request, has been restricted to Paris and Moscow outside the United States, it can be hoped that the showing of these terrifying pictures may help not only the delegates of Paris but all men throughout the world to realize what a stupendous reality we are talking about when we speak glibly of the "inevitable third world war."

It may well be that another world war is inevitable, but if it is, it should be approached with the realization of the horrors it will involve for millions of human beings. Black areas in the white clouds that rise from further atomic explosions will not be the dark outlines of battleship or soot sucked up from their funnels, but the bodies of men, women and children and the cities in which they had lived. Atomic explosions in another world war will not sprinkle lagoons and ships with "sour" radio-active waters, but with the debris of civilization. We won't be stirring up tidal waves that sweep over bleak atolls in the Pacific, but a wave of hatred, violence and despair which may well engulf mankind. The showing at Paris may have some good effects, and the experiments being conducted in the Pacific during these months, political though they be, are object lessons which little men and women as well as the mighty delegates at Paris must study and reflect upon.

Act of Faith Immediately after the adjournment of the London UN meeting the president of the UN, M. Paul-Henri Spaak, gave an interview to André Villers for the *Central European Observer*. In the course of the interview M. Spaak expressed satisfaction with the work accomplished by the Conference and reasonable optimism about its future success. He insisted that the world should look to the future of UN with optimism and confidence, but explained what he meant by faith and optimism. "To be optimistic is to face up to reality and, despite this reality, to act with confidence and courage. And at the present time, nothing, whatever the difficulties, seems to oppose such an attitude." M. Spaak is obviously not deluding himself by the problems that face his organization during the coming months. He, probably better than anyone else in the Assembly, knows not only the questions that must be solved but the practical difficulties involved in reaching a solution. Under his leadership we can, like him, "face up to reality and despite this reality" look to the future with confidence and courage.

Labor Unions vs. Communists Stories of the internecine wars between communists and moderate elements in American labor unions continue to make news in the labor and secular press. The *United States News* for August 30 carried a two-page story on the fight within CIO unions; the *St. Louis Globe Democrat* printed a series of three front page stories by a staff writer which featured the struggle within the Electrical Workers Union; several articles have appeared in the *New Leader* pointing out the efforts by both CIO and AFL unions to clean house; the *Wage Earner* and other labor papers have been devoting space to the fight.

One hundred and six members of Actors Equity, enraged at the high handed tactics of communists within the union who railroaded their own panel of candidates into office recently, established the Actors Equity Association Anti-Communist League with a purpose of combating communism within the organization.

In a World of Lions Men would have a difficult time in a world of lions, Newman observed, because the news, conversation and judgments of the whole world would be those of lions. It was no wonder, he continued, that Catholics had a hard time making a go of it in the Protestant world of mid-nineteenth century England, in which the news, conversations and judgments of all England would be those of Protestants. The *New York Times* has acknowledged that the position of a Negro in the United States today is much the same as that of a poor, lone man in a world of lions. The *Times* commented recently editorially that all stories of crime involving Negroes mentioned the criminal's race, even though this had no significance whatever in the crime. Recognizing that this "helped to build up the bad moral climate which does encourage violence among the ignorant, the weak and the vicious," the *Times* gave public utterance to its editorial rule "that the race of a person suspected or accused of crimes shall not be published unless there is a legitimate purpose to be served thereby." The position taken by the *Times* is twofold: First negatively, it will deliberately avoid mention of race whenever possible if the story is one derogatory to the race, Second positively, the *Times* will, on the other hand, make explicit mention of a Negro's race when he or his achievement is a matter of credit to the race. How splendid is the attitude of the *Times* in the whole matter may be judged from the fact that the *Times* did not speak of "an achievement which is a credit to the race" but rather of "achievements which are a matter of pride to all of us."

Equal Rights Amendment Advocates of the so-called Equal Rights Amendment, undeterred by the recent Senatorial rebuff of their plans, have resumed their campaign for approval of the amendment which would give women the same legal status as men. The latest version of the amendment undertakes to avoid the weakness which inspired much opposition to the proposal (loss of much protective legislation already in force in favor of women) by specifically preserving such legislation. The text of the new version reads: "There shall be no economic, legal, political or social discrimination because of sex or marital status in the United States of America or Territory subject to its jurisdiction. Nothing in this article shall be so construed as to invalidate or prevent the enactment of legislation benefiting women in their work or family status." The latest revision of the French Constitution contains just such an "equal rights" clause.

Catholic Maternity Guilds There are in the United States at the present time almost 90 Catholic maternity guilds, which have as their purpose assisting families with the expenses involved in child birth and the early care of children. The movement is largely the work of Reverend Joseph J. Schagemann, C.Ss.R., who began talking and writing about the movement shortly after the publication of Pius XI's encyclical, *Casti Connubii*. Pius XI had urged the establishment of private or public guilds (as had Leo XIII some 40

years earlier) and Father Schagemann took the Holy Father at his word. At the present time four of these guilds are diocesan institutes. In two cities, Pittsburgh and Buffalo, they are city-wide. Redemptorist parishes in many parts of the country have parochial maternity guilds established. Further information about maternity guilds can be secured from the Central Verein, 3835 Westminster Place, St. Louis 8, or from a booklet published by Father Schagemann, "The Catholic Maternity Guild Apostolate."

A Liberal-Labor Party? Although first rank politicians in the two major parties are avoiding serious discussion of third party possibilities, there is a good deal of behind the scenes consideration being given to the possibilities of a Liberal-Progressive bolt. LaFollette's defeat in Wisconsin has been disturbing to Progressives. In a recent issue of the *New Leader*, John L. Childs, chairman of the Liberal Party discusses at considerable length the possibility of a new national Liberal-Labor Party and proposes some plans for its platform. Significantly enough Mr. Childs faces squarely the alleged dilemma of security or freedom and asserts that his Liberal-Labor Party wants both. His proposed party would socialize control wherever it was required to sustain production and employment and to avoid depressions.

Polish Restrictions Further serious restrictions have been placed upon political liberty in Poland by the suspension of the Christian Labor Party. This party was not represented in the Moscow discussions in mid-1945 which led to the establishment of the present government, but it was allowed to act as a party on condition that it collaborate with a communist-influenced group within the party. This year, after a party convention had been called by M. Popiel, the communist group met earlier and postponed the convention. Wrangling between the two groups led to a ban upon the convention laid down by the Polish government. As a result all Labor Party activities have been suspended and the party's seven representatives on the national council have resigned. As a result of this suspension, aside from the communists, only Premier Mikolajczyk's Peasant Party still maintains a measure of independence.

TVA Yardstick What TVA has meant to the people in that huge region of the United States can be estimated from the statement in the *National Union Farmer* that TVAs throughout the entire United States would have saved Americans a total of more than \$1,600,000,000 in 1945 alone if all the electricity had been paid for at TVA rates instead of private power company rates. It is even more significant that throughout the TVA region annual rates are steadily dropping as current profits pay for the cost of additional installations of transmission equipment.

South American Catholics No one has ever denied that a large number of South Americans are poor church-goers. Apparently the Latin men in most of those countries share the common weakness of Spaniards and Italians. But the step taken by the Chilean government recently in making public acknowledgement of this fact may have serious results. In the *Anuario* published by the Direccion Informaciones y Cultura, the religious population is reported as follows: Free-thinkers, 70%, Catholics, 25%, Protestants and others,

5%. This is a far cry from the 90% Catholic population formerly attributed to Chile. It is obvious what such an acknowledgement will do to the ardor of Protestant American missionaries who are not seriously deterred even by the talk of a 90% Catholic population. It is obvious, too, what this will do to Catholic protests at some of the antics of the State department in Washington and some of the propaganda being sent to South America. The solution lies in making it clear that even though many South Americans are admittedly not practicing Catholics, they are by instinct and tradition Catholic and that they will instinctively resent anything that tends to attack Catholicism. On the other hand, it must be acknowledged that the *Anuario* does take a realistic view of Catholicism as it is practiced by thousands of South Americans.

Unemployment Predictions False Last year's ominous predictions of huge unemployment lists of 1946 have been completely untrue. Total employment for June, 1946, reached the huge figure of 56,740,000. This can be increased during the coming months by an upswing in the number employed in the building industries. Lumber, stone, clay, and glass industries are at an all-time high just now. About one million discharged veterans are unemployed and seeking work. Total unemployed for the month of June was 2,560,000. June is normally a high month because of the entrance of a number of teen-age youths into the labor force at the close of the school year. There should be slight increases in employment figures during the coming months, especially as the building and civilian goods industries slip into something more closely resembling full production. All this means that one terrible worry that might have troubled the nation and our charitable organizations, namely, a huge army of unemployed and helpless men, will not materialize soon.

U. N. Specialized Agencies The list of specialized agencies which have sprung up under the aegis of UN continues to grow. There are, at the present time, ten organizations either existing or projected. Already functioning are: the International Labor Organization (ILO), United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, International Monetary Fund, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), and the World Health Organization (WHO). The health organization has completed preliminary meetings and drafted a constitution. This was accomplished at the International Health Conference, held in New York from June 19 to July 22. These meetings drew the largest number of delegates yet assembled for the organization of an international body. All UN nations, including Russia, were represented. In addition 13 non-member nations had observers present as did ten international health organizations. The constitution, which was signed by 60 countries, must be ratified by 26 before it comes into existence.

Agencies still in process of organization are the International Civil Aviation Organization, which held a provisional meeting in Montreal in May, the International Trade Organization (ITO), and the International Refugee Organization (IRO), which will take over the duties of the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees and some of the work now being done by UNRRA when that body disbands next year.

All of these agencies are parallel to, but independent

of, UN and must be distinguished from the Commissions which have been set up within the framework of UN as groups subordinate to the Economic and Social Council. Some of these Commissions are: Commission on Human Rights, Economic and Employment Commission, Statistical Commission, Temporary Social Commission, Temporary Transport and Communication Commission, Narcotic Drugs Commission, the Sub-Commission on the Status of Women, and the special Commission on Atomic Energy Control.

Which One? Four concepts of tomorrow's world and of the means to keep peace in that world seem to be taking shape. They deserve patient consideration because the future of the world will depend upon which of these four concepts sells itself to the people. The four are:

1. The world of UN, in which bilateral and multilateral agreements the nations agree to remain united as sovereign states. Problems and quarrels should be settled by mediation and court action.

2. A true world government. International compacts by treaty entered into by sovereign states are no better than the old League of Nations. UN should be scrapped for a true world government.

3. Evolutionary world government. UN is not a completely satisfactory solution to the problem of war, but it is a step in the right direction. UN, consequently, should be helped vigorously and sincerely so that it can develop into a true world government.

4. An international society based upon free peoples. Governments are already too complex and cramping. What is needed is a union of the peoples of the world who want peace. Such an allegiance would be strong enough to keep even governments in line. Witness Russia's withdrawal from Iran and her half-year forbearance in Turkey under the pressure of world public opinion.

There are, of course, two other attitudes: strict isolationism and the kind of power politics advocated by former Ambassador Bullitt.

Russia Goes Along Despite the intransigence of its international representatives who seem to be doing everything possible to keep UN and its components from working, the Soviet Union appears to be taking the whole question of international collaboration seriously. The Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions has advised its affiliates to include in their various educational activities a program on the UN. The students will be taught the history of the unity of the Allies through the Teheran, Moscow and Yalta conferences, and will closely examine the UN Charter.

Toward a Living Wage How comparatively recent is the drive to establish a legal minimum wage can be seen from the report in a recent Congressional Record showing that during the six years, 1938 to 1944, the wages of 3,593,000 workers were raised up to a minimum of 40c an hour. Such a wage gives a worker an income of \$64 a month for a 40-hour week. When \$1950 is the absolute minimum for family subsistence a 40c wage gives a total annual income of only \$800.

Cutting Off Our Nose . . . For a detailed indictment of the workings of the Potsdam Agreement, you might write to Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi for a reprint of his speech "America's State in the Morgenthau Plan." That the

destruction of the German textile industry has an immediate effect on American cotton sales, accounts in no small degree for Senator Eastland's interest in the subject. His facts, however, are valuable and his conclusion inescapable — "No peace which is founded upon injustice and vengeance is an enduring peace."

Overheard In Chicago, the AFL International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union voted down two resolutions: one to hold more frequent conventions, and a second that union officials be elected by the general membership instead of by convention delegates. This took place amid cheers and boos, and cries of "This is not democracy, but hypocrisy."

The union was subjected to much criticism for not having met for 30 years after its 1903 foundation.

In the adjoining room, the ISO executive committee overheard their clamor during their own meeting.

Politburo's Official History Our friends, the makers of textbooks in Russia, have well learned the dictum from "Alice in Wonderland": "What I tell you three times is true." Glance, for example, at Part Three of the "History of the U.S.S.R., 1894-1944," edited by A. M. Ponkratova, and prescribed for senior high school use.

The 1939 pact with Hitler's Germany was designed to break through "capitalistic encirclement," and to give "the Soviet Union an opportunity to prepare its forces in the event of an attack." Concluding, "this wise foreign policy of the Soviet Government raised yet further the role of the Soviet Union in the solution of international problems and its authority in the eyes of the workers of the whole world."

The partition of Poland by the Red armies happened because the Soviet government "could not be indifferent to the fate of their blood-brother Ukrainians and White Russians dwelling in the Western Ukraine and western White Russia." The government "instructed the commander-in-chief of the Red Army to order the armed forces to cross the border and take under their protection the life and property of the populations of the western Ukraine and western White Russia."

This interpretation of history to the young will be a major problem, when we start the spiritual rehabilitation of Russia.

For Labor Peace Robert Wood Johnson, the chairman of the board of Johnson and Johnson, famous for their Red Cross surgical dressings, tells management that it will have to change its policies regarding labor. He suggests that immediately every firm establish a personnel department in which the workers would get: 1. a sense of security; 2. fair wages and short hours; 3. qualified and fair minded foreman and department heads; 4. opportunity for advancement; 5. consideration as individuals.

WE HAVE MOVED

The ISO Central Office is now located in the recently purchased Queen's Work Building at 3115 South Grand Boulevard, Saint Louis 18, Mo. Please send all future communications to our new address.

ISOccasions

The report of the **Denver Principals' Institute** is at hand, and we read with satisfaction that "in accordance with the directives of the Holy Father and the needs of the times, great stress must be placed on the social consciousness of the individual student." A minority of those present were in favor of positive high school instruction through courses in social Christian principles. Social consciousness of the individual is far more important than the mere external features of group social action. The committee agreed that a student's social consciousness could be measured by his sense of loyalty and responsibility to the school, as well as by his willingness to cooperate in all joint enterprises of the student-body, particularly at the cost of self-sacrifice. The Sodality Committee work is directly aimed at the external manifestation of inner social-mindedness, and this, prompted by the highest religious motives.

Xavier Labor School

The Xavier Labor School will begin its twelfth year of activity on September 23. Under the direction of **Father Philip Carey** the school will offer a program of 20 courses, including a special course for leaders on Monday and a workshop on Friday. In announcing the opening of school **Father Carey** said,

"What started as an experiment has grown into a permanent institution. It is only through such educational efforts that we can look to an enlightened Labor and an enlightened Management. Complete indoctrination of the men involved in Labor—and I mean on both sides of the desk—will lead eventually to the goal democratic America is seeking: strikeless, peaceful, productive industry."

Labor Day Mass

Father Ralph Gallagher was one of the sponsors of the Catholic Labor Alliance Labor Day Mass in Chicago, at which his Eminence Cardinal Stritch delivered the sermon.

WANTED

The following numbers of the ISO Bulletin are needed for our files. If any of our readers can supply copies we shall be most grateful.

January, 1944.

July, 1944.

January, 1945.

June—July, 1945.

Send these to the
ISO Central Office
3115 South Grand Blvd.
Saint Louis 18, Mo.

Philippines Social Projects

Father George Willmann is remaining in the Philippines for the present to carry on a number of social projects which were resumed very shortly after the close of the war. He has established in Manila a club for servicemen still stationed in the Philippines which has done a tremendous amount of good in boosting military morale. With the help of two devoted young Filipinos a Catholic book store, selling Catholic books and religious articles has been established. His two latest ventures are an experimental farm set up some distance outside the city of Manila and a Catholic weekly, the first to resume publication after the war, "Filipinas."

Department of Public Health

Announcement by **Father Alphonse M. Schwitalla** that a new department of public health had been established at St. Louis University School of Medicine, under the directorship of Brigadier General **Percy J. Carroll**, marks another step in the advance of Jesuit social welfare activities in the Assistancy.

From Jamaica

Belatedly we report the sixth annual Cooperative Credit Union Convention held at St. George's College, Kingston, Jamaica on June 15 and 16 under the presidency of **Father John Peter Sullivan**. **Father Sullivan** presided at the opening sessions and was a moving spirit in all of the convention's activities. His was a significant contribution to the discussion on coop legislation in the Caribbean area. **Father Sullivan** has been a leader in sponsoring the credit union law which has already been adopted in Trinidad, B. W. I.

In British Honduras

Credit unions flourish in British Honduras under the inspiration of **Fathers William J. Moore** and **Marion Ganey**. In Belize **Father Moore** is in charge of what is perhaps the only full-fledged credit union in a West Indian secondary school for boys. Parochial credit unions are getting under way throughout the colony, and work goes on steadily toward the establishment of a credit union league as well as passage of a credit union society's act. **Father Ganey's** St. Peter Claver credit union is not only educating the Caribs of Ponta Gorda area but gave them substantial assistance during the hurricane disaster last October (ISO BULLETIN, January, 1946, page 12).

To the Fathers Assembled

Two general themes seemed to form the gist of the Supreme Pontiff's address to the 29th General Congregation on Tuesday, September the 17th.

The first was that "Times are evil, because men are evil. It is necessary that men should become good again so that times may also become good again"...

His second point reminded the Fathers assembled that "the fervor of Christians should increase and gather new impulse... We must satisfy those souls (and they are many) who hunger and thirst after justice."

One-Armed Giant

This department will, from time to time, note the deaths of Jesuits outstanding from the viewpoint of the social apostolate. Our great loss in September was the death in France of **Pere Jacquinet**, known throughout the world for his missionary and relief work in China. This one-armed giant organized the **Jacquinet ZONE** in Shanghai, a sector of the city respected by all belligerents, even during the bitterest phases of the Sino-Japanese War. Here he gathered and fed well over three hundred thousand refugees, innocent victims of war. May he rest in peace.

Interracial Charter

Every month, the city of Saint Louis witnesses a gathering of about fifteen priests, vitally concerned with the interracial problems of their diocese. Members belong to the diocesan clergy, the Passionists, the Society of the Divine Word, the Redemptorists, and the Jesuits. This group, unique of its kind in the nation, met at **Saint Elizabeth's Rectory** on September 17th, with **Father George Andrews** as host. Discussion centered around a "Charter of Interracial Principles" as prepared and presented by **Fathers Markoe** and **J. T. White**.

Rural Life Institute

Four Jesuits, **Father John L. Gipprieh**, pastor of St. Aloysius Church, Leonardtown; **Father John C. Rawe** of the Cardinal Gibbons Institute, Ridge; **Father Michael J. Kavanagh**, pastor of St. Joseph's Church, Morganza; and **Father L. A. Devaney**, pastor of Our Lady of the Wayside Chapel of Chaptico, took part in the second annual Rural Life Institute held at St. Mary's Academy, Leonardtown, Maryland on August 27. In addition to the work of these four collaborators **Father Lawrence Hill** of Woodstock and **Father John Blandin** of St. Aloysius's Church, Washington, prepared an exhibit of rural life teaching materials which was displayed at the conference.

Publishers' Galley

ANIMAL FARM. — By George Orwell, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1946. 118 pp. \$1.75.

Since the days of Aesop—and probably long before that—the easiest and pleasantest way to make ridiculous people more ridiculous is to have animals imitate their conduct. A drunken man is disgusting; a drunken dog is a drunken man more disgusting still. A woman with the claws of a gossip is nasty; a cat using her claws like a gossipy woman makes us hate with a deeper loathing the slanderer.

Forgive the philosophizing on the obvious; but *Animal Farm* naturally throws one back to Aesop, for it is the story of animals, chiefly pigs, acting like the Russians—and the thought of Stalin, Trotsky and their ilk as pigs is particularly refreshing.

The animals on Farmer Jones' farm, under the inspiration of an old boar (Major, rather obviously Lenin — no, maybe Marx — no, definitely Lenin, for they keep his skull as the central relic of their new State), negotiate a successful Revolution or Rebellion, install a communistic government, draw up their basic Seven Commandments, and start a series of Plans. They win the Battle of the Cowshed, thanks largely to the pig, Snowball, (unquestionably Trotsky.)

There are the promises, the failure of fulfilment, the heroic sacrifices, the emergence of the pigs as the ruling class, the training of the rulers' personal guard in the person of fierce dogs (proofreader: leave that word person; the dogs are quite clearly Russian SS Guards); the expulsion of Snowball, the power of Napoleon-Stalin, the liquidations and purges, and the swift return to all the worst evils of the system they had sought to overthrow. At the end the animals are more in slavery than ever, with the pigs consorting happily with human beings, between whom there is not much perceptible difference.

George Orwell is reported to be a Socialist, and it is consoling for us who dislike Communism to realize how the Socialists hate it. He writes with a parallel that sometimes ceases merely to parallel and overlaps and becomes identical. You read history in the barnyard exactly as you read history in the stories that slowly emerged from the Soviet.

Orwell, however, goes ahead. He passes to the future and with prophecy that pulls no punches, predicts things far, far worse to come. The *Animal Farm* becomes a combination of slave pen, penitentiary, and treadmill. And the pigs, the rulers, with their dogs, their guards and army, take over the Manor, erase the commandments all except one that substitutes for the rest, and in luxury

and power beyond imagining rule with whip in hand over the lower beasts.

The one commandment that displaces the rest is a summary of Communism as a Socialist sees it: All Animals are Equal; but Some Animals are more Equal than Others.

Daniel A. Lord, S.J.

I CHOSE FREEDOM. — By Victor Kravchenko, Scribner's, New York, 1946. 496 pp. \$3.50.

This is a brilliant and broad-scale economic, cultural and political history of industrial Russia from 1929 to 1944. Also, it is the stark autobiography of Victor Andreyevich Kravchenko, engineer and manager of many technical enterprises under the various Five-Year Plans.

Vitya Kravchenko was born in 1905 to a middle-class family of Revolutionaries, who had suffered much under the Tsars. Obviously, as a boy of twelve, he knew little about the 1917 Revolution; the story really develops interest in 1922, when he whole-heartedly joined the Young Communist League. After having received rather uneven mechanical engineering training in various Institutes, he became a full-fledged CP member in 1929. Thereafter his rise was rapid, due partly to ability, partly to the patronage of Serge Ordzhonikidze, member of the omnipotent Politburo, and Commissar of Heavy Industry. Through the thirties, he was shifted and promoted from one *Combina*t to another, until in 1942, at the height of Germany's drive into Russia, he headed the Department of War Engineering for the entire Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic.

By an unexpected stroke of fortune, he was appointed in 1943 to the Soviet Purchasing Commission in Washington. He decided to sever all connections with his past, and on April the first, 1944, he resigned as an official and secretly left his boarding house in the Capitol, where the story ends.

His promotions within Russia took place only after constant encounters and battles with the N.K.V.D., or secret police. His description of their methods form several chapters not easily forgotten.

The world of Americans interested in the real Russia behind the "Iron Curtain" have never been granted a view quite like this autobiography. For the writings of Andre Gide, Eugene Lyons, William Chamberlain, etc. come from disillusioned outsiders. While the books of V. V. Tchernavin, Andrew Smith, Walter Krivitsky, Valtin, and Barmine, while penned from within, cover different aspects. Barmine knew the world of diplomacy, while the Tchernavins are "intel-

lectuals" tainted in the eyes of Party men by a Tsarist past. Smith was a worker in the lower ranks with few opportunities for wide observation of industrial conditions. Krivitsky and Valtin worked as Party members and Chekists on foreign soil. But the author is a Russian of the Russians, both an enthusiastic Comsomol and a Party member of long standing; he was both a bureaucrat high in office and a practical engineer who has worked in all parts of the huge empire.

Is the narrative true? Although 95 per cent of it rests on his own testimony solely, there seems no reason to doubt its authenticity. It agrees with that of other unprejudiced witnesses, and since publication in April, no one has yet arisen to disprove its endless horrors.

That

"Tis only Christian men

Guard even heathen things"

was never so amply proved as by this picture of industrial Communism. Only Christians can protect and love and guard the simple decencies of human intercourse. Throughout the 481 pages of text, men scheme and cheat and lie and spy upon another in a world slightly inferior to a jungle. Their atheistic and dehumanized beliefs leave them with nothing to love, no principle to make of fraternity a reality, no basis for the least equality, no faintest hope of human liberty. The sycophancy alone disgusts the most cynical reader.

Vitya shows clearly that the Party members not only misunderstood man and his needs and desires, but that they did not even grasp the nature of machines and of tools. An efficiency expert would find our governmental red-tape a thing of joy compared to the stifling bureaucracy prevailing in the higher reaches of the Kremlin.

The author's view of the nobility of his own actions is not too convincing. Six or seven illicit liaisons are described with a rather cold-hearted loveless attitude.

As the book ends, the author seems to say that the pure communism of Lenin and Marx still attracts him, if such communism were only not adulterated with the brutalities of Stalinism. His praise of democratic ways I found rather made-to-order — an obvious suggestion from an American publisher to the writer of a possible best-seller.

These two minor defects aside, this is a compelling and important book. Do not read it when you are in a gloomy mood about the future of Russia and of the world, because the sight of man here without God is the most depressing this reader has yet encountered.

Joseph F. Cantillon, S.J.

FREEDOM'S PEOPLE: How We Qualify for a Democratic Society.—By Bonaro W. Overstreet. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1945. vii + 115 pp. \$2.00.

It would be easy to ridicule this book. Drawn in large part from the *National Parent-Teacher*, it has much of the embarrassing earnestness, the fuzzy zeal of a hall-full of Helen Hokinson hens. Typical is the page one incident reporting the confusion of a discussion group, presided over by Mrs. Overstreet in an Ohio town, when a plain, blunt man (impatient, doubtless, to get home to Fibber McGee and Mollie) asked an awkward question: "That sounds fine—only what do you mean by *democracy*?" The applause and "the warm laughter of people who recognized that something real had been said" went to the shy lady in the back row who stood up and in words that hesitated and then came out in a little rush, answered: "I—I don't know—exactly. But to me democracy is a sort of feeling I have inside me that keeps me from being as mean as I'd like to be sometimes to people I don't like."

Westbrook Pegler would drool at the prospect of such a target. A book of incantations to freedom that equates democracy with manners in an atmosphere of secularist religiosity would readily win the title "Epistle to the Do-gooders" or "Bulletin for Bemused Bluestockings" or "The Anthology of Asininity." Such humor, however, could conceivably betray an indefensible provincialism, contemptuous of a concern for civic affairs, for neighborliness, for an unabashed friendliness.

The Greeks had a word for the man who was wrapped up in himself and refused to take his share of public responsibility, whose personal interests crowded out those of the Community. The word was "idiotes" from which we get our word "idiot." Before wreaking his wit on this book, the potential Pegler might try out on himself some of its challenging questions on personal attitudes and curbing, in charity, masculine intemperateness, reflect on its suggested techniques of bettering social relationships in the Temporal City. So might we all.

Edward Duff, S.J.

You will find the article by Father Lucey of Holy Cross in the January, 1946 issue of the ISO BULLETIN, "The League of Nations and UNO," a good preparation for the study by Gaetano Salvemini, "From the League to the UN," in the August, 1945 issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*. Father Lucey's clear, brief presentation of the structural similarities and differences will help in a study

of Salvemini's analysis. You may remember Salvemini from his occasional articles in *Commonweal*.

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE MAKING, 1932-40.—By Charles A. Beard. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1946. 336 pp. \$4.00.

American foreign policy—its formulation and its conduct—should be of tremendous interest to every ISO BULLETIN reader. Serious mistakes in foreign policy frequently mean war and war touches every phase of our national life. As for Dr. Beard's competence to discuss American foreign policy his past record will vouch. For thirty years he has been commenting on the American scene and he has personally watched the approach and tragedy of two great wars.

In *American Foreign Policy in the Making* Dr. Beard has undertaken to discuss that most interesting of topics: responsibility for American participation in World War II. On the surface Dr. Beard claims to let the record speak for itself. His book sets out to be a careful synthesis, from many sources, of that record. According to Dr. Beard the record shows that, at least publicly, those concerned with the formation and conduct of American foreign policy in the decade 1931 to 1941 declared that they were *against* American involvement in any European conflict.

Yet the author quotes a State Department document to the effect that *privately* the President and the Secretary of State "early became convinced that the aggressive policies of the Axis powers were directed toward an ultimate attack on the United States and that, *therefore*, our foreign relations should be so conducted as to give all possible support to the nations endeavoring to check the march of Axis aggressors."

Since public opinion was not yet educated to, or convinced of, the merits of this view, the official statements quoted by Dr. Beard would seem to eventuate in having the administration say one thing and being quietly content to pursue another. It may be questioned whether our foreign policy makers were as calculating as this. The truth would seem to be rather that instead of having a fully formulated policy and adhering to it, the administration, at least publicly, let that policy shape itself by the drift of events.

According to Dr. Beard's presentation of the record it would seem that by the summer of 1940, especially after the party platform had been drawn up, Mr. Roosevelt had privately become convinced that American involvement in the war was not a remote possibility. Rather he warned America "of whatever contingencies

may be in store." Apparently it was only a part of campaign speeches, to bid for peace votes as Mr. Willkie was doing, that made him categorically assure the country that America would stay out of the war.

After the election, in a fireside chat on December 29, 1940, Mr. Roosevelt declared "if we are completely honest with ourselves we must admit that there is risk in any course we may take."

Dr. Beard in preparing this volume has presented a careful but pointed investigation of the published public record of American foreign affairs during the period. He claims to be rather dismayed at the widespread acceptance that Americans are responsible for the war. Surely no one accepts such a statement at its face value.

Obviously it is not a simple thing to properly distribute war guilt, or to prove it. The Roosevelt administration was probably sincere in its conviction that the policy it pursued of aiding the democracies in every possible way was the best under the circumstances. Whether it sufficiently faced realities or rather played a bluff game whose possible consequences it was not prepared to accept is a matter future history will have to decide.

Dr. Beard is an anti-imperialist, is often called an isolationist. This he admits, provided he be permitted to define that term. The record as he cites it is rather damaging to Mr. Roosevelt and his policy makers. Dr. Beard definitely does not approve of U. S. foreign policy or its makers from 1932-1940. His book is worth studying. Most readers will look at the record through their own colored glasses. Dr. Beard's work will reconvince those who share his views; others will find much to challenge in the book.

Arthur A. Barth, S.J.

CATHOLIC BOOKS FOR LAYMEN.—

Compiled by Helen Henderson. \$0.25.

For sale at St. Peter's Lending Library, 16 Barclay Street, New York 7, New York.

Ours are frequently called upon, in study clubs and elsewhere, to direct the reading of highly intelligent laymen and laywomen. In eighteen years perusal of endless reading lists, this reviewer has never seen a list done with more competence than this list of St. Peter's Library. Every book is first class, and it lacks all that "dead wood" so common in many Catholic lists. These are the best books in every field of Catholic thought and action. Running the gamut from Eppstein to Nell-Breuning, it is particularly valuable on social problems. Buy a dozen copies today!

Joseph F. Cantillon, S.J.

THE FOXES OF HARROW.—By Frank B. Yerby. Dial Press Inc., New York, 1946. VII—534 pp. \$3.00.

With something close to an apology we review a best seller in the staid and learned pages of the *Bulletin*. For this is a best seller, one of the first written by a colored author, with 600,000 copies delivered by early March. Yet it is more of a sociological novel than at first sight one might think. True, the author has worked in all the elements that Hollywood will love when it becomes a super-colossal. True he, or his authors nudging his elbow, worked the sex angle, with less insistence, however, than some of the white writers of equal sales volume. It would be interesting, by the way, to speculate (and ultimately to learn) how much of the sex stuff originates in the minds of the authors and how much is added when the smart publisher hints that the sales will zoom if the air becomes distinctly hotter.

What interests the more thoughtful reader in this novel is that it is a colored man writing about white people. There are a large number of colored in the pages; but it is the influence of the colored upon the white that concerns the author. Laid in the atmosphere of New Orleans shortly after it is absorbed in the United States, the story is that of an Irish Catholic gambler (whose religion means little indeed to him) who marries a French Catholic planter's daughter, who lives surrounded by slavery, venal politics, a dog-eat-dog economics, and a moral laxity symbolized in the notorious but historical Quadroon Ball where young dandies went to pick out their bronze-skinned mistresses.

There is nothing of the Uncle Tom preachment about this. On the contrary, we can imagine that Mr. Yerby, a university graduate, set himself to be cool and objective. But we note the swift infiltration of white blood into the black current, not, needless to say, by the presently dreaded intermarriage. We see the smart young colored man growing wiser than his master but bound to show no signs of it. We watch the deterioration of white under the system that makes all work slave work, with very rich whites at the top and incredibly poor white crushed down by the volume of slave labor.

And, with searing irony, we see the hero at the end going out to fight for the slavery which he himself knows to be rotting his people and for the breaking up of the country that he loves and knows must stay united if liberty is ever to become a reality.

Mr. Yerby tells a good story, with sections that drag, and a climax that rises

rapidly in power. But chiefly, he is an educated Negro who looks back over times that were and tries in the light of them to explain conditions as he sees them still, who is smart enough to paint no Simon Legrees, but good men and gracious ladies caught blindly in the grip of a system which they decline to see—except in so far as it makes life luxurious, and are by force of inherited prejudice unable to remedy.

One can regret sincerely that the characters are all Catholic and that to them, as to their associates in the rather misty background, the whole situation means nothing. One can be sorry that the book does not carry on to the reading of the will of the Irish Catholic hero who into it had written freedom for his slaves... but only when his death made that freedom no inconvenience for him. The Civil War made his will obsolete before it was read or probated.

Daniel A. Lord, S.J.

ADA RECOMMENDATIONS.—Before his appointment as Editorial Director of the National Committee on Atomic Information, Livingston Hartley, a well known writer on foreign affairs, had prepared a pamphlet on the political implications of the United States proposals for the control of atomic energy. This pamphlet, which favors the Lilienthal-Acheson-Baruch proposals, is now being distributed by the Committee at ten cents a copy.

Mr. Hartley briefly analyzes each portion of the proposals and gives a paragraph of comment of the analysis. He believes, for instance, that the Atomic Development Authority should be given the task of promoting the beneficial uses of atomic energy because this work will attract capable men more readily than the merely negative work of control and inspection.

The U. S. surrender of the atom bomb is necessary not only for moral leadership, but for urgent military reasons as well. It is impossible to guard the huge American coastline and our numerous large cities from atomic attack, hence the surrender of the bomb is not too great a price to pay for immunity from attack.

Not only must ownership of all natural resources and of production be in the hands of the ADA, but the ADA must insist upon the careful distribution of plants so that no nation can seize a complete set of plants and begin national, illegal production. Research in atomic energy must continue under the direction of the ADA so that the Authority may always be the best-informed agency in the world on the subject.

RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP.—Edited by William E. Mosher. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1946. Pp. xii + 887. \$3.40.

If democracy is to succeed in solving the complex problems that faces it today in every part of the world, it must be the ordinary citizen who will solve these problems. Pius XII has been outstanding for his faith in the dignity and reliability of men and has turned to them in many of his Christmas allocutions in recent years. No leader of a Uomo Qualunque movement, His Holiness nevertheless places the burden of building a successful world of peace and justice upon the *responsible citizenship* of ordinary men.

The book under review has been prepared by the staff of the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs of Syracuse University. Six different staff members collaborated in preparing the text.

There are five large divisions: *Social Behavior*, which is a sort of sociology of citizenship based upon the theories of current social evolutionists; *Our Way of Governance*, in which a survey of present-day government, especially the American federal system, is presented; *Economics for the Citizen*, is self explanatory; *Democracy—a Historical Appreciation*; and *Rival Social Philosophies* which contrasts the modern American democratic way of life with the totalitarian philosophies of Russia, Italy and Germany. This last section will have to be revised as a result of the war.

Outstanding are Dr. Mosher's two chapters, "The Democratic Way of Life" and "Toward an Effective Democracy."

AMERICAN FOUNDATIONS FOR SOCIAL WELFARE.—By Shelby M. Harrison and F. Emerson Andrews. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1946. 249 pp. \$2.00.

This useful manual falls into two equal parts: the first, a general essay on the history and present methods of all American institutions founded for the distribution of wealth in the public interest; the second, a descriptive, geographical, and classified directory of five hundred major American foundations. Its special value to Ours arises from the ever-growing discussion heard in many places about the possibility of subsidies to Catholic enterprises from these very foundations. The Altman, Guggenheim, and Hayden Foundations have already helped individual or group Jesuit enterprises. Although there is no sovereign recipe for persuading such groups to favor us in their philanthropy, yet it is the part of prudence to study this volume before approaching any one of them.

RELIGION IN AMERICA.—By Willard L. Sperry. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1946. XI + 318 pp. \$2.50.

The Cambridge University Press is publishing in England a series called *American Life and Institutions*. Their purpose is to interpret America to England. Doctor Sperry has been the dean of the Harvard Divinity School since 1922 and as a Congregationalist Minister was invited to interpret our religion in America to England.

This book will be a revelation to American Catholics who wonder how Protestants ever explain their inconsistencies and contradictions. With unembarrassed and even damaging candor the author admits the weaknesses of the Protestant position but with a bland and blind optimism draws no conclusions from his premises. Urbanity is not logic, neither is emotion or prejudice, but then the author is only reporting a situation and not building up an argument.

He gives us a survey of religion in the colonies including the historical reasons for anti-Catholic hatred, which grew from English fear of Spain and France. He discussed the separation of church and state, the story of the denominations and their continued divisions, the uses of the church buildings, American Protestant theology and how modernism destroyed it, religious education and its secularization, the Negro, American Catholics and the intriguing subject of church union.

The chapter on American Catholicism is drawn largely from Theodore Maynard's *The Story of American Catholicism*. It would be an excellent idea to read along with *Religion in America Major Trends in American Church History* by Father Francis X. Curran, S.J.

Thomas S. Bowdern, S.J.

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EDUCATION FOR RURAL AMERICA.

By Floyd W. Reeves. University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 1945. 213 pp. \$2.50. (Agent: Cambridge University Press.)

As might be expected of a symposium this book is spotty. Comprised of thirteen chapters by as many authors, the subject matter ranges from "Farm Income, Migration, and Leisure" (Chapter III) to a description of the educational programs of the two major farm organizations, the Farm Bureau and the Farmers Union.

Except for the program of the latter the tendency indicated takes for granted the necessity of equipping farm youth to meet the complexities of urban life. Back of this supposition is a materialistic and mechanistic philosophy of life. One may readily grant that some few areas in the U.S. cannot be subdivided again econom-

ically. However, this does not preclude the possibility of seeking ownership in a less densely populated area. Educating for mobility need not mean urbanwards, as at least one writer expressly advocates.

The pedagogues by and large, if this sampling represents a cross section, still place as a primary objective of rural education training for job holding rather than for ownership. And in so doing they are paving the way toward proletarianism with a citizenry that lacks a sense of responsibility because it has never learned the rules of ownership.

This reviewer has had occasion to sit in on a number of sessions similar to that which gave rise to *Education for Rural America*. The pattern generally follows the same line—not the shortest distance between two points. Nevertheless there are things we can learn from such writers. Their research is valid. We can draw our own conclusions. On some points, and especially on methods of teaching conservation of natural resources they may be in the lead.

The book should not be shunned by urban educators because it speaks of rural education. As the group at Chicago University understood the problem it is really urban, since these men were interested in the training received by those who will maintain a population level in the city.

Most of those interested in education will find something of value for themselves in this symposium. Rural lifers ought to peruse it.

A. J. Adams, S.J.

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Three useful, well-informed studies on Communism which have appeared in recent months will be of interest to readers of the BULLETIN. At the request of Rep. Everett M. Dirksen (R., Ill.) a study of Communism in the Soviet Union was undertaken by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress late in 1945. This has been published as House Document No. 754, *Communism in Action*, and may be secured gratis from the Clerk of the House Document Room, Washington. The booklet presents in 141 carefully prepared pages a survey of the economic, political and social status of the Soviet Union.

Between June 24 and July 11 the Chicago Journal of Commerce printed a series of 12 articles on Communism in the United States. This series has been reprinted in a 47-page pamphlet, *The Communist Fifth Column*, which sells for ten cents. Special emphasis is given to Moscow's direction of Communist activities in the country, sympathetic and CP front organizations, the CP plan to take over government services, labor organiza-

tions, etc., by ignoring capable liberals and remaking the union.

A more restricted study is that prepared by the Research Institute of America on *The Communist in Labor Relations Today*. This 18-page processed report points out ways of detecting Communist activity in strikes, methods of Communist union control, signs of Communist union domination, a list of 19 RIA recommendations about dealing with such unions, and a second list of unions known to be infected with Communist influence. This report can be secured from the Research Institute of America, 292 Madison Ave., New York 17, for 50 cents.

F. J. C., S.J.

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THE UNITED NATIONS.—A Handbook of the New World Organization. By Louis Dolivet. With a preface by Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations. New York: Farrar, Straus and Co., 1946. 152 pp. \$1.75.

The organization of UN and its related units is still too fluid for the publication of an official handbook, but attempts have been made in recent months to present reasonable substitutes. Some months ago Farrar & Rinehart published a United Nations Primer prepared by the Associated Press correspondent, Sigrid Arne. Mr. Dolivet, who is international editor of *Free World*, has prepared a somewhat larger handbook after the same fashion.

The book devotes a chapter to each of the large components of UN, the General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council, International Court and the Secretariat. In addition to outlining briefly the history, function and personnel of the divisions, the chapters indicate the subsidiary Commissions which have been attached to each. Specialized agencies which cooperate with the Economic and Social Council (such as Food and Agricultural Organization, International Monetary Fund, International Bank, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, World Health Organization and the International Labor Office) are only mentioned. It is unfortunate that more detailed accounts of these could not have been included.

The data contained in the text, as well as the three appendices, which print the Charter of the United Nations, the Statute of the International Court, and a detailed list of personnel attached to the various departments of the Secretariat, the Security Council, the Military Delegation, the International Court, the Atomic Energy Commission and the Eco-

conomic and Security Council, make this the most useful handbook of the United Nations thus far prepared. But there is room for improvement.

Francis J. Corley, S.J.

MRS. PALMER'S HONEY.—By Fannie Cook. Doubleday Doran and Co., Inc., New York, 1946. 280 pp. \$2.50.

I could well wish that a Catholic had written this. Indeed, and I mean this as a complement to Mrs. Cook, I could wish it had been written by a Jesuit.

It is the story of a St. Louis colored maid, as she is swept up from the eastern negro ghettos of the city into the war industry, into the CIO, into a consciousness of the power of a cause and the dignity of a person.

Mrs. Cook is herself white. That makes it more remarkable that she can write with so much understanding of the colored. Honey, herself, were it not for the swift rise and fall of all modern fiction, might continue on as one of the great and immortal colored characters of fiction. Her associates are not the Negroes of the plantations, much less the ridiculous Negroes of the films and the musical comedy stage. They are human beings who, with a minimum of opportunity, felt a new surge of humanity within them, fell in love with "that man in the White House" and his first lady, who were their friends, and who, after struggling alone for rights and decencies, find in the CIO a means of obtaining both.

The wedding of the two causes, the Negro and the CIO together, is extremely clever. Like all good propaganda, it sets out to prove a point, and succeeds in stating several, but not always without the breath of propaganda rising very clearly and to the reader's annoyance.

But the crowded house of Honey within the Ville; the old time colored Big Mamma struggling with her brood but giving up the struggle with all else; Snake, the brilliant but unregenerate Negro who, thwarted in all else, has fallen back on a razor-sharp blade; Emery, a Lieutenant back from the wars with one arm left as pledge to Democracy; Ben, the successful colored undertaker who becomes Honey's equally successful husband; her brothers and sisters, rising painfully and often clumsily and sometimes cruelly to new levels; the "dicktee" colored on Enright Ave., and the newcomers from the Deep South—all these Mrs. Cook presents with graphic reality.

Mr. Palmer is a good man, almost a great man, doing what he can for his Negro fellow citizens. His associates,

with one exception, are more puzzled than unjust. The CIO leaders are not concerned with the Negroes as Negroes, but as laborers who in the past have been used to crack open the union market and who, if they are not brought into the unions, will so be used again. They are, in the main, men of frank purpose seeking the improvement of labor conditions, and if that means lifting the Negro, too, they'll lift the Negro.

Two paragraphs from Honey's speech might well be copied down and kept:

"Right now is the first chance I ever had to think my way past the Ville. The church never gave me the chance. It said, 'Go along and worship with you own! If you worship out here with the rest of the folks, the Lord will get a little mixed up in His mind.' The school never said, 'Come along and study where-at the learning is.' It just said, 'You go back younger where-at there ain't much learning but where-at your skin will match the skin of the other folks.'

"That's the way it's been all down the line. Until the CIO came along and said to me, 'Honey, you're a worker.' At first I drew back. I said, 'I'm just Honey, a brown-skinned girl.' CIO answered, 'You got a job in a factory. That counts more than the color of your skin.' First time in my whole life anything about me counted more than the color of my skin."

The book starts in a great gale of laughter and comedy. It's good bait. For, though the humor never is lost, the book mounts in solid seriousness. And at the end, you'd be for inviting Honey into your home—if Honey would accept.

Fortunately, the book is selling like Honey's best hotcakes. I'd be glad to see it sell a million.

Daniel A. Lord, S.J.

AMERICAN DAUGHTER. — By Era Bell Thompson. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1946. X + 301 pp. \$3.00.

This is as different from "Black Boy" as two autobiographies of two colored people could possibly be. Unlike Wright, Era Bell Thompson was born and educated and lived and trained in the North. She lived where Negroes were a rarity, Iowa, Kansas, the Dakotas, St. Paul, before she came to Chicago and joined, voluntarily, her own people. She ran into little flashes of racial prejudice, but more frequently she found the white's attitude, when it was not one of fairly calm acceptance, was merely that of curiosity, a curiosity that soon faded into friendliness and acceptance.

Miss Thompson has a delicious sense of humor. She has none of that biting resentment of her lot that characterizes so much Negro apologetics. She doesn't precisely plead for tolerance and racial understanding; she gives picture after picture of how simple and natural it is.

In Chicago she runs into discrimination, almost as much on the part of the city-bred, clannish colored as on the part of the white. In a brief foray into the South she tastes the Jim Crow laws and runs from them. But because she is clearly a nice person (in the most broad sense of that term) she is usually accepted, usually finds people are people and friends are friends, comes to prize her own family deeply and yearn for the company of fellow Negroes, while she see friendship and sympathetic interest in far more caucasian eyes than the writers of most colored books would have us believe.

But then, this is truth and autobiography. Naturally that is less melodramatic than successful fiction.

Oddly, perhaps, though she is fairly surrounded by religion, Miss Thompson never seems to get much feeling for or understanding of it. Perhaps the trouble is that she has seen too many kinds of religion rather than too much of any one kind. Of the Catholic Church she seems to know only that women had to wear hats in church, and that kept her away from its services.

If the reviewer may inject himself into the review, I have known too many colored women, young and old, like Miss Era Bell Thompson to find the book surprising. But I did find it extremely human and delightfully humorous and interesting. Perhaps if more colored took the attitude of simply living as people and not as belligerent defenders of their cause, and perhaps if the whites stopped looking at color and started looking at the human virtues and universal qualities that make for friendship and good feeling, the colored problem would be less of a problem.

Miss Thompson, if she has a thesis, has the utterly true and undramatic one that if you live long enough beside a person you forget whether that person is white, black, red, or yellow. She did, and so did the sensible, earthy, wholesome people who were her friends and neighbors. They didn't know there was a Negro Problem (in small or capital letters.) They just liked decent people and thought that there was nothing strange when they did.

Daniel A. Lord, S.J.