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TROJAN SNAKE IN THE UE

**Fight on to Break
Communism in CIO**

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THE fight against communism in the CIO is finally and definitely out in the open with few if any pulled punches. By the time this article appears in print the issue may have been settled for weal or woe. By those who should know it is confidently predicted that a show-down will be forced in the forthcoming CIO national convention beginning on November 18, in Atlantic City.

The long smolderings of revolt against communist infiltration burst into flame with spectacular colorings in the September conventions of two major affiliates of the CIO: the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers and the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. The struggle in the IUMMSW is described in another article of this issue. In the UE the battle is even fiercer because of its being more seriously dominated in key positions by communists and their stooges.

The crucial importance of the fight to beat down communism in the UE can be gauged by the fact that it is the third largest CIO union and boasts of a membership of 475,000. Moreover, because of its commanding position the UE is used as a funneling mechanism for the relay of party-line strategy to smaller unions of communist hue. Thus if communism is broken in the UE it will be broken in the CIO; at least this is the contention of qualified spokesmen of the opposition. But the "breaking" process is no small order.

Red Menace Spearhead

The President of the UE, Albert Fitzgerald, does not admit he is a communist; in fact he denies it. Even so, he is allowing himself for his own reasons to be used as an effective tool. The Red Menace in the UE is spearheaded by "communist-wired" (as *Time*, September 23, 1946, expresses it) James J. Matles, national director of organization, and Julius Emspak, secretary-treasurer. Matles and Emspak neither deny nor admit (in public) communist membership. But there is little doubt of Emspak's being a Party member. It is reported that within the Party he is known as "Comrade Jupiter," and as such he sat on the trial board that condemned Earl Browder. Matles may or may not be an actual C. P. member. But he richly deserves whatever distinction he can get out of carrying an honorary card. Regardless of the hidden sources from which directives are filtered through to the slick and subtly clever

Matles and Emspak, it is they who "call the shots" in the UE with Fitzgerald playing the role of obsequious puppet. To the expert finesse in handling mass movements characteristic of all top-flight party liners, Emspak and Matles bring the added qualities of incisive minds and trim well-fashioned physical presence. The debonair, sharp-eyed Matles is a fitting complement to the cool, calculating Emspak. As a team they have worked with prodigious zeal and amazing success to build up in the UE the most formidable strong-hold of communism in the American Labor Movement.

Click and Block

To organize and sustain an attack against this strong-hold required courage and ability at least equal to those of the communists. To be effective the attack had to be implemented from within. The opposition forces were long in being mustered. As a matter of fact it was not until the early summer of this year that the anti-communist elements in the UE marshalled any cohesive strength. Under the leadership of James W. Click of St. Louis and Harry Block of Philadelphia a "Committee for Democratic Action" was organized. This Committee became the focal point around which an energetic campaign was formed to shock the membership out of their lethargy by revealing the true nature and designs of communism in trade unions.

A "Statement of Principles" was compiled and issued to as many of the rank and file as the Committee with its limited facilities could reach. The Statement ranks high as a model of courageous frankness. Its preamble cuts to the heart of the question: "The United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO, has reached a crisis in its affairs. Briefly stated, the choice of the membership lies between (1) returning the UE to the ranks of respectable CIO unions with sound union objectives, or (2) allowing the UE to hurry along to its own destruction as a front for the American Communist Party and its program. There is no middle of the road." "The membership of the UE-CIO is overwhelmingly non-communistic..." continues the Statement, although "they are now being publicly stigmatized as Communists..." This comes about because of the actions of a minority that has seized control of the National Office, the Executive Board, the paid staff, the Union newspaper, and some District Councils and Locals." The Statement further 'pours it on' these

communist officials by charging that they are striving "to make the UE a vehicle to advance the foreign policy of the Soviet Union..." and that "side by side with this attempted advancement of Soviet policy has gone a destruction of the democratic process within the Union. Candidates for union office have been supported for office, not on the basis of merit or ability as union men, but because of their willingness to accept orders from the Communist Party to control the UE." In a concluding paragraph a call is made for positive effort: "Democratic action is the only means by which we can correct the foul reputation of the UE so eagerly advanced by enemies of free labor on the outside, and so eagerly promoted by the Communist enemies of free labor within." In this ringing indictment the "rebel" group within the UE began a movement which might well prove the decisive factor in the fateful struggle to eliminate communism as an effective corrosive force in American Labor.

Opposition Organizes

During the weeks following the publication of the Statement, the Committee was engaged in an intensive organizing campaign. It clearly recognized the magnitude of the task and made liberal allowance for the vigorous counter moves of the entrenched communists. The Committee entertained no illusions as to what degree of success their efforts would meet with in the short period before the convention. But by convention time in the second week of September they had succeeded in gaining one of their principal objectives, that of submitting a complete anti-communist slate for the election of national officers. Harry Block was nominated for President, James Click for secretary-treasurer, and Bartholomew Enright for national organizer against the incumbent Fitzgerald, Emspak and Matles. Although defeated by a 5 to 1 vote, the opposition force had effected for the first time an organized and determined challenge at a national convention against communist domination.

Efficient "Stacking"

Two reasons account for the communist victory at the Milwaukee convention. The first and by far the more important was the efficient "stacking" of the convention. This was made possible by the startling indifference of the local unions of the UE. Although overwhelmingly non-communist most of these unions sent delegates to the convention pledged to the party-line. The case of two unions illustrates how this took place. In the E. Pittsburgh Local No. 601, District No. 6, with an approximate membership of 15,000, only about 500 were present for the election of delegates. But as usual the communists were there in sufficient strength to delay the voting until they had a comfortable majority. Thus they were able to control the selection and instruction of the delegates with numbers vastly disproportionate to their total membership in the Local. Needless to add the E. Pittsburgh delegates were overwhelmingly party-liners at the convention. A similar incident occurred in the Brooklyn Local No. 475, District No. 4, with a membership of approximately 12,000. Other examples could be cited to point up the greatest weakness of the Committee for Democratic Action.

The tremendous difficulty of arousing the rank and file to the grave dangers of communist infiltration acts as a leaden weight seriously hampering counter-action.

Disciplined Machine

The second reason for communist success in Milwaukee is the known fact of their having a thoroughly organized, strictly disciplined machine, and at the convention it was in high and well-oiled gear. An insight into what groove

the convention would be steered was given early in the proceedings. Dave Davis, business agent of Local No. 155, gave this insight when his statement, "I want to call a spade a spade and tell this convention I am a communist," was greeted with 'wild applause.' Dave Davis is a communist—the convention was predominately so. The machine really got functioning on the issue of a minority resolution submitted by Harry Block and James Carey, secretary-treasurer of the CIO. Carey, a one-time President of the UE, had lined up solidly with Block and Click in the anti-communist drive. This minority resolution called upon the delegates to denounce "dictatorships of Nazis, Communists and Fascists as inimical to the welfare of Labor and destruction of our form of government." The resolution was defeated by a vote of 2833 to 679—this count is a good indication of just how well the convention was stacked. The minority resolution was, with typical communist technique, labelled "red-baiting," "an effort to weaken and destroy our union." And Philip Murray, President of the CIO, gave little comfort to the Democratic Committee when in his address to the convention he declared, "We're not going to be bothered—too much at least—with the ideological mumblings of groups that are hell-bent on destroying it (the CIO)." Just what Murray meant by that statement few have discovered.

"President Pepper"

The high spot, or better the low spot, of the convention was reached when Russophile Claude Pepper, U. S. Senator from Florida, in addressing the delegates, pulled out all stops in condemning our foreign policy with Russia. He thus made himself the "darling" of the convention and especially of Albert Fitzgerald, who expressed the hope that "we see the day when we call him President Pepper."

Having disposed in crushing fashion of the anti-communist resolutions and candidates, and having heard Murray and Pepper among others, the convention directed its attention to matters of union business and to other matters which were none of its business. Thus Secretary of State Byrnes, and Senators Connally, Taft and Vandenberg were lumped under a blanket indictment as "lifelong servants for the special interests of big business" and as reactionaries who "see Germany through the eyes of corporation executives eager to re-establish relations with their Nazi counterparts; see the Far East through the eyes of oil, rubber, sugar; do not see the interests of the people." As the convention neared its end, the delegates passed with little discussion resolutions condemning Argentina as Fascist, demanding an end to the British mandate over Palestine, and calling upon President Truman "to replace the agents of big business" who have been allowed "to assume direction of American policies, both foreign and domestic." The only resolution remotely resembling criticism of Soviet shackling of trade unions or of its brutal dictatorship was thunderously defeated.

In closing the convention President Fitzgerald urged the delegates to return to their local unions prepared to stamp out "factionalism" wherever they find it.

Spotted Victory

Undoubtedly the communists did a thorough job at the UE convention in Milwaukee. But their success was not altogether unspotted even from their own viewpoint. They now know they have to reckon with a new force that will not be downed by temporary defeat. They are acutely conscious that for the first time they were not able to stifle a solid nucleus of opposition from exposing the seamy side of UE organization. They recognize their failure to prevent a steady and strong light from being played on their sordid maneuvers. They were forced to resort to their usual tactics of vicious misrepresentation, snaky deception

and malicious slander. Hence their victory in Milwaukee may prove a costly one, for the record of the convention and its implications will not be lost on the membership.

On the other hand the Committee for Democratic Action is not discouraged by its defeat. It has established itself as a rallying point against the dangers of communism, and by publicizing itself as a hard-hitting group of men who see in Communism the worst enemy of free trade unionism, it can appeal to the rank and file with a program of action to rid their union of anti-American termites. The Committee's show of strength, relatively slight as it appeared in Milwaukee, has served to clarify the issues and to awaken the somnolent rank and file to a more realistic view of the dangers that threaten from a communist dominated national leadership. To James Click, the prime inspiration of the Committee, should go high praise for his courageous, determined and persevering efforts to unmask the un-American activity of communists in the UE.

I LEARNED PLENTY

By RICHARD T. DETERS, S.J.
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FROM Friday to Sunday, September 20-22, I sat in on the 42nd convention of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers (CIO). I learned plenty. Among other things, I felt the moment I walked into the hall that I was not welcome. Eyebrows went up. Here and there one delegate turned to another to whisper, as though he were saying: "Who's that guy, and what does he want here?" That was at the Friday afternoon session.

Friday night as I walked into the hall a member but-tonholed me and asked: "Is it true that you were taking down the names of the communists and what they said?" Just like that—suspicious.

I knew I was not welcome to the majority of the delegates. But I stayed; and learned what I wanted to know, namely, whether this union is communist dominated.

It is. How the rank-and-file membership would vote on the simple question: "Do you want proven communists to run your union?" I am not certain. But I am inclined to think they would vote an emphatic "No!"

Why of the Vote

For two reasons. First, some of the delegates later told me that the voting of the delegates did not accurately represent the convictions and beliefs of the rank-and-file. Second, because, even though the delegates were in some instances hand-picked, they nevertheless almost voted through a resolution that would have permitted the rank-and-file to decide whether communists could be officers of their union. That resolution was lost by only twenty-four votes. And it was lost because some of the delegates feared, I believe sincerely, that to "discriminate" against the communists would lead to discrimination against Negroes, Catholics, and others. I would say that the rank-and-file is anti-communist; but they want you to prove that someone is really a communist before they will vote against him.

But the union is nevertheless communist-dominated. This is clear from the following facts.

1) The Preamble to the Constitution, passed in 1944, is communistic. It states: "1. We hold that there is a class struggle in Society, and that this struggle is caused by economic conditions. 2. We affirm the economic condition of the producer to be that he is exploited of the wealth which he produces, being allowed to retain barely

With the cooperation it richly deserves from all upright Americans within and outside the union, the Committee for Democratic Action will go far towards realizing its ambition to break communism in the CIO by breaking it in the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers.

November Convention

Despite the fact that the CIO in Atlantic City declared its unswerving loyalty to "those principles which America symbolizes" and that "we resent and reject efforts of the Communist party... to interfere in the affairs on the CIO," the issue of communism in the CIO is just about where it was before the convention. No teeth were put into the resolution, and no active help was pledged the anti-communist forces in the various affiliated unions. As before each union is left more or less to its own devices to battle communist elements. The contention then of the foregoing article remains substantially correct that as goes communism in the UE so goes communism in the CIO.

How Communists Kept Control of IUMM&SW

sufficient for his elementary needs. 3. We hold that the class struggle will continue until the producer is recognized as the sole master of his product..."

2) Many of the Resolutions submitted to and passed by the 42nd convention betray communistic thought; for instance:

a) "WHEREAS, The I. U. M. M. & S. W. has al during the period of its existence based itself on the class struggle, AND WHEREAS, The class struggle is International in character, THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED ... " to effect international working class solidarity. (R. 6) The conclusion drawn, labor solidarity, could be drawn from other premises, as we do; but the premises used here are communistic, even down to the capital "I" in International!

b) These Resolutions follow the communistic line; for instance:

1. They call for affiliation with the World Federation of Trade Unions "as the voice of world labor." (Rs. 1, 6, 9, etc.) We favor an international trade union body; but the communists here and elsewhere insist that this international body must be the World Federation of Trade Unions—because this is the body favored by the Soviet.

2. The working people of the United States, and especially of the IUMMSW, will not finance or fight in another war—because Russia might be on the receiving end! (Cf. R. 3).

3. "Our countries (United States and Canada) should sever diplomatic relations with the government of Franco, Spain, the outpost of Fascism in Europe." (Rs. 8, 24) The United States and British foreign policy toward Franco and Spain is watchful waiting, but Russia wants to sever relations at once; and the communist line is to follow Russia.

4. Resolution 10 bemoans the "alarming rift in relations between the government of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet." The communist tactic is to insist that the United States and Britain are responsible for this rift—not Russia, of course. Many Americans might be willing to grant that Britain and the United States are imperialistic; but few, except the communists, would contend that Russia is not imperialistic.

In this same Resolution the delegates and membership are pledged to take steps to counteract the "efforts of reactionary groups to form a cordon sanitaire or western bloc against the Soviet Union . . ." "Cordon sanitaire"—right out of the communist Book of Labels!

Again, it is "American foreign policy"—not Russia's, of course—which is obstructing the right of every people to be free, etc. It is our foreign policy that is engineering "an endless succession of diplomatic crises in our relations with the Soviet Union . . ." We precipitate the crisis with Russia. Russia, of course, precipitates nothing. That damnable practise of *always* finding fault with their own native country when Russia is involved is a mark of the communist.

5. The frequent use of the word "fascist" to brand all those who oppose you. The poll-taxers are fascist; the KKK are fascists. Those anti-communists within the IUMMSW who oppose the communist bloc of the Executive Board are fascists. It is characteristic of the communist to use the word fascist to smear a bloody swastika on the brow of his opponent—and it is a tactic of the dominant group in the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers.

6. The United States should withdraw all troops from China, should give no more help of any kind, and should demand back all military supplies given to Chiang Kai Shek through lend-lease—so that Russia may have a free hand in China and Manchuria! (R. 32)

A further study of the Resolutions would only strengthen the reader in the conviction that this union is communist-dominated.

But will the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers be so dominated after their November election?

The anti-communists—called "fascists," of course—are smart, well-informed, compactly organized. They have no intention of retreating by seceding from the union. They are determined to fight it out within the union. They can absorb a lot of punishment. They are already battered and bloody—but they glory in it and keep coming back for more.

They gained new inspiration and power during the convention. The Secretary-Treasurer was ready to decline office and quit the fight. But instead he gave up a sure, office, Secretary-Treasurer, to run against the present president. The Vice-President was ready to give up. But he also gained new determination during the convention, decided to run again for the office, and make a real fight of it.

The office of Secretary-Treasurer is assured to the anti-communist group. Through a beautiful maneuver their candidate is unopposed.

But how will the rank-and-file vote? That is one of those intangibles. They will probably be inclined to stay with their present officers, because their union has gained so many benefits under those officers. They will be slow to believe that those called communists are really communists. They will recall all the benefits of increased membership, increased wages, better working conditions, which have come to their union during the reign of the so-called communist-dominated Executive Board.

Postscript: The Communists did manage to retain control of all offices in the November election with the exception of the job of Secretary-Treasurer.

"SOCIALIZING" THE EXERCISES

By JOHN W. MAGAN, S.J.

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Father LaFarge, during a recent talk to Woodstock philosophers, observed that Jesuits have not developed the social apostolate in any way commensurate with the energy which they have devoted to the Spiritual Exercises.

Speaking of the appalling lack of social consciousness among those who make Jesuit retreats, he raised the question of "socializing" the Exercises. Without meaning to give a complete answer to the problem, Father LaFarge focused attention on the outstanding dilemma facing Jesuit retreat masters. On the one hand there is the great lack of social-mindedness on the part of the retreatants, and on the other there is the danger to be feared from tampering with the Exercises and making of them a school of sociology. He emphasized that we can hope for no gain by using retreats as a medium for propagating pet economic or political theories, yet he sees in the Exercises a medium of awakening our retreatants to their social responsibilities.

"The problem must be met," Father LaFarge said, "by a double process. The first state is a deeper presentation of the truths of the Exercises which touch on the truths of our basic social duties. The second takes place outside the retreat, in study circles, Catholic action groups, in preaching and in other work with souls.

Social Duties Stressed

"During the retreat we must always keep in mind the purpose of the Exercises—the formation of the complete man, the elevation of man, the consecration of man to Christ. This cannot be completely accomplished unless a man is made aware of his deep social responsibilities. In concrete situations it is apparent that the retreat master can stress these duties without wandering from the intent of St. Ignatius in the Spiritual Exercises.

"Among the principles which can be stressed to good purpose in the retreat is our social nature and the obligations flowing from it. These can easily be highlighted in the Foundation and in the First Week. Another is the doctrine of the Mystical Body. During the Second and Third Weeks this doctrine can be used to great purpose to show the retreatant the burden that the Mystical Body places on the individual. In the meditation on the Kingdom of Christ we can show the individual how to shoulder that burden.

"Even good people will use the Exercises for their own salvation only, with no thought of their duties to their neighbor. There is no use explaining any social doctrine until the people have grasped the meaning of the burden of the Mystical Body. We as Jesuits must wage a warfare against the individualistic mentality of many Catholics and sometimes, unfortunately, of their clerical advisers.

"To develop the foundations laid in the retreat," Father LaFarge continued, "Jesuits must be prepared to form social apostles through their personal contact with the people." He stressed that the elemental need at present is the formulation of some plan to find out precisely what things should be given in the retreat to awaken the social conscience and what other things should be relegated to study groups and post-retreat formation. He suggested that basic principles and certain general applications might well be given during the time of the Spiritual Exercises.

THE NUREMBERG DECISIONS

Development or Retardation of International Law?

By ROBERT A. GRAHAM, S.J.

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THE International Military Tribunal of Nuremberg will raise more debate than its predecessor after World War I. Now that the trial is concluded the world is putting the Tribunal itself on trial. The results of this phase of the Nuremberg trials will be of greater significance than the punishment meted out to the Nazi war leaders.

Development of international law is one of the goals and means of world cooperation. The Catholic, Jewish and Protestant Declaration on World Peace, for example, stated: "an enduring peace requires the organization of international institutions which will develop a body of international law..." The UN General Assembly is authorized to encourage "the progressive development of international law and its codification."

A central task of this development concerns the problem of aggression and the legal aspect of dealing with international criminals. The International Military Tribunal established by the Four Powers to try the German war leaders has manifested bold initiative in dealing with this problem. How much of their work is destined to endure under the severe scrutiny of scholars, how much will be cast out as mere vengeance, is something no one can predict. But Jesuits should begin analyzing the ethical meaning of these trials so as to contribute to the international law which is a postulate of our Christian international ethics.

Conflicting Judgments

At the moment, Jesuit opinion is divided. Father Edmund A. Walsh, who was at Nuremberg in an official capacity, says, "These trials will mark a distinct and important phase in the evolution of international law... Crimes against freedom of conscience and against the dignity of human personality have now been placed on a parity with crimes against political sovereignty, territorial integrity, treaties and rules of warfare." He is said to be confident that all Americans, Catholics, Protestants and Jews, will understand the historical importance of Nuremberg when the full record becomes available. It is not merely a trial of 22 individuals, but a powerful affirmation by judicial process of the ethical and legal foundations of international law."

On the other hand Father S. Lener, S. J., who wrote a series of articles for *Civiltà Cattolica* on the trials, considers the whole trial as vitiated by legal defects, especially by reliance upon an *ex post facto* law regarding aggressive war as a crime in international law. The lawyer-priest, in his final article of July 20, 1946, is severely critical of the Tribunal's attempt to establish aggressive war as a crime.

I do not propose to decide this question as between two Jesuits, or between two schools of legal thought. But I do think that those of us who are trying to evolve a better Catholic international ethics must make up our minds as to what we ought to think on the basis of our own principles.

Much in the whole affair offends the normal man's sense of decency and justice. We cannot overlook the fact that one of the Tribunal's member states is itself liable to the same charge leveled against Nazis. It is supremely ironical that Soviet Russia judged Nazi Germany guilty of the crime of aggression. Besides, all of the

judges were citizens of belligerent victors. Impartiality was not fostered by the presence of a neutral judge. Even though 61 witnesses were heard for the defense as against 33 for the prosecutors, the defenders were not allowed full freedom in calling witnesses on their behalf. No evidence incriminating the Soviet (or other major powers) could be brought forward.

Yet these features, however offensive, are not the primary questions that attract our attention. Some of these can easily be answered. That the Russians ought to be put in the dock should not be directed to the Tribunal, since no court decides what cases are to come before it. That the crimes attributed to the Nazis were also committed by others does not mean that the Nazis should go free until the others are hailed before a court.

Main Considerations

Far more important in future debate and in formulating Catholic attitude are two principles assumed by the court. The first is the contention that aggressive war is a crime. The second is that heads of states and individuals comprising the General Staff of an aggressor state may be prosecuted.

The Second Count against the accused was that of "Crimes against Peace." They were accused of "planning, preparing, initiating or waging aggressive war." Count One was "conspiracy to commit acts" named in Counts Two, Three and Four. But is aggressive war a crime? Or is it only illegal? Aggressive war seems never to have been formally declared a crime punishable by any court. If it is not a crime, then what right has a court to punish those who launched such a war? *Nulla poena sine lege*. If aggressive war was not a crime when the Nazis began the war, are we not invoking an *ex post facto* law? And by what right does the Tribunal now promulgate such a law?

It may seem like splitting hairs to distinguish between what is "illegal" and what is "criminal." But upon this distinction depends the Tribunal's authority to act upon Counts One and Two. Lawyers, trained rather in the techniques of a positivistic method than in the ethics of natural law, have to be able to point to some definite law or other tangible source for their legal position. To judge from the number and authority of scholars who have written on the subject it is doubtful whether the legal experts succeeded in proving such a law in drawing up their Nuremberg indictment.

Legal Basis

One important source used was the Kellogg-Briand pact which condemned recourse to war as a solution of international controversies. Although no mention of "crime" was made in the pact, the Nuremberg judges said: "The solemn renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy necessarily involves the proposition that such a war is illegal in international law and that those who plan and wage such a war, with its inevitable and terrible consequences, are committing a crime in doing so."

This conclusion is difficult to prove, particularly against the background of the common interpretation of the Kellogg-Briand pact. There are other documents that state plainly that aggressive war is a crime. But these documents were never adopted. Thus, the 1924 Protocol for

the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes (the "Geneva Protocol") asserted that "a war of aggression constitutes . . . an international crime." This would fit the bill admirably, but the Protocol never came into force. This and similar statements are valuable as indicating the mind of leading jurists of the day.

Many lawyers wonder why the Tribunal tried to establish aggressive war as a crime instead of trying the Nazis for war crimes and crimes against humanity (Counts Three and Four). It may be that the Tribunal felt that world conscience demanded this additional indictment.

Modern Law Handicapped

The decision to include Count Two may precipitate a crisis in the science of law. It is unfortunate that modern law is so tied to the philosophy of positive law that it must scrape up fragments to make a case. I wonder if previous generations, more familiar with natural law, would have had such difficulties. Perhaps the Nuremberg trials will prove the bankruptcy of positivistic legal science. If the decision concerning Count Two is accepted, this will be because the legal profession has accepted as valid the natural law principles implicit in the handling of this charge. The people of the world regard aggressive war as a crime; the lawyers cannot put their finger on the precise law that makes it so. Perhaps the chief complaint against the Tribunal is that it does rest its case implicitly on something other than positive law.

If the Tribunal succeeds in establishing aggressive war as a crime it will have done something that international law, overweeningly deferential to the reputation of belligerents, has never been able to accomplish.

Prosecuting Individuals

The second principle underlying all four Counts of the War Crimes Trial involves another new and controversial point. This is that individuals comprising the government or General Staff of an aggressor state may be prosecuted for these crimes. Never before has international law been directed at the actions of individuals; only states have hitherto been parties to international disputes. To pass judgment on a citizen has been regarded as an invasion of the state's sovereignty. At Nuremberg Goering, Hess, Keitel and the rest were not allowed to appeal for immunity to the older idea of international law, but were subjected to it.

Lawyers who object to the trials find this almost as objectionable as the first precedent. In reply the Tribunal stated that military tribunals have often tried individuals guilty of violating the rules of land warfare laid down by the Hague Convention.

The right of an international body to apply its authority to individuals is a significant power. The second point of the Declaration on World Peace states: "The dignity of the human person as the image of God must be set forth in all its essential implications in an international declaration of rights and be vindicated by the positive action of national governments and international organization . . ." In their comments on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals the Bishops said in reference to human rights: "The ideology of a nation in its internal life is a concern of the international community. To reject this principle is tantamount to maintaining that the violation of the innate rights of men in a country by its own government has no relation to world peace."

Now Government policy makers will have to reckon with the possibility of defending themselves before an international tribunal. Hence after Nuremberg a new element of sanction and a strong deterrent enters into international law. For Catholics the inclusion of persecution of conquered minorities on racial, religious or political grounds as a crime is especially significant.

If the Nuremberg precedent against individuals is accepted the way is clear for Bernard Baruch's proposed International Atomic Energy Authority, which proposes to apprehend individuals violating the Agreement.

Approval or Rejection

The attitude of Catholics can be two-fold. We can look upon the trials as mere vengeance, all the more irrational because the judges are themselves in many instances guilty of like crimes. One thinks of the Russian invasion of Finland, of the German prisoners mowed down by their own troops.

But we can also move a little closer to the picture and see in Nuremberg an opportunity to develop international law. If the purpose of the trial had been simply vengeance this could have been achieved far more simply by summary execution. If it were a question of blackening the Nazis, it could have been done *sans* judicial procedure. The purpose of Nuremberg was to extract from the war catastrophe some legal lessons that could be counted on in the future to deter aggression and to vindicate international justice. The human race was conscious of a great wrong that had been done by the Nazis. It clamored for punishment, yet its sense of right demanded that the criminals be treated justly.

It was the task of the International Military Tribunal to express this clamor of the human race in terms of legal and just principles. The question is now how much of Nuremberg's work will survive the scrutiny of tomorrow's scholars.

The Peacetime Budget

The *National City Bank Letter* for September, 1946, devoted some attention to the makeup of the Federal Budget for the present fiscal year (ending in July, 1947). Its table of comparative entries shows the following: (in millions of dollars)

	1939
War Department	\$ 490
Navy Department	673
Terminal leave of enlisted personnel	0
U. S. Maritime Commission	44
Other (includes UNRRA)	0
War Shipping Administration	0
National Defense Subtotal	1,206
Interest on public debt	941
Refunds	66
Veterans' pensions and benefits	557
International finance	0
Aids to Agriculture	1,228
Social Security	2,984
Housing	0
General Public Works Program	1,000
Post Office	40
General Government	685
Pay Increases	0
Total Expenditures	\$8,707

The *Letter* also gave the figures for recent periods of expenditure:

World War I (1917-1919)	\$55,150,000,000
Prosperity (1921-1930)	\$55,800,000,000
New Deal (1935-1939)	\$55,700,000,000
Peacetime Year (1945)	\$41,500,000,000

Thus, in a year of peace, with incomes at the highest in history and with unemployment at its lowest in thirteen years of peacetime experience, we see the government using up almost one dollar out of every five earned. But our present position in the international political arena makes a reduction in the national defense subtotal impossible. The most likely fields for economy are interest on the debt, veterans benefits, international finance (Borah, Woods, the British loan, the Import-Export Bank) and general government.

WHAT TO DO WITH IT?

By THOMAS L. O'BRIEN, S.J.
Alma College, Alma, California

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Out of all this discussion there is one conclusion looming more and more clearly—namely, that it is too early to determine exactly the object, or the *terminus ad quem* of the ISO's work; to delineate exactly those jobs which the ISO should do. That conclusion is in itself valuable; it is a clarification of the issue.

But by a surprisingly simple turn of thought, it is possible to arrive at some gratifying clear points regarding the ISO's activity. That is—instead of applying the term "social" in the Institute's name to the jobs that should be done and thus of trying to clarify the *terminus* or the object of its work, why not apply the term "social" to the mode or methods of working which we are using, or going to use?

That is, instead of continually repeating the question: "What is actually the social scope of the Institute?" why not ask the question: "How can we apply the principles of organized social endeavor to the work we are doing or wish to do; how can we perfect a *modus socialis operandi*?"

Let me be more specific. Up to this point there have been men working in hard, draining, and sometimes heroic isolation in individual projects. They are scattered helter-skelter throughout the country. Their efforts are dictated by private zeal; personal experience alone guides them. Why not apply the whole reality of socially organized activity, through the ISO, to such works, and thus effect on a national scale, again through the ISO, what is being done in a local, isolated way by individuals?

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Now, instead of leaving that wonderful work in noble isolation, why is it not possible for the ISO to "socialize" it in our own way. That is, why not draft one of these men with the proper experience and instruct him to do one of two things. Either come to the ISS and set up a course of training for those who are interested in such work, so that they can benefit from his experience and thus benefited, return to their individual localities and start the same identical work in many places now, instead of one or two. Or, on the other hand, instruct this first, experienced man to travel from place to place, initiate with personal guidance and company one man in each city into the work of correcting juvenile delinquency through the Catholic means at hand.

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Why would it not be well to draft some man prominent because of his labor-school organizational experience, to travel the country, and be instrumental in organizing, setting up, and starting similar labor schools where they are as yet only thought about?

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the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes (the "Geneva Protocol") asserted that "a war of aggression constitutes . . . an international crime." This would fit the bill admirably, but the Protocol never came into force. This and similar statements are valuable as indicating the mind of leading jurists of the day.

Many lawyers wonder why the Tribunal tried to establish aggressive war as a crime instead of trying the Nazis for war crimes and crimes against humanity (Counts Three and Four). It may be that the Tribunal felt that world conscience demanded this additional indictment.

Modern Law Handicapped

The decision to include Count Two may precipitate a crisis in the science of law. It is unfortunate that modern law is so tied to the philosophy of positive law that it must scrape up fragments to make a case. I wonder if previous generations, more familiar with natural law, would have had such difficulties. Perhaps the Nuremberg trials will prove the bankruptcy of positivistic legal science. If the decision concerning Count Two is accepted, this will be because the legal profession has accepted as valid the natural law principles implicit in the handling of this charge. The people of the world regard aggressive war as a crime; the lawyers cannot put their finger on the precise law that makes it so. Perhaps the chief complaint against the Tribunal is that it does rest its case implicitly on something other than positive law.

If the Tribunal succeeds in establishing aggressive war as a crime it will have done something that international law, overweeningly deferential to the reputation of beligerents, has never been able to accomplish.

Prosecuting Individuals

The second principle underlying all four Counts of the War Crimes Trial involves another new and controversial point. This is that individuals comprising the government or General Staff of an aggressor state may be prosecuted for these crimes. Never before has international law been directed at the actions of individuals; only states have hitherto been parties to international disputes. To pass judgment on a citizen has been regarded as an invasion of the state's sovereignty. At Nuremberg Goering, Hess, Keitel and the rest were not allowed to appeal for immunity to the older idea of international law, but were subjected to it.

Lawyers who object to the trials find this almost as objectionable as the first precedent. In reply the Tribunal stated that military tribunals have often tried individuals guilty of violating the rules of land warfare laid down by the Hague Convention.

The right of an international body to apply its authority to individuals is a significant power. The second point of the Declaration on World Peace states: "The dignity of the human person as the image of God must be set forth in all its essential implications in an international declaration of rights and be vindicated by the positive action of national governments and international organization . . ." In their comments on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals the Bishops said in reference to human rights: "The ideology of a nation in its internal life is a concern of the international community. To reject this principle is tantamount to maintaining that the violation of the innate rights of men in a country by its own government has no relation to world peace."

Now Government policy makers will have to reckon with the possibility of defending themselves before an international tribunal. Hence after Nuremberg a new element of sanction and a strong deterrent enters into international law. For Catholics the inclusion of persecution of conquered minorities on racial, religious or political grounds as a crime is especially significant.

If the Nuremberg precedent against individuals is accepted the way is clear for Bernard Baruch's proposed International Atomic Energy Authority, which proposes to apprehend individuals violating the Agreement.

Approval or Rejection

The attitude of Catholics can be two-fold. We can look upon the trials as mere vengeance, all the more ironical because the judges are themselves in many instances guilty of like crimes. One thinks of the Russian invasion of Finland, of the German prisoners mowed down by our own troops.

But we can also move a little closer to the picture and see in Nuremberg an opportunity to develop international law. If the purpose of the trial had been simply vengeance, this could have been achieved far more simply by summary execution. If it were a question of blackening the Nazis, it could have been done *sans* judicial procedure. The purpose of Nuremberg was to extract from the world catastrophe some legal lessons that could be counted on in future to deter aggression and to vindicate international justice. The human race was conscious of a great wrong that had been done by the Nazis. It clamored for punishment, yet its sense of right demanded that the criminals be treated justly.

It was the task of the International Military Tribunal to express this clamor of the human race in terms of legal and just principles. The question is now how much of Nuremberg's work will survive the scrutiny of tomorrow's scholars.

The Peacetime Budget

The *National City Bank Letter* for September, 1946 devoted some attention to the makeup of the Federal Budget for the present fiscal year (ending in July, 1947). Its table of comparative entries shows the following: (in millions of dollars)

	1939	1947
War Department.....	\$ 490	\$ 8,060
Navy Department.....	673	5,150
Terminal leave of enlisted personnel.....	0	2,418
U. S. Maritime Commission.....	44	290
Other (includes UNRRA).....	0	2,178
War Shipping Administration.....	0	412
National Defense Subtotal.....	1,206	18,508
Interest on public debt.....	941	5,000
Refunds.....	66	1,857
Veterans' pensions and benefits.....	557	6,205
International finance.....	0	4,168
Aids to Agriculture.....	1,228	1,174
Social Security.....	2,984	1,252
Housing.....	0	202
General Public Works Program.....	1,000	887
Post Office.....	40	241
General Government.....	685	1,885
Pay Increases.....	0	160
Total Expenditures.....	\$8,707	\$41,539

The *Letter* also gave the figures for recent periods of expenditure:

World War I (1917-1919).....	\$33,190,000,000.00
Prosperity (1921-1930).....	\$33,810,000,000.00
New Deal (1935-1939).....	\$33,799,000,000.00
Peacetime Year (1946).....	\$41,500,000,000.00

Thus, in a year of peace, with incomes at the highest in history and with unemployment at its lowest ebb in thirteen years of peacetime experience, we see the government using up almost one dollar out of every five earned. But our present position in the international political arena makes a reduction in the national defense subtotal impossible. The most likely fields for economy are interest on the debt, veterans benefits, international finance (Bretton Woods, the British loan, the Import-Export Bank loans), and general government.

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indications from various sources that the unions are willing and anxious to accept such guidance. Why is it not possible to draft such a man with that experience to conduct a training-course in union-advice techniques, so that that splendid work could be nationally organized, and thus descend from its isolation, and spread throughout the country. Again, through the social influence of the ISO.

Political Information Centers

At the University of South Carolina (I think), an institute has been set up with the avowed purpose of informing the citizens of the community on problems of city, county, and state governmental procedures. That includes laws, positions and their duties, rights of citizens, etc. Why would it not be possible for the ISO to send two men to that institute with the idea of learning a similar technique and then, as in the above instances, of spreading that same technique to our own schools, for the purpose of starting similar centers therein? Closely allied to this is the other activity which could be worked out—that of publicizing, through press-attended round-table discussions (including the men involved) the political philosophies of the candidates for various local offices. The fact, for instance, that Catholics are voting, year after year, for members of local school boards without knowing anything about what those people think of schools, children, human nature, God, discipline, and innumerable other vital aspects of the school problem—that fact is a terrible indictment of our present system of choosing officials.

It has been said lately that radio stations are more than willing to give time to educational institutions—occasioned by a threat from the Federal Communications Commission. Why would it not be possible for members of the staffs of our schools to provide such a vital source of information for the local citizens, and at the same time make use of the advertising possibilities latent in that service? The procedure itself, including the questions asked, personnel, etc., could be worked out by the ISO and passed on to local houses for the purpose of initiating such a program in individual cities and towns.

Government Aid Centers

It is pretty much of a truism that many people go through terrible difficulties, mostly economic, because they have no way of learning that the federal and state governments have already provided for such difficulties by specific aids. And if they did hear of such aids, they would not know how to go about gaining them. Why is it not possible for the ISO to provide all the information necessary, and the necessary techniques in their central office, or in the ISS, so that a government aid center could be set up in every one of the cities in which we have schools. This would include such information as hospitalization insurance, farm-aid, housing aid.

And that last, housing aid, brings up another "social activity" which has not as yet been "socialized" by the ISO. Fr. Tranchese has done marvels in the problem of furnishing housing to the less fortunate people of San Antonio. There is no reason to think that the conditions there are any more easily overcome than in innumerable other places in the country where the housing shortage is a crying need. Why would it not be possible for the ISO to sponsor a study of Fr. Tranchese's methods and techniques with the purpose of passing them on to individual priests throughout the country who could do the same fine work in their own localities? That kind of "social" endeavor would spread a wonderful accomplishment which up to now has been isolated and alone.

Propaganda for Politicians

This does not necessarily mean a propaganda program directed at politicians; rather a propaganda program car-

ried on in our schools designed to interest promising young men in the career of politics, and after interesting them, of training them for that work. Catholics have left the state to itself, and then cast anguished eyes heavenwards because the state is not Catholic or even Christian in its philosophy of government. The cure for that is not a frantic picking up of the pieces of a broken government, but a supplying of a dynamo of Catholic thought to direct the processes of the state towards a Catholic, and thus a fully human, view of the community and its demands, whether it be the city, state, or nation.

Lobby Influences in the State Government

In each state where we have law-schools, there are some of our graduates in the state-legislature. No matter how few, these would furnish a sufficient opening for one man, trained in state government, to move in and through his friendliness, advice and careful criticism, be an influence for good in state legislation and a source of important information to Catholic activities throughout the state. A program like that would have to be sponsored by the ISO, and then spread through the ISO facilities.

These are some of the activities, actual, concrete, feasible to varying degrees, which can be accomplished once we cease trying to determine the "social object" of the ISO's work, and turn to its "social procedures." Once we ask the question, "what can the ISO do to further the actual social work already being carried out in isolated locations by individual men?" then the potential effectiveness of the Institute becomes more or less obvious.

Such an organized, "socialized," program would have several valuable by-products, aside from the work accomplished. First, it would stop a lot of more or less valid criticism leveled at the Institute for the fault of theorizing too much and doing too little. Then too, it would give the younger men in the Society a greater faith in the ISO and what it stands for. Thirdly, (and this seems particularly vital), it would offer concrete opportunities to individual Jesuits who do not want to teach, who will be failures as teachers, to do something far more closely approximating their own individual talents and interests.

We are getting to a place now in this country where, in several provinces at least, man-power is no longer the pressing problem it was some time ago. Instead of letting that man-power dissipate itself in repetitious work, why is it not possible to channel some of it into these new jobs that carry with them so much of their own interest and compensation? And if these jobs are too demanding on the man-power of certain less populous provinces, could it not be possible to have men move through these provinces from their home-locations, to carry out the work suggested? Twelve-hour transportation to any point in the country has made exclusively province-bound thinking a little ludicrous, especially in the face of such terrifying needs throughout the country.

That there are difficulties to such a program is obvious. But that such a program gives clarified lines of endeavor seems likewise obvious. It may be a partial answer to what we mean by the "S" in ISO.

Toward Socialized Medicine

Major General Paul R. Hawley, medical director of the Veterans Administration, recently told the students of George Washington University Medical School:

"Medical care has become so expensive as to place it in the class of luxuries . . . Few physicians realize just how close we are to some form of socialization of medicine . . . If medicine does not offer a workable solution to this real problem, some plan will be forced upon the medical profession."

I S O F O R U M

INTRODUCING THE COOPERATIVE WAY!

The Solution Lies Between Extremes

SOMEWHERE between the extremes of Rugged Individualism and Communistic Collectivism lies the solution to those problems that arise from the disparity between the great wealth of a few and the extreme poverty of many. There is no simple formula or single answer. The problem will find its solution through a co-working of many programs. One of these programs is the cooperative system.

Throughout America, and especially in the North Central states, many Americans are turning to cooperatives to solve their economic problems. Grocery stores, filling stations, creameries, grain elevators—a great variety of business enterprises—operate cooperatively. Farmers' cooperatives for distributing their products seem to lead the field. Much rural electricity is provided the co-op way. Not as wide-spread as in certain European countries, however, are consumer cooperatives, while co-op industrial plants are still fewer.

And what is the cooperative system? It is a form of business in which the savings (which, in a private-profit business, would have gone into the pockets of the owner and stockholders as savings) return to the patrons in proportion to the amount of business each has done with the co-op. Thus the buying power of the ordinary consumer is considerably increased.

Suppose a privately owned book store and a cooperative register \$1,000 profit each. In the private concern, the profit is funnelled back to the owners of the company. The cooperative 'savings' are turned back to the buyers in proportion to their patronage.

In terms of ordinary collegians buying their books, let's suppose two freshmen purchased the same amount of school supplies, Jim Alphonse from the private store, Joe Gaston from the co-op. Since the cooperative policy is to sell at market prices, both would pay the same amount. The business transaction is over when Jim Alphonse pays his bill. Joe Gaston, however, would receive a rebate from the co-op at the end of the year, proportionate to his purchases.

Besides this fundamental principle of co-op business, there are other important points of the plan. The Rochdale system of cooperation calls for "open membership for all," without distinction of race, position in society or religious belief; "one vote for member," so that a man with one share has equal voice with the possessor of a hundred shares; and "minimum interest on shares," so that there is little reason for any one man to try to corner the shares.

A board of directors is elected by all members of the co-op. This board chooses a manager and assistants to run the business, and attempts to carry out the policies decided upon at the general meeting. The education director has

the important task of spreading the co-op gospel among both actual and potential members.

We have asked a number of authorities on cooperatives to formulate their reply to the question:

"WHAT CAN COOPERATIVES CONTRIBUTE TO THE AMERICAN ECONOMY?"

CO-OPERATION AND THE AMERICAN WAY

Rt. Rev. Dr. M. M. Coady

Msgr. Coady, who was elevated to the rank of Domestic Prelate by the Holy See on May 1 of this year in recognition of his splendid work at Antigonish, Nova Scotia, for co-ops and credit unions, is founder and director of the Saint Francis Xavier university extension department.

Co-operation is implicit in the American way. The American way, if an outsider may be permitted to analyse it, is the way of freedom. Negatively, this means that no man or clique of men rule the American people. Positively, it means rule by the people themselves. When broken down, this doctrine means that the people participate in all the vital social processes. In other words the people manipulate the social forces. Basic among all social forces is the economic. The American way gives the freedom to play with possibilities. Possibilities in the economic field for the common people must include group action or what is called economic co-operation. Our enemies will have to admit that economic co-operation is a possibility.

Business, therefore, through the co-operative technique is not barred in the American social philosophy. It is of the very essence. The Jeffersonian idea of democracy was founded on the fact that only people who owned were competent to carry on the democratic form of government. In the minds of the founding fathers it was pretty dubious whether democracy was compatible with an industrial proletariat. Democracy looked easy in those old days because 70% of the people were farmers and only 30% urban dwellers. Today the figures are reversed. Co-operation comes to the rescue. There is no need today for an industrial proletariat in the Marxian sense. All the people can, through the co-operative technique, be owners again. They can regain possession of America.

The Americans, and the western democracies generally, have fallen from grace in the last hundred years. They identify democracy with freedom to become a multi-millionaire and build a great economic empire. In this way the lowly can rise to political and social power. But paralleling this rise to power of the few is the continuous degradation of the many. Share-croppers and tenants are no part of the dream of the American founding fathers. Freedom means ownership and ownership in our day can be had first by personal ownership and sec-

ond by group ownership in the Co-operative way. Ownership is the American way.

The worker can use his income to create institutions that will serve him when he needs food or clothing or credit or insurance or any other service. Some people don't look at it that way because they are not truly democratic. It pays a lot of people to close their eyes to the great truth implicit in the democratic philosophy. That is why co-operation is not making the progress it should in America.

But the spirit of the American way will triumph. It is a great way. The effects of it were always evident but at no time more gloriously than in the global struggle through which we have just passed. It was the American way that did it because the American people were one time everybody, but they are now Americans. In the old days when the economic system behaved badly and depressions came on, the American spirit drove men and women out in covered wagons to conquer new frontiers. The physical frontiers are gone but there are still frontiers in the economic and social fields. They are down the Main Streets in every city and town in the great American land and the covered wagon of our time that will carry the people into these new frontiers is the Co-operative technique.

COOPERATIVES—ECONOMIC EXPRESSION OF THE CHRISTIAN ETHIC

Hon. Jerry Voorhis

The news that Hon. Jerry Voorhis, Democratic representative in the House from the 12th District of California, will not be a member of the 80th Congress was a keen disappointment to his many friends and co-workers throughout the country. But whether in the House or out Mr. Voorhis will always be a liberal and inspiring leader—and a friend of the cooperative movement.

Cooperatives should be a leaven in the economy of America, giving to the whole economy a greater justice, a more fundamental devotion to the common welfare of all people and a greatly increased opportunity for ownership and responsibility by millions of people.

By its very definition, the cooperative based as it is on the principle of mutual loyalty and mutual aid comes closer than any other economic institution toward developing in people the very qualities of character which are most important to a truly Christian civilization. Indeed, the cooperative movement can fairly be described as the economic expression of the Christian ethic.

Cooperatives also should serve the entire nation including consumers, small business, labor and all other elements by breaking, as they so often have done in the past, the stranglehold of monopoly over our economy where it exists. Cooperatives can do this quite as well if not better than governmental action can accomplish it. Once the power of monopoly has been broken, the whole of America benefits—not the cooperators alone.

Cooperatives also have a place in the American economy in furnishing a yardstick for other types of business and industry. They can and have furnished such a yardstick both as to the quality of product and as to the price people should pay for services and for goods. Moreover, cooperatives can restore to millions of American families who could not possibly otherwise enjoy it, the opportunity of ownership of a part of our great complex industrial system. In so doing they can serve a conservative purpose in the highest sense of that much abused word and thus can become the very best bulwark for our American system against any attempted inroads by either communism or fascism.

Finally, the place of the cooperative is to offer to people and particularly to young people a way in which they themselves can take hold of their problems and begin

their solution without waiting for action by government or any other agency. They offer a chance to solve our problems at the same time that we are developing within ourselves fundamentally Christian qualities of character.

COOPERATIVES AND EFFICIENCY

John L. Thomas, S.J.

Father Thomas is a member of the ISO Rural Life committee and chairman of the Co-op committee. At present he is at Chicago university doing work in Industrial Relations.

In any discussion of cooperatives it is important to point out that here is a field in which the economic and social elements are so intimately interwoven that any consideration of one factor necessarily involves the other. The recognition of this is important because the word "efficiency" (in this case meaning economic efficiency) has assumed the status of a "myth" in certain quarters. Cooperatives are not to be judged solely on the basis of that abstraction, for people in the cooperative movement are not only crying over spilt milk, they are crying out over stolen cows. They are seeking not only more efficiency, but above all, more dignified security. And this security, they feel, can come to them only when they own and control the economic instruments ministering to their basic needs.

In the past the greatest growth of co-ops has been in the fields of merchandising, credit, processing and marketing, and housing and health services. Here in America there is room for tremendous growth and expansion in each of these fields. Perhaps it will not be out of place to add that in regard to health service there is a time element involved: either people supply this need through group action at once or some more drastic solutions will certainly be proposed and acted upon.

What can co-ops accomplish in the American economy? Through them people in some measure can regain possession of the tools which shape their economic destiny. As the movement expands horizontally and vertically in the economic sphere it can and should achieve the following ends. Co-ops can assure more equitable prices to both consumers and producers. They can break through selling and buying monopolies and by their competition help to regulate the market in general. Through group ownership the profits are divided among many, and this will go far to alleviate the menacing, unsolved problem in distribution of gains. Through greater integration between consumer demands and productive power they can help eliminate the dangerous cyclic propensities of the present economic order. And finally, they can improve the quality of goods. The government has so far found itself relatively impotent to protect the right of the American consumer to receive quality goods. Through education and honest labeling, co-ops can continue to accomplish this quite successfully.

Hence, the place cooperatives should have in the American economy is indicated by the functions that they can perform, but as I have pointed out any statement about co-ops necessarily involves a value-judgment postulated on the hypothesis that the democratic approach to the solution of our economic problems is a social good and therefore an end to be sought in itself.

If it is to accomplish all the good of which it is capable, the cooperative movement must spread more rapidly and widely. The expansion of cooperative credit, production, processing and marketing must be integrated more closely with that of merchandising since the cooperative way can be successful only by a unified advance on all these fronts. It seems hardly necessary to make the observation that this movement suffers the limitations of all thoroughly democratic endeavors: the apathy of the many, the opposition of the "vested interest," the conservation

of leaders satisfied with small successes in a field where dynamic assault and constant advance is the price of survival.

COOPERATIVES AND LABOR

Walter P. Reuther

Mr. Walter P. Reuther, the militant and progressive president of the United Automobile, Aircraft, Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW-CIO), is noted for his interest not only in the welfare of his union's members but of the nation at large. UAW-CIO has been pioneering in union-sponsored cooperatives.

Labor has too long given lip service to the co-op movement—in the form of resolutions and speeches—which were usually forgotten the day after their utterance. What is needed now is not lip service, but real educational and organizational activities on local, regional and national levels—because co-ops offer a pattern of democratic ownership and control vitally needed to maintain individual freedom within the economic framework of our technology in the atomic age.

Co-ops are the most democratic type of social ownership ever devised to get things done efficiently and humanely through collective action. Co-ops in action give proof of the fallacy of that ideological nonsense which holds that the profit motive is the exclusive incentive for progress. Co-ops in action demonstrate beyond a doubt that voluntary associations of people can plan, control, operate and own large economic enterprises—on a strictly democratic basis—without risking the danger of regimentation and dictatorship that characterizes total state ownership of economic resources. This is one of the most valuable features of cooperative enterprise that must be called to the attention of the people in this atomic age.

The consumer cooperative movement is a democratic form of social ownership that has proven its capacity to do things collectively for the common good without violating the basic liberties of any group or individual. Agricultural groups in America, long noted for their spirit of freedom and independence, have demonstrated that people can band together to do a large economic job without profit—and without regimentation. The lesson that the American farm co-ops—that is, the American farm Rochdale co-ops—have to teach the whole American people is one that can help tremendously to get on with our march toward full employment and full production under liberty.

We in the UAW-CIO have tried in a small way during the past three years to do a job of consumer education, and to get started on a program of co-op education and organization. Our efforts have been small, but already the results are beginning to show. In South Bend, Indiana, a program of education sponsored jointly by the local Farm Bureau and UAW-CIO Local 5 has resulted in vastly improved understanding between these two groups. In Bristol, Indiana, a cooperative store has been organized that is jointly owned by farmers and workers.

Two co-op housing projects, one in South Bend and one in Racine, Wisconsin, will start construction this fall. In Flint, Pontiac, Jackson and Detroit, Michigan, there are active co-op groups in which UAW-CIO members are providing leadership for the community.

But these are only beginnings. Our Educational Department has been instructed to make the organization of co-ops one of its major items of operation. Now that the work is under way we are certain that much progress can be made . . . for labor . . . for the farmers . . . and for all con-

sumers . . . through this co-op organization program. The economic fields are fertile for the planting of these seeds today in America.

COOPERATIVES AS DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

James G. Patton

President of the National Farmer's Union, Mr. Patton's primary interest is the welfare of the farmer. But he has long been recognized as a national leader who works for the good of all America.

Cooperatives are democracy in action. They are one of the most important self-help economic devices we as consumers can create. In building and using cooperatives, people learn the lessons of democratic ownership and control of the devices of production and consumption, which in turn provide yardsticks to measure the efficiency of corporate enterprise.

To build cooperative business devices requires understanding and a spirit of helpfulness toward our neighbors and those with whom we associate. Like any democratic institution, it requires a high degree of harmony among people who build it. The spirit of cooperation is a humanistic one, which goes far beyond the building of an economic device. A thorough-going believer of cooperation is a deeply spiritual, tolerant person who loves his fellow men. He is a person who has no racial, religious, or other anti-democratic prejudices. A cooperator believes deeply in helping his fellow men. Cooperators who have studied and helped build cooperatives understand and believe in the dignity of man, and that human values which place emphasis on man's increasing stature as an individual, are far more important than materialism.

Cooperatives are now a very important factor in our economy. Farmers have lowered their cost of production on such items as gasoline, machinery-repairs, fertilizer, insurance, and farm supplies, by as much as 15 to 50%. They have increased their income from marketing their goods cooperatively by as much as 20 to 40%. The development of a cooperative in a community or area, not only provides a yardstick which lowers costs or increases income for those who are members, but it does it for the whole community. When the price of gasoline in North Dakota was reduced by reducing the margins from 13c to 4c, not only the farmers who built the cooperatives were benefited, but everyone who used gasoline in the community was helped.

The American people can guarantee the continuance of democracy and a free exchange system if they will build a sufficient number of marketing, processing, and consumer co-ops to put a yardstick on our gigantic corporate monopoly pattern, wherein 43 corporations have one hundred billion dollars in assets. These corporate giants frequently maintain artificial scarcities and thus pre-determine prices and their profit margins.

There must be intelligent cooperation between church groups, farm, and city people in a word—all consumers—to build cooperative economic devices of sufficient scope to lay down a yardstick on corporate enterprise.

These same groups must, while building economic devices belonging to themselves as consumers, practice cooperation in guaranteeing to all of us that we maintain a progressive democratic government which places its emphasis upon enriching human experience, and not in protecting the special selfish interest in their attempts to exploit us all. Cooperation is the spirit of brotherhood—cooperatives are the engines for making economic democracy a reality.

COOPERATIVE ACHIEVEMENTS IN RURAL ELECTRIFICATION

Claude Wickard

Born on a farm, holding an honorary degree of Doctor of Agriculture from Purdue University, his alma mater, long Secretary of the Department of Agriculture, and presently administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration, Mr. Claude Wickard is eminently qualified to speak of achievements in cooperative electrification.

The need of electricity is much greater on the farmstead than in the urban home. Aside from the convenience uses which apply to farm and city family alike, electric power is needed on the farm to provide running water for people and livestock, to light the farmyard and farm buildings, to operate farm tools and mechanical equipment. There are more than 300 known uses of electricity on the farm, to save time and labor, to reduce operating costs, and to increase farm income.

But as late as 1935 only about ten percent of American farms were served by power lines. The power companies were not willing to provide rural service except at charges which few farmers could afford to pay.

At present, however, slightly more than 50 percent of our farms have electric service. This phenomenal achievement would have been impossible without the widespread application of the cooperative method.

In 1935, when the Rural Electrification Administration came into being, 100 million dollars of Federal funds were made available for loans to the utility industry for rural line construction. But less than five million dollars was actually borrowed by the power companies. It became quickly evident that, even with Federal loans available, the utility industry would not do the job. To break the deadlock, REA encouraged the organization of non-profit, cooperative associations by the rural people themselves. At the present time, about 92 percent of REA borrowers are cooperatives, about 6 percent are public power bodies, and only about 2 percent are commercial power companies.

As of the end of 1945, a total of 766 electric cooperatives were operating more than 400,000 miles of rural highlines and were providing service to 1,325,000 farms and other rural establishments, such as schools, churches, community buildings, rural industries, commercial enterprises, and non-farm dwellings. They were operating in 44 States and in two-thirds of the counties of the United States. They were serving more than one-third of all electrified farms. They had repaid to the Government about 46 million dollars of the 440 million dollars borrowed, besides about 50 million dollars in interest payments. And their repayments on principal included about 20 million dollars paid back ahead of schedule. These facts speak for themselves.

Besides benefiting their members through low-cost electric service, the cooperatives have acted as a yardstick on the cost and quality of rural service and have stimulated the utility industry to greater effort. As a result, more farms have been electrified by the power companies since 1935 than in all the years before that date. And power company customers in rural areas adjacent to cooperatives are getting service at much lower rates and smaller initial charges than those customary prior to the advent of electric cooperatives. But in view of the rather general practice of power companies to serve only the most profitable sections in a rural area, the only hope of many of the more than 2½ million farm families still unserved to get electric service at all is through cooperatives.

The electric cooperatives are making a major contribution to the improvement of farm and rural community

living. They are helping to restore a healthy balance between our urban and our rural economy, and therefore have a vital place in the economic life the Nation.

SOCIALISM AND COOPERATIVES

Leo R. Ward, C.S.C.

Father Ward, who is a professor of philosophy at the University of Notre Dame, is interested in all forms of democratic people's unions, such as the cooperatives. He is author of Nova Scotia, the Land of Cooperation, and Ourselves, Incorporated, as well as editor of United for Freedom.

To be concrete, I take it to be better for people to work out group medicine and group hospitalization than for us to get State Socialism in medical and hospital matters, and better than to go on with inadequate medical and hospital care. It is better, but of course it is a question whether the group or cooperative effort moves fast enough to protect us from Statism in this important area. The group effort in this line has so far given to eight or ten millions the hospital care they need, and at rates not possible, or at least not actual, in the individual-enterprise economy, and possibly one-fourth of these few millions are people who without group action could hardly have the care at all.

In such an area the cooperative is to some degree effective, and probably could with an educational push be much more effective. I remark that some of our group medicine and hospitalization is received by co-op experts as only more or less genuinely cooperative on the Rochdale plan. Naturally, it is possible we shall have a mixed service in this matter as we now have, only more adequate: some co-op, some individualistic, and some State service.

Production and distribution of goods and services pass into State control because individualistic control fails or is inadequate. The people become helpless and little served, or even disserved, by a dog-eat-dog procedure. Then the State takes over. This happens at various rates in various nations and relative to various commodities and services. If the people commonly have ownership, the problem scarcely arises. If they have little ownership and consequently little control and freedom, they are likely to be poorly served. Then the State or Socialism or State Socialism is indicated, and is clamored for and against. Such tends to be the condition of industrial workers in America, and to some extent of the whole proletariat, and it is more nearly the condition of the dirt farmer now than it was in 1900.

Little ownership, little freedom, little say-so in local or other affairs, and a growing demand for the State to take charge of more and more economic functions. It seems we go from extreme to extreme on these questions: from a rank individualism to the now well exhibited forms of Socialism. From the individual to the State—no in-betweens at all. Nobody has said this better than Pius XI in *Quadragesimo Anno*.

In many lines the co-ops can do much to alleviate the condition, though they can remedy it in perhaps few if any fields. I believe they have to date helped to keep Sweden from a total State Socialism, or a total individualistic economy, or a mere fight between the two. They have broken the back of actual monopolies in Sweden; for example in electric light supplies, in galoshes, and other goods: "regaining for the family, through cooperative action, control over the procurement of family needs," says our most authoritative report. In America monopoly has been broken by the co-ops when the State could not or would not break it; for instance, a grain-terminal monopoly

in Indianapolis, and a monopoly in commercial fertilizer in Ohio, Pennsylvania and Indiana.

The co-ops ideally give the members everywhere control through the principle of "one member, one vote," and afford them some ownership through the principle of "the patronage refund." In such ways they seem effective to some degree in forestalling the need for Socialism, and also in being a concrete case of what Pius XI was talking about. They are precisely what Pius XII named and called for on September 1, 1944 and again in the summer of 1946.

CO-OPS AND TAXATION

John Carson

Mr. Carson is Director of the Washington Office of The Co-operative League of the United States.

I am invited to make a short statement on the subject of cooperatives and tax exemption. In the limited space allotted me, I shall have to present the barest of outlines only.

1. Paragraph 101 of Section 12 of the Internal Revenue Code exempts "farm cooperatives" from payment of taxes on "income" and from the "capital-stock tax." This discussion will deal only with the income taxes as the capital-stock taxes are insignificant. A "farm cooperative" is the one owned almost entirely by persons engaged in agriculture. There are other standards, but that is the important one, ownership of the cooperative by farmers.

2. This section of the Code, Section 12, also exempts labor organizations and religious organizations and charitable and educational organizations. When it was proposed to repeal the tax exemption for "farm cooperatives," it was also proposed to repeal the tax exemption for labor organizations. And it was suggested by one member of the Committee of Congress that it would be only logical to repeal the exemption for all organizations and for all income derived from business operations.

3. Consumer cooperatives have no tax exemption—they have in fact paid taxes on receipts of money which were not income and were not taxable.

4. The exemption given to "farm cooperatives" was given as an aid to agriculture.

5. Repeal of this exemption would produce very little tax revenue for the government because very little of the money received by "farm cooperatives" can be defined as "income."

6. The enemies of cooperatives actually wish to apply a penalty tax against all cooperatives by taxing their gross receipts of money minus some clerical or administrative costs. Cooperative managers and directors are elected by the member-owners of the cooperatives. They serve as trustees and are subject to the articles of trusteeship. The member-owners of cooperatives determine, by agreement and vote, what their trustees shall do with the monies of the member-owners which are received by the cooperatives. They may vote to recover their monies in cash, or they may vote to instruct the trustees to retain the monies so long as the ownership and rights of the individual member-owners are recognized and preserved. These monies are sometimes called "patronage returns" or "patronage dividends" when they are returned. The enemies of cooperatives are inciting their contributors to believe that in some way a tax can be applied against these receipts of money and thus the cooperatives can be prevented from exercising their right and obligation to return property to the member-owners.

7. No lawyer has yet presented a method for torturing language into a law through which these receipts of money could be legally defined as "income" and thus be subjected to the "income tax." The Constitution provides

only for taxation of "income," and unless there is "income" there can be no tax.

SOME LESSONS FROM THE HISTORY OF CO-OPS IN AMERICA

W. B. Faherty, S.J.

Father Faherty is a member of the ISO committees on Rural Life and Credit Unions and Co-ops. A frequent contributor on social and historical topics, he is doing research at present on all papal pronouncements concerning the place of women in the modern world.

To some who hear of the cooperative system of enterprise for the first time, the program seems to offer a novel sure-fire cure for many of our economic ills. These newcomers would undoubtedly be startled to find out that the co-op system has had a long, and occasionally unfortunate history. From several of these unfortunate experiences in the annals of America, cooperators can learn much that will be of value for the future.

Shortly after the Civil War, two groups, the rural Grangers and the urban Knights of Labor, attempted to develop cooperative enterprises. The Grangers entered not only consumer and marketing fields, but also undertook cooperative manufacturing of farm equipment. Though there were some indirect benefits resulting from these efforts, and an occasional remarkable success, on the whole they ended in failure.

The causes for this were varied. First, the farmers rushed pell-mell into many business schemes without having previously considered where to get the capital and the business ability to carry them out. Secondly, they entered some fields not yet suited for cooperative endeavors, such as certain manufacturing enterprises. Thirdly, they were unwilling to forego the immediate and temporary gain to be obtained from dealing with private-profit business concerns for the ultimate advantage to be derived from cooperative enterprise. Lastly, preferring to trust in their own home-made theories they did not avail themselves of the experience of cooperators elsewhere, especially that of the Rochdale Pioneers of England.

About a decade later, in the middle eighties, the Knights of Labor turned to cooperatives as a panacea for their problems. About one hundred and eighty-five manufacturing enterprises grew up, mainly in the Central and Eastern states. The Knights entered a wide variety of fields, especially mining, cooperage and shoemaking.

Only a few of these enterprises followed the Rochdale principles. The holders of shares frequently had no voice or vote in the organization. The Solidarity Cooperative Association, for instance, sold shares without designating the industry in which the money would be invested, and, after financing a wide variety of ventures, from cigar-making to tooling fancy leather goods, continued to function on a basis of absolute secrecy.

Most of the would-be cooperators were not familiar with or convinced of the system. Many made a little money in the cooperative enterprise and then set up their own shop in competition. Many co-op managers were not qualified for their position. Further, besides these internal difficulties, discrimination by private-profit businesses and especially by railroads thwarted many cooperative endeavors.

In the long run, then, the cooperative ventures of the Knights of Labor, as those of the Grangers, failed. The few successful cooperative establishments sooner or later became joint stock companies.

The common denominator of these failures is this one fact: in neither instance was the rank and file properly educated in the Rochdale principles of cooperation. Modern cooperators might well heed the lesson which these early attempts teach.

COOPERATIVE MEDICAL CARE

Mary G. Dooling

Miss Dooling, who is in charge of Credit Union and Cooperative activities of both the Queen's Work and the Institute of Social Order, is nationally known for her writings and lectures on these subjects and for her practical organizing successes. Her writings include a chapter in United We Stand.

In the United States, the richest country in the world, the people are by no means healthiest. Prewar figures showed that in the United States 38% of the inhabitants received no medical treatment even when they were incapacitated by disease. Less than 21% received dental care in a year. The fact that five million men between the ages of 18 and 37 were found unfit for military service because of some physical or mental deficiency should be startling enough to cause some wonder as to the reasons.

What could be basic reasons for such deplorable conditions in a country with such magnificent opportunities for the best of everything? The answer is the uneven distribution of hospitals and medical services, which in turn are the result of poorly distributed wealth and income.

The type of medical care offered the public are numerous and varied. Everyone is more or less familiar with individual competitive practice, with commercial health societies, company doctors employed by corporations and the united services of doctors in special clinics. Recently, there has been introduced a new suggestion for providing adequate medical care for all—"socialized" medicine or medical services controlled through some type of government regulation.

Each of the above practices may have value to some extent in certain areas, but to many the most effective and permanent solution to the recognized problem is cooperative medical care. Cooperative medical care is concerned as much with preventive medicine as it is with the cure of the patient. It costs the sick less because those who are well help to pay.

Cooperative medical societies operate on practically the same fundamental principles and with the same philosophy and motivation as any other consumer cooperative society. The consumer (patient) democratically chooses the type of care he wishes and the doctor he considers most competent. Through a program of education he will realize that cheap medical care is very seldom economical but that real economy can be successfully practiced when neighbors cooperate to provide themselves with the best.

Co-op health groups and health insurance societies exist in all parts of the land—from New York and Washington, D. C. to St. Paul, Minnesota, to Seattle and California.

Currently, at least five cooperative hospitals are in operation in the states of Oklahoma, Kansas, Texas and Minnesota. Forty more are in various states of organization.

Most interesting of these groups, because of its role of pioneer, is the Elk City Community Hospital in Elk City, Oklahoma. Under this plan, the amount to be paid varies according to the service required and the number of persons to be covered by the membership. Fees are ordinarily paid on an annual or semi-annual basis. Two general plans are recommended: one, which provides medical and surgical care and a second which offers medical, surgical and hospital care. Under the first, a family of four pays an annual fee of \$40.00, a family of six, \$44.00. Under the second, a family of four or more pays an annual fee of \$70.

Recent nation-wide campaigns on behalf of dozens of "plans" of one sort or another, have brought interest in

the nation's health to a new peak. The "panel" experiments in England have been critically explored by medical groups here and abroad. Through the medium of labor unions, co-operative societies, industrial firms, and other groups, the American citizen has been awakened to the need for low cost, efficient, easily-available medical care. The conflicting claims and charges fired in favor of each plan have made the public aware of the need but wary of some of the proposed solutions.

The coming year may see even more "plans" hatched. Then may well follow a "shake-out" era, in which the weaker plans give way to consolidation or collapse while the more worth-while gain strength and popularity. But there is no doubt that out of it will come a healthier nation.

USEFULNESS OF COOPERATIVES

James L. McShane, S.J.

A member of the Missouri province Mission band, Father McShane is widely known for his interest in rural life and the cooperative movement. He has written a great deal on these subjects and contributed a chapter to Father Ward's symposium, United We Stand.

A banker in a small Indiana town does a good job of promoting business in his home town. He has the habit of watching for opportunities; according to his custom he keeps on the lookout to see where a young man can make money. He calls in Danny White, the son of a farmer in this community. "Dan, you could easily raise 4 hogs after school hours. You'd like having your own. It will cost you so many dollars to start. Our bank will lend you that; here's the loan."

If there were a banker like that in every town, the usefulness of cooperatives would be far less than it is today. The Indiana banker looks for an opportunity to combine dollars, market, manpower and materials into new enterprise. Very often the cooperative does just that.

Let us say that the co-op in Terryville has funds on hand—ten thousand dollars. Many citizens of the town have been talking about the need for food lockers. The co-op board talks the thing over and decides to build a locker plant, with Joe Jordan as boss. New enterprise is thus built up; new wealth and new employment is thus created. Jordan and his assistant find employment in the home town instead of being pushed into the big city.

Another co-op has members who have the idea that boys in the community can make good in the chicken business. The co-op hires an expert from the state college to train the boys and finally lends the boys money to start raising five thousand chickens.

The manager of a credit union became interested in housing. He brought a group of married couples together; they talked the problem over, hired builders, and went to work. In their own credit union they had pooled funds to be used for working capital. They put up 34 homes.

In each case the co-op group was able by group action to combine funds, manpower and materials. The co-op has an advantage in the line of building new enterprise. Very often the co-op has funds on hand. The members are members of the community. The community has some need and they feel that need. It spurs them on to action, whether it be for an electric light plant, or creamery or whatever. The members are strongly interested in the building of new enterprise and new jobs in the home town. Their sons and daughters profit immediately from new employment. It is my belief that co-ops are useful especially because they promote new enterprise.

BIRTH OF A RURAL YOUTH CLUB

Kansas Parish Points the Way

By LOUIS J. HIEGEL, S.J.

St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kansas

FATHER Patrick Fitzgerald, diocesan priest and pastor of a small parish at Alma, Kansas, was worried about his young people. There were too many mixed marriages, resulting largely from a scarcity of eligible Catholic partners. Besides a very high percentage of his youth were gravitating toward the cities. He had been toying with a few ideas and this particular Sunday (last February) he was discussing them with Father Daniel Higgins of St. Mary's, who had gone out to assist at the mission stations. Father Higgins felt that some of the Scholastics at St. Mary's would be willing to help him develop and clarify his ideas.

With Father Rector's approval Theologians from the Kansas State Sodality Union office and Rural Life Committee met with Father Fitzgerald the three succeeding Sunday nights. The result was an outline of a proposed Union Rural Youth Club for the surrounding parishes.

First neighboring pastors were contacted by mail. Then a general meeting was called at St. Mary's. Here Father Fitzgerald's dream began to take on reality. By vote it was decided that the name of the organization would be the Catholic Rural Youth Club affiliated with the Kansas State Sodality union; that its purpose was to bring together the Catholic youth of the neighboring parishes for united religious activities and wholesome recreation, and to disseminate Catholic rural life philosophy; that membership was open to Catholics only; that the age limit would be between 16 and 26 (not to be taken strictly); that only persons having a membership card would be admitted to the events. A general chairman and moderators for the future union committees were elected.

The pastors, with help from St. Mary's, immediately established local units in their parishes.

Organization

It might be well to outline briefly the structure of the club. On the parish level it has four committees: religious, educational, social, and athletic, each with its chairman under the supervision of the pastor. The Union Governing board is built on the same pattern, having its committees composed of the respective chairman from the parishes, over each of which presides one of the pastors. Over-all chairman, vice-chairman, and secretary-treasurer are priests.

It is to be noted that the CRYC is a union of parish clubs and has jurisdiction only over union activities. The pastor still reigns supreme in his sphere, but the union does encourage and suggest local programs.

Initial Success

"Learn by doing" was the key to initial success. The local units were organized while preparing for the first union event—a retreat to be held on the 6th and 7th of April, then three weeks off. Under such pressure all organized quickly and sent large delegations to the Exercises. Some 350 attended. Father E. J. Weisenberg, S. J. was retreat master. He emphasized the *Catholic* of the CRYC, and pointed out that this was not to be just another social or athletic club.

With this good beginning, union events were held monthly: a dance in April; a May crowning and social hour in May; an educational meet and dance in June; a

picnic-swimming party in July; a softball tournament in August. This tournament climaxed a spirited league whose games were played each Sunday afternoon throughout the summer. Both boys and girls competed.

The educational meet warrants further comment. Father Gilbert Wolter, O.S.B., professor of rural sociology at St. Benedict's college, Atchison, was the main speaker. Jerry Dougherty, one of Father Wolter's students, and Miss Cooper, student of Mount St. Scholastica, Atchison, were the other speakers. Discussion from the floor followed. After supper sound films on rural life, interspersed with jovial community singing, were shown. A dance closed the event.

The club carried on successfully through the summer. In early September the pastors met to discuss the past, profit by experience, and plan for the future. All felt the organization had succeeded remarkably but agreed it was far from perfect. Growth and development would come with time and continued effort.

Fall Program

Realizing the essential need of leaders, the pastors had scheduled a leadership school for September. But unforeseen difficulties forced them to delay it until the middle of October. Father E. A. Doyle preached a firing sermon at the Mass (a *Missa recitata*). Introductory talk at the assembly was given by Father W. Landwehr, pastor of Emmett. Then Father Weisenberg led a vigorous, two-hour discussion on the rural-urban problem, bringing home forcibly to these youths what they as leaders should do in their local groups.

To renew the religious spirit of the members, a day of recollection under the direction of Father T. J. O'Connor, S.J., was held in late October.

Plans for the future include another educational meet, a Christmas dance, a skating party, a basketball league and tournament (if possible), and another retreat.

Physical Aspect

It might be of interest to note the size of, and the distances between, the groups composing the club. There are nine parishes and four mission stations. Roughly they are located in an area 40 miles long and 20 miles wide, with St. Mary's close to the center. The size of the parishes and mission stations may be judged by the membership of its local units. (These numbers are close estimates.) St. Mary's, 60; Paxico, 55; Blaine, 40; Wamego, 40; Flush, 30; Emmett, 30; Alma, 30; Wheaton, 25; Rossville, 20; Onega, 15; Eskridge, 15; Delia, 10; and Alta Vista, 10.

The youth have shown great interest in all the activities. Attendance has averaged about 250—a good number considering the difficulties of transportation, and bad roads.

Still Developing

In the spring it had been decided to publish a monthly mimeographed sheet covering union and local news. To date it has appeared only irregularly, but present plans make hope for its regular appearance bright.

Local activities in the parishes have been rather few. Because the union has no jurisdiction in the locals, it contents itself with encouragement, stimulation and suggestion. Some few gatherings have occurred between two or three neighboring parishes. This will develop with time.

The CRYC is an effort to reduce mixed marriages and produce rural leaders in this area. As yet it is too young to pass judgment on it. Only time will tell whether or not it will attain its end.

ACTION RIGHT NOW

Jesuits Can Get Going

By FLORENCE D. SULLIVAN, S.J.

ON all sides we hear Jesuits asking about the ISO. This means that they are interested. But they want to see results and in quick time, and they have become impatient. Let us see if the ISO is so much at fault. Is there bewilderment? Are we shooting without aim? Can something be done right now?

It is true that we started in a conglomerous way. But could that be helped, considering the apathy and indifference in which most of us lived in regard to the whole Catholic social outlook? Who were the men who cared and who would volunteer to take on the extra work required to meet the impetuous onrush of fanatic communists and fellow-travelers? The first general meetings were intended to bring out this talent, to find the men, to arouse a serious interest in a work as vital and important as those first Jesuits faced when the Reformation broke suddenly on the world.

Another important viewpoint which will help us to understand the ISO and be more just in evaluating what progress has been made is this: the ISO covers so many fields of human activities and so many overlap or can easily be confused in discerning their margins, that it will be better for us to divide the ISO into its two main functions. First of all there is the intellectual preparation of men who can be leaders in all these fields. There must be men in the Society who by study and training have won a high place among the authorities who do so much to determine public opinion. We must have not only Masters but Doctors experienced in these subjects to guide our departments, train our teachers and lead our best students to positions of importance in our communities. And we must have writers who have acquired not only a theoretical but a practical knowledge of the problems worrying humanity today.

Socially Conscious

If we look at our colleges today I am sure we shall find that we have suddenly become socially conscious, our men are talking about problems of the day with a view to refuting erroneous viewpoints or correcting them according to standards of Catholic principles and teaching. And we must have noticed how enthusiastic all our Provincials have become in their desire to carry out the wishes of Fr. General and the program of our Popes and Bishops. When we consider the number of men they have set aside for higher studies in these fields at great inconvenience to their own province plans, we must admire them for their courage and encouragement. And we have many men now acquiring that familiarity and proficiency in sociology and economics which can prove its worth only after they have their degrees and begin to work in our colleges. Many will add all this up and concede that in the intellectual and theoretic lines we really have made wonderful strides.

But there is the other side—the practical one in which all of us could work if only we would begin. There has been talk but little action all along the lines of our first defense. The ISO problem now is: Can we get all our priests and scholastics to try to work with the laboring classes and to break the Bread of Life to those who are suffering and hungering for leadership. Where have we seen parishes that go all out trying to bring the doctrines

of the Encyclicals into the minds and hearts of Catholics and non-Catholics in their local environment? What are our priests waiting for? We all have a mandate from the Popes themselves and appeals from our Bishops; and everything in the daily press points to the urgent need of adult education among the rank and file of the working classes.

Golden Chance

These poor people are good at heart and most of them believe in God and love Jesus Christ sincerely, but they have been buffeted about so much and so long, and leadership in government and unions has often been so lacking in the fundamentals of social justice and every vestige of christian charity, that their minds are rich soil to receive the foolish promises of communism. Their wills and hearts may choose to follow leaders who propose utopian dreams that have this advantage that they are consoling even if not true.

It is in this psychological fact that I think we have our golden chance. These men are to be won and saved not through their heads but through their hearts. They are willing to follow the one whom they love and trust. We must make them love and trust us. And we cannot do this if we stay away and hold aloof from them. They are not sure that we are with them and for them. We have never demonstrated that we are. Will we go out and try to reestablish this close relationship with all our working people?

My suggestion for *Action right now* would be for everyone of us to find an opening into the very heart of the unions in our neighborhood, spend a few evenings a month in their midst, listening to them, helping them to learn to express themselves, giving them the right arguments, advising them when they are forced to a decision; in a word, rubbing shoulder to shoulder with all, even the commonest and lowest. Only when this confidence and love has been engendered can you hope to have them listen to you with faith and trust. You will be surprised how quickly hard hearts melt before the flame of kindness, sympathy, and common christian charity. And this is the only way we shall ever be able to bring the message of the encyclicals before Protestants. They are members of unions and in their unions have grown to know and love their Catholic workers. They will not object to your being invited to address them or to lead their discussions or conduct their study clubs. On the contrary you will usually find that they become your best helpers at these meetings; they will gladly read and discuss at your suggestion; they will show you marked attention and regard; they will go out and defend the priest and his church before their own people when it would be impossible for a Catholic to get a hearing.

Shake Hands

This is my plan for immediate Catholic action in the social field. Go to the Central Union in your city or town and ask if you may attend their meetings as you are interested in them and their welfare. Go to these meetings as regularly as possible. Shake hands with everyone who comes forward to greet you. Show an interest in what they are discussing. Offer to help their Educational Committee in studying or reviewing the principles of unionism. Get a supply of Catholic pamphlets and give them to each person attending. Little by little you can coax them to go through the Encyclicals and at each clause you will have a chance to enlighten them on some fundamental principle of the natural law, or give them a glimpse of the beauty of Christ's teaching, and in the manner in which our church wishes us to put this into practice.

PROSPECTS FOR HOUSES

More of Same Foreseen

By FRANCIS J. CORLEY, S.J.

If we can believe the builders and supply men whose job it is to furnish the three million houses we need there is not much likelihood that the shortage will be greatly reduced during the coming year. This was the consensus expressed at the Housing Inventory and Forecast conference sponsored by the National Committee on Housing, November 18-21, 1946.

Shortages of some critical materials especially iron, steel and wood will continue during 1947. A representative of Republic Steel, Mr. L. S. Hamaker, assured those attending the Conference that steel production would not possibly be increased during the coming year and that it was likely that even less iron and steel would go into building materials than were being allocated at the present time. Strikes in coal, steel or the lumber industries would reduce even further the prospect for plentiful supplies.

No Reduced Costs

Nor were the prospects of reduced costs any brighter. Builders who appeared on the panels and those with whom I conversed privately insisted that the only prospect for reduced costs during the coming year was the improved efficiency of labor. There will be no reduction in the cost of land, materials or labor.

Even more discouraging was the attitude of old time builders toward the introduction of prefabrication and improved technical methods into construction of houses. It was almost universal agreement that prefabricated houses were costly, unsatisfactory and likely to deteriorate rapidly.

Apparently, it is quite true that experience with present prefabrication justifies many of these complaints, but I am afraid that the attitude of builders toward current innovations is much like that of carriage builders toward the "horseless carriage" forty years ago.

There were a few men present at the conference representing prefabricators who were enthusiastic about the prospects for their industry. They are a progressive and energetic group, who recognize the flaws in their present processes and are eager to eliminate them. Cost at the present time (a prefabricated five-room house sells in the neighborhood of seven or eight thousand dollars) is due in large part to the fact that demand is not yet sufficient to permit mass production, and the techniques of mass production have not yet been satisfactorily developed. But a great deal of intelligent planning is being done in this industry, and improvement should be rapid.

Prefab Housing

There was bitter off-stage criticism of the Lustron corporation which, as you know, is trying to secure the Dodge-Chicago plant. Despite Wilson Wyatt's insistence, this plant has been allocated to the Tucker corporation for the manufacture of automobiles, but Mr. Wyatt is continuing to fight to have at least part of it assigned to Lustron for the production of prefabricated houses. Criticism by traditional builders centered on the alleged favor shown to the prefab industry and the large subsidy which they are to receive from the Federal Government for production of houses.

Lustron's announced price is \$7,000 for a five room home. This is high, but it is to be hoped that mass production and large sales can reduce this.

Co-op Ventures Attacked

The attacks of finance people connected with housing centered on cooperative ventures, which considerably reduce the cost of money and the burden of amortization. Although this opposition was far less vocal, it was evident that cooperative housing will receive little encouragement from members of the traditional building industry. There are at the present time a number of interesting cooperative projects either completed or in processes of erection. Within the Chicago urban area a group of forty-two veterans has undertaken erection of seven six-apartment buildings. These are to be erected on a block of real estate just south of Evanston in an excellent residential neighborhood.

Each building will be owned by the six families who reside in it and will hold a one-sixth interest in the building. Common lands: play-grounds, garage, drying areas and internal walks, will be owned by all the cooperators so that each will hold a one-forty-second of this property. Down payment for each veteran was \$900, and monthly payments of \$85.00 are to be made until the entire \$8,840 cost of the apartment has been paid. The builder has estimated that careful purchasing and wise use of labor can further reduce the cost so that monthly payments will be only \$75 per family.

Two cooperative housing ventures have been completed in Dayton, Ohio. One of these, the Dayton Mutual Housing corporation, is composed entirely of single family units with common land for business, entertainment, school and church use. The other venture combines single family and multiple dwellings.

Dallas Park, just outside the Texas city, is a partly completed venture. Plans for another to be built in Racine, Wisconsin, have just been completed. There are several ventures in which already completed houses, built by the Federal Public Housing Authority for defense workers, have been taken over by cooperative purchasers. Probably the best known of these is Walnut Grove, a United Automobile Workers (CIO) Cooperative at South Bend, Indiana.

Two Conclusions

Two conclusions were repeatedly presented to the conference by traditional builders. The first of these was that future construction should be almost exclusively for rental rather than purchase purposes. Apparently builders and finance men believe that few veterans will be able to keep up payments toward the purchase of a house and prefer to have them pay rent to a landlord who holds the title, rather than to a finance company.

However, if rent controls are released and rents are allowed to soar beyond their present controlled levels, there will be very little difference between rental on a house and the recurrent payments towards its outright purchase. Parenthetically, it might be remarked that very little was said about rent controls, perhaps because there seemed to be no representatives of the landlord group present at the conference.

The second conclusion was that most future construction must be multiple rather than single family units. There are economies, both of land and materials in apartments, and many more units can be crowded into a given portion of land if apartments are built rather than free-standing homes. The only plea for larger units with adequate bedroom space was expressed by Mrs. Samuel I. Rosenman, chairman of the National Committee on Housing. But it was apparent that builders were determined to go ahead with the building program they had decided was most economical.

The bitterest and most common complaint at the Conference was directed against Government interference with the industry. Executives of the National Association of Home Builders appeared on several panels and were unanimous in their criticism of government control and intervention. At a joint panel of builders and supply men a great to-do was made, and each member of the panel (17 in all) was asked to express his opinion of government intervention. Only three, Mr. Joseph D. Keenan, secretary of the Chicago Federation of Labor, Mr. Walter H. Aiken, a Negro builder from Atlanta, and Mr. W. P. Atkinson, a young builder from Oklahoma City, presented any defense of government agencies. Undoubtedly the most powerful opponent of government activity was Mr. Joseph Meyerhoff, of Baltimore, President of the National Association of Home Builders, but the same attitude was manifested by builders and supply men alike.

Outside the formal sessions there was a great deal of mutual recrimination between builders and supply men, and among the various supply companies. Those whose supplies were plentiful blamed other industries and demanded that restrictions on non-house building be lifted so that their supplies could be moved out of the yards. Thus a Chicago brick manufacturer whose yards store some three million bricks called for complete freedom to erect any kind of building, even though he was fully aware that there was not enough iron soil pipe or heating facilities

on hand for even the housing projects already underway in the Chicago area. Similar recommendations were made by a southern lumberman who had an adequate supply of lumber on hand.

Not All Black

Even though the general picture of tomorrow's houses was not bright, there were some encouraging expressions. Outstanding for her courtesy, humanity and wide grasp of the whole housing situation was Mrs. Rosenman. She repeatedly intervened during panels to call the members from private feuds and to inject reflections about humane and social aspects of the housing question. Mrs. Rosenman was without doubt the outstanding personality at the conference.

In the second-last session Miss Elizabeth Wood, executive secretary of the Chicago Housing Authority, presented an excellent plea for attention to the social aspects of housing, especially in public projects. Residents who live in projects directed by Miss Wood are fortunate in having so humane and kindly a landlord.

Since the prospect of homes to be built by private industry seems so dim, it is likely that the government will be compelled to continue work in this field. While the majority of builders are completely opposed to the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill, which would stimulate housing under government auspices, it seems almost impossible to speed up the program in any other way.

IS CATHOLIC ACTION JUST ONE THING?

By DANIEL A. LORD, S.J.

MR. Patrick Scanlon of the *Brooklyn Tablet* published in early November an editorial which seems worthy of careful note.

The effort to limit Catholic Action (and in a way even Catholic Activity) to one specialized form, method, or technique, has distressed many of us who regard the Church as ample and inclusive and not close, closed, and restricted.

Though Mr. Scanlon is writing of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, the quotations he presents are equally true of other Confraternities.

At any rate, it brings the question into the open and it allows a bit of breathing space to Jesuit associations which, often by Jesuits, are being elbowed into a sort of museum position in favor of one sole method of winning souls.

"In December, 1922, Pope Pius XI promulgated to the world the first encyclical on Catholic Action—*Ubi Arcano Dei*. Catholic Action was defined as 'the participation of the laity in the apostolate of the hierarchy.'

"In the ensuing years Catholic Action suffered innumerable varieties of interpretation in every parish and diocese of the United States. Finally, there evolved a narrow notion that the 'cell technique' and the 'Inquiry Method,' correlated and combined, were the WHOLE of Catholic Action.

"This limited interpretation of Catholic Action implied that only a few members of 'Catholic Action Cells' are heeding the call of Pius XI and it further implies that the Hierarchy of the United States is unaware of the fact that Catholic Action is a call to ALL the faithful. Both implications are untrue.

"This confusion concerning Catholic Action can be attributed to the structural organization of the Catholic Hierarchy of the United States. In fact the Hierarchy of the United States foresaw the need of unified Catholic Action on a national basis. In 1919, three full years before

the first encyclical of Pope Pius XI on Catholic Action and almost ten years before the first complete explanation of Catholic Action by the same Pontiff — the letter to Cardinal Bertram of 1928 — the Bishops of the United States had organized the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the organization of the Hierarchy of the United States, for the purpose of UNIFYING, COORDINATING and ORGANIZING THE CATHOLIC PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES. In the words of Pope Pius XII addressed to the Bishops of the United States in 1939: 'Over a manifold activity of the laity, carried on in various localities according to the needs of the times, is placed the National Catholic Welfare Conference which supplies a ready and well-adapted instrument for your episcopal ministry.'

"Last Sunday morning in the City of Boston the Apostolic Delegate of the United States, His Excellency, Most Reverend Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, addressed 17,000 members of the Church, the great portion of this vast assemblage being lay men and women, assembled together at the Solemn Pontifical Mass of the National Congress of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. His Excellency proposed the question: 'What is the place of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine in the association of the faithful, and particularly with reference to Catholic Action?' His answer considered the special nature of a 'confraternity' according to Canon Law and his answer included the particular development of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine in these United States, a generous and fruitful APOSTOLATE with a vast program of RELIGIOUS-SOCIAL activity UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF ECCLESIASTICAL AUTHORITY, OPENING UP AND OFFERING TO ITS MEMBERS IMMENSE FIELDS OF CATHOLIC ACTION.

"Let us recognize the members of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, the laity generously offering themselves in this apostolate, for what they are: 'a royal priesthood.'"

Conferences and Conventions

MID-WEST WORKERS' EDUCATION CONFERENCE

The American Labor Education Service of New York sponsored a two-day discussion at Milwaukee of the problems connected with labor schools.

One of the outstanding points of the meeting was Victor Reuther's insistence that all unions must learn to cooperate if they are to secure improved conditions and that a constant consideration for the general welfare is part of labor's responsibility. Reuther's address was almost unique at the Conference in its insistence upon the obligation labor has to consider others outside the House of Labor when making demands. As an example of consideration for the general welfare, he cited his brother's insistence that wage increases, especially in the General Motors controversy, should not be passed on to the consumer.

Second highlight of the meeting was the address of Major Henry Rutz, on terminal leave as a member of the Military Government in Germany and now the A F of L's European representative. In his account of the newly organized German trade unions he told of the struggle occupation authorities had to prevent Communists both in the United States and in Germany from completely dominating the German unions. Parenthetically he remarked that at their own request all labor unions are now organized on a craft-industrial basis and that minority unions (they had formerly been Catholic and Protestant and Socialist trade groups) have all been eliminated.

Mr. Samuel Jacobs, a Labor Education Specialist with the United States Department of Labor, explained the projected Labor Extension Service which the Department had hoped to establish next year. (Seven bills in favor of this work were introduced toward the close of the last session of Congress). He gave little explicit information about the disposition of funds, but outlined the Department's plans for lectures, schools, Institutes and clinics.

Many of the important labor school directors of the mid-west attended the conference.

CCS CONVENTION

Father Florence Sullivan and Father Joseph Fichter were among the Jesuits who attended the Convention of the Catholic Committee of the South, held in New Orleans last September. In addition to the specifically Catholic sessions, which dealt with such subjects as the role of the priest in social action and practical methods of social action, the delegates attended an excellent symposium on "The South Today," which presented a survey of social and economic conditions.

The NCWC held a forum on labor problems which evoked a great deal of discussion from the floor. Father Vincent O'Connell, S.M., (the newly elected chairman of CCS) presided at a second symposium on the "Role of the CCS in the Future of the South." He pointed out some of the things that southern Catholics must now accept as presuppositions: organization, collective bargaining, living family wage, clearer contracts, anti-proletarianism, no white supremacy, production primarily for service.

Four points stood out in the excellent address delivered by Archbishop Lucey of San Antonio: 1) Primary responsibility for the common good rests upon the people, not upon the civil authorities; 2) Catholics have an obligation in conscience to strive for the new social order which the Pope wants; 3) Racial injustice is akin to fratricide; 4) Our primary needs are "machinery and morality," i.e., the proper institutions and correct ethics on all levels.

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CHARITIES CONVENTION

Practically all diocesan directors of charity attended the carefully planned Catholic Charities Conference at South Bend last August.

At the Convention most of the important problems facing social workers at the present time were given careful consideration. One of the outstanding sessions was devoted to a discussion of neighborhood organizations, illustrated by concrete experience in Gary, Indiana, and Omaha. This activity and the similar work being done by the Back-of-the-Yards group in Chicago can and will become a pattern for similar activity throughout the United States.

The convention was made memorable by the addresses of Samuel Cardinal Stritch, Archbishop Rummel and Bishop Noll, by the presentation of the program of international relief, by prominent representatives of A F of L and CIO. The whole housing problem was ably discussed by Honorable Wilson Wyatt who outlined the difficulties and obstacles but promised some relief immediately with a good plan for the future.

Side by side with the convention of the Catholic Charities and social workers were some of the leading Catholic laymen representing the St. Vincent de Paul society. In that convention was stressed the need of bringing more young men into the organization for the exemplification of the Church's social life and the practice of the spiritual and corporal works of mercy. It was inspiring to hear Frank Bruce, a former president of St. Vincent de Paul, ask for a wider vision among the members because every form of social activity for the reconstruction of the world belongs to every member of St. Vincent de Paul.

NATIONAL CATHOLIC RURAL LIFE CONFERENCE

The National Catholic Rural Life Conference held an extremely successful national convention at Green Bay, Wisconsin from October 11th to October 15th. Two purposes were achieved: the strengthening of local rural Catholicism everywhere, and secondly, the nation's attention was focused on the values of family life on the land. "Farmers' Retreats" was the outstanding topic of the first day's meeting. The religious priests present took steps to clarify the entire notion and procedure of such a retreat.

Dr. Willis Nutting of Notre Dame university was the outstanding speaker on the second day, stressing, as he did, the Catholic educator's opportunity to glorify menial work, after the example of Our Blessed Mother. His address, in pamphlet form or in *Land and Home* will be worth your attention.

Many will connect the third day's meetings with the moving speeches of Bishop Bartholome of Saint Cloud and of Doctor Lydwine Van Kersbergen, International Head of the Grail Movement.

"Farmers' Day" was the name given to the more technical discussion on the fourth day. The last day saw a most interesting forum and debate between the legislative secretaries of the three foremost farm organizations, the Grange, the Farmers' Union, and the Farm Bureau. What Ours did at the Convention can be found under ISOccasions.

Council of Economic Advisers

The Employment Act of 1946 directed that the President is to transmit to Congress at the beginning of each session a review of the economy, together with his recommendations for remedial legislation, should any such legislation be necessary "to promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power." As an aid to the President in formulating his recommendations a Council of Economic Advisers was established. The three men who were recently appointed to constitute this Council are Edwin G. Nourse, formerly of the Brookings Institution; Leon Keyserling, formerly with the Federal Housing Agency; and John D. Clark of the University of Nebraska's School of Business Administration.

The appointment of Dr. Nourse, who heads the Council as its chairman, is interesting in view of his ideas on the promotion of economic stability. As is well known, the more influential government economists for the past ten years have been staunch adherents of the Keynesian thesis, as expounded by Alvin Hansen. Dr. Hansen was convinced that we have reached economic maturity in America and that the only cure for this situation and the unemployment that comes with it is pump-priming on a permanent basis of large Federal expenditure.

The Hansen thesis has been subject to serious challenge, both in learned articles and popular books, during the past three years, and when Dr. Hansen severed his connection with the Federal Reserve Board last year it became evident that the stagnationists were no longer in the ascendancy in Washington. Dr. Nourse, as is evident from his book, *Price Making in a Democracy*, is not a stagnationist; he believes that our economy will provide jobs for all if the price structure is geared to expansion through increased purchasing ability.

How little cleverness Moscow can sometimes possess was illustrated when Moscow Radio urged American voters (in English) to vote for the candidates backed by P. A. C.

An Eternal OPA?

The statistical data has had difficulty in keeping abreast of the current polemics concerning price control. But, now that the data is coming in, it becomes more and more apparent that neither side in the controversy has been correct in its argumentation. The industrialists, represented by NAM, have stated that if prices are given free reign, increased profit will bring more plants into production or full production and eliminate shortages. The OPA and its supporters claimed that production was so far deterred by reconversion difficulties that a relaxation of maximum price laws would lead to terrific inflation; the solution, according to OPA, was to let goods accumulate until they reached an adequate proportion with the money supply. The production figures show that NAM was wrong—we have already attained near maximum production, and still the possibility of fulfilling even a major part of back orders is not in sight. The OPA plea for an adequation of goods and the money supply without inflation is a plea for the impossible, as is shown by a government statistician, Mr. Haskell P. Wald, writing in the *Survey of Current Business*, a publication of the Department of Commerce.

Mr. Wald shows that at the present time there are \$245 billion held by private individuals and businesses in the form of cash, bank deposits, and government securities. This money and near-money will almost certainly stay in the economy for some years to come, and, hence, we may conclude that a price rise is inevitable in the near future; and the permanent price level will probably be about the same as obtained in the early summer of 1946.

The connection between Argentina and Spain grows closer, as the Argentinians agree to buy \$100,000,000 of Spain's 1946 Government bonds, and to grant \$19,000,000 in credit with a promise of 700,000 tons of wheat during the course of the next two years.

Democracy marches on: A Russian military court recently sentenced two leaders of opposition political parties in Austria, Ferdinand Rieffler, member of the lower Austrian diet, and Hans Schraetter, district leader of the Peasant League, to long terms in Siberia.

The Labor Force

Statisticians, in and out of the Federal government, have been concerned recently with two important factors in regard to labor: the size of the labor force; and the productivity of labor. Almost a year ago, in November, 1945, the *Review of Economic Statistics* carried a discussion among four experts in which techniques of measurement and methods of forecast were scrutinized. None of these men estimated the size of the postwar labor force correctly. Today there are over 60 million people at work, and the most optimistic forecast predicted that this figure would not be reached until 1950.

The failure of the forecasts is caused by three groups—teen-aged youths, women, and the aged—who were expected to withdraw from the labor forces as calculated from past normal behavior. High school youths are continuing to seek employment in much greater numbers than was anticipated; women seem reluctant to leave the employment they found to their financial advantage during the war; older people, both men and women, have failed to see the need for retirement in the light of their wartime experience and are loath to stop working as long as employment opportunities remain.

The total of eleven million persons who were brought into employment by abnormal working opportunities by the war has not decreased appreciably during the peace and, as a result, we have 16 million women working, of whom 6 million are under twenty years of age; in addition, there are 17 million boys under twenty years of age working in agriculture and industry. These are the human factors that sent the calculations of statisticians into a blind alley.

At the end of the fall, seven million Germans and Japs were still prisoners held in various allied countries. Russia holds four million Germans, and as a wage for her slight part in the Japanese war over a million Japs. The United States held something over 100,000, with not two dozen in this country.

The Pittsburgh power strike cost an easy \$400,000,000 in wages and lost business.

Distribute What We Have

From an ad inserted in the Autumn issue of the *Yale Review* by the Bank of New York:

"The only way to *divide* more is to *produce* more.

The only way to *produce* more is to *work* more.

Never in history have we in America had more

MANPOWER — SKILLS — MATERIALS —
MONEY — TOOLS — IDEAS

to work *with* . . . and a greater future to work *for*."

Now that's all very true—and satisfactory as far as it goes. But the papal insistence is upon something totally different. The papal aim does not seek more to be divided. That may or may not be a good thing. If the present inequitable distribution were to continue, it would obviously be bad. What popes seek is a *just distribution of what we have*, not more to be distributed in the same inequitable proportion of today's division: "Each class, then, must receive its due share, and the distribution of created goods must be brought into conformity with the demands of the common good and social justice, for every sincere observer is conscious that the vast differences between the few who hold excessive wealth and the many who live in destitution constitute a grave evil in modern society." *Quadragesimo Anno*.

Soviet Output

Instructive is the comparative study recently made in *World Report*, October 1, of production output in the Soviet and in the U. S. Taking the figure 1 as the unit for Soviet production per man, the report shows: For 1 unit of coal produced by a single man in the Soviet, 7.3 are produced by an American miner; for 1 unit of farm goods produced in the Soviet, 4.5 are produced in the United States; for 1 unit of Russian steel, there are 3.1 units in the American steel industry.

Operation Cease

Aren't we overdue for "Operation Cease" on Public opinion polls? Democracy turns to ochlocracy when those who know and those who don't know, those who care and those who are indifferent are all lumped as one vote apiece, and the results of majority-sampling are published as serious news. These were our thoughts recently on reading the verdict of high school youngsters in both Germany and America on the question: "Who was the greatest man in World History?" The results:

391 German teen-agers	986 American teen-agers
F. D. Roosevelt	First Place F. D. Roosevelt
Otto Bismarck	Second Place Abraham Lincoln
Frederick the Great	Third Place Jesus Christ
Adolf Hitler	Fourth Place George Washington

The German youth, from around Friedberg and Offenbach in southwest Germany, listed Goethe, Churchill and the Pope as "also rans." Outside of Our Lord and Julius Caesar, the top twelve American selections were all Americans—a not-too-flattering indication of provincialism. The real danger in polls is the havoc they wreak on the unthinking—particularly unthinking legislators. Edmund Burke reads us all a good lesson in his speech at Bristol, when he warned his constituents that he intended to act as he considered to be in their best interest, and not according to popular pressure from the home districts.

In case you missed it, there is a Euthanasia Society of America. Recently it released a statement signed by fifty-two New York religious leaders who agreed that painless death for the incurably ill who desire it was quite all right. In another part of New York City there was also, not so long ago, an organization known as Murder, Incorporated.

Said Judge Edwin A. Robson of Cook County's Superior Court in Chicago: "I point to my record not with pride but with shame—shame for the people of my country, state, and country."

He had heard 2,000 divorce cases in the last four months of 1945.

The National Debt

This year the interest on the national debt will cost the taxpayers 5 billion dollars. Professor Sumner Slichter of Harvard has a plan whereby the cost of carrying our huge government bond issues will be greatly reduced. He emphasizes the fact that a very large percentage (half or more) of the interest payments on bonds will be paid to the banks. The banks really came into possession of these bonds by the simple process of opening their checking accounts to the U. S. government, and, as a result of clearing house activities among the whole banking system, the actual outlay of cash by the banks was negligible.

It seems to Professor Slichter that the government should not be forced to pay interest and principal to such a great amount for a service that really cost the banks very little. He states that the government should take up its bonds from the banks and not pay anything in a spot-cash adjustment. Rather, the government, in return for the service rendered by the Banks during the war, would pay for the ordinary banking expenses—the actual cost of operation — of the banks. Any further banking income would have to come from the service the banks render the community in the form of commercial credit accommodations.

There seems to be both justice and good economic incentive to the plan, since government would be paying for what it received (a clearing house system) and the banks would be cut off from the temptation of living off the income from government bonds and neglecting to supply the venture capital so necessary for economic expansion.

The venereal disease rate in the Army in Germany reached an all time high of 305 cases for every thousand soldiers. If this continues, Germany has probably won the war if not on the battle field.

A sidelight on the Palestine situation was quoted by *Time* from Professor Victor D. Lutsky, secretary for Palestine in the Soviet foreign office. He gave a lecture in which he stated that Zionism was an imperialistic-capitalistic state lacking the support of the Jewish masses and that the state belonged to the Arabs. Russia's interest in the Jews is part of her campaign against capitalistic Britain.

The A F of L has joined with the CIO in demands for a look at Company books in order to determine just wages. In its *Monthly Survey*, the AFL asks an American industrialists to "give us access to financial reports so we can see the income resulting from the joint production process" and for a just basis for wage demands.

Fascism and Corporativism

Professor Abraham Harris of Howard University wrote an article on the economics of Father Heinrich Pesch, S.J., in the *Journal of Political Economy* for February, 1946. The article was not sympathetic, neither was it discerning. Accusing Father Pesch of an inadequate appreciation of scientific and empirical analysis (and especially of marketing analysis), the author attempted to show that modern Catholic social thinkers are inductive (in the Kantian sense) and authoritarian to such an extent that their principles of corporativism lead directly to fascist political action.

These charges were thoroughly disproved in the June number of the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* by Father Bernard W. Dempsey, S.J. Father Dempsey's article, "Ability to Pay," had for its main objective a presentation of the scholastic position on just prices and wages. Hence, it did not constitute an *ex condicto* answer to the article by Harris. Nevertheless, by showing that a very thorough analysis of markets and costs must precede the development of a sound price-wage structure; and by showing that the facts necessary for such an analysis can only be obtained through a corporative organization of economic society, Father Dempsey emphasized the highly scientific and fundamentally democratic nature of corporative thought.

The Survey of Liquid Assets

The June, July, and August numbers of the *Federal Reserve Bulletin* contained articles which summarized the results of a very important survey recently conducted by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in an effort to estimate wartime changes in the structure of the national income and to forecast the trend in consumption and saving in the immediate future. The figures on income and saving are especially significant:

Annual Income Groups	Percentage of Families		Percentage of Total Savings	
	Prewar	1945	Prewar	1945
\$1,000 and under	53	20	-28	-1
\$1,000-1,999	31	27	15	11
\$2,000-2,999	10	23	22	14
\$3,000-4,999	4	22	20	36
\$5,000 and over	2	8	71	40

At the beginning of the year, then, the national income and savings structure showed that money incomes and savings were much less concentrated than had been the case in the prewar period. The situation in liquid asset holdings, however, was not so favorable in the matter of distribution. The nation's liquid assets (savings deposits, demand deposits, and U. S. Government Bonds) were not widely distributed among the whole population. Ten percent of the people held sixty percent of these assets, thirty percent of the people held 87 percent of the assets, and fifty percent of the people held 97 percent. The findings of the survey indicate that, while the incomes of individuals are adjusted with some degree of balance at the present time, the security that comes with ownership of liquid assets is still greatly lacking among large numbers of our population.

A hopeful sign is the fact that during the first eight months of 1946 the United States zone in Germany exported \$20,000,000 worth of raw materials.

Disagreeable Facts

In writing of Henry Wallace and the sincere and good people that he won to his attitude toward Russia, *Time* says: "But all these groups, if they are chartered by Henry's line, will have to forget a massive set of disagreeable facts. They will have to forget the Russian denial of religion, the Russian territorial expansion since World War II, the Russian denial of individual rights to both conquered and satellite countries, the character of the Russian police state, the new Russian five-year plan. They will have to forget, in short, that Russia is a totalitarian state."

Reporting the terrible purge that is being conducted chiefly among the collective farmers, *Time* has this to say: "... [the purge] drew clearly for all the world to see the line that divided the Soviet Government from the Russian people. The Soviet Government is communist; the majority of the Russian people are not. The little group of men who review the massive musters of Soviet power from the Kremlin Wall are the masters and not the servants of the Russian people."

"Representatives of the fanatical government minority, they rule the vast, inert, defenseless Russian masses, as all minorities must: chiefly by means of an omniscient secret police and its informers, by intricate economic controls that make every Russian dependent on the government for his livelihood, and by hope—hope for a better future which never comes... When these controls creak... purges are a sanitary corrective—at once a technique of dictatorship and a reflex of fear.

"No one knows how many million Russians have been killed since 1917 by purges, terror, and other oppressive measures... certainly... in millions."

Problem in Unbalance

A great deal has been said in recent months about the tremendous back log of savings which have been accumulated by workers in the United States during the war years. We get a new understanding of these statements, however, when we read the *Wage Earner* report that 50% of the American population has been able to accumulate only 3% of the huge wartime savings. At the other extreme of the economic ladder we are told that 10% of the population is in possession of the huge amount of 60% of these accumulated savings. How tremendous is this unbalance is made more impressive by the concluding sentence of the report which states that the savings at the present time are 300% higher than in pre-war years.

Not Even Beginning

Time quotes at length from Professor Eugene Varga, economic adviser to the Russian Communist Party's Political Bureau, and hence official when he speaks on Russian attitudes.

The struggle between capitalistic countries, like the US and Britain, against the Soviet Union is intensifying under new, postwar conditions. "The fact that the Soviet Union and the highly developed capitalist countries fought in the same camp against the fascist aggressors did not signify that the struggle between the two systems had slowed down or stopped; it did not even signify the beginning of the end of the struggle."

Quite clearly in the mind of the Soviet, the world is two and not one. The US has emerged from World War II as "the mightiest military power in the capitalistic world, but its strength is counterbalanced by the increased strength of the Soviet Union and of Europe's Communist Parties."

ISO NATIONAL CONVENTIONS LACK CONTINUITY

A stretch of Sahara in ISO productivity is the present method of garnering delegates to the National Convention. So it seems to the writer. Some come because they are delegated by their Rector or Provincial; some come from a heartfelt desire to work with others to improve the Social Order; some come for the trip and out of curiosity. But there is an appalling lack of continuity in our three major meetings of 1943, 1944, and 1946.

What are the statistics? Only 32 Jesuits of the entire 6000 odd in the Assistancy have attended these three meetings! One hundred and thirty-six of the 220 who attended that first great Convention at West Baden never attended another meeting. Subtracting the scholastics in their studies, as well as the dead and those who have gone overseas to Mission Fields—isn't this number still somewhat surprising? Again, 33% of the 1946 attendance had never before attended an ISO meeting. How many will be there in 1947? This perpetual change plays havoc with the Committee work, and men rehash and rehash what was thoroughly digested in preceding years.

Remedies? A permanent core of 100 Jesuits or more (apart from the OSA and ISS) whom all Superiors recognize automatically as delegates to each national meeting. They should be sent to other regional and local ones, as well. Fifty per cent could be our recognized students in the three social sciences—the other fifty per cent our active channeling personnel, whose achievements along social lines would satisfy the delimitations of Father Becker's splendid articles (Sept.-Oct., 1946).

A second remedy might be a practical ruling that an individual could not belong to more than one committee! Also, the delegates could specify one month ahead of the National Meeting on which committee they plan to serve. Yes, the same old faces would be coming back year after year—but any national group or convention that really functions consists of the same old faces.

Joseph F. Cantillon
Office of Social Activities
St. Louis, Missouri

IMPORTANCE OF RETREATS

How Father Terence Shealy would have rejoiced were he with us. Two hundred and eighteen Jesuits gathered in earnest discussion over modern social problems, family, youth, employment, industrial relations, distribution of income

and wealth, etc., etc. Thirty years ago he was a voice crying in the wilderness, when he was trying to organize a school for social studies. And when he finally did get things started how short lived was the result. The Common Cause and the Live Issue died through lack of financial support. The School for Social Studies ceased to function when he was gone. If he were alive today, how eagerly he would scan the meager details given in the October BULLETIN, how anxiously he would await the coming of the November issue where a full account of the Chicago meeting is to be given.

Yet mingled with his happiness over this remarkable display of interest in the social question would be a certain misgiving. He would note, as others have noted, that apparently the new Constitution of the ISO will make no specific mention of the part that the laymen's retreat movement ought to play in the social apostolate. Father Shealy believed as the Holy Father and his predecessors believed that the foundation for successful social action should be the Spiritual Exercises. Listen to him as he delivers an inspiring address at the Eucharistic Congress in Montreal, (1910). "The Retreat movement is an immense power for good not only in the religious but also in the social and civic life of the Community. It is a wondrous instrument of Divine Providence for the saving of our Catholic laymen amid the grave and peculiar dangers which beset our modern life. It is a great social force directly leading to Catholic union and organization in an age of serious and threatening social problems."

The delimiting of the ISO which Father Becker is discussing with rare ability is an excellent thing. But for heaven's sake do not let us so limit it that we cut away its very foundation.

Archbishop Cushing of Boston in the masterful address given at the National Conference of the lay retreat movement last June called the retreat the Power House of Catholic Action in his archdiocese. He said that when conditions permitted, five new retreat houses would be built in addition to the three now functioning in Boston.

Pius XI in his encyclical, "Mens Nostra," says "We deem it proved that the Spiritual Exercises made according to the plan of St. Ignatius are amply strong enough to break through the most stubborn problems under which human society is now groaning."

But why go on? Verbum sapienti.

Joseph R. Stack, S.J.
El Retiro
Los Altos, Calif.

LIKES DEBATE MANUAL

According to the October issue of the ISO BULLETIN, you have started a new service, the Debate Bureau, which offers literature on the annual debate topic. Allow me to congratulate your office on this very valuable aid to debate coaches in our high schools and colleges. As debate coach during my three years of Regency I had frequently to regret the lack of just the kind of material that your Debate Bureau promises to furnish. There is no end of guide books, manuals and what not treating the national debate topics from the secular viewpoint—often enough from a positively anti-Christian viewpoint. Your service therefore, which promises to give the Catholic approach to the debate resolutions is the answer to a long felt need.

John A. Hardon, S.J.
West Baden College
West Baden, Indiana

COMMUNIST AND NEGRO

Perhaps some will be interested to know that many recent news releases making Negro weeklies and magazines bear an increasingly Communist flavor. *The Pittsburgh Courier*, leading weekly, often runs stories dated from Moscow by Chatwood Hall, resident correspondent for Associated Negro Press. Comments on international issues, especially on African troubles, are filled with Red views, particularly from a Paris correspondent. Communist affiliates at home and abroad make the front page with protests against the Georgia lynchings, Bilbo politicking and segregation squabbles.

On the other hand, little Catholic Negro and interracial news makes these papers.

Could not our various associations and schools look over a manual on news writing and shake the dust off their typewriters? If we present our news—and there is Catholic interracial news—the picture won't be so Red.

Ray Bernard, S.J.
Race Relations Conference
St. Mary's College
St. Marys, Kas.

TWO SUGGESTIONS

The following quotation taken from *The Content of the Advanced Religion Course* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic Education Press, 1924) pp. 12-15, by John M. Cooper, D.D., might be of interest to readers of the ISO BULLETIN.

"... In the typical Catholic centuries, the Middle Ages, the Church interpreted the works of mercy very inclusively and

granted indulgences, not only for aid and resources given to the building of churches, hospitals, charitable institutions, and schools, but also for works promoting wider public welfare such as building roads and bridges, dams and harbors, such as active membership in trade guilds and marksmen's clubs—the medieval prototypes respectively of our modern labor unions and national militia—and such as founding non-usurious money loan, our modern degenerated pawnshop. Read the details in that delightful little work of Nikolaus Paulus recently translated by Father Elliot Ross, "Indulgences as a Social Factor in the Middle Ages."

"Interpreted thus in the traditional inclusive Catholic sense, "visiting the sick," for instance, today includes a host of activities ranging from a simple visit to a sick friend to the bacteriological researches of a Pasteur, from the conduct of a hospital to the life-saving task of providing a typhoid-ridden city with a pure water and milk supply. If we interpret charity in its historic Catholic sense, we shall find it expanding over enormous fields of activity that we are accustomed to ticket as vocational, educational, sanitary, industrial, social, or civic, and therefore merely secular. Interpret charity to the Catholic student as our holy mother the Church has historically interpreted it and our religion becomes more and more what it was intended to be—a seven-day-a-week and twenty-four-hour-a-day affair. Nothing that concerns human needs and welfare is foreign to its purpose, provided only that God be not left out of our reckoning and that what we do be done "in His name."

"... Practically all honest labor fulfills some human need. Some professions do so more obviously. Such are the medical and nursing professions with their aim of "visiting the sick," that is of curing or preventing illness, and of staying the hand of death. Such is again the legal profession with its function of maintaining justice between man and man. And so one could run through the professions and vocations, scamping not even the humbler tasks of the hewer of wood and the drawer of water. All after their respective kinds and manners do neighborly service as their life-task. Of course a vicious and selfish intention can dethrone from the plane of charity any vocation, but so too can a vicious and selfish intention dethrone from the plane of charity even the most literal and manifest work of mercy. The very cup of cold water given is not a work of mercy unless done unselfishly, in the spirit of charity, "in His name."

There is one thing I believe would help very much to educe the interest and cooperation of our men in the houses of studies. About twice a year, certainly not less frequently than that, really inspiring men, that means inspired men, should visit these houses and give us an interesting account of what is being done and an inspiring vision of what we remotely and immediately hope to do. Personal contact means so much. It conveys the spirit much more than the printed letter of the BULLETIN could possibly do. If we can manage to have a great conference each year, and that is surely a necessity if we wish to keep rolling together, we should be able to have a few Fathers visit the several handfuls of our houses of studies each six months. That is a way of incorporating us in the life of the ISO, in giving us a part in the big conferences, which are not held for the exclusive benefit of the few scores who attend. I hope that something along this line can be done.

William D. Lynn, S.J.
Woodstock College
Woodstock, Maryland

THE PRECEDING DOCTRINE

I have preached previously that "social" is an uncertain word, and needs to be defined carefully by its user. In the best style of Rodriguez, I should like to confirm the preceding doctrine by (two) examples.

1. I have it on the authority of Fr. Robert Graham, S.J., that the "Social and Economic Council" of UN spent much of its first meetings and found no little difficulty in deciding what it would and would not include under the heading "Social."

2. I have it on the authority of Fr. John F. Cronin, S.S., that a similar difficulty is being experienced by the N.C. W.C. in its current attempt to frame a "Catholic Social Manifesto." It will be sufficient to quote from the last direc-

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tive to the consultants on the Catholic social manifesto:

"The main point of discussion and disagreement in the replies received concerned the title and scope of the work. Unfortunately there is an ambiguity in the word "social" which permits several interpretations.

"It has been used, whether correctly or not we do not presume to say, to denote: **A:** Problems which are strictly sociological, e.g. the family, race, delinquency, etc. **B:** Social ethics, as when one speaks of the social encyclicals of the Popes, and means to exclude those on marriage, education, etc. **C:** Socio-economic problems, or the application of economic principles and social ethics to current economic problems which affect society.

"The framers of the Manifesto used the word "social" to cover the latter two spheres. Some consultants objected to the use of the word social in this context. Others, possibly because of the title "Social Manifesto," suggested the inclusion of items which would come under "A" above.

"To make the scope and meaning perfectly clear, the following questions are asked of the consultants..."

Moral: *Pari passu* with our use of the new instrument called the ISO should go a continuing attempt, leisurely but persistent to sharpen our statement of its function and the meaning we give to the "S" in it.

Joseph M. Becker, S.J.
Georgetown University

PARTY LINE IN *Modern Language Journal*

I think you and the ISO will be interested in the following quotation from the latest number of the *Modern Language Journal* (XXX.6 (Oct. 1946), p. 356):

"The example (of the Russian people today) of living in perfect racial equality with other peoples, in their Union is, indeed, encouraging. It seems they have found the elixir for rejuvenation in a courageous enterprise of cooperation. Even the accusation of religious persecution stands revealed now as a determined effort to enforce religious toleration so sorely lacking in old Russia. One need only to cast a glance at Nazi-Germany to realize the positive side of Russian living as compared to the wicked fiendishness of Nazi-Germans, oriented to a romanticized past, utterly out of step with modern living."

The article is, of course, directed to *educators*; it is the organ of the "National Federation of Modern Language Teachers."

This is the first time I have noticed the 'party line' in it; it might be worth looking into.

Lewis Delmage, S.J.
Montreal, Canada

Jesuit Alumni Council

Plans for the founding of a **Jesuit Alumni Council** were formulated in New York on October 23. Several outstanding laymen (Jesuit alumni) met with **Father Gabriel A. Zema** to draw up plans for such a national alumni organization and to take preliminary steps toward formulating a complete constitution and by-laws. The proposals drawn up in New York were forwarded to the Board of Governors of the ISO (the Reverend Fathers Provincial) as well as to the regional meetings of the alumni moderators.

Accent on Youth

Father Thomas Fay of the ISO Central Office is at present concentrating his attention on youth problems and solutions to these problems. Together with **Father Ralph Gallagher**, he recently visited the various departments of Chicago's CYO. **Father Fay**, together with **Jane Crump** and **Rosemary Hendron** of the QW Recreation Department, spent two days at **Campion** (boys) and **St. Mary's** (girls) Schools, **Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin**, conducting an institute on social etiquette. Address and introduction at social functions, ballroom etiquette, conversations (how to start and how to change them)—these and similar topics came up for general discussion. To put into practice what was learned, two dances were held. At the Fall Festival dance a **Virginia Reel** and other square dances were introduced. During the second dance—a **Football Victory** dance—a silhouette radio program was highlighted.

The same group conducted a recreation institute in the **Lincoln, Nebraska**, diocese for **Bishop Kucera** during the week of **November 3**.

Further details concerning the QW-ISO recreation program can be obtained by writing to that department in **St. Louis**.

Catholics Spineless?

The **Thomas More Study Group** of the **Regis Alumni Association, New York City**, presented "Are Catholics Spineless?" on **October 18**. **Father Edward Murphy** of **Weston College** outlined the clerical view-point, and **Mr. Louis Budenz** of **Fordham University** the lay angle.

University of Detroit

Five different sixteen-week courses in industrial relations are being conducted this winter at the evening **College of Commerce and Finance** of the **University**

of **Detroit**. Listed among them are the following: theory and practice of collective bargaining, labor law, current problems in industrial relations, labor economics and problems.

Leadership

Xavier (Mission) Guild of **Boston**, with the cooperation of **Father Thomas J. Feeney**, has scheduled a series of monthly lectures from **October** to **May**. The general topic is "Leadership." Leadership in radio, labor, education, the retreat movement, diplomacy, law, and canon law are covered. Annual membership for the series is **\$3.75**.

Peace of Death

Fordham's president, the **V. Rev. Robert I. Gannon**, spoke at a Mass commemorating the tercentenary of the discovery of **Lake George, New York**, by the **Jesuit Missionary, St. Isaac Jogues**. He declared, "If peace comes without God, it will be the peace of death. The forests of the world will grow again. The jungles will close in on us."

Sacred Heart Radio

The **Sacred Heart** radio program is now regularly heard in **Rhode Island's** penal institutions. Letters attesting its welcome reception have also been received at the **St. Louis S.H.** program headquarters from the **Missouri State Penitentiary**, and from the **Norfolk prison colony**. Chaplains of the **Army** and **Navy** have been most enthusiastic about the effect of the **Sacred Heart** program on patients' morale in service hospitals.

Co-ops in the Caribbean

Father John P. Sullivan, vice chairman of the **Jamaican Cooperative Development Council**, returned to **Jamaica** in mid-September. After spending six weeks at **ISO's Mission Institute** in **St. Louis**, he visited Caribbean countries where social work is in operation: **St. Lucia, Barbados, Venezuela, Curacao, Dominican Republic, and Cuba**. Interest in the cooperative movement throughout the area grows apace.

From St. Mary's

The **Race Relations Conference** of the **Jesuit Theologate of St. Marys, Kansas**, has outlined its program for the year **1946-7**. This includes discussion of the **Jewish problem**, the modern economic setup and the **Negro**, qualities desired in an interracial leader, **Negro vocations**, and **co-ops** on the interracial level. Literature and publications of the **South-ern Regional Council** (the **South's**

NAACP equivalent) are regularly received. Most important of these is the **New South**—a monthly magazine on interracial developments in the **South**.

Bellarmino Activities

Weekly **Tuesday** lectures on social problems are being offered for the seventh consecutive season by the **Bellarmino School of the Social Sciences** (**New York City**). **Father William J. Gibbons** is chairman. Courses for the fall of **1946** include: **Toward a Universal Christian Conscience, Woman's Responsibility in Social and Political Life. A Social Reconstruction Forum** is held once a month. There is no tuition charged for the courses, but a registration fee of **\$1.00** per term is asked of those who can afford it.

Woodstock Shows How

Woodstock theologians and philosophers have taken very seriously the concern of the **Popes** and the **Jesuit Generals** on reconstruction of the social order. Four **Provinces** sent representatives to the **Woodstock ISO Sodality Day, November 2**. Included among them were **Fathers J. Roger Lyons, Le-Butte, Foran, O'Mailia, and Shalloe**.

"The **Philosophers ISO**" has been activated under **Father Goggin**, and an **ISO library** is being set up. The **Philosophers' study groups** for this year are: **Missions (Mr. Forbes), Interracial (Mr. Galloway), Spiritual Exercises (Mr. Burton), Labor Encyclicals (Mr. Mulvey), Marxism (Mr. C. Lewis), and Politics (Mr. Kerns)**. To date these groups have been considerably helped by **Fathers Bluett, De la Costa, Duke, and Davish**.

Creighton's Social Work

Courses in **Social Work** are being added to the ordinary under-graduate programs at **Creighton University**. Under the direction of **Father William Downing**, the **Department of Sociology** has been stressing under-graduate curriculum in professional social work.

Such courses provide an introductory training for students who wish to seek employment in social work immediately upon graduation from college. The courses are also for the benefit of experienced workers of social agencies who are seeking additional training. Such topics as the field of social work, public welfare organization, and social secretary are currently being offered. A large number of **Creighton** students are majoring in the **Sociology Department**.

New Labor Schools

A new labor school has been started at **Canisius College**, Buffalo, where the **Institute of Industrial Relations** under the directorship of **Rev. John L. Shea** got under way on October 14. The Institute conducts classes four evenings each week: Monday evening, Public Speaking and Parliamentary Law; Tuesday evening, Papal Encyclicals; Wednesday evening, Grievance Clinic; Friday evening, Industrial Ethics. The printed announcement emphasizes the qualification of leadership or potential leadership in management or the Labor Union Movement as a qualification for admission to the Institute's classes.

Father Philip Dobson, formerly associate director of the Crown Heights Labor school, has opened a second new school at Saint Peter's college, Jersey City, New Jersey.

Religion in Penal Work

Social activity of an unusual kind is being carried on by **Father Anthony Glaser**, chaplain of the New York Riker's Island prison and retiring president of the National Prison Chaplain's association. In his presidential address Father Glaser reported that he and the association's secretary had succeeded in securing adequate recognition of the role religion should play in penal work in a book, "Model Prison Plan," soon to be published by the Congress of Correction.

To India's Constituent Assembly

V. Rev. Jerome De Souza, S.J., rector of the Loyola College, Madras, India, has been elected as a member of the Constituent Assembly in Delhi. 385 members are to form the Constitution-making body: one for every million of the population. Father De Souza is one of the outstanding figures of the Madras Province and is an accomplished speaker as well.

Crown Heights Offerings

Brooklyn's Crown Heights Labor School has arranged some interesting fall and winter offerings. These include: Building a Sound Trade Union, How to Attend and Conduct a Meeting (parliamentary procedure), Communism—Theory and Practice, Business and Labor Leadership.

Each Tuesday evening sees the Boro Hall Labor School in operation; Wednesday evening, the Crown Heights Round Table Conferences; Friday evening, the Crown Heights work and study period.

Jesuits and NCRLC

Eight Jesuits contributed in no little way to the success of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference national convention in Green Bay, Wisconsin, from October 11 to 15. They are **Fathers Adams, Chiuminatto, Demeyer, Diamond, Donohoe, W. Gibbons, Lassance, and Rawe**. The conference brought out the urgent need for retreats in rural areas. Father Adams is anxious to contact Jesuits who may be interested in conducting such retreats. He can be reached at the ISO Central Office.

Pioneering

Among the functions outlined in our recent constitution for the Office of Social Activities is that of pioneering in social experiments. The experience gained in these pilot experiments can then be relayed to all the Jesuits in the United States.

On the 19th of November an interracial council was begun at central headquarters of the ISO under the direction of **Father Cantillon** who heads up interracial and intercultural activities there. Thirteen people attended this first meeting, ladies and gentlemen, white and Negro. The group will not discuss interracial activities until they get to know each other on a friendly social basis.

For the first meeting **Father Robert Henle**, editor of the *Modern Schoolman*, led a lively discussion on "What Price Philosophy in 1946?" Refreshments were then served. The group included some of the outstanding Catholic leaders in the white and Negro communities of St. Louis. It resembles no other group now functioning in this city of over 800,000. Another group is limited to men only, while a third group here is limited to priests active in interracial work.

Juvenile Delinquency

Father Thomas Fay, of the ISO Central Office, attended the National Conference on Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency, called in Washington by Attorney General Tom Clark, November 19-22. The Conference was divided into 16 panels, and delegates were expected to select and work with one of these throughout the sessions. A complete report of the Conference will appear in an early issue of the BULLETIN.

Outstanding Jesuit

Recognition of his outstanding work for religion and social order was tendered to **Rev. Michael J. Ahern**, on the occasion of his golden jubilee, by outstanding leaders in Boston. Political, educational, religious and industrial leaders joined in the celebration, which was held under the auspices of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Father Ahern's most recent work is his participation in the NCCJ conference held at Oxford University in late July and August. Out of this conference came the Manifesto on Human Rights which has received widespread notice.

John Eppstein Lectures

Under the sponsorship of **Father Lord** as head of the ISO, **John Childs Eppstein**, outstanding British authority on International relations, lectured before members of the International Relations club and others at **Saint Louis University** on November 18. Mr. Eppstein briefly reviewed the past history of Russia to prove his main point, that clear and firm dealing is always needed in dealing with that country. He also renewed the Churchillian emphasis on need for close collaboration between Britain and the United States.

Announcing For The January Issue:

A DOUBLE QUESTION

- 1) "Prescinding from all religious factors, what are the three principal sociological causes of our rising divorce rate?"
- 2) "What sociological remedies would you suggest?"

THE ANSWERS FROM EXPERTS, who constitute a veritable "Who's Who in Social Thought in America." Some of them are:

- Dr. Gordon W. Allport, of Harvard.
- Dr. Jessie S. Bernard, author of "American Family Behavior."
- Dr. George B. Mangold, University of Southern California.
- Dr. William F. Ogburn, former President, American Sociological Soc.
- Paul Popenoe, Director, Am. Inst. of Family Relations.
- Dr. Thurman B. Rice, author, State Health Commissioner of Indiana.
- Pitirim A. Sorokin, President, Internat. Congress of Sociology.
- And other psychiatrists, social workers, priests, psychologists and economists.

Publisher's Galley

Socio-Economic Books in Review

SELF-REVELATION OF THE ADOLESCENT BOY — By Urban H. Fleege, S.M., Ph. D., The Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1945. 384 pp. \$3.50.

In 1936 Sister M. Mildred Knoebber, O.S.B. wrote a doctoral dissertation at Saint Louis University entitled *Self-Revelation of the Adolescent Girl*. She questioned 3,000 girls in 30 high schools (public and private) in 20 states. The study revealed that the big majority came from happy homes and were not tortured by many or very serious problems. The problems for most of these adolescent girls concerned their future vocation in life, being misunderstood by their elders and limitation of their social privileges. One thing did stand out in this study—the inability of the school to do much for the girl when the home had failed. The study was published by Bruce and is now out of print.

In 1946 Bruce publishes a doctoral dissertation entitled *Self-Revelation of the Adolescent Boy* written at The Catholic University of America by Brother Urban H. Fleege, S.M. The author questioned 2,000 boys from 20 high schools (all Catholic) in 18 cities in 12 states. Again the general impression is wholesome and optimistic. The boys said their chief problem was purity. After that their problems were the same as the girls' and in the same order — future vocation, misunderstanding, restriction of social activities. Not general but prominent additional problems for the boys were financial and school difficulties.

Book-reviewers all seem to vote favorably. The *American Sociological Review* even says it "will remain a classic reference work on the adolescent's adjustments." The study really is of value for all interested in the adolescent boy. The one outstanding demand of these 2,000 boys is that *somebody* tell them about sex in the right way at the right time.

Thomas S. Bowdern, S.J.

GLASS HOUSE OF PREJUDICE —

By Dorothy W. Baruch. William Morrow and Company, N. Y., 1946. xiv - 205 pp. \$2.50

This is two-thirds of a good book. The first third of the book is a series of very poignant stories, depicting race prejudice in action in these not-so-United States. As a social scientist and consulting psychologist, Dr. Baruch, presumably, witnessed these case histories and they are worth your reading. "Causes of prejudice" forms the second part of her book and her analysis is well done.

The assumed dogma of the "essential

sweet reasonbleness" of mankind is the basis of the cures suggested in Part Three. Talk over your feelings, your emotions about Jews and Negroes with a counsellor, and these feelings will disappear. Or so says the author. Dorothy Baruch is the good liberal, naively pinning her faith on group psychotherapy to cure those ancient hatreds as old as the Garden of Eden.

Joseph Cantillon, S.J.

COLOR BLIND: A White Woman Looks at the Negro. — By Margaret Halsey. Simon & Schuster, New York, 1946. 164 pp. \$2.50.

Margaret Halsey is handicapped by the fact that she is an established humorist. That does not prevent her from writing a highly readable, often amusing, and more frequently serious book on America's biggest family problem.

Her book is the outgrowth of the fact that after Pearl Harbor she worked in a canteen which, unlike most of the canteens across the country, decided it would not go Jim Crow. It had no discrimination, and the colored were as welcome as the white and vice versa.

What Miss Halsey learned was simply that the way to solve the so-called Negro Problem is to solve it. Never in history has an issue been so clouded with talk and so stalled with difficulties that never come off. The canteen management just decided to take the great American documents seriously, to pretend we meant what we said by our professions of democracy, and to act as if colored Americans were just another group of human beings.

The head-shakers and the tut-tutters were sure there would be "trouble." There wasn't. The Negroes acted on the average a little better than the white boys, and none of the expected catastrophes fell upon the canteen and its managers.

Yes, white girls danced with black or brown service men on the principle that if the boys were good enough to go out to fight for white girls, white girls were not too good to dance with them and make them feel at home. No romances resulted. And no scandals broke the canteen wide open. And the colored boys did not "presume"; and the white management kept until the war's end a policy of treating soldiers like soldiers, and citizens like citizens, and God's children like God's children.

What seems to have impressed Miss Halsey most deeply was just the fact that nothing happened. It seldom does. It has been your reviewer's personal opinion gained from pleasant, if limited, association with the colored that the

"troubles" are all in anticipation, and the difficulties are largely of white fabrication.

The first part of the book which deals directly with Miss Halsey's experiences and her education by contact is magnificent. I could have wished it was written by a Jesuit dean after some years of experience with the colored in our schools. The second part of the book tends to labor the obvious. Like all newcomers in the field of race relations, Miss Halsey hears the usual objections, mostly ancient fictions and stale prejudices, and applies logic and irony to them. Sometimes, as when she takes up at great length the sexual aspects of the Negro and white, she is modernly frank and hence makes it difficult for me to review the book. But the subject is not pleasant; the accusations are not kind and gentle; the charges are not too humane; and the prejudices are not something to inspire gentleness of retort.

So to one who has read widely on the race problem or who has, better still, known the colored, there is not much new in the second half. The value of the book is simply the demonstration: Negroes and whites can get along together, and when you treat a Negro like a human being he acts like a human being.

Jesuit and Catholic publications might do very well if they quoted *in toto* and with applauding credit, the memorandum sent by Miss Halsey to the hostesses in her canteen. You will find it starting on page 53, and continuing for several pages. It's a mighty good document.

Daniel A. Lord, S.J.

ANATOMY OF RACIAL INTOLERANCE.—By George B. de Huszar. H. W. Wilson (The Reference Shelf), New York, 1946. 283 pp. \$1.25.

This book should serve as a source of much recent material on race matters, mainly for use by debaters, teachers, speakers and students of the problem. Its use by anyone with a fair knowledge of the issue is safe enough, but no one should hope to get or to give an adequate picture from this compilation.

Only three articles by Catholics are included, and they are none too thorough. Father Dunne's *Commonweal* piece, "The Sin of Segregation," is given, but his later, more complete, article in *America* was overlooked. Father LaFarge's work goes unmentioned. Mr. Robert Havighurst, of the Committee on Human Development, University of Chicago, sets forth some ideas that should have come from a Catholic authority: "Where a problem is basically a moral problem, it must be recognized and treated as

such. Too many problems we try to solve educationally . . . This is a task for religion as well as education . . ." Such a view is refreshing, though it must embarrass some of the big-name experts.

Perhaps a fuller representation could be secured in a later edition were Catholic leaders to communicate with the author. Then the Church's stand would shine out magnificently alongside the almost ludicrous materialism of some of the pseudo-psychiatrists and psychologists included.

Ray Bernard, S.J.

WAGES UNDER NATIONAL AND REGIONAL COLLECTIVE BARGAINING. — By Richard A. Lester & Edward A. Robie. Princeton University, Princeton, N. J., 1946. 99 pp. \$1.50

The purpose of this technical and factually comprehensive study is to examine the results of national or regional collective bargaining in seven manufacturing industries. The seven individual reports follow the same general pattern: a brief sketch of the industry in question, followed by a more complete study of its wage policy under national or regional bargaining. The conclusions drawn, based on the facts presented, seem proper and logical. One of the most important of these is that although standardized rates is one of the principal aims of such bargaining, it is not absolutely necessary. As is seen from the report, a fixed pattern of wage differentials, based on criteria considered fair and acceptable, has arisen in some of the industries.

With the spread of collective bargaining and reductions in geographic wage differentials, the subject of industry-wide wage scales has commanded increasing interest. Experience with wage uniformity under multiple-employer arrangements, in industries where it has been tried, can be of great practical help both to management and labor officials, especially where national or regional collective bargaining is under consideration.

The seven industries examined in the report are: pressed and blown glassware, pottery, stoves, full-fashioned hose, silk and rayon dyeing and finishing, flat glass and West Coast pulp and paper. The first three mentioned have had 45 to 55 years of experience with national or regional bargaining and the remaining four from 10 to 15 years of experience. The study emphasizes factors that tend to disrupt wage equality under multiple-employer bargaining, as well as factors that encourage wage uniformity.

For purpose of comparison and con-

trast, a brief resume of wage uniformity under national bargaining in Sweden and England is given in an appendix.

The report is a valuable contribution to our understanding of a problem that is of growing importance in labor relations.

William Hohmann, S.J.

SPOTLIGHT ON LABOR UNIONS. —

By William J. Smith, S. J. Duell, Sloan & Pearce, New York, 1946. VIII - 150 pp. \$2.50

The advent of an interestingly readable and instructive book on industrial relations which will appeal not only to the worker in the shop and to the official of management, but above all to a sadly confused general public, is welcome indeed. Such is *Spotlight on Labor Unions* by Rev. William J. Smith, S. J. The past success of the writer in conducting a pioneer labor school in Brooklyn makes him eminently qualified to speak with authority in this important field of human action.

In the first chapters the author presents briefly a keen analysis of the labor movement in America. He sees trade unionism as one of the basic principles of our democracy. Its struggle from the early days of the industrial era up to its very strong position today is a tribute to the same spirit which has made America great in other fields.

His discussion of union responsibility hurls a challenge at labor leaders to be worthy of their cause and not to betray the rank and file by despotic action and by associating with movements detrimental to labor's good. No doubt many industrialists will take issue with the exposition of the closed shop and the highly controversial topic of political action.

Calling for a code for labor, Father Smith discusses man as an individual possessing dignity, as a child of God, and as a member of the great human family. Consequently he condemns the philosophy of rugged individualism which has exploited the working man. Trade unionism, and in particular the CIO, are warned that Communism offers no true solution to America's problems in the social order. Stress is laid on the reorganization of industrial society based on the true rights and functions of both capital and labor.

The concluding chapter on cooperation, the keystone of harmony, is a common-sense call for a reform in social concepts and economic action. The present hostility between capital and labor must cease. The solution lies in partnership: Labor and capital working as a team for a mutual objective —

fullest production for decent wages with a reasonable profit at fair prices for the product. Careful reading of *Spotlight on Labor Unions* should awaken a more cooperative and constructive attitude of mind toward the crucial problems of industrial relations.

Richard M. McKeon, S. J.

LINCOLN'S INCENTIVE SYSTEM. —

By James F. Lincoln. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1946. 192 pp. \$2.00.

If Mr. Lincoln had restricted his endeavors to the art of exposition, we would be apt to consider his achievement a great landmark in the field of industrial relations. No one can deny that 32 years of mass-production without the loss of a single labor-hour is a remarkable record. That record is further enhanced by the fact that the years 1932-1944 were characterized by the highest wage-rates of any manufacturing activity in the world; by progressively higher dividends; by as much as a 90 per cent reduction in the cost of labor; by a more than one-half cut in the prices to consumers; and by a constantly expanded wage force.

Before examining Mr. Lincoln's economic thought, it is only just to explain that he attributes his success to the incentive system and to the intelligent activity of an advisory board made up of both management and labor. Essential to the efficiency of the incentive system in his eyes is the principle that piecework is the only proper basis for paying wages "because that is the only way in which production can be accurately paid for." Absolutely speaking, that may be correct, but, as the unions have repeatedly pointed out, piecework gives rise to serious group problems which must be adequately met before any adaptation of incentive can be termed ideal. Lincoln's advisory board consists of himself as president, the plant superintendent, an elected foreman, and one elected representative of each department. The board meets bi-weekly, and though the president reserves the right of veto, the board has never failed to reach a harmonious working agreement.

If Mr. Lincoln had merely explained his system without disclosing his social views, it would be difficult to pass other than a favorable verdict. From exposition, unfortunately, Mr. Lincoln proceeds without subtlety to an atavistic manifesto of raw-boned liberalism. "If competition is unrestrained, each will find his own level." Bitterly opposed to the late administration, he brands collective bargaining as "civil war" and the Wag-

ner Act as a parallel to the Marquis of Queensbury code for prize-fighting. If he followed through his analogy, he would realize that the Wagner Act gave labor brass knuckles in order to put it on a par with management which already had them. Though decrying "paternalism," Mr. Lincoln's own ideas lead very logically to such benignness. Removal of the Wagner Act would rob labor of its rightful juridical status, and without this natural status, labor is once more converted into poor Lazarus catching at the crumbs.

It is a pity that one of Mr. Lincoln's technical stature should produce such an ill-advised analysis. Individualism invariably produces a distorted perspective and a naivete that is as asocial as it is unreal. Because he happens to be an "enlightened monarch," Mr. Lincoln seems to think that all industrialists are of a like cast. On his own admission, the successful installation of the Lincoln system hinges on the company's acceptance of the principle: "Profit is to be a by-product of this effort." When that principle becomes industry's economic evangel we shall not need the implementing of human nature afforded by the Wagner Act. For the present and immediate future, the obvious excesses and shortcomings of collective bargaining are infinitely preferable to a repeal of the one legal barrier to national brigandage.

P. Donohoe, S.J.

HUMAN FACTORS IN MANAGEMENT — Edited by Schuyler Dean Hoslett, Park College Press, Parkville, Missouri, 1946. 322 pp. \$4.00.

Any book purporting to deal with such intangibles as the feeling, motivations, sentiments, prejudices, likes and dislikes of people is bound to be somewhat unsatisfactory. And yet, these are the things that account for most of the day by day clashes that occur in the factory and office between management and labor.

Mr. Hoslett has assembled a collection of eighteen articles or lectures — published elsewhere by business executives, university professors, and members of various research departments — and pointed them directly towards the improvement of every day relations between management personnel and their subordinates. The first series approaches the problem from the standpoint of management. The foreman, the sales manager, and the plant superintendent may have their own difficulties with superiors, but in discharging their functions as managers they must have the same qualifications of leadership, tact, and

sympathy that are expected of the highest executive. This requires training, and the book devotes considerable attention to this item.

The second division of matter reverses the field somewhat and attempts to analyze the common causes of dissatisfaction among the workers. Here emphasis is placed not on the economic factors, but on what might be called the sociological factors; on such things as the treatment accorded by immediate supervisors, the need of self-expression and creative outlets, personality traits of the bosses, and so on.

The book, however, is not nearly as negative as this outline might seem to indicate. Various techniques and organi-

zational methods for remedying the immediate problems are elaborated. Training programs for administrators and counseling services for facilitating adjustments are explained and illustrated by actual case reports; but, as with all so called "practical solutions" of personal problems by outsiders, the clinical atmosphere pervading these methods leads one to question their real merit.

These first two sections of the book are easy reading. A short third part is added featuring a psychologist, an anthropologist, and a sociologist. Each describes his particular field as touching social and labor problems. Their chief concern is to instill the "proper attitude" with which to attack the subject.

Paul A. Woelfl, S. J.

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In a rambling article which covers almost everything but the works of Spengler, William S. Schlamm surveys Western Europe today ("The Return of the West," *Fortune*, October, 1946. pp. 164-167ff) and finds it very good. His summary of the new parties is smart but far less ably done than the article by Paul Hutchinson in the September 23 issue of *Life*. One sentence, however, is a fine admission of Christian thinking's resurgence: "The textbook of Western Europe's social reform is no longer the *Communist Manifesto* but the encyclical *Rerum Novarum*." The article minimizes Communism's power ("Communism is licked in Europe"), even though it still wins 25 per cent of European voters. His five-point summary of European thought on U. S. foreign policy is the best item in the article:

1. U. S. should stop trading real Russian influence in the West for the illusion of Western influence in Eastern Europe.
2. Potsdam should be scrapped.
3. Facing up to Russia will not only not speed war, but will make it more remote.
4. U. S. should publicly submit its own peace terms.
5. U. S. should sponsor the integration of Western Europe.

FOR THIS WE FOUGHT—By Stuart Chase. Twentieth Century Fund, New York, 1946. X-123 pp. \$1.00.

The six-book series of reports, *When the War Ends*, (\$1.00 per book, six for \$5.00), written for the Twentieth Century Fund is now complete. The contents of these excellent surveys and reports on the state of the nation are indicated by their titles: 1. *The Road We Are Travelling: 1914-1942*, 2. *Goals for America: A budget of our needs and resources*, 3. *Where's the Money Coming From? Problems of postwar finance*, 4. *Democracy Under Pressure: Special interests vs. The public welfare*, 5. *Tomorrow's Trade: Problems of our foreign commerce*, and now 6. *For This We Fought: Guide lines to America's future*.

The results of all the recent important polls and surveys are drawn upon to give us the picture of the returned veteran, the ex-war-worker and the rest of us. We all want economic security and lasting peace which we believe is based on continuity of employment. After that we want housing, health and education. Whatever we want we can get, Mr. Chase says because the miracle of the war on the home front and the battle-front show we have the capacity. He proves this with a most interesting use of reports.

Our war-time prosperity can become a peace-time prosperity in four different

ways, Models A, B, C and D. Model A is a Mixed System of hit and miss; Model B, a Mixed System with Direction; Model C, an Automatic Competitive System; Model D, an Authoritarian State. Mr. Chase believes the way for us is Model B, the "Middle Way" of the Swedes.

Some federal legislation is necessary and that means we need a congress-without-Bilbos, intelligent men who will realize that the discovery of fire, the development of agriculture, and the release of atomic power are the three great landmarks in the history of the human race. And here Mr. Chase gives us a brief review of that history full of stale evolution—"anthropid apes roamed . . . some rather man-like. One branch in Asia finally came down out of the trees and began walking erect. It had a big brain for an ape, and of course an opposed thumb with which to manipulate things." And of course no mention even remotely of God or religion. As usual Stuart Chase regards the problem of the world as a merely material, economic problem to be solved by economics alone. And so he will never solve it.

Thomas S. Bowdern, S. J.

THE GREAT DILEMMA OF WORLD ORGANIZATION—By Fremont Rider. Reynal & Hitchcock, New York, 1946. 86 pp. \$1.50.

Stalin will hoot at this plan for apportioning the representatives in a "World Assembly" of a United Nations but then he doesn't seem to approve of any plan so far proposed, so we might as well have a look at it. Fremont Rider is the Librarian of Wesleyan University. Population, wealth, power, natural resources have been rejected as a basis, so Mr. Rider proposes an educational qualification. He multiplies the population of each country by the number of years of education each person has had and on this basis allots each country its share of the total of 424 members in the "World Assembly." As the educational accomplishment of any country increases, its share of the 424 representatives increases.

According to this plan the United States would have 88, Russia 59, British Empire 49, Germany 44, French Empire 22, China 20, Japan 18, Italy 13, sixteen other countries from 2 to 9, thirty-eight other countries one each. Every country would have at least one. Mr. Rider does not discuss what kind of education he expects the world to give its people. What if they chose to give an education like that of the Nazis or the Japanese? Would that prepare them to be good members of a World Assembly? Not to

speak of our own secularized education! A long list of distinguished authorities seems to approve of Mr. Rider's plan.

Thomas S. Bowdern, S. J.

RADIO'S SECOND CHANCE. — By Charles A. Siepmann. Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1946. XIV-282 pp. \$2.50.

Whether or not we are to be flooded by books on radio following Frederic Wakeman's successful and unvarnished attack on radio advertising agencies, *The Hucksters*, remains to be seen. Mr. Siepmann's case against radio is along broader and deeper lines, for he blasts against the entire radio industry and is far more penetrating and thought provoking.

The author is well qualified to attack the radio industry. He was formerly employed as a special consultant to "Washington's Number I Whipping Boy," the Federal Communications Commission. Many of the facts, statistics, and graphs found in his book were undoubtedly garnered from the files of the FCC. Mr. Siepmann is also a former employee of the British Broadcasting Company.

The spearhead of the author's attack can be simply stated: the air waves belong to the public and stations licensed to operate by the FCC do not own the air—this is public domain. Hence the public should have a strong voice in what goes out over the air and its "interest, convenience, and necessity" should be served by the station. But all the networks and most of the independent stations have sold out the public—abdicated to the get-rich-quick mania and Midas touch which now dominates those who operate stations in the public's so called interests.

Now FM (frequency modulation) is giving radio a second chance. The physical restrictions of the past—the crowded frequency band in present AM broadcasting—will soon be overcome. The question is whether the vested interests of radio will have the power to impose their restrictive will—merely to make more money—over FM? For ten chapters the author stays with this problem like a termite in a wood pile.

The most interesting and informative chapters are those which deal with freedom of speech on the air, the FCC, FM, and a plan for the future. Although we can justly question some of the principles upon which Mr. Siepmann bases his plea for freedom of speech, few will question his conclusions. His explanations of how and why labor, minority groups, especially the Negro, and other

so-called controversial issues are studiously avoided and sidetracked by station program directors should be read by all. The author presents the FCC as a strapping and powerful lad capable of whipping radio's money-mad executives into line but afraid to whisper authoritatively and put some teeth into its sanctions.

Undoubtedly, the best section of the book is the author's plan for the future: the listening public must be aroused to vigorous and organized action, even to the formulation of strong pressure groups; a corps of competent radio critics should be developed and a radio journal established so that public critics, and the industry can meet and battle on common ground; informed and progressive writers must be developed; a production center for public service programs should be set up. These are only a few of the practical suggestions which Mr. Siepmann proposes to that very wealthy but tired and sick "public servant," radio.

The book is well worth more than a hasty reading, for if radio is to have a second chance, the public, heretofore radio's sleeping partner, must be aroused.

John H. Williams, S.J.

THE SOCIAL STUDIES REVIEW BOOK. — By B. J. Fleming, K. E. Frasca, L. J. Mannion and A. S. Murphy. The Declan X. McMullen Co., New York, 1946. VI + 307 pp. \$1.24.

THE SOCIAL STUDIES REVIEW BOOK is a splendid review book for former servicemen now entering or re-entering college after some time away from social studies. Economics, World History, American History and American Problems are given specific and simplified treatment. A brief outline of fundamental economic concepts is comprised in some 44 pages. Ancient civilizations of the Near East, Greece, and Rome are outlined in some 15 pages. The foundation of European civilization and the making of the modern world are likewise ably treated in brief scope.

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for each essay question in a typical examination.

The book can be especially recommended for Catholic students, even high school students, who need a clear-cut, accurate systematization of the knowledge which should be possessed after these courses have been completed in high school.

For a one-stop review book of the social subjects treated, this writer has seen nothing better.

A. A. Barth, S.J.

The *Sword of the Spirit* in England has begun publication of a series of "International Problems" pamphlets which sell for 9d, written by anonymous natives of the countries involved. The pamphlets give a very thorough presentation of the historical background of the country, a survey of the present political and social situation and indications of the likely paths that country will take. To date pamphlets have been completed on Yugoslavia, Greece, Poland and Austria. Italy and Germany are in preparation. They can be secured from the *Sword of the Spirit*, 68 Gloucester Place, W. 1, London, England.

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