

I S O

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A CRUCIAL POINT IN BRITISH NATIONALIZATION

How Far Can Catholics Support Labor's Program

By JAMES F. HANLEY, S.J.

St. Marys, Kansas

IN his great essay on "Catholics and Economic Reconstruction" (part of *Essays in Reconstruction*: Sheed and Ward, 1946) Michael Fogarty stated that English public policy "in the course of its transition from the extreme of *laissez-faire* to the extreme of planning, happens at this particular moment to be crossing the line of Catholic social thought and so to be temporarily coincident with it." This observation, coming from one who is both a master of Catholic social thought and a keen student of current non-Catholic social theory, leads to a better understanding of the problem faced by leaders of Catholic social thought throughout the world: but it is of prime importance for an understanding of the present situation in England. The British Labor party has embarked on a program which, when completed, will see the State owning all of large industry in England. Pius XII teaches, as Father De Marco has pointed out in his article on corporativism and nationalization (*Civiltà Cattolica* for Sept. 7, 1946), that "nationalization is, in certain circumstances, not only licit, but opportune." There does seem to be some coincidence, then, between English public policy and Catholic social thought. It is possible to say how long the two paths will coincide only if an examination of the theoretical basis of the Labor party's program is made.

"Beef-Steak" Socialism

It would be easy to place a label on the dominant English social theory by saying that it is the theory of Harold Laski and nothing more. But Laski has been ranting away for years, while it was not until quite recently that the social theory now in the ascendancy in England was formed. It is the result of efforts made by thinkers who, though they are Marxian in the broad sense, are quite far removed from Laski's slavish acceptance of "beef-steak socialism" of the communistic variety. The fact of the matter is that the present program of the Labor party has a scientific flavor that goes far beyond what Marx, that most "scientific" of socialists, would ever have demanded of his followers.

The years after 1929 gave British socialism a strong transfusion of new blood, because prior to 1929 socialism everywhere was based on the Labor Theory of Value, and every socialist scheme went along under the implicit or explicit assumption that the worker had a strict right to all the products produced by industry. During the depression years a large number of British intellectuals was drawn into the revolutionary movement. They were reformers, struck by the terrifying misery of the poor who abounded in those days of mass unemployment, and they were determined to find the cause of depression and root this evil out of the social system. Traditional socialism had little appeal for these new reformers, and the reason was simple: the whole Marxian analysis of capitalism did not hold up in the face of the facts—the Marxian Labor Theory of Value was unsound and untenable; the Marxian predictions about falling wages and falling profits conspiring to make capitalism destroy itself were false; the Russian failure to find a substitute for the pricing system developed on the basis of private property caused grave doubts about socialism's efficiency.

Keynes' General Theory

Lord Keynes' *General Theory*, published in 1935, gave great stimulus to those engaged in attempts to solve the problem of depressions. It would not be just to say that Keynes fixed underconsumption as the cause of depressions, but it is true to say that underconsumption entered very much into the analysis contained in the *General Theory*. And Keynes did provide a point of departure for those who framed the theoretical structure for current British nationalization programs. The younger reformers became convinced of the direct connection between depressions and the inability of great masses of the people to consume the products of industry. In turn, they placed the blame for this inability to consume on the distribution of income obtaining in the present system. Their argument was statistical. For the last 125 years in the Western

World the distribution of income between wages and gross profit has maintained a constant ratio. Thus, in any given year and in practically every nation the system has yielded up about 63% of the things produced to labor and the remainder has gone to those sharing in gross profit. Depressions, booms, innovation, inventions, discoveries—none of these factors has permanently changed the ration of wages to profits. Hence it was that much attention was centered on the whole problem of profit, and investigations concerning its nature and necessity were carried on with fixed intent.

The traditional explanations saw profit as the reward for risk-taking, but this seemed to be a false proposition, since the relative share in the product remained the same both for capital and labor over the whole recorded period of the industrial revolution, and it seemed quite obvious that risks were of varied magnitudes during that time. In fact, at about this same time (1936) traditional economic teaching in England began to lose caste on a very large scale. The simultaneous development by Robinson in England and Chamberlin in America of the Theory of Imperfect Competition seemed to sweep aside a number of basic assumptions that were of great importance to the validity of orthodox economic principles. Insofar as it affected the problem of profit and income distribution this theory brought out the important fact that under our present system of economic organization the determination of profits was, within limits, quite under the control of those who operate industry. At this point in its development the new socialism framed its argument as follows: social injustice and depression are caused by maldistribution of income; maldistribution of income is caused by the exactment of a constant share in the product for capital; and the present system is so arranged that capital can and will always receive this constant share. The conclusion of this argument was stated by one of the most capable economic theorists of the Labor party in 1942, when it was claimed that "the maldistribution of income is quite as deeply imbedded in the Capitalist system as *Marx believed the tendency of falling profits to be*, and cannot be eliminated without drastic changes in the system."

Beyond Marx

The italicized words in the preceding quotation are important, because they throw light on the acceptance of Marxist remedies for a situation that Marx never envisaged. Marx's diagnosis of capitalism did not create a great stir among theoretical economists in Britain before the problem of depression brought serious doubts about profits, income-distribution, and the productive methods in the present system. When these theorists saw that their investigations led to a rejection of the present system, the Marxian conclusions had a great appeal. This is not difficult to explain, since, given the necessity of a change, what new system was ready at hand for introduction? As far as English thought is concerned, there has been no third system in addition to capitalism and Marxism, and, with the fall of the traditional doctrine, Marx (with all his contradictions and all his inaccuracies of presentation) stood alone and unchallenged. That is why Laski has followers who will go further and explain more for him than his much-bruised volumes of *Capital* could ever do. We now have a body of social theorists in England who reject all of Marx's premises and accept all of his conclusions.

Britain has nationalized banks, air transport, coal, and communications. Plans are completed for the State to take over the ownership of transportation, utilities, and large sectors of the steel industry. It is most probable that

Catholic leaders in Britain have held their peace and kept the papal teaching about the morality of nationalization clearly in mind and some English Catholics have given full support to the program as it has developed so far. However, there is another aspect to the situation, and it too involves the papal teaching. In the De Marco article quoted above it is pointed out that Pius XII, while admitting the moral possibility and desirability of nationalization under certain circumstances, also teaches that "nationalization is not the only means, nor the principal means which the state can use to raise incorporated industry to its social function of serving the common good." How far, then, can Catholics give their support to the Labor party's program of state ownership? The broader implications of going along too far in support of a definitely Marxian program are too obvious to warrant comment here. The question under present consideration concerns the precise location of that point where Christians and the new Marxism cease to agree on the means to social betterment in England. That point is reached, it seems to the present writer, with the Labor party's determination to nationalize the basic steel industry of Britain.

Steel Nationalization

There are 3,446 firms engaged in the steel industry of Britain. The industry itself had been the target of much criticism prior to the war, the principal cause for accusation being its high costs, rising prices, and its failure to abandon obsolete methods. During the war the industry resolved to mend its ways, and a postwar scheme of modernization and expansion was drawn up. The fact that this large number of firms should achieve sufficient unity to organize into a responsible whole and plan for the future was a very good sign. But these 3,446 firms did more. They made plans to absorb their share of the changing labor force, since they began a development program that would involve an expenditure of about one billion dollars and lead to increased production on a more efficient cost basis. The industry has been singularly free from labor strife, and, by British standards, its wages have been fairly high. Faced by an united industry that was willing and able to accept its responsibility to the nation in providing for prosperous expansion and that, in addition, was the possessor of a good labor record, the Labor party leadership experienced much difficulty in making out a case for nationalization. The party leaders first raised doubts about financing expansion, but the industry was ready with a good answer—it already had half of the necessary funds in cash, and the remainder would be forthcoming from sales of stock and bonds. The next step by the government was to present a dilemma: either the industry would be unable to organize itself with sufficient cohesion for cooperation towards full production and full employment, or, if such cohesion were attained, then the public could not afford to place itself at the mercy of such a large monopolistic group. And there the matter stands.

Clearly, this problem of steel nationalization shows that the present Labor party program does not agree with Pius XII in his teaching that nationalization is neither the best, nor the sole means for social betterment. The program is supported by men who are completely willing to trust to the efficiency of nationalization (an efficiency that has never been proved, in spite of violent attempts by capable minds), but they are completely unwilling to trust an industry that has assumed more social responsibility than any English industry ever has and which is, at the same time, much more capable both from the viewpoint of theory and experience to insure the social gains that state socialism has never proved itself capable of insuring.

THE INDEPENDENT VOTER

Political Coalitions Demand Judicious Voting

By FRANCIS J. CORLEY, S.J.

O. S. A.

AT the present time there is only one political party in the United States. That is the Communist party. In some sense New York's American Labor party, the Liberal party and the Socialist party can be given that name, but they are not national parties, and the Socialists are broken up into several conflicting groups. The coalitions which we commonly speak of as the Democratic and Republican parties are not really parties at all.

In most European countries each political group, whether large or small, has a unified idea of government and a unified program for achieving the type of government they consider best. Thus in France the Communist party, the Socialist party and the Popular Republican Movement are three clear cut groups with definite philosophies of government and programs of action. Similarly in Italy, where just before the recent elections a total of 19 different political parties sprang up, each one had its own sharply defined ideal and platform.

Let us take a look at the two coalitions which we call the Democratic and Republican parties in the United States.

Each is a loose collection of diverse and often opposed interest groups which have united largely for the purpose of achieving political power. Within each coalition there are some questions on which all elements agree, but on most issues they diverge sharply. Political action by these two groups is largely a matter of compromise in the interest of agreement and united opposition to the other coalition. Political expediency rather than political unanimity holds the groups together.

There are internal frictions and tendencies constantly at work impeding unified action and interfering with the smooth running of government, regardless of the party which for the moment holds power in the country.

Democrat Coalition

The Democratic party, roughly speaking, is composed of four large groups. Most consistent in its adherence to membership in the Democratic party is the large bloc of southern states which, since the Civil War, has voted almost invariably for Democratic candidates. As a matter of fact in most of the southern states there is for practical purposes only a one-party system, and the primary elections in these states determine the candidate who will be designated for office.

The second element in the Democratic coalitions organization is a vaguely defined religious-racial group. In this segment Americans of Irish Catholic descent are probably most prominent. They coincide rather largely with the urban groups which shall be spoken of later, but are not so large numerically as the entire urban population.

Other racial and religious groups are included in this section. Thus it would be reasonably safe to say that middle and lower income class Jews rather commonly vote the Democratic ticket.

This group is relatively stable. Even before 1928 a large portion of the Catholic vote went to the democratic candidate, and since the presidential nomination of Alfred E. Smith, Catholic loyalty to the Democratic party has been considerably strengthened. Democratic leadership has been as careful as possible to keep these two religious groups loyal.

Organized labor, especially the newer unions of the Congress of Industrial Organization has been closely united with the Democratic coalition and constitutes the third large sector. This alliance dates from the beginning of President Roosevelt's regime in 1932 and has remained consistently loyal. I do not mean that all elements of labor have adhered to the democratic standard. John L. Lewis' shift of support in 1940 in the Roosevelt-Willkie campaign is, of course, well known.

The fourth large group in the Democratic coalition is the population of our larger cities. An analysis of election returns after the presidential voting in 1944 showed clearly that the thirteen major cities of the country had swung the election in favor of President Roosevelt.

This tremendously powerful segment is the least stable element in the Democratic coalition. It is composed in large measure of independent voters whose affiliation to either party is so loose that they can swing from one to the other with relative freedom.

It must be noted that the labor group in the Democratic coalition is relatively small when contrasted with the huge urban group. Organized labor, not all of which is consistently Democratic, constitutes only about one-tenth of the working population of the United States. As organization advances, particularly the CIO unions, it is likely that the urban group will become increasingly stable as a portion of the Democratic party.

Republican Coalition

The Republican party, too, is a collection of interest groups rather than a true political party. There is perhaps less internal tension in this coalition, but frictions and conflicting interests remain.

The most powerful group is composed of the large money and banking interests of the country. Allied to these are the huge insurance groups which hold tremendous reserves of money.

Next most powerful is the even larger group of manufacturing and service industries which are represented by such organizations as the National Association of Manufacturers, the United States Chamber of Commerce, the American Association of Railroads and so forth.

Within both of these groups there are numerous exceptions. Individuals, bankers and industrialists will unite with the Democratic coalition. Many are what might be termed independents and swing back and forth between the orbits of both coalitions. But as groups, these two can be classified as nominally Republican.

Even larger numerically than the banking and manufacturing group is the rural portion of the American people, exclusive of the south. Farmers, by and large, are Republican in their allegiance. This is true normally of the farm states in New England and the great farm belt of the mid-west. There are exceptions, of course, as for instance when Alfred M. Landon did not win a majority even in his home state of Kansas, but it can usually be predicted that rural areas will return a Republican majority.

The Protestant vote in the United States is divided between the two parties, but the larger proportion of this religious group casts its vote in Republican ranks.

A glance at these elements in both coalitions will show that they can be characterized as interest groups much

more properly than as true political parties. The unifying idea of each group is not a political philosophy, an ideal of government, or a program of governmental operation, but rather an interest which they have in common, whether this be regional, professional, racial or religious. The result is that their major interest is not political, but their own social and economic welfare.

Moreover, a glance at the factions which comprise each party will show that there are conflicting interests within each. Thus there is often strong conflict of interests between the Democratic southern group and either the urban or labor groups within the same party. In 1928 it will be remembered, there was a tremendous conflict between divergent interests of the southern group.

Internal Conflict

An examination of the twenty-one point program which President Truman presented to Congress in his State-of-the-Nation address on September 6, 1945 will show how conflict within the Democratic party stalemated this legislative program. Until the close of the 75th Congress in mid-July, 1946, only five of these recommendations had been completely accepted, and two or three others had been acted upon, but scarcely in the spirit of the President's recommendations.

Similarly the Republican coalition is often disintegrated by conflicting interests. This is particularly true of the manufacturing and service group on one hand and the farmers on the other. What is beneficial to one group, in the form of tax revision and general legislation, will often bring harm to another. Even if there is no definite conflict of interests there is likelihood that one group will oppose legislation which is favorable to the other.

It must be noted too that groups in opposite parties often have interests in common. Since the southern group is largely agrarian, it has many interests in common with the huge rural elements of the Republican party. Similarly, too, there is often community of interests between the Democratic urban group and sections of the manufacturing and service group of the GOP.

Finally both coalitions include members who range the entire gamut of political complexions from extreme leftists to the staunchest conservatives. It is not necessary to name members of either parties who stand at the extremes, nor to give examples of party members who stand along the scale from left to right. It is, of course, true that since 1932 the Democratic party has veered more sharply to the left and the Republican party; by consequence, has tended to the right. But these tendencies have not driven from either party members who opposed them.

New Alignments

From time to time there has been vague talk of new political alignments which might organize the liberals of both parties into one new, truly political group, and the conservative elements into a second. But it is very unlikely that any marked bolt of parties for the sake of political peace will work. There is far too much danger of political suicide involved in such a shift.

The individual voter then is faced with a responsibility greater than that of citizens in countries which have well formulated political parties. If I live, let us say, in France or England or even Canada, where the parties are sharply defined and issues are clear, my sole responsibility is to vote for men who espouse the platform which my personal political philosophy approves. In the United States however, where platforms mean relatively little and are often repudiated soon after election, much greater discrimination is demanded of the individual voter.

The result of all of this is that uniform political action by either party, or an organized body of political philosophy or a consistent program of political action based upon

such a philosophy are almost impossible. Party platforms, consequently, are generally composed of vague platitudes and a few commitments intended to attract as many voters as possible and annoy just as few as possible.

The welfare of the United States is very largely in the hands of the independent voter, and may his tribe increase! Since we do not have true political parties the best that can be done is for individual citizens to develop their own idea of government and select candidates according to it. In this way voters may often straddle party lines and select candidates from opposing parties. There is danger of stalemate in this type of voting since neither of the two major parties in the United States may secure a great majority in Congress. But if a sufficiently large number of independent voters select candidates from either party who are like minded in their political thinking, legislative action of a bi-partisan nature can be achieved.

Three recommendations can be made for prospective voters: 1) Formulate your own political philosophy. To do this you must try honestly to be unselfish and determine the kind of government and the type of legislation which will genuinely work for the common good of all Americans, and not just for the interests of your own particular group. The type of government, of course, will be our traditional American democratic government established with a system of checks and balances, both within the federal government, and between the federal and state governments.

Government Intervention

One thing you must decide is the degree of intervention you want by the Federal government in everyday affairs. Do you approve, for instance, of the social security measures introduced by the Roosevelt government from 1932 to 1940? How much of such action should be done by any government? How much by the federal, as opposed to the state governments? Should there be a limit to the field in which the federal government may act?

You must decide also the attitude you would want your ideal government to take toward other nations of the world, Russia, for instance, Great Britain, Germany, China and Japan. You must decide the degree of cooperation you want your government to give to UN and its component parts. And so with all other questions.

2) When candidates present themselves for election you must make careful examination of the promises which they make. Check these with your idea of government and choose the candidate you think conforms most satisfactorily to your ideal.

3) If the candidate has already held office you should check his present commitments with his voting record and decide whether he appears likely to carry out the promises he is making.

It is obvious that such a procedure is more complicated and difficult than the easy way of voting a straight party ticket or selecting a candidate by the cut of his clothes or tone of voice or the shape of his nose. But it is the only way in which Americans can assure themselves of a reasonably satisfactory government to carry on the tremendous and important work which we entrusted to them.

Such a process throws a vastly greater amount of responsibility upon the individual voter than does the simple procedure of blindly voting party affiliations. It demands that we keep ourselves informed about political, social and economic issues, that we study them with reasonable care and weigh the issues with calm minds. It demands that we give unselfish considerations to the welfare of all groups, of all American citizens. It demands that we exact from the candidates whom we elect an honest effort to carry out the political mandates which we impose upon

them. It demands that candidates who have failed to live up to their promises be ruthlessly eliminated from political office at succeeding elections.

But such a procedure will mean that government will be restored to the sovereign American people from whose fingers it has slipped because of their own lack of interest and personal selfishness.

It may be that the political coalitions in the United States will never assume the form of true political parties, that it will be necessary continually to examine candidates

individually. If that is the case citizens will continue to be independent voters rather than blind followers of a political symbol.

On the other hand such action may slowly reform our amorphous groups along conflicting roads, but always within the limits of constitutional boundaries and, of course, consistently for the welfare of America.

In either case it will be the independent voter, clear headed and disinterested, who will be guiding government towards a better land.

ON WORDS AND THINGS

By **GORDON GEORGE, S.J.**

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WHAT Professor Tannenbaum remarked of the Communists in a recent article, "In their zeal for bedeviling the world, the Communists are confounding the traditional democrats by taking over their slogans and insisting that they (the Communists) are more 'democratic' than the traditional democrats" (*Political Science Quarterly*, 61, December, 1946, 481), is true in part of our own use of terms. Without intending to 'bedevil' the world we have allowed some confusion to creep into our use of words.

Take the word 'capitalism,' for instance.

Pope Pius XI says quite clearly in *Quadragesimo Anno* that capitalism is not vicious in itself and that the system is not to be condemned. On the other hand, Father George Dunne in an article written some time ago (*Commonweal*, October 12, 1945, 614ff, "Capitalism's Achilles' Heel") says that the system in itself is vicious and roundly condemns it. At first glance those two statements look like a pretty flat contradiction. As a result some people came to the conclusion that the article is in direct opposition to Papal pronouncements. I do not think it is. The contradiction is only an apparent one. But there must have been confusion in the use of the term if there is no direct contradiction.

Father Dunne might have saved some misunderstanding had he taken the trouble to explain that he was not using the word 'capitalism' in the same sense as Pope Pius. But he did not.

Now if the term is very frequently used by writers in a sense different from that of the Pope, the question has a broad general significance because, as we know, confusion about terms can keep kindred spirits poles apart and may result in bitter opposition where there should be harmony and agreement.

What the Pope Means

What then does Pope Pius mean? In *Quadragesimo Anno*, while reviewing the social teaching of Leo XIII in *Rerum Novarum*, he writes:

"You are aware . . . that Our Predecessor . . . had chiefly in mind that economic regime in which were provided by different people the capital and labor jointly needed for production. He describes it in a happy phrase, 'Capital cannot do without labor.' Leo XIII's whole endeavor was to adjust this economic regime to the standards of true order; whence it follows that the system itself is not to be condemned. And surely it is not vicious of its very nature; but it violates right order when . . ."

Pius tells us here that Leo considered the cooperation of independent capital and labor in joint production as the essence of capitalism, and he then goes on to state that such cooperation is not in itself immoral (as socialists

would have us believe) and that it may not be condemned as such. Pope Pius himself refers in a subsequent paragraph to this economic arrangement as the 'capitalist economic regime' before he goes on to talk of the changes which have taken place in this capitalistic economic order.

Now what does Father Dunne say? He writes that 'capitalism' is just plain bad, through and through, and that there is no use trying to blame the economic muddle on the 'abuses' of the system:

"The abuses complained of are the natural consequences of the basic premise of capitalistic theory, the inner logic of which works itself out into an economy of scarcity."

What does Father Dunne mean? The question for the moment is not whether he is justified in using the term in a sense different from that of the Pope; the question rather is, does he, as a matter of fact, use the term in a different sense. I think it is quite clear from his context that he does. He speaks of 'capitalistic theory.' He writes: "the theory itself is simple and attractive . . . the enlightened producer, motivated simply by the desire for profits, will gear his activities to the goal of maximum low cost production. Thus there naturally ensues an economy of abundance." This principle he considers to be of the essence of the capitalistic system. The "basic premise of capitalist theory" according to Father Dunne would run something like this: "Self-interest left to itself in the economic sphere will bring the best results."

Conflicting Terminology

What Pope Pius excludes from Leo XIII's concept of capitalism as accidental abuse, Father Dunne includes as essential. Father Dunne says: "The theory does not work for the obvious reason that in the real order the incidental and secondary objective (production for use) will invariably be sacrificed to the primary objective (production for profit) wherever and whenever the enterpriser perceives a conflict between the two." And later: "The real solution lies in an economy which does not eliminate the profit motive, but subordinates it to social objectives. In such an economy we shall produce *primarily* for use and *incidentally* for profits. *The basic theory is the reverse of the theory of capitalism*" (page 615; italics added in final sentence).

In substance Father Dunne's is hardly a novel condemnation. Leo XIII said the same thing more than half a century ago, and Pius XI restates it with stern and magnificent clarity in *Quadragesimo Anno*. It might have saved considerable confusion had Father Dunne made a distinction, had he used the term 'liberalistic' or 'laissez-faire' in conjunction with 'capitalism.' But he did not. Now if he alone used the term in such a broad sense it

would hardly be worthy of note. But he isn't alone.

Look up the word 'capitalism' in the Standard dictionary and you will see that the definition favors Father Dunne. It reads: "concentrated capital as a power; a system favoring its concentration." Many economists, when they use the word capitalism, use it in Father Dunne's sense. Fairchild's *Dictionary of Sociology* and Rune's *Dictionary of Philosophical Terms* define capitalism in the sense of 'laissez-faire.' The *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* under the heading 'Capitalism' is overwhelmingly in accord with Father Dunne's use of the term.

Moreover, Father Dunne's terminology is also likely to confuse Catholics who remember in a vague sort of way from their ethics that capitalism is not inherently wrong. On the other hand, to stick to the Pope's terminology without explaining its meaning is more than a little likely to give a completely false idea of our position to those who understand the term in a different sense.

There is a perfect parallel in the modern equivocal uses of the term 'socialism.' Socialism was unequivocally condemned by Leo XIII, but when Pius XI came to write *Quadragesimo Anno* he had to take note of the fact that the term had changed in meaning. The British Labor party calls itself socialist, and so do the members of the growing C.C.F. party in Canada; yet responsible ecclesiastical authorities have made it clear that they are not socialistic in the condemned sense.

It matters little to these modern socialists that Leo XIII meant something else by the word 'socialism' than the body of principles they profess. Most of them do not know that difference. Consequently to say without qualification that socialism is intrinsically immoral will only lead to misunderstanding and perhaps to no little prejudice against Catholic social theory. Similarly since many understand by 'capitalism' the existing order or the doctrine of laissez-faire, they may well get a false idea of our social thought when they hear us proclaim that there is nothing wrong with capitalism in itself.

Catholics and Socialists

In another article which appeared in *Commonweal* on November 23, 1945, "Socialism and Socialism," Father Dunne essays to show that Catholics must get together with socialists. Again there is the battle of conflicting terminology as the author squeezes the words of *Quadragesimo Anno* into something pretty close to an approbation of modern socialisms. Pius XI would approve of modern socialism only insofar as it accepts the so-called principles of subsidiarity, of which he says:

"This is a fundamental principle of social philosophy, unshaken and unchangeable, and it retains its full truth today."

The principle itself can be summed up in the words of Pius:

"Just as it is wrong to withdraw from the individual and commit to the community at large what private enterprise and industry can accomplish, so, too, it is an injustice and a grave evil and a disturbance of right order for a larger and higher organization to arrogate to itself functions which can be performed efficiently by smaller and lower bodies."

Neglect of this principle will start the ball rolling down the hill with ever-increasing momentum to the totalitarian abyss.

It may be worth noting in conclusion that Father Dunne is not alone among Catholics in identifying capitalism with laissez-faire. Don Luigi Sturzo, in his recently published *Italy and the Coming World* writes:

"When we speak of capitalism in modern society we do not refer to the function of capital in productive activity. We mean on the contrary the phenomena of the

capitalistic system that exploits economy in general, labor in particular and even political activity, subordinating everything to profit for profit's sake."

Again a conservative author like Father Bruehl in his excellent commentary on *Quadragesimo Anno*, *The Pope's Plan*, says:

"When we term a system capitalistic we wish to express the idea that this system does not consider capital as a means, but makes it an end in itself. In the case of *genuine capitalism* therefore, economic activity, *the aim of which is profit*, seeks a further increase in the instruments of production because only thus can more profits be obtained" page 151, italics inserted).

Confusion within our own ranks and the ill-will of potential allies can be avoided if we are clear and definite in our use of words. Words rightly used promote order, but used wrongly they can only foster chaos.

Report from Japan

TO one of our civilian friends working for the American Government in Japan we sent an article on conditions in that country as described for the *Saturday Evening Post*. The answer which followed is purely personal but it has interesting side-lights on the general situation; "The article was factually quite accurate. It is completely luxurious, pleasant and inexpensive here for the Americans. The only thing that makes us all hoot with laughter is a statement that the American employees arrived here after a luxurious 51 day cruise on an Army transport. The whole trip over was a fiendish device worked out by a diabolical mind. I would almost take out Japanese citizenship papers before I would attempt another one."

"I have never known a great deal about General MacArthur, but I am definitely becoming one of his admirers. He is doing a great job here. In the whole occupation there is an ideal, not one with which we could completely agree, yet one I think that has much to be said for it. As a matter of fact, what Japan needs is a strong basis of Christianity before Shinto nationalism and Budhist paganism can become democracy. Nonetheless we have an ideal, and from the lowest private to the general there is a note of seriousness caused partly by the constant reminder in bombed buildings and hungry people and orphaned children of how bad war is.

"There is very little of the conquering hero attitude here, except in the newly arrived GIs, who promptly get it knocked out of them. There is, as we may expect, a good deal of the 'we inherited the earth' attitude always found in Americans out of America. I am sure that you yourself have seen it around the world. But here it is not too notable nor too offensive.

"First of all I think the Americans have pretty generally behaved themselves, and for that I give General MacArthur credit. The feeling never quite expressed is that somehow he has told the Americans to have a good time, to live with all the comforts of home plus some of those they did not have at home, but to remember that they were there to sell an idea, a way of life, that can't be sold by giving scandal and being obnoxious. He has made them realize that we Americans are going to sell it and must sell it. I think implicit in that is the statement that he intends to court-martial the whole United States Army if he has to in the process of making the men behave themselves. I believe he would, and I believe that they believe that he would.

"As a result we can be pretty proud of the conduct of our Army and our civilians over here, and they are doing a good job for the country."

I S O F O R U M

SOCIAL ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

Whither Present Trends?

INTRODUCTION

THE nationalization program of the present British Labor government, many of the war-time activities and even some permanent offices of our own United States government have caused alarm to some political thinkers. They dread any increase in centralization of government and oppose many governments' inclination to assume an ever greater influence upon the lives of all citizens. Such proposals as universal military training, federal aid to education, family allowances, a national health plan, whether good or bad as individual measures, indicate the trend toward an ever-broadening field of government activity.

Each man may approve or disapprove of this trend. But whatever be his opinion, he will be wise to examine and constantly re-examine the trend. The direction the activities of our government take should be determined by the judicious approval of citizens rather than by the fiat of bureaucrats.

To foster a consideration of this problem we have asked comment from our Forum contributors upon the following question:

Must the dangers inherent in the paternalistic activities of the American government be considered a legitimate risk, because there is no other adequate control of our complex American economy?"

JOSEPH H. BALL

Experience as a free-lance writer, a state political writer and as a newspaper man with Minnesota papers prepared Senator Ball for his career in the United States senate, which began in 1940 when he was appointed to fill the unexpired term of the late Ernest Lundeen.

"Paternalistic activities" may mean two things. If it means the efforts by the federal government to assure a minimum equality of opportunity and minimum security to all people through extension of present social security and minimum wage laws and by new health, housing and education programs, then I believe we must run the risks. The risks, of course, are that demagogues will always attempt to increase the benefits of these programs to the point where everyone would be guaranteed a high standard of living regardless of individual effort, which would be fatal to a free economy and ultimately to all freedom. Our final safeguard against this is an informed electorate and leadership that will talk economic facts instead of nonsense. We can also minimize the danger of these programs being turned into a modern variant of the Roman dictator's "bread and circuses" by confining the federal function to establishing minimum standards, supplying financial assistance and keeping administration, and the power that goes with it, decentralized in the states.

If "paternalistic activities" means delegation of power to government to control production, prices and wages,

then there is a sound alternative and we must take it if we hope to remain free. Every people that has tried a planned economy so far has lost freedom. A free market, both for commodities and for labor services, is the only way in which a free people can regulate their economy. It isn't perfect, but it so far has outproduced any planned economy tried.

It is perfectly consistent with a free economy to adjust from time to time the rights and responsibilities of individuals and groups under it, including property rights. In fact, it is essential to do that. But to maintain and expand freedom, we must do it by writing into the law the new definitions of rights and responsibilities of individual citizens. Of late, when injustices developed in our economy, we have too often followed the totalitarian pattern of simply stating the problem and the objectives sought in the law, and giving some administrative agency broad and arbitrary powers to achieve them. We did that in the National Labor Relations act, the ostensible purpose of which was to guarantee workers full freedom of association or non-association. The NLRB used its arbitrary power to force hundreds of thousands of workers into associations they did not want. It is very difficult to write new and clear definitions of rights and responsibilities into law so they can be enforced by impartial courts. The totalitarian solution is always much easier. But it is also fatal to freedom, and we must have patience and diligence enough to work out the only solution consistent with freedom.

HARRY J. CARMAN

Dean of Columbia college and an outstanding writer on American history, Dean Carman has also been active as a member of the New York city Board of Higher Education and the New York state Board of Mediation, and as president of the New York city Adult Education council.

Any worthwhile answer to this major question depends, it seems to me, upon the answer to a number of related or corollary queries. Among these are: (1) What are the dangers inherent in the present paternalistic activities of the American government? (2) With a continuation of our paternalistic policy are these dangers likely to multiply in number and to become more pronounced? (3) Will our economy remain unchanged or may we assume that it might undergo further change and yet remain capitalistic? (4) Are there other controls more adequate than government?

The dangers inherent in government paternalism while more or less the same wherever paternalism exists are becoming increasingly evident in America. Already our government tends to become more bureaucratic with all the resulting evils of bureaucracy. Worse yet, our growing government paternalism, despite its accomplishments

for social good, has tended to weaken the moral fiber of a portion of our citizenry and to strengthen a psychology of parasitism. Too many Americans have become leaners upon the government; too many expect something for nothing in return. "Let the government pay," "The government owes me a living," "It doesn't come out of my pocket," are only a few of the utterances one hears on all sides. The motivation which accounts for this attitude should not be attributed entirely to government paternalism; yet, in the opinion of this writer, paternalism must share the majority responsibility for its existence. Should our paternalistic policy be more pronounced in the future there is every reason to believe that the evils now associated with bureaucracy will not diminish but increase in number and in intensity.

On the other hand, it seems perfectly clear that because of the changes in the social-economic fabric of this country since the close of the American Civil war the American people cannot and will not return to anything resembling a laissez-faire status. Idealistically, American democracy is an expression of a philosophy which exalts the individual and which holds that he should as far as possible be freed from those restraints which are not self-imposed or imposed by a majority of his fellows in the principle of equal opportunity for all. It rests upon the assumption that men are rational creatures and have certain capacities and virtues and that the majority are creatures of good will. It is deeply rooted in the loftier aspirations of man and has been nourished by material conditions of a very favorable nature. As long as democracy in America occupied itself with matters of religious freedom, formal political equality, and the abrogation of undemocratic privilege its conquests were swift and triumphant.

But the attainment of these ends has not solved our major economic problems. Nor have our older institutions, the family and the church, been able thus far to solve them although the latter has addressed itself repeatedly to the task. The state with its broadening program of control has achieved greatest success in wrestling with greedy, selfish, materialistic individuals and groups who would serve mammon rather than God—who would give material acquisition and power precedence over human welfare. Control there must be and, in the opinion of this participant, the answer to the question before the Forum must be in the affirmative.

In one way and in only one, under a capitalistic system can the answer be otherwise. And that one way involves a fundamental change in the psychology of labor and management. It can be effected by giving labor, not on an individual but on a union basis, a share in ownership and responsibility in enterprise. This, I grant, is a major operation. It would not obviate the necessity for government control of our economy but it would, I believe, minimize the need for such control and stem the tide now so strong in Europe in the direction of state socialism and communism with their emphasis on the state as the sole arbiter of economic life.

EDWARD DUFF, S.J. Security and vs. Liberty

During his one year in the ISO Central Office Father Duff made a contribution which has been lasting and valuable. His departure was deeply regretted and we are glad to welcome him back to the pages of the BULLETIN.

"The people," said the Communist to Father Dick Deters, S.J. in Cincinnati last year, "want security and liberty. But first they want security."

The Communist is right. The people don't worry much — and no one can blame them — about "paternalism" (pejorative sense); they are unimpressed by platitudinous

warnings that sacrifice of economic liberties jeopardizes political liberties as well, a sentiment that is generally mouthed by the moaners for a "return to normalcy" where "free competition is the ruling principle in the economic world," as Pius XI complained.

The Catholic is radically opposed to a system and a situation "when vast multitudes can only with great difficulty pay attention to the one thing necessary, their eternal salvation." Offensively academic, blasphemous even for one who believes in Divine Providence, is the suggestion that it is improper and perilous for the government to interfere with the free workings of the economic machine that fails monstrously to distribute the fruit of its productivity to one-third of the people. The worrier about government "paternalism" might profitably inquire about the price of children's shoes, how long they last, what the take-home pay of the father is; he might then come vicariously to know the burdens of another kind of paternalism.

Despite all dangers, the necessities of human living have to be secured. We are for that. Does the solution of the annual crisis in the sick coal industry call for nationalization of the mines? Then we do not dismiss it as a wholly economic question but attend to the relevance of the "authoritative article" in *Osservatore Romano* reprinting the comment of Father De Marco, S.J., in *Civiltà Cattolica* of last September 7th that nationalization is in some case "not only lawful but opportune."

We are for freedom, too—not freedom from control or for economic capriciousness but freedom for moral development, spiritual growth. In the upshot, "we face a problem" (so it seemed to the Hierarchy officially interpreting on February 7, 1940, the social teaching of the Church as it applies to America) "which requires for its solution intellectual vision, moral integrity and persevering effort." It is the central problem of our times. And, as a delegate remarked at a meeting of European intellectuals at the University of Geneva last September: "If we don't watch out there'll be another war, not between east and west, but between social justice and liberty."

Mr. Belloc, as I read him, equates liberty with ownership and by ownership he means, in the main, holdings in the land. It is a position shared, I believe, by Catholic Rural lifers and certainly by the Southern Agrarians centered at the University at Nashville. They argue with convincing cogency that the substitution of a government bureaucrat for a capitalist entrepreneur, while ameliorating the problem of security, leaves untouched the problem of economic dependence, of servitude.

But is it so that distributed control can be achieved only by abandoning the prodigious industrial complexes of our civilization? What, then, is the appositeness of the *Quadragesimo Anno's* desire that "wage earners be made sharer of some sort in the ownership or the management or the profits?" What, then, is the relevance of the core of the papal teaching on the structure of society? There should be interposed between the State and the people, asserts *Quadragesimo Anno*, vocational groups, self-regulating associations, of a legal but non-political character, uniting men according to their occupations, organs with specified responsibilities and rights that will manage many of the functions the government has by default taken over, institutions that will compel the people in a larger measure to conduct their own affairs, uncontrolled by governmental "paternalism." Or is the whole idea of vocational groups only an exercise in schema plotting worked out by an unoccupied German moralist and translated by Bernard Dempsey, S.I., who was only a scholastic, anyway? We might profitably expend on these questions "the vision, integrity and effort," called for by the Bishops' statement, "The Church and the Social Order."

There is little need (and less space) for sermonizing on the necessity of "the profound renewal of the Christian spirit, from which multitudes in every country have unhappily departed." The renovation of morals, every priest realizes, must "precede social reconstruction; otherwise all our efforts will be futile." (He may have forgotten, though, that another Pius taught that participation in the Liturgy, with its lessons of worship and charity, "is the primary and indispensable source of the Christian spirit.") Every task, every ministry of the Society that enlarges the sense of significance of human living in the hearer, that overcomes his feeling of helpless anonymity and refurbishes his realization of his destiny and consequent duties is, incidentally, strengthening civil society. An attitude of Presence as opposed to an attitude of abstention is the way the French phrase the needs of the times. Such an attitude wants to energize the spiritual possibilities of every person, wants to vitalize an awareness of responsibilities. It is appalled, for instance, when an anti-Communist resolution is lost by 16 votes in a meeting of a UE local very many of whose absent members are "our dependents" since they send their boys to be educated by us.

As we poise ourselves in an attitude of Presence and consider, at the Editor's suggestion, how we may strengthen the "integrity of the person" we might weigh this counsel: "We must speak to them with our hands before we speak to them with our lips." The counselor is Saint Peter Claver.

ROSS HOFFMAN

Professor Hoffman, head of the department of history at Fordham university, has appeared in these pages before. He contributed to the 150 FORUM on UN in the January 1945 issue of the BULLETIN, and we are delighted to have his trenchant comment on the current question.

The question as phrased puzzles me. What is the meaning of the words: 'adequate control of our complex American economy?' Adequate to what? To meet the wishes of bureaucratic national socialist planners, or to maintain a society of free men organized in an independent republic?

Unless I am mistaken, the framer of the question implies that there is some relation between the 'complexity' of our economy and the need of this 'adequate control.' But the complexity is the inevitable result of freedom. It derives from the variety of initiative which economic freedom allows. A free society based economically on a highly specialized division of labor is much too intricately compounded to be 'controlled' by government planners. Not being able to understand it, they always endeavor to simplify and rationalize it. They are driven by necessity to operate tyrannically upon it in order to render it obedient to their directives and blueprints. So do they strike at the freedom which produced the complexity. There is a long history of state paternalism in economic affairs. The result has ever been the same: despotism and impoverishment. Paternalistic economic policies have helped tyrants to build empires from the days of Egyptian pharaohs to the contemporary continental planners in the Kremlin, but such empires have always made deserts.

It is of course the business of the state to legislate in economic relations because these relations are often also ethical in character, and politics is a branch of ethics. But wise statesmen always seek to guard the freedom which is the source of the state's vitality and prosperity. They constantly redefine the law. They adopt every measure—yes, every plan—that promotes and sustains economic freedom, but they shrink from paternalism, that is, from managerial and bureaucratic intrusion in the actual processes of wealth, creation, as they shrink from the pit. For this is the death of economic freedom. Kill that and you have left slavery, and since slavery is in the long run in-

compatible with prosperity the slaves will have, not fat and comfortable 'social security,' but a leaner and leaner existence. It seems absurd to talk of this danger being a 'legitimate risk.' It is no risk, but a sure thing: it will destroy the freedom which is the source of life in our economy and our republic.

JEROME G. KERWIN

Professor Kerwin is a member of the department of political science at the University of Chicago and director of the Walgreen foundation. He has written books and magazine articles on topics connected with political science.

The adjective "paternalistic" in this question has emotional connotations. The term "social activities" would more aptly describe what is evidently meant. One might then ask if the dangers inherent in the lack of a governmental social program do not constitute the greatest peril of all. Our irresponsible and unregulated economy may satisfy the Calvinistic school of economists, but it can never satisfy the advocates of Thomistic and papal teachings. The state has social duties and obligations. When it is confronted by an industrial order, great in wealth and power, it has the obligation to assert the dominance of the political over the economic through its laws, in order to prevent the dominance of an oligarchy of wealth.

Americans who have seen the challenge in recent years of an enterprise miscalled free, well know that the democratic foundations of the commonwealth have been threatened with destruction. A nation that wishes to maintain a capitalistic system may not neglect the poor, the worn-out aged, and the unemployed which that system creates. A nation that seeks to preserve its God-given natural resources by *planning* against their waste and exploitation by selfish interests, best serves the common good. A nation that *plans* against the recurrence of economic depressions with their tragic ruin of human lives best serves the dignity of man. A nation that *plans* in the interest of all its citizens—not merely in the interest of the few—is not running wildly down the path of totalitarian destruction, notwithstanding Mr. Hayek to the contrary; but such a nation best serves the interest of Christian democracy.

Who are the people who talk most of paternalism in America? They are the Manchester school of economists, against whom a whole line of Catholic leaders from Pope Leo XIII down have directed their condemnations; they are the industrialists who love the paternalism of a protective tariff; they are certain leaders of business who demand government funds for peacetime conversion and who cry socialism when workers ask for small financial guarantees in transferring from war to peacetime jobs; they are the people who tell us to take government controls off and who say that then all will be well; they are the ones, who, having succeeded in removing controls, proceed to say that a little depression will be a good thing; among them too, be it said, are those who desire an unregulated economy in order that they may perpetrate every known brand of fraud and speculation; they are the preachers of a social Darwinism; a *planless* state in which the economically strong survive and the weak are reduced to industrial slavery or extinction.

The state is a social institution that exists not only that men may live but that they may live well. It occupies a positive role in life. It is still far from fulfilling its function when over half of its population lives in a state of constant insecurity, and wealth gravitates into fewer and fewer hands. The United States has *planned* less, has regulated less, has interfered with business less than any other nation on the face of the globe.

The danger arises from the little it has done, from the *planless* nature of its activities. Grave, however, is the danger from those who would lead us into the future, pin-

ning their faith on laws of chance. The totalitarian left knows well how to build on the wreckage that these people create.

In America, the Republican National Committee did yeoman service for Mr. Hayek's book. In other democratic countries it was considered quite unimportant. It should cause no loss of sleep to any person of sound mind and body.

ERIC V. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

Author, lecturer and educator, Professor Kuehnelt-Leddihn has taught at colleges in Hungary, England and the United States. He has written three ideological novels and The Menace of the Herd.

Paternalism, in the sense of social legislation, preceded its American equivalent by almost two generations. Though it was tardy in France it enjoyed the full support of the Hapsburgs, the Hohenzollerns, the Catholic church, the Junkers, the nobility and the working classes themselves. The whole split between William II and Bismarck emanated partly from the Emperor's desire to give the workers even greater social benefits than Bismarck originally had planned. Count de Mun, Baron Vogelsang, Bishop Baron Ketteler, Count Ferdinand Zichy were the outstanding Catholic fighters for the rights and privileges of the working classes. In Sweden we saw the Conservatives frequently voting with the Socialists against the Liberals in matters of social legislation, and Harold Laski remarked quite rightly that the Tories, not the Liberals, were the great executors of social reform.

European conservatism always was agrarian and took its inspiration from the Middle Ages, if not from the Church. It had no sympathies for the manufacturers and bankers who were followers of a neo-protestant Manchester liberalism. A European visitor to the United States has thus to readjust his terminology completely. An ultra-reactionary from the other side of the Atlantic might sympathize considerably more with Mr. Lewis than with the NAM. The state control of social benefits was not much criticized nor resented. Only a few observers saw in them a potential menace to personal liberty. The old sport of biting the hand which feeds you has never become unpopular in Europe. And this explains also why the State support of the Church (in the vast majority of European countries up till 1939) hardly justified American suspicions. No bishop worth his salt would have refrained from lambasting his government because it provided him with his salary.

Economic planning (especially in conjunction with "nationalization" which more often than not is plain theft) is, naturally, quite another matter. It is true that the accent on the European continent does not lie on business as in the English-speaking countries and thus the enslavement of productive property would be *seemingly* a lesser catastrophe than over here. Yet the forces driving in that direction are very strong and the efforts of the ideological groups (Socialists and Communists) have the tacit support of the masses, envious and jealous of the propertied groups and classes. The grim fact that "nationalized" property is actually not a possession of the "People" (a catchword and "existentially" a pure figment) but the tool and milch cow of managerial bureaucracies is not generally recognized, but the truth slowly, slowly dawns. Catholics have insisted again and again that the true way to social justice *and* liberty lies in an equitable distribution of property which must become accessible (in minor quantities at least) to all working persons. This means a decided limitation of private capitalism and state

capitalism (socialism). It involves a strengthening of a landholding yeomanry, of the independent craftsmen and of factory ownership by the workers who are employees as well as shareholders. Yet among the masses there is at the present moment no sufficient realization that there can be *no liberty without property and vice-versa*.

There is an inter-connection between economic planning and socialization, but this relation is "psychological" rather than technical. We don't doubt that in countries like Germany a totalitarian state will come into existence almost automatically because the gigantic destruction caused by the aerial war, the methodical demolition and the systematic looting by the occupying powers and the colossal influx of expelled populations (11-13,000,000) will necessitate the most rigorous economic controls from above. Britain, Russia and, indirectly, the United States compete in leading Germany back to the totalitarian establishment which they destroyed in the spring of 1945.

The realization that often a real choice has to be made between the moloch of "maximum efficiency" and other non-material values, is also slow in coming. I would like to add as a footnote the curious fact that some of the best known anti-totalitarian economists are Austrians, i.e. men who are Catholic by religion or at least by cultural background: Ludwig von Mises, Peter F. Drucker, Joseph A. Schumpeter, Frederich von Hayek.

MOORHOUSE F. X. MILLAR, S.J.

Father Millar, who is head of the department of political philosophy in the Graduate school of Fordham university, has won an acknowledged place by his writings on history and government. His six-month stay with the Institute of Social Sciences left a profound and lasting impression.

Government is only a necessary means for the maintenance and promotion of the temporal common good of the state; that is to say of the people comprising a civilized community, juridically organized and, thus, constituting a corporate moral whole or person capable of expressing, by way of methods of procedure commonly accepted, common judgments and common choices or decisions. As a moral and juridical whole the state is properly a person, though analogically, since judgment and choice are essential properties of personality.

Men being essentially interdependent in respect to the pursuit of such ends as cannot be achieved except in cooperation with others, their common good is the dynamic end or first principle in practical reason, of the fundamental exigencies of their social and political nature.

Men, being by nature equal under God the Creator, are entitled, in natural law to immunity from all domination or arbitrary treatment at the hands of their fellow man whether individual or collective. Hence the twofold exigency of our social and political nature calls for an actual, though free establishment of effective means of providing for the maintenance and promotion of the sevenfold correlative factors of the common good, namely: *unity, order, stability, security, freedom, peace and progress*.

Unfortunately for our modern world the Protestant Reformation gradually succeeded in so undermining the sound traditional Christian concept of man that today people everywhere are utterly confused as to the very reality of the state, or of the proper functions of government or of associations within the state.

With their doctrine of original sin Luther and Calvin subtracted the very foundation or objective ground of natural law, namely, *normal* human nature. With their

doctrine of "private judgment" they reduced all morality and all religion to something purely private and subjective without any dependence on either natural law (St. Paul, Rom. 2; 14, 15) or natural theology (Rom. 1;19-21).

With Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau and Kant the "state" was, indeed, presumed to be established on the basis of a "social contract." But not one of them assumes that men are social and political by nature, nor is their Protestant idea of consent founded in natural law as was the case in the earlier medieval and sounder Scholastic tradition. One and all start with the assumption that men are radically selfish and self-regarding and if they are induced to enter into the "social contract" it is either out of fear of their fellow men, or with a view to securing their property, or for the purpose of maintaining their respective individualities under the "general will" against the corrupting influences of society, or with the notion that since men are not only ends in themselves but to themselves also, they should be secured the right to do as they please so long as they do not interfere with the right of others to do as they please—which sounds very much like the Tower of Babel.

So much for Protestant "liberalism." But the obverse of its coinage was Hobbes' Leviathan, Locke's natural right of the majority to prevail, Rousseau's right of the "general will" to determine its own competence, exclusively, and Kant's denial of the right to revolution by a people against their government under any circumstances.

We in English-speaking countries, thanks to our inheritance of the common law which is medieval in origin and still Catholic in its fundamental principles, have inclined mainly towards the "liberal" side of this Protestant aberration. Hence for us the words of Pope Pius XI in *Quadragesimo Anno* would, in the light of recent events, seem to be particularly pertinent:

When we speak of the reform of institutions, the State comes chiefly to mind, not as if universal well-being were to be expected from its activity, but because things have come to such a pass through the evil of what We have termed "individualism," that following upon the overthrow and near extinction of that rich social life which was once highly developed through associations of various kinds, there remain virtually only individuals and the State. This is to the great harm of the State itself; for, with a structure of social governance lost, and with its taking over all the burdens which the wrecked associations once bore, it has been overwhelmed and crushed by almost infinite tasks and duties.

JAMES E. MURRAY

Law, business and banking are the background from which Senator Murray came in 1934, when he was appointed to fill the unexpired term of the late Senator Thomas J. Walsh, to win distinction as the recent chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor.

A government that must spend at least thirty billion dollars a year, or one-fifth of the total national income on its activities, whether it intends to or not, must have a substantial effect on the daily lives of its citizens. The time is past when the government can meet its obligations merely by acting as an umpire or a policeman. The government cannot stand by if one-third of its citizens are without the means of existence and another one-third fear the loss of their jobs. Businessmen recognize that they, alone, cannot assure continued full production or employ-

ment. This being the case, then so much the better if the activities affecting the lives of our citizens be carried on in the fair and decent manner suggested by the literal and more Christian meaning of the word "paternalistic."

A little government in time in the proper place saves a lot of government later on. It is sound legislation and the careful and proper administration of the government activities that will prevent hurried, hysterical and unintelligent legislation and administration later on. The theory of the Full Employment Bill which Senator Wagner and I sponsored, has been attacked as stimulating more paternalism in government. Yet all it did was to provide a legislative and administrative technique to enable Congress, the Executive, businessmen, farmers and the consumers to coordinate and program their activities in such a way that wholesale unemployment would be prevented. No lesser or smaller organization than the Federal Government could provide the necessary leadership. Only the Federal Government could serve as a clearing-house and a coordinator of the economic activities of all. Thus the Full Employment Act, now law, is in accordance with the encyclical principle of subsidiarity. In the absence of a program and legislative technique designed to insure that "opportunities for work be provided for those who are able and willing to work" (Pius XI, *Quadragesimo Anno*) wouldn't the inevitable mass unemployment and depression bring about governmental activities which would in practice detract from man's inherent dignity?

The National Health Act of 1945 (Murray-Wagner-Dingell Bill) has been used by its opponents as the example "par excellence" of paternalism in government. Yet the Health Bill follows a recommendation of the Bishop's program of 1919 which urged that the "State should make comprehensive provision against illness." The objective of the bill is good medical care for all, and in order to avoid state medicine and a means test for those unable to afford good medical care, the bill proposes that the Federal Government, the most efficient and responsible organization to direct and coordinate a program of this nature, again in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity, in cooperation with local groups and agencies, set up an insurance scheme whereby all would contribute in a relatively equal degree to the cost. Under such a scheme the more unfortunate and more unhealthy members of our society may in a single year or over a number of years receive more in benefits than they paid in, but the welfare and good health of all citizens would be increased. The alternatives to this are poor health conditions, lower industrial efficiency and national productivity and so forth; or state administered and controlled medicine.

We are about to be given some large doses of "paternalism" in the regulation and control of men in their collective bargaining activities. The leaders of big business who show most concern about paternalism in the government are not reluctant to resort to it in order to regulate and deprive free men of the only economic means they have of achieving a living wage and a fair share of God's good earth. Businessmen in the past were not reluctant to seek the government's help. For example, they insisted on tariffs to protect their industries, and on the establishment of the Interstate Commerce Commission to save themselves from being destroyed.

Paternalism (in the Christian sense) in government, or government influence on the lives of our citizens, is here to stay. We must see to it that these activities are truly in the service of the people and are subject to their control and direction. Otherwise, we shall leave ourselves vulnerable for some form of totalitarianism.

Former editor of America and former member of the Executive committee, ISO, Father Parsons is professor of sociology and politics at the Catholic University of America.

In addition to practicing law with the firm of Martin, Peper and Martin and lecturing in the Law school of Washington university in Saint Louis, Mr. Peper has had experience in legal writing as editor of the Washington university Law Quarterly and the Missouri Bar Journal.

This question asks us to accept as facts the following assumptions: (1) that certain present activities of the American Government are "paternalistic;" (2) that there are certain dangers connected with these activities; and (3) that these dangers are "inherent" to these activities.

The word "paternalistic" is an invidious one, and is also capable of a wide attribution. Most often it refers to governmental interferences in the social and economic life of the nation, as opposed to laissez faire or economic liberalism. Let me, therefore, list here those activities which their enemies might be supposed to call paternalistic. I take them from the *Government Manual*, and I omit the emergency war agencies, which have a natural legal term to their existence and hence do not enter into the debate. They are:

Tariff commission; Patent office; Federal Trade commission (anti-trust laws); Securities and Exchange commission; Commodities Exchange commission; Reconstruction Finance corporation; Deposit Insurance; Federal Reserve; Home Loan Bank system; Interstate Commerce commission; Civil Aeronautics; Maritime commission; Inland Waterways; Federal Communications; Power commission; Fair Labor Standards; Labor Relations board; Mediation board (for railways); Railroad Retirement; Conciliation service; Farm Credit; Farm Security; Rural Electrification; Crop Insurance; Reclamation service; Fish and Wildlife; Petroleum board; Bureau of Mines; Bonneville, Coulee Dam, Southwestern Power; Tennessee Valley authority; Social Security (old-age and survivors' insurance; unemployment insurance; public assistance; vocational rehabilitation); Veterans administration; dozens of purely advisory agencies, mostly sinecures or unpaid jobs, which rarely meet.

A first glance at this list reveals these conclusions: a great many are from 20 to 40 years old, and represent no new trend; many are merely a normal exercise of the police power; all of them are in some way concerned with and restricted to interstate commerce; many of the welfare ones are insurance plans; most of them are by law administered in partnership with local governments; several are in line with a long-time trend of curbing speculation; no one of them affects all the people.

Further analysis will show that many of the States, following the lead of Wisconsin under the LaFollettes and of New York under Alfred E. Smith, had already enacted into law most of the purely welfare agencies. It was the depression of the early thirties that showed that the social-economic problems raised by individualistic capitalism were national, not local, in scope, and could only be coped with on a national scale. It is hard to see how any of the activities I have listed can be truly called "paternalistic," unless that term be applied to a principle of state action which is defense of the common good. This principle lies at the bottom of Catholic political theory, and would apply even if our national problems were not so large.

Again excluding the 500 or more temporary emergency war measures, which will automatically cease and had a specific purpose, it is my opinion that the permanent welfare laws now on the books represent a minimum amount of control of social-economic life which the modern state can or should undertake.

The surcharging of Toynbee's "parochial national state" with the accelerating forces of industrialism and democracy may appear to have rendered statism inevitable. The industrial system with its evolving technology and gigantic units of capital and labor at once created new occasions for state intervention and armed the state with more efficient techniques of mass control. Democracy supplies an ideological bludgeon: "This is *your* (the majority's) government." Jurists such as O. W. Holmes followed Sir Henry Maine in discrediting the concept of a natural law which earlier served to protect the irreducible rights of the minority; and in our day even the rule of law is eroded by the direct action of administrative agencies largely freed from effective judicial control.

America would thus appear to be in the course of a familiar cycle. Such, however, is not inevitable. We are not bound to a Hobson's choice between economic chaos and state absolutism. European precedents are not persuasive; for there industry and labor were permitted to evolve into forms of private collectivism which invited public collectivism. The cartel system is a form of monopolistic rationalization which fostered scarcities and permitted industry to ignore technological progress. The British and continental nationalization programs in many cases will transfer the industry involved from a smaller private monopoly into the ultimate monopoly of the state. The war perhaps has quickened rather than initiated the process. A subtler and more nostalgic rationalization of industry has been suggested in the revival of a guild system, or in the corporative state to which Italian fascism may only have been an accidental accompaniment; but surely, in the light of the Italian tragedy it would be unwise entirely to dissociate the public from the private collectivism.

The American industrial cosmos is unique, not alone in its richness and maturity, but in the extent to which it operates under the competitive system elsewhere so largely abandoned. In part this results from the length and breadth of our continental free trade area; in part from the anti-trust laws of the land. Such a system may be uneven; in time of depression it may be brutal; yet its bloodless verdict at least is not enforced by concentration camps, and its excesses carry with them their ultimate and automatic corrections in sharp contrast with political "planning" which so frequently causes such anomalies as the recent O.P.A. fostered scarcities.

Our hope, then, lies in preventing and fragmentizing private monopolies, both of capital and labor, rather than in adding to the monopoly of the state; it lies in cutting down the area of federal intervention and, when intervention is really necessary, in first exhausting the powers of the individual states (themselves competitive). Intervention there must be in times of periodic boom and recession; such, however, should be impersonal and automatic. Public credit, public works, increased unemployment benefits should come into play in periods of recession as the result of broadly conceived laws both state and federal, and not as the benevolent largess of the then current chief executive.

THE JESUIT AND CATHOLIC ACTION

By EDWARD A. DOYLE, S.J.
St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kansas

Dual Message and Challenge

Introductory Note: The purpose of this article is to present the attitude of the Holy See and the official mind of the Society concerning the Jesuit's role in *Catholic Action*. An effort has been made to synopsise the more important directives of the Popes and the late Father General with a view to affording an over-all perspective in summary fashion of the proper relationship of the Society to *Catholic Action* work. The term, *Catholic Action*, is taken here in its technical sense as understood by the late Pius XI and the present Pontiff, Pius XII. Any discussion of the organization, technique, and spirit of *Catholic Action*, and much less, any crusading appeal for Jesuit responsibility are considered beyond the scope of this article.

THE summons issued to the Society both by the Holy See and by the late Father General is as clear as it is insistent in the plea for Jesuit cooperation in the cause of Catholic Action. The Vicar of Christ has been very definite in his appeal for Jesuit help in this movement so dear to his heart. The late Father General, in transmitting the message of Pius XI, was even more specific in urging again and again that Ours become actively engaged in supporting it. The dual message has so challenged the Jesuit spirit rooted in Ignatian loyalty to the Holy See that members of the Society throughout the world are rallying to posts of leadership in the field.

The Call of the Holy See

A letter to the Jesuit General from the Cardinal Secretary of State, Cardinal Pacelli, made known the mind of Pius XI as early as 1936:

"It is well known to your Reverend Paternity that the Sovereign Pontiff places lively confidence in *Catholic Action* for the restoration of Christian Society, and that he receives great comfort in the news coming from all sides, even from missionary regions, of the uninterrupted evolution of this movement and of the precious fruits which the Lord produces by it.

"But one of the principal causes of this consolation has been the generous constancy by which some orders and religious congregations of men and women have devoted their members to the ministry of Catholic Action, who by their writings, sermons, and advice have contributed to its increase and prosperity. The August Pontiff could not but often give his commendation and approval to them, and hence... he encouraged the hope that the help of religious families would be stronger and more widespread than any other. This will be the case if... special courses of study are held by which religious are prepared for this new office, so that by their preaching and their multiple apostolic works they may excite and form the faithful to the apostolate of Catholic Action. Since, moreover, it is one of the great merits of religious to treat of divine things for the benefit of clerics, especially in the Spiritual Exercises, it is to be hoped that with this better preparation they can with more aptitude and greater authority recommend to priests not only the fulfillment of their other priestly duties, but also that of Catholic Action, which the Holy Father already in his first encyclical declared to be among the chief duties of the sacred pastoral office.

"Rather often and in various circumstances, the August Pontiff comes back to this: that the formation of youths in the apostolic spirit, that which is proper to Catholic Action, is in these times a necessary element of education.

"If religious will conform their actions to these norms, they will maintain their glorious tradition of generous alacrity in meeting the necessities of souls and the desires of the Vicar of Christ." (*Acta Romana* 8:411-416)

Pius XII in his congratulatory letter to Father Ledochowski, occasioned by the four-hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Society, confirms the hope and ambition of his predecessor that Jesuits will take the responsibility of championing Catholic Action. After complimenting the Society for its spiritual triumphs and singling out the Sodality for special commendation, he writes:

"The new times in which we live demand, it is true, even in spiritual lines new undertakings, works, and safeguards by which suitable provision may be made for the changed and in-

creasing needs of this our age. In keeping with your ardent zeal, do not neglect those means, and strive to bring it about that whatever this adult age may introduce may contribute in fuller and fitter measure to strengthening at home and extending abroad the reign of Jesus Christ." (*Acta Apost. Sed.* 32:295).

When Pius XII remarks that he esteems Catholic Action as a precious jewel among the treasures of inheritance left by his predecessor and that he "will always have at heart to preserve faithfully... this very efficacious means for the Church to develop its mission in the world" (*Allocution*, May 10, 1941. *Acta Apost. Sed.* 33:155-164), there can be no misgivings concerning his plan to follow the ideals of Pius XI with equal insistence. The reigning Pontiff is soundly convinced of "its universal character, its transcendent importance, its urgent necessity." (*Doc. Cath.* 40:1202-1203). In *Sertum Laetitiae* he assures the American hierarchy that he places great confidence in the efficacy of Catholic Action (*Acta Apost. Sed.* 31:635-644. Nov. '39), together with the Sodality and Confraternities, to mold stolid exemplars of the Faith in the United States.

Headquarters Calling: Catholic Action Today

Any doubt about Jesuit participation in organized Catholic Action should be conclusively dissipated in the light of the late Father General's instruction in this matter. The aims and directives of Pius XI regarding the role of Jesuits were willingly acknowledged. The month following the receipt of the letter from Cardinal Pacelli, the General dispatched explicit instructions to all the Provincials of the Society:

"Although I know that Ours have received my repeated recommendations in this matter submissively and in a spirit of obedience, nevertheless I hold it my duty to urge again and again a thing which is so much loved by the Vicar of Christ on earth. Therefore, I ask your Reverence to appoint some suitable Father to prepare an accurate report which, after it has been reviewed by you, is then to be sent to me. Let it deal with the following points in particular:

1) *What up to now has been done in your Province by Ours for Catholic Action? Whether Ours have been named by the bishops as ecclesiastical assistants of certain Catholic associations or merely as auxiliaries? What is done in our colleges for externs to form the students for Catholic Action whether through internal associations or by lectures; if the pontifical documents are sufficiently known to the students and explained by appropriate commentaries; if the older students are instructed in social action; what is being done by Ours to instruct the people in this matter: booklets, magazines, articles in periodicals, lectures, etc?*

2) *What more could be done according to the mind of the Holy Father openly expressed in this recent letter...?*

3) *What Ours think of Catholic Action; that is, if any should even now be not well-disposed towards it, and why, and what Superiors have done to correct them?*

4) *If by certain Moderators of Catholic Action anything shall have been said or done against the Society or its works, and especially against the Sodality and its exercises; if there be any grave dissension... do not fear to tell me. Moreover, even if dissensions and failings of this kind exist, this is certainly no reason why Ours should be badly affected towards Catholic Action since, on account of human weakness, it can scarcely be avoided that even the most holy institutions suffer from some human element." (*Acta Romana*, April 27, 1936. 8:509-510).*

Close Cooperation

In a letter to the Jesuits of Spain (*Acta Romana* 7:563) his Paternity clarifies his position on the Jesuit's role in Catholic Action:

"Ours ought to take care that they thoroughly grasp the mind and directives of the Sovereign Pontiff on Catholic Action, that they adopt his views, and that fully conscious of the magnitude and importance of so great a work, they cooperate with him in their ministries to the full extent of their powers. This

is in keeping with our vocation; this is in keeping with the tradition of our predecessors who contributed all their efforts to the service of the Church according to the necessities of the times; this is in keeping with the obedience which our Society professes towards the Vicar of Christ, whom Christ Himself governs."

Personal Cooperation

The instruction to the French Provincials (*Acta Romana* 7:916-919) is even more pointed in delineation of individual responsibility:

"The Society which has in great part the direction and responsibility of this work [Catholic Action] ought to make it its own and not to neglect anything which could assure the prosperity of an association so dear to the Holy Church and to the Sovereign Pontiff. When I say the Society, I do not mean only the Chaplain General but also the Provincials, the Superiors, and every member of the Assistancy. All in their sphere ought to collaborate towards the success of the Association.

"I believe Reverend Fathers that there are few countries where the Society has so many and such fine organizations of students and young people as in France; they do considerable good, but they would do more yet, if there were more coordination and more disinterestedness in devotion, more abnegation of personal ideas in the acceptance of the directions of Superiors and especially those of the Sovereign Pontiff.

"It has been said that the enemy of souls has no more efficacious means of harming the Church than by preventing the union of forces among Catholics. The Holy Father, speaking one day of the supreme importance of this union, told me with insistence that to obtain it one ought to be ready to abandon the cleverest idea in order to adopt more modest ones, if upon these one could achieve more agreement."

Ratio Studiorum

In treating of the qualities to be nurtured in the young Jesuit in forming him for the proper exercises of the pastoral ministry, the *Ratio* (July 31, 1941, No. 289, par. 1) stresses the importance of thorough knowledge of Catholic Action:

"Special care should be taken that Ours, according to the desires of the Holy See, become thoroughly acquainted with the nature and function of Catholic Action."

Custom Book

The same note of encouragement and exhortation is repeated in the *Custom Book of the American Assistancy* (page 23, No. 94):

"Also let the Missions and Catholic Action be promoted according to the oft-expressed mind of the Supreme Pontiff."

Thinking With the Church

Every instruction of the late Father General reflects beautifully the grandeur of Jesuit loyalty to the Vicar of Christ. Living the spirit of *The Rules for Thinking with the Church* inculcated in the *Spiritual Exercises* makes Jesuit collaboration in the Catholic Action movement well-nigh imperative. That message has been the gist of practically every directive given to the society by Father Ledochowski.

Spirit of the Kingdom

Is it unduly difficult to see that the spirit and aims of Catholic Action as proposed by the Popes bear a very striking likeness to the very spirit and objectives of the Society? Is the Apostolate of Catholic Action anything more than a concrete program of spreading the kingdom of Christ, of communicating the spirit of the kingdom, the driving power of the Jesuit's life? It would seem that our enthusiasm for the kingdom would flow over into a deep interest in Catholic Action, for as Jesuits we must be ready to train leaders for the apostolate, lay apostles who can carry this spirit into sectors the priest may never reach.

Jesuits in Action

Many eminent Jesuits, alive to the needs of the hour, see in Catholic Action an up-to-date program giving promise of becoming the most effective apostolic movement of the age. Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., singles out the college as the dynamo of Catholic Action, and advises:

"The Catholic college will always remain the center and source of Catholic Action. There are all too few Catholic leaders of education and force engaged in the work. We have many organizations and no organization; we have many followers and

no leaders; we have much Catholic thought and little concerted Catholic Action." (*America*, Nov. 9, 1929).

John La Farge, S.J., is perhaps even more vigorous in the recommendations he has to offer:

"One of the most encouraging signs of the vitality of the Catholic Church in the United States, it seems to me, is the steady, even if gradual, increase in the number of young parish priests, curates or pastors of small parishes, who are engaging in just this type of apostolic formation. If there is one further thing I would say to these young directors, it is just this: deafen your ears to the senseless cry, 'We want less talk and more action in CA!' If there is anything we do not need at this stage of the game it is more action in the sense of more 'activities.' What we do need is infinitely more talk, intelligent, creative talk; prolonged, thoughtful discussion of issues; careful study of basic principles and the encyclicals, careful study of the specific principles that lie midway between the general and the particular; study of methods, and then education, education of the Catholic public in these matters, as the preliminary condition to fruitful and rational Catholic Action." (*America*, Feb. 7, 1942).

In discussing the problem of giving the layman a worthwhile and effective course in theology that would be productive of leaders in Catholic thought and action, John Courtney Murray, S.J. readily admits that the courses in our colleges are of a high intellectual calibre and are capable of forming the intelligence, but he questions the effectiveness of these same courses to communicate the spirit of the modern apostle. It is a problem of forming leaders; it is a problem of bridging the gap between what a Catholic college graduate knows and *what he does as a leader in Christian thought and action*. In speaking of the feasibility of a revised course, he makes this recommendation:

"It should start with intensive research in the papal theory of Catholic Action. In no other way can one learn what a layman is and what the Church today wants to make of him." (*Towards a Theology for the Layman. Theological Studies. Sept. 1944. p. 346*).

In *Reorganization of Social Economy* (p. 357) Father von Nell-Breuning, S.J. places great stress on Catholic Action as an essential part of modern Christian equipment:

"... Catholic Action can, among other things, be carried on with a minimum of organization. The decisive factor is that the action is intellectually understood and logically applied. Pius XI has taken such infinite pains to make this clear, and to impress it, that it is difficult to understand how it is possible that, in spite of it, his idea is frequently misunderstood, while by now it should be part of every priest's and layman's flesh and blood.

"So far the encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* plays no important part in the literature of Catholic Action. And yet we might take it upon ourselves to say that the nature of Catholic Action can nowhere be more clearly stated and better described than is done in these conclusions of *Quadragesimo Anno* concerning THE COURSE TO BE FOLLOWED."

Backing Catholic Action

C. C. Martindale, S.J. has made one of the most outstanding contributions to Catholic Action literature for English-speaking peoples through his translation from the Italian of the classic work of Msgr. Luigi Civardi, *A Manual of Catholic Action*.

In Canada Father P. Archambault, S.J. has been publicly congratulated by the Holy See for his work as President of the *Semaines Sociales*, devoted to close study and planning of the Catholic Action program for Canadians. Aside from his capacity of actively forwarding projects through actual contacts in the guidance of lay apostles, Father Archambault has written voluminously. At the present time he is probably the most prolific writer on Catholic Action on the North American continent.

Father Raymond Dunn, S.J. has been most active in the Canadian program of Catholic Action. He now occupies the post of Chaplain General of the J. I. C. (young business men) and L. I. C. (adult business men and employer class).

In France both Father L. Berne, S.J. and Father Dabin, S.J. have contributed greatly to the progress of French

Catholic Action by their numerous monographs as well as by their active work with *Action Populaire*.

The work of Father F. Lelotte, S.J. of Belgium cannot be overlooked. A vigorous and well-informed Sodality director, he is as well a staunch supporter of the Belgian Catholic Action group. One of his most masterful contributions of recent date is his critical comparison of Catholic Action and Marian Sodalities.

Father C. Mayne, S.J. is preparing seminarians for Catholic Action work in the Australian Pontifical Seminary, a work similar to that recently undertaken by Father Owen Cloran, S.J. in behalf of the seminarians of Mundelein Seminary in Chicago.

These are only a few outstanding Jesuits who have taken to heart the counsel of the Pope and have become engaged in some capacity in furthering the progress of Catholic Action. Where do we go from here? What of the American Jesuit and the job ahead of him? What is to be done? Where shall we begin?

Catholic Action and the ISO

According to the wishes of the Holy See and the directions of the late Father General, Jesuits in the United States rallied to serious and studious work on modern social problems, uniting through the organized action of the ISO to proffer Catholic solutions in the perplexing difficulties besetting American social life today. The late Pius XI considered Catholic Action to be of paramount importance in effecting this social reconstruction, for, far from discounting the aid which Catholic Action could give in the application of Catholic social principles, he maintained that the layman trained in the apostolate was indispensable in this all-out drive for christianization of the new order.

"Catholic Action is in effect a social apostolate also, inasmuch as its object is to spread the kingdom of Christ not only among individuals, but also in families and society. It must therefore make its chief aim to train its members with special care and to prepare them to fight the battles of the Lord.

"This task of formation, now more urgent and indispensable than ever, which must always precede direct action in the field, will assuredly be served by study circles, conferences, lectures, and the various other activities undertaken with a view to making known the Christian solution of the social problem." (*Divini Redemptoris. Cath. Mind. 35:168*).

Catholic Action, therefore, fits into the social picture. But how? Only *indirectly, but none the less fundamentally*. In brief, it is not the task of Catholic Action, but the task of men educated in Catholic Action, to transplant Catholic principles into social and political life. This is an important distinction; it cannot be overlooked without disastrous consequences both to Catholic Action and the solution of social problems. Here is the estimate of Pius XI (*Quadragesimo Anno. Social Wellsprings. J. Husslein, S.J. Vol. II. pp. 213-214*):

"We believe that to attain this last-named lofty purpose [the initiation and fostering of a better social order] for the true and permanent advantage of the commonwealth, there is need before and above all else of the blessing of God, and in the second place, of the cooperation of all men of good will. We believe, moreover, as a necessary consequence, that the end intended will be more certainly attained the more numerous the contributions furnished by men of technical, commercial, and social competence, and more still, the greater the contributions made by Catholic principles and their applications. We look for this contribution, not to Catholic Action, whose program excludes any strictly syndical or political activities, but to those sons of ours whom Catholic Action imbues with these principles and trains for the Apostolate under the guidance and direction of the Church..."

Later, in outlining the course to be followed in applying the principles enunciated in *Quadragesimo Anno*, His Holiness stresses the necessity of forming lay apostles for the initiation and fostering of the new order.

"In the execution of this most priestly and apostolic work, let them make opportune use of the powerful resources of Christian

training, by instructing youth, by founding Christian associations, by forming study circles on Christian lines." (*Quadragesimo Anno. Social Wellsprings. Vol. II. p. 232*).

Catholic Action Committee

In the light of these directives of the Holy See it would seem that a *Catholic Action Committee* in the ISO tallies perfectly with the all-over plan assiduously inculcated in the papal proclamations on reorganizing the social order. In studying and supporting Catholic Action, the ISO would be following the lead of *Action Populaire* in France and *Ecole Sociale Populaire* in Canada, organizations which have given invaluable aid to Catholic Action. As has already been pointed out, the contributions of Ours to Catholic Action literature and the assistance they have given to active Catholic Action units by dint of guidance and instruction has met with great success.

Study Catholic Action

The first function of the *Catholic Action Committee* would be to study the papal directives on Catholic Action with a view to a systematized and concrete application to the American way of life. It is no idle pursuit, nor is it a vain labor to examine the effectiveness with which the papal program has been concretized by eminent theorists like Dabin, S.J. of France, Lelotte, S.J. of Belgium, and Archambault, S.J. of Canada. Great profit can be derived from investigation of the Catholic Action organizations functioning in other countries. The outstanding success of Catholic Action in France, Belgium and Canada should merit examination by those interested in the execution of the papal program. This special study could be pointed to determining whether the *Young Catholic Worker's* units and the companion movements for professional and business youth, for farming youth, and the corresponding adult movements would in any way serve as similarly effective instruments towards establishing a Christian social order in this country. Could they be adapted conveniently in this country, and if so, how?

Presupposing this study and consequent upon it, definite action should be the immediate result. It would consist in the compilation of a very complete Catholic Action bibliography, translation of the best material from foreign sources, particularly papal documents and those works explicitly interpreting the papal directives, and the publication of new books, pamphlets, and articles explaining Catholic Action organization to American clergy and laity. In such a way Jesuits could be supplied with up-to-date literature, outlines, and a fully annotated bibliography. But lest the project remain forever *on paper*, the initial encouragement to guide local units of Catholic Action should come from the experts at headquarters.

There is a rich field in the lay apostolate among factory-workers, business and professional men and women, and farmers. If there were a central clearinghouse of information, equipped and competent to dispense necessary information, propaganda, and the all-important psychological impetus to action, Jesuits need have no fear of leading others up the dark alley of personal and secret experimentation. Nor would be the blind leading the blind. There would be organization; there would be prudent planning; there would be precision of method.

If the *Catholic Action Committee* were to follow some such procedure, Jesuits could more easily form Catholic Action units and carry through with the help always at their disposal from the ISO. Jesuit Chaplains would have on hand ready material replete with a fund of ways and means of making Catholic Action click in their own groups.

One word more! Is it prudent that we subscribe to one portion of the Pope's recommendation for reconstructing the social order and leave another, *and that a fundamental means, unexplored and untried?*

Napkin Box

THE BULLETIN EDITORIAL

Congratulations on the January number of the BULLETIN. Your editorial ought to dissipate a lot of confusion, and the Forum on divorce, edited by my friend, Father Cantillon, was a dandy.

Benjamin L. Masse, S.J.
America
New York.

I liked your editorial in the ISO BULLETIN very much... Our parish work, retreat work, school work is all related to Catholic Action insofar as it uses and prepares *laymen* for apostolic work. But the social "apostolate" has the phase you stress, the non-religious phase, the temporal political, economic, socio-remedial phase. That is where ISO operates.

Robert C. Hartnett, S.J.
University of Detroit.

A word of thanks and assurance of complete support for your last Editorial. When it is possible, which I hope will be within a year, I would like to see you outline the ISO BULLETIN policy in detail, restricting even the three fields mentioned to the most important problems.

Timothy L. McDonnell, S.J.
Alma College,
Alma, California.

The editorial on the front page of the January issue of the BULLETIN was an excellent piece of work. I think that you are absolutely right in framing the activity within fairly reasonable bounds without being too stringent as to definition of concrete means toward the established end. I like this approach, because it means maneuverability and long-range wisdom.

It seems to me that Father Jancauskas is avid for action and wants a definite schedule of games starting right now. This is an understandable attitude of mind, since he (like many of us who have given time and study to the problem of hammering the social sciences into what might be a fine instrument for the service of our Captain) is impatient of attaining any great apostolic success through means that seem, at first glance, quite secular.

If his article is prompted by such impatience—and I think it is—Father Jancauskas will admit the possibility of his having interpreted the papal pronouncements too narrowly and that there is room for the cell movement as well as for whatever is definitely decided to be

the concrete means to ISO objectives.

The January issue of the BULLETIN is excellent and contains a fine treatment of many things. The FORUM and the book reviews are especially fine.

James F. Hanley, S.J.
Saint Mary's College,
Saint Marys, Kansas.

I hope it will not seem too ungracious of me to disagree with the January editorial which "agreed with Fr. Becker." I do not mean to do more than to point out that there are two points of at least apparent differences between the editorial and my articles to which it referred.

1: *As to what is excluded from the scope of the ISO:* In my articles I did not mean to argue, as the editorial might imply I did, that "emphasis must be placed upon the social, economic and political, rather than, for instance, on the religious or educational aspects of social order." I sketched, in those articles, four characteristics of modern society that might provide us with leads in developing the ISO; but none of those characteristics necessitated the exclusion of "the religious or educational aspects of social order." Indeed, on the religious side, I explicitly instanced such activities as retreats to workingmen, and the promotion of social worship by dialog mass and communal chant. And certainly there are educational activities which I would easily concede to be possible ISO activities—the establishment of labor schools, for example, and the promotion of degrees in industrial relations.

2: *As to what is included in the scope of the ISO:* The editorial lists, besides the political and the economic, the "social... aspects of social order." This *idem per idem* definition is hardly in agreement with Fr. Becker, whose first article was almost entirely taken up with pointing out the uncertain meaning of the word "social" and in arguing that it was precisely the "S" in ISO that needed clarification.

Even if the announced editorial policy is what I take it to be (and I may be misunderstanding it) in these comments, I am not disagreeing with it. I am merely indicating that the policy is not identical with the line of thought in the articles with which the editorial purports to agree. I am not disagreeing with the policy, because I am still only in the stage of talking about many possible policies. Indeed, this might constitute a third point of difference between the editorial and the articles: that whereas the articles had not gotten beyond the point

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

of suggesting discussion, the editorial has reached, no doubt perforce, to action.

Joseph M. Becker, S.J.
Georgetown University,
Washington, D. C.

Neither in these comments on Father Becker's letter nor in any future discussion of BULLETIN or ISO policy do I want to engage in barren discussion of terms or positions, much less in a foolish defense of inaccurate formulations. But because Father Becker's letter raises some important questions concerning the editorial in the January issue of the BULLETIN, some clarification is needed.

For instance it was inaccurate to use the term "social" in the passage to which Father Becker refers in his second observation. The statement should have read "a tremendous emphasis must be placed upon the sociological, economic and political, rather than, for instance, the religious or educational aspects of social order." The passage was intended rather to say that the areas of activity for ISO lie, by and large, within the fields of study covered by the three academic disciplines of sociology, economics, and political science. I shall have more to say of this later.

It must be kept in mind that the editorial concerned itself directly only with the BULLETIN, not with the ISO. I have no authority to formulate policy for the organization. That is the responsibility of the Executive Committee and the Board of Governors. It is true, of course, that ISO policy is included "by implication," but the editorial is directly concerned only with the BULLETIN.

The BULLETIN must have a policy, at least a tentative formulation, now since it must be published now. The policy expressed in the editorial has been slowly formulated and has directed the BULLETIN, although until January 1947 it had never been stated in print.

Concerning Father Becker's letter:

1. Nothing that has social value is completely excluded from the scope of the BULLETIN even at the present time. My statement was "at the present time, when ISO is just being formed, a tremendous emphasis must be placed upon the [sociological], economic and political rather than, for instance, the religious or educational aspects of social order." I repeat that in my opinion such emphasis is absolutely necessary for the reasons already given. But at several points in the editorial it was clearly stated that religion can never be excluded from activity for the reform of social order:

a. "Much ISO work will necessarily assume a more specifically religious aspect."

b. "Emphasis must be placed..."

c. One reason for the policy I have adopted is that the "religious agencies of social reform in the Society are already relatively well developed."

d. It was stated that "very much more [than religious agencies], is required." The same might be said of educational agencies for social reform, although this receives less consideration in the editorial.

2. I do not know whether the policy stated in the BULLETIN has gone beyond Father Becker's articles. In fact it seems to me that by leaving the range of the BULLETIN open to all problems that lie within the compass of the three academic sciences mentioned above, the work Father Becker recommended in his two articles still remains to be done. It may be that the word "social" should have a narrower compass than the entire range of these three sciences. In that event Father Becker's work of defining "social" will consist of indicating the sectors upon which ISO must concentrate. If, on the other hand, the range of "social" must be extended beyond the problems involved in these three fields, then I have "gone beyond the point of suggesting discussion." But I believe that if there are such areas as lie beyond these three fields, the policy I have formulated will be enlarged to include them. Certainly BULLETIN policy must follow any policy officially formulated for the ISO.

Certainly I have not intended to attribute any errors in my editorial to Father Becker. Moreover, if comment upon the policy of the BULLETIN will confuse the discussion of the larger and vastly more important issue of ISO objectives, it should certainly be dropped. It should be continued only if it can, in the long run, aid in clarifying the work which ISO must do.

F. J. C., S.J.

ISO AND CATHOLIC ACTION

This letter and the article on Catholic Action which appears elsewhere in this issue of the BULLETIN were received before publication of the editorial in the January issue.—Ed.

Thanks to Fr. Lord for having taken the initiative in the December BULLETIN in reopening the discussion of Catholic Action which had been sidestepped by the ISO at the first national convention at West Baden.

Catholic Action is considered by the Holy See as one of the most important means at the disposal of the Church for reorganizing society according to the principle of Christ. Since this is the very objective to which the ISO itself is dedicated, it is obvious that Catholic Action cannot fail to be a concern of the ISO. It is true that the relationship between the ISO and Catholic Action presents

problems, and that it was the urgent need for immediate organization that pressed the ISO in its beginnings to sidetrack these problems. The time, however, seems to have come when a calm discussion of these problems is definitely in place, and we thank Fr. Lord for starting the ball rolling.

I say a discussion of these problems seems definitely in place. Why? Official CA is growing apace in this country, especially the Jocist variety which has received the highest sort of official commendation from the Holy See. The Society for the good of her works cannot take a detached view of this growing movement and content herself with a sort of self-sufficient isolationism. Such an attitude is not a Jesuit one.

The Society in other countries has been forced to meet the issue raised by the conflict of her works with those of official Catholic Action. In some cases she has responded magnificently; in other cases the results have not always been to the Society's credit.

Our late Father General in letters to individual countries has had some strong things to say on the need of our active cooperation with the hierarchy in the matter of Catholic Action. He has urged the sacrificing of our own pet views in favor of the expressed wishes of the Holy See.

I can see no reason for assuming that the problems which the Society has had to face elsewhere will not confront us here in this country—and sooner than we may wish to think. It would be regrettable and would seriously impair our apostolic effectiveness, if we should show ourselves narrow, uninformed, and uncooperative towards a Catholic Action movement rapidly growing in this country with active episcopal support. There is nothing to be lost and very much to be gained if we prepare ourselves beforehand by careful thought and frank discussion:

- 1) to understand more exactly the nature of Catholic Action and its relation to the ISO.
- 2) to determine how we can cooperate towards the promotion of the rapidly growing Catholic Action movement in this country.
- 3) to decide how to meet creditably A.M.D.G. whatever conflicting issues may arise between the works of the ISO and those of Catholic Action.

Denis E. Schmitt, S. J.
West Baden Springs, Indiana

CONTINUITY COMES UP AGAIN

May I add my confirmation to the letter of Father Cantillon in the December BULLETIN (p. 23). We need to keep the men interested, the same men attending

the meetings year after year. For some dozen years while I was dean of the College, I advocated this policy in regard to the attendance at the meetings of educational associations of which we were members. I'm convinced that the one great reason why we are not often represented on committees or asked to participate in programs is because we do not send the same men year after year until they are known by all. Practically all those in official positions in these educational associations have been attending meetings for twenty to thirty years. I hope Fr. Cantillon can convince those responsible of the necessity of keeping the same men attending meetings year after year.

Charles J. Deane, S. J.
Secretary-General
Fordham University, N. Y.

RETREATS AND SOCIAL REFORM

Just to keep the record straight, a few words about Father Magan's article "Socializing the Exercises," page four, December 1946 Bulletin.

The article says: "Father LaFarge observed that Jesuits have not developed the social apostolate in any way commensurate with the energy which they have devoted to the Spiritual Exercises." My first comment is: Where did Father LaFarge get the idea that the Jesuits have devoted what he seems to imply is over-much energy to the Spiritual Exercises? I have asked Mother Provincials of various orders and they have told me that at least fifty percent of the Jesuits who have given their communities retreats have spent the time of "points" reading their own notes to the sisters, and that many of them have read the retreat matter to the sisters out of books got from the sisters' library. In one case the "energetic" Jesuit read from a book of their library while sitting behind the sisters in the chapel. I told the Mother that that "energetic" Jesuit was a genius, since only a genius could have thought out that situation. The Mothers said they did not like to report their dissatisfaction to our Provincials. Let somebody ask around from the Mother Provincials and find out, (if the Mothers will want to tell the truth), how much energy the Jesuits are devoting to the Spiritual Exercises.

My second comment is: Why turn the young Jesuit mind away from the Gospels to some extraneous hodge-podge field called "Sociology?" The Exercises are full of the Gospels, full of Christ, and was there ever a better Sociologist than Christ? And did He not give us enough fundamental principles for this field they call Sociology? How about His constantly talking on His pet hobby of our "lov-

ing one another," even our enemies? Loving everybody as He loved them. He gave all the energies of His life for everyone in the world, gave His life blood, has thrown His Heaven at the feet of all the world for anybody to pick up. How about His description of His Last Judgment? How about the *only* badge He made for the breast of the true Christian? "By *this* shall all men *know* that you are my disciples, etc." How about the repeated and only imposition He put on Peter that would in His mind be a real proof of Peter's love for Him: "Feed My lambs, Feed My Sheep!"?

Third and last comment: About the "Mystical Body and its burden." "Burden" I take to mean the corollary obligations. If we talk about the "Mystical Body" we shall have to take up time distinguishing on what Mystical Body we are talking about. According to the present Pope's Encyclical the Mystical Body is the Catholic Body. But Our Lord told us to love everybody, not merely the Catholics. So then we shall have to explain the universal meaning Saint Thomas Aquinas gives to it. (3a, q.8, Art. 3) "Everybody in the world from Adam to the last man." This introduction of the term Mystical Body would lead to confusion and waste time. People in general can get the idea that Christ wants us all to treat our neighbor right, to try to make this world a better place for our having passed through it, because Our Lord as God created all our fellow men and as Man did for them all and made it possible for them all to be one with Him when He spoke of the Vine and the branches at the Last Supper.

So to keep the record straight: Did not Our Lord tell us plainly enough how we all must live as individuals and as social beings? Let us understand and stick to Christianity. The drive of the Exercises is to make us better Christians, real Christians. Followers of Christ, Imitators of Him. He walked His road of life here with His mind and will raised ever to His Father and His heart and Hands ever down to His fellow men. And He said: "Learn of Me!"

John Cotter, S. J.
Brooklyn, New York

The talk given by Father LaFarge to the philosophers at Woodstock, as reported in the November BULLETIN, raises again the interesting question as to how far the Spiritual Exercises may be "socialized" without making of the retreat a school of sociology.

At El Retiro we have tried to solve the problem, at least in part, by directing the spiritual reading at the table and during the daily afternoon period, to matters of social character. We have

found some of the broadcasts of Monsignor Sheen and others excellent for that purpose. As there is reading at eight meals and at the three daily periods, each of which approximates a half hour in length, there is a total of over five hours devoted to a consideration of subjects more or less social in nature.

We have noted with great pleasure that laymen in the Archdiocese of San Francisco who are prominent in social welfare work, e.g. St. Vincent de Paul Councils, are all regular retreatants. Just at present a diocese wide drive for a million dollars to establish the Archbishop Hanna Home for boys, is officered largely by members of our Retreat association.

At the Golden Jubilee Banquet, held recently in honor of Father Joseph Stack, the Secretary to Archbishop Mitty expressed in most appreciative words the sentiments of gratitude of the Archbishop for the splendid cooperation he is receiving from the men of El Retiro.

William Rice, S. J.
Los Altos, California

Retreats for service men, which have been promoted by the ISO BULLETIN, can do great good in helping service men settle down to civilian life. A valuable by-product of this work can be religious vocations to the priesthood and the life of a brother.

Every year in all our houses just before the first of March the letter is read in which one of the intentions recommended to our prayers is the fostering of vocations, especially to the brotherhood. In the coming months these two can well be combined in an effort, both to improve the social order by improving individuals returning to civilian life, and to improve religion by inspiring generous candidates to the religious life.

Brother Theophil F. Meade, S.J.
Cleveland, Ohio.

IF CATHOLICS DON'T, COMMUNISTS WILL

We believe certain excerpts from a letter received from a very prominent British business executive will prove of interest to Jesuits engaged in works of the social order. The gentleman is head of an international concern with some eighty foreign outlets. The workers in his company must attend a special lecture on some Christian social topic every month. He sends an additional pay check to the mother of his workers' children. This is a type of family allowance which could bear imitation in America. During our stay in London as an Army chaplain this gentleman twice served our Mass at Westminster Cathedral and went to communion. He writes as follows:

"I am most interested in your work in

improving industrial relations and any information you can give me that will help me in my field here I would be most grateful to receive. My workers are tired. They feel frustrated and disillusioned; they feel cheated for they were lead to believe that we had only to beat the Nazis to usher in the brave new world. I still believe that Roosevelt and Churchill were corny in their policy of unconditional surrender. We destroyed without ever thinking what we wanted to put in place. And now Russia slowly crushes all liberty and religion in an ever wider area. Britain and America must band together before this new menace, make a separate treaty (if necessary), and a Christian one, with Germany and Italy and frankly state to Russia what we stand for—the dignity and liberty of the individual which is the heritage of our Christian tradition.

"But alas, unless we in Britain and America get back to the practice of our religion, those liberties, privileges, and joys which Christianity brought to our countries will die too—for the religious foundation upon which they are based will have crumbled. So the first thing in both our lands is to bring our peoples to an awareness and fear of God.

"Perhaps again it will be your great order that will show the way and perhaps the modern sons of St. Ignatius will show that they are no less brilliant and valorous than their great predecessors in the missionary field. I think there are as great battles to be won for God in Chicago or London as ever St. Francis Xavier gained in India and Japan. The people who rose to great heights of heroism during the war will, I am sure, follow a courageous head calling for heroic virtue. And if we Catholics don't do it, the Communists will."

Richard M. McKeon, S. J.
Syracuse, N. Y.

WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS

It is important that we keep constantly in mind the improvements which the Negro wants in his status and the order in which he hopes to see them acquired. Here are the results of a poll, old but still pertinent, which lists six equalities in the order of preference by Negroes. Since intermarriage was included in the question, it had to be voted upon.

1. Employment, credit, relief;
2. Law courts, police;
3. Political affairs: voting and opportunity to hold office;
4. Public facilities (busses, restaurants, etc.);
5. Social (private parties, school dances, etc.);
6. Intermarriage.

David E. Meier, S.J.
St. Louis University.

ISO FORUM ON DIVORCE

PART II

The following is a brief summary of how our experts analyzed the causes of divorce in Part I of the ISO Forum on this topic printed in the January (1947) BULLETIN. Part II now takes up the suggested remedies. Ed.

CAUSES OF DIVORCE

	Votes
1. False concept of marriage as merely romance for hedonistic gratification.....	8
2. Employment and economic independence for married women.....	7
3. Inadequate training for marriage.....	6
4. Belief in divorce as a remedy.....	6
5. Childless marriages and small families.....	5
6. Increase in wages and income.....	4
7. Hasty marriages.....	3
8. A culture based on individual, rather than on family.....	3
9. Highly competitive basis of society.....	3

Other factors that received a single vote are: alcoholism, separation caused by war jobs, exploitation of prominent divorced people in newspapers, economic insecurity, complexity of modern life, moral quackery in the social sciences, the motion pictures, housing, emotional immaturity of American people, loss of values.

PART TWO:

Question: "What remedies for the divorce increase would you recommend?"

ANSWERS:

Box Score: Remedies

	Votes
1. Training for marriage and family life.....	10
2. Extension of social security.....	2.
3. Better treatment of marriage in motion pictures.....	2.

The overwhelming vote of all the guest editors was for more intensive training in all the factors that make for a happy and successful marriage. Other cures receiving a single vote: More psychological knowledge, deurbanization, better housing, better day-care for children of working mothers, rehabilitation of veterans, recognition of successful mothers, increase of birth rate, tightening of divorce laws, family wages and allowances, revival of sense of sin, decrease in employment of married women, nursery schools.

Doctor Allport

Remedies must follow from causes. I don't think we can or should attempt to stem the advancing standard of living or the accompanying fall in birth-rate. The best we can do is to try to strengthen the sense of responsibility and moral fibre among childless couples as well as among those who are having a difficult time of it in spite of the bond that children create.

(2) I am a believer in the therapeutic value of knowledge and insight. A woman who realizes the reasons for her husband's behavior, or a man who understands his wife's peculiarities of temperament, is less likely to rush

to the divorce court to solve an incompatibility. If I am right, then psychological knowledge is a preventative. (Mere schooling or courses in psychology do not necessarily help; it is the kind of psychological knowledge acquired at home, school, or church that counts.)

(3) It is not possible to arrest the changing function of the family, for the technological age has once and for all diminished its formerly vital economic and recreational roles. Since the family is less close knit, its members inevitably lose their consciousness of mutual dependence, and thus find it harder to accept legal, social, and religious injunctions to maintain a tightly bound family life. Undoubtedly a wider acceptance of the sacramental view of marriage would act as a restraint. But this sacramental view must be personally felt and freely accepted by the individual. Otherwise the patience and adjustments it enjoins in daily life are not willingly or healthfully assumed. Threats imposed from outside seem to me an unsound foundation upon which to attempt to establish strong marriage ties. What is needed is appropriate training of prospective marriage partners in home, school and church. Such training should aim at imparting a foreknowledge of the difficulties that marriage will bring, a determination to face them objectively. It should also, on the moral side, lead the partners to an attitude of sacramental self-dedication to the enterprise—for better or for worse.

Doctor Bernard

Remedies: It is impossible to go back to a rural economy. We cannot make divorce disgraceful again. We may try to correct wrong notions about love and marriage. I believe courses in preparation for marriage should be considered integral parts of the child's education, as much as the three R's. We now know a good deal in a scientific way about what makes marriage tick. This information should be widely disseminated. Young people should know what is important in selecting a mate. They should know what factors are associated with success in marriage. They should know how to face marital tangles. They should learn how to "quarrel" constructively. They should know what are the responsibilities and problems of marriage long before they meet them so they can be prepared for them. They should learn to see failure in marriage as more serious than failure in business or professional life.

I believe these things can be taught. There is a technique to successful marriage as there is to successful professional work. It can be acquired. Any normal person can learn how to be happily married. It is up to the educational institutions of the community—both church and school—to teach young people how to be happily married.

I suppose as a religious agency you will feel I have neglected to give due emphasis to the religious sanctions necessary to counteract divorce. But, frankly, I believe religious sanctions have not been enough and are not now enough to stem the secularization of people's thinking about marriage. The results of scientific studies on what makes for success in marriage have more prestige and more motivating power than all the pronouncements from the pulpit. The pronouncements from the pulpit may be exactly the same as the results of scientific study, but they do not have the prestige with most young people raised in the scientific atmosphere of today.

Doctor Clemens

It is doubtful whether these disjunctive familial forces can ever be effectively dissolved in their entirety without reverting to a handicraft era. But this is not to say that they cannot be minimized. The decentralization of industry, begun almost a century ago, and the promise of acceleration in our atomic age, is promising. The apparently irreversible trek to suburban locations by increasing num-

bers of families and the onset of an air era indicating the rise of outlying hamlets as satellites of industrial centers, is likewise promising. It is possible that an economy of subsistence homesteads (so inadequately tried to date) is not one of mere fantasy. Until these forces have evidenced themselves sufficiently, the factory-city home can only be encouraged to refuse to surrender to the compulsions of environment any more of its integrating factors (work, play, love, worship) than is strictly needed. Perhaps governmental measures in areas such as taxation and housing allotments might prove stimulants to the current deurbanization; while a generous campaign of education on the real advantages of rural society would help arrest the tendency city-ward of rural folk. Nor is the enhancement of facilities (health, educational, material and religious) in non-urban areas a means to be ignored.

Doctor Hamilton

As to possible remedies, it seems as though the school will have to teach home-making so that it will be on a par with the other approaches to adult life. Technological changes in our culture and so much recreation outside the home (both for children and adults) seem to have confused parents as to fundamental values. There is a general failure to practise the great truths that we really know are the basis of happy living. If we practised Christian charity with its love, kindness and courtesy, in our family life, the problems would dissolve. There would be mutual helpfulness and consultation about family plans, spending of money and welfare of the children.

Miss Hoey

In my opinion there is no one remedy for divorce. A sound approach to the problem, however, is to give boys and girls a better education for family life. Although this is ideally a responsibility of parent, not all parents can or will assume this obligation. Therefore, other institutions in the community, particularly schools, churches and social agencies, should accept greater responsibility in this area. Any satisfactory human relationship is based upon respect for the rights and dignity of each human being whatever his relationship to us and regardless of his race, color, creed, economic or social status. This is particularly true of persons who live as closely together as members of the family. To achieve this objective requires self-discipline and the need for such restraint must be emphasized especially by parents, schools, and churches.

Doctor Landis

We must train young people to select mates more wisely and give them a more realistic appreciation of marriage and family life so that they will be prepared for its responsibilities, enter into it with sincerity and find the deep satisfactions that personal loyalties and obligations bring to mature people working together in the joint enterprise of making a home, siring and training children.

To this end the colleges have taken the first step, training young people in all aspects of marriage and family living from mate selection to home administration. Such training must become a part of high school education also. Marriage and family are the one goal that all people have in life, yet our school curriculum has largely ignored the fact, preparing youth to make a living, to become good citizens and to participate normally in social life. This is good but the greatest problem society faces today is that of preparing young people to function intelligently and normally in the kind of family life that urban living has evolved.

Miss Lenroot

The first set of problems can be met only by more adequate social provision for an economic underpinning for

family life, including the extension of social security measures, public and private housing programs adequate to meet housing needs, and mental health, family counselling and parent education programs, including programs in high school helping to prepare both boys and girls for family life; remodeling of school systems to provide greater possibilities of working with parents in dealing with child problems, including nursery schools and kindergartens with emphasis on parent cooperation; and day-care programs for children whose mothers must carry part or all of the burden of family support.

The second set of factors calls for hastening the processes of reconversion and expanding and improving veterans' counselling and advisory services, and supporting fully programs for aiding in the personal and social rehabilitation of those physically or emotionally handicapped as a result of war service.

The third group of causes requires not only renewed emphasis on the philosophical, ethical and religious basis of the family, but also a determination on the part of citizens and those responsible for governmental policies and the policies of voluntary agencies, including religious groups, to provide all needed community services to underpin and supplement home life.

Rabbi Mandelbaum

The cure for the problem of increased divorce is the same as for other aspects of the spiritual and moral breakdown of our time—increased understanding of our responsibilities, and an improved appreciation of the high significance of life.

Doctor Mangold

What can be done to reduce the divorce rate? Certainly not the lessening of the freedom of women.

We need a greater appreciation of the essential force in social progress that the family as an institution plays. Its importance, its dignity and its culture-producing and culture-retaining powers must be emphasized. Our growing youth, particularly in high school, should be given courses in family and marriage. The courses should present the factors that make for successful marriage and also those that social investigation and general observation indicate as the causes of the breakdown of marriage and family life.

Mr. Popenoe

Among specific changes particularly necessary at the present time are:

1. Education for marriage and family life in the public schools.
2. Extension of adult education for the same purpose.
3. Much greater and more specific efforts on the part of churches and church young people's societies to prepare their members for successful family life.
4. Extension by custom if not by law of thorough premarital preparation.
5. Establishment of centers where people can get help with such problems after marriage.
6. Presentation of more wholesome and constructive patterns in literature, on the stage, movies, radio, etc.
7. More recognition of successful mothers.
8. Equalization of the economic burdens of the family by some such method as the proportional family wage.

Doctor Rice

For all these causes of divorce we offer the same remedy—training, training, training. We must set our young people a better example in the art of living and must teach them the basic principles of successful home life. This is essentially a task for the home itself, but the

church, the school, and the institutions of custom and government can do a great deal toward fostering the growth of the most precious plant in the world—the home, particularly in our lives, the American home—a good man, his devoted wife, and their beloved children.

Divorce is a symptom of a deep social pathology. We shall need to attack it at its source rather than treat it directly.

Father Schmiedeler

To point out the causes of divorce is also to suggest the lines of remedial action. The physician applies his remedies at the cause of the disease he is seeking to cure. One might, however, largely sum up the whole question of remedies in two terms, instruction and determination—instruction, namely, in the divine plan of marriage, and determination of the will to live in accord with that plan. Perhaps one could go even further, and say correctly that the remedy for divorce is no divorce. As Pope Leo XIII wrote over sixty years ago: "When divorce has once been tolerated, no restraint is powerful enough to keep it within the bounds marked out or presumed. . . . The eagerness for divorce will infect the mind of men like a virulent contagious disease or like a flood of water will burst through every barrier." Accept the divorce principle, and there is no real remedy for the divorce evil.

Doctor Sorokin

Remedies. Only a fundamental reconstruction of this disintegrating Sensate culture, society, and man in the direction of what I call Idealistic or Ideational culture, society, and man is the adequate remedy. All other measures are purely temporary, fragmentary, and little efficient palliatives. Only when our scale of the values is changed in such a way that the values of truth, goodness, and beauty are made again supreme and the sensory and material values are deflated to a secondary position; when in the same direction are changed our social institutions; when the main values with their norms of conduct are made again universally binding; when duty becomes again an effective categoric imperative; when the basic spirit of competition for especially material and glittering Sensate values (wealth, comfort, pleasure, kisses, copulation, popularity, fame, etc.) is replaced essentially by the spirit of love, service, humility, pure cooperation; only then the marriage and the family will become again "*consortium omnis vitae, divini et humani juris communicatio*"—spiritual as well as physical union for life.

Palliatives. (a) Increase of birth-rate; (b) elimination of excessive poverty and riches; (c) religious and moral education; (d) tightening the law of divorce and marriage; (e) establishment of a minimum of economic security for all; and many others. These palliative measures, like the facilitating factors of divorce, are varying in their importance to the conditions of time and circumstances. For this reason they can hardly be ranked as uniformly "most important," "less important," and "still less important," and so on. This is the reason why I do not try to select specifically "three most important remedies or factors."

Mr. Stewart

The most obvious remedy for the first of these factors, although admittedly a superficial one, lies in the further development of human, realistic marriage courses in our high schools and universities. The remaining two factors call for more drastic measures. Elimination of false economic standards presupposes a fundamental change in the economic organization of society with an emphasis on production and service rather than profits. Married women can be provided with a more challenging and rounded life

only through a change in custom which will lighten the drudgery of housekeeping and permit them to exercise their talents in our normal workaday world. Since it is impracticable to go back to the period when women pulled their weight in economic life by the necessarily elaborate activities connected with the growing, processing, and preparing of the family's food and clothing, the logical next step should be to free women of as much of their household burdens as possible in order that they may work outside the home. The development of communal eating places, or the cooperative preparation of meals by groups of women, the spread of nursery schools, and the redesigning of our homes for greater communal activities should, by enabling married women to live richer and more normal lives, contribute substantially to the stability of family life.

Judge Swift

And the remedies?

(a) *Revive the SENSE of SIN:* try that on most of the causes leading to the divorce court: infidelity, desertion, cruelty, habitual drunkenness, incompatibility of temper (in Europe they call it "invincible aversion"), evils from the housing shortage—indwelling with "in-laws" or other families, unscrupulous lawyers urging divorce for the fees!

(b) *Cleanse those Augean Stables,* called the Movies: then watch the drop in false standards; sensual pleasure and excitement as the sole aim in life; war-neuroses—that satanic synonym for promiscuity, in the military areas, between teen-agers and G.I.'s; collapse of parental control.

(c) *Discourage the employment of married women:* and you'll eliminate many a hasty and ill-considered marriage, most of the prospect of easy divorce, and much of that commonest mortal sin of our time, birth-prevention.

The problem of divorce is, in one word, the problem of the Act of Contrition: "O my God, I am heartily sorry BECAUSE . . .!" What the world most needs, if civilization is to endure, is a vivid and vital VISUALIZATION and REALIZATION of the Supreme Lawgiver, the Just Judge, and the Judgment-to-come: as faith in those realities fades, there is no longer any honesty in public or private life, there is no purity, no sanctity, no happiness in the home!

Doctor Gildea's contribution arrived late so it did not appear in Part I of the Forum. We print it here in its entirety. Ed.

EDWIN F. GILDEA, M.D.

This contribution comes from another of America's most distinguished psychiatrists, Doctor Gildea of Washington University, St. Louis. He has long held the position of Director of Neuropsychiatry at that University.

The increase in the divorce rate is just one of the many symptoms of the marked changes occurring in our modern culture. All phases of our life are shifting and more individual citizens are questioning their values and attempting to arrive at new standards. The extraordinary technological changes have greatly increased family mobility and made possible smaller family units. Small family units are more unstable than large ones because they depend on satisfactory relationship between husband and wife and father and mother. If something happens to either parent the unit breaks up. In the large family divorce did not seem necessary when either the husband or wife was inadequate because there were grandparents, aunts, uncles, etc., to partially make up for the inadequacies of one member of the married couple. The tendency to reevaluate religious dogma has led to a disregard of the prohibition against divorce by the churches. The dislocations of the present war have served only to accelerate what was al-

ready a trend in increased divorce rates.

For remedies I would suggest that the community will have to provide new resources for supporting small families that will take the place of the large old family groups. In the cities this can be done by supplementing our present school system with adequate mental hygiene and counsel-

ing services. The parent-teacher groups should become a nucleus for adult education and recreation. Churches should take a part in certain aspects of these group activities. It is important that the Catholic church should attempt to become more tolerant of other religions and more willing to accept and recognize cultural change.

Traffic Tower

Root of Conflict

Germany is suffering two great losses simultaneously: a material loss and a moral loss. Materially, they watch factory after factory in the process of dismantling. Manufacturing and commerce—the normal sources of a country's income—are exceedingly difficult under the network of minute regulations imposed by our fellow-citizens, and by the British.

But the moral loss is even greater—and much of this loss comes from the actual carrying out, under our auspices, of that mysterious and fantastic process called "denazification." Essentially the American error in this field is to think it of very small importance whether or not men are agnostic Socialists or atheists on the Marxist model. Our petty officials (military and civilian) think that a religious German, whether Catholic or Lutheran, was probably a Nazi from 1933 on, while an irreligious, anti-clerical German, being on the whole a "good, sensible fellow like themselves," is chosen to lead the Germans back to democracy. How soon men forget that 90% of all resistance to Nazi totalitarianism was from deeply religious and church-going people, while the liberal, the agnostic, the Marxist was either passive or a Party Member. And somehow it boils down to the incisive dictum of Henry Edward Cardinal Manning: "All conflict is ultimately theological."

American Chemical Society Objects

Editorially and in a debate carried on by members of the American Chemical Society the *Chemical and Engineering News*, official news organ of the Society, has expressed its disapprobation of Joe Davidson's Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. The editor of *Chemical and Engineering News* is confident that the overwhelming majority of chemists and chemical engineers resent in no uncertain terms the false presumption of ICCASP that it has any authority whatsoever to speak for the chemical profession. There can be no question whatever about the position of the American Chemical Society on the question of this party line organization.

Toward a Guaranteed Annual Wage

Support for labor's campaign to secure a guaranteed annual wage came from an unusual, but heartening, quarter recently. A thorough study of the question, prepared for industrialists by the American Management Association, gives generous if qualified approbation to the proposal. The publication finds five definite advantages in the annual wage for management:

1. increased profits from education of production and labor costs per unit of production;
2. improved morale;
3. more stable supply of workers;
4. more efficient use of plants and machinery;
5. increased skill of workers by elimination of layoffs.

New Zealand has a housing problem too. Even Government sponsored construction is so expensive that rental projects are operating at a loss. But the Commonwealth

Socio-Economic Trends Noted and Evaluated

has come up with a new plan to reduce costs of new units, both public and private. Taxes on all building materials will be reduced to lower over-all costs.

Short coal supply in the US, caused by the UMW strike begun last November, is further tightening the situation in western European countries. Even before the strike there had been a resurgence of Communist party power, helped by the stoppage of UNRRA activities, the serious shortages of coal and food in several countries. The situation is particularly acute in the British occupation zone in Germany.

During the first year that followed peace in England 107,037 children were known by the court to have been cruelly beaten, burned, manhandled, or shamefully neglected by their parents. These are only the reported cases of parental crime. The Child Welfare Societies, which originated 60 years ago in England after a visit to the United States by Frederick Luhnau, are finding their hands full.

The progress of Communism is indicated in a summary in *Time* magazine. Speaking of the future it says, "By 1950 if the present plan is completely fulfilled, each Russian will have less sugar than in 1913, less beef and mutton than in 1929, less soap and oil than in 1937, less pork than in 1938, less living space, shoes and stockings than in 1940."

Intra-industrial Collaboration

The general news of the split in the Association of American Railroads occasioned by the withdrawal of the Chesapeake and Ohio, Pere Marquette and Nickel Plate lines said very little about the proposed new Association of Railroads which Mr. Robert P. Young, Chairman of the C & O Board, proposes to organize. In his invitation addressed to other American Railroads Mr. Young not only criticized the A. A. R. for its unwise activities of the past three years, but urged that the new Association should include not only railroad companies, but railroad security holders and railroad labor "to promote free competitive enterprise in the interests of the public, the railroads, their employes and the business."

Mr. Young's action is another tremendously important step forward in the move for industrial democracy. By inviting not only stockholders but also employes to share in the Association's membership, he has recognized the importance of intra-industrial collaboration. His emphasis upon the interests of the public is equally significant and important. Whether this is just a good-will measure, timed to coincide with the railroads' appeal to the Interstate Commerce Commission for increased rates, only the future can tell, but for the present it would be ungracious and imprudent not to accept Mr. Young's action and statement at their splendid face value.

A PILLAR OF FIRE

BERNARD A. TONNAR, S.J.

St. Charles College, Grand Coteau, Louisiana

"And the Lord went before them to show the way by day in a pillar of a cloud, and by night in a pillar of fire: that he might be the guide of their journey at both times." (Ex. 13/21)

"THE Jesuits ruined my son!" she said shifting slightly in the bus seat.

My eyebrows jumped into arches. "Ruined?"

"Yes, when George came back from college, he had nothing but good things to say about the *niggers*. I never in all my life heard such talk! And the Jesuits were the instigators."

Silently, I thanked some Jesuit for his work in behalf of the Negroes. "But wasn't it true what your son believed about them?" I asked cautiously.

"That's just the rub. It was all true and that sort of burnt me up."

I relaxed visibly. "Did George attend some Jesuit college up East?"

"Oh no. He goes to Spring Hill College in Mobile."

The chairman recognized the girl's lifted hand. She rose to her feet, took a deep breath and began.

"I propose we have a social for all the members of the Sodality Union."

Nods and signs of approval greeted the suggestion from all present except the girls from one school. The Prefect of this group held her hand high for recognition.

"Does that include the members of the Negro Sodality?" she asked.

"Yes," returned the other girl.

The Prefect turned to her Sodality unit. A few animated minutes of chatter resulted while silence seemed to hold the entire audience. Again the Prefect asked for the floor.

"If the members of the Negro Sodality attend we shall withdraw from the Union."

The chairman looked at the Jesuit Moderator. Several hands flew up. One boy was acknowledged by the chair.

"We feel that Negro Sodalists have a right to participate in any Union activities."

Spontaneous and hearty applause followed.

"Then we shall withdraw," chorused the protesting unit. They rose and stalked out of the auditorium.

The proposal was unanimously passed. Without a word about the departing girls, the rest planned how to make their first Union social successful.

Somewhere down in the Moderator's heart was a warm comforting feeling.

The young Jesuit was trembling a bit. It was his first radio sermon. Moreover, his topic was explosive.

"I'm from Georgia where four Negroes were recently lynched." With unabated breath, he spoke for fifteen minutes on the injustices done to Negroes in America. Perhaps thousands heard him—all Southerners, for the radio station was small and beamed its programs to local communities. Southerners were hearing a *Southern priest* tell them the truth about Christ's doctrine of love.

"If one heart is changed," thought the Georgia Jesuit, "I've done something for the poor ebony Christ."

"Father, I heard your sermon and was impressed. How true..." She opened her purse and removed a crisp twenty dollar bill. "The Jesuits have Negro Missions, don't they?"

"Yes. Three in the South," he said as he unvested in the sacristy.

"Please send this money to one of them. I'm a Southerner and I feel I must do something to make up for past offenses. Thanks for telling us, Father. Most in the congregation never heard a sermon on the Mystical Body of Christ and its relations to our Negroes."

The Southern Jesuit preacher began his thanksgiving: "Soul of Christ, sanctify me. Body of Christ, save me..."

* * *

"I had a marvelous time in Chicago, Father. Saw so many wonderful sights. Rode on the subway—first time too, and drove along the lake front. I wanted to see and hear Lena Horne, but I was with some Southerners and they wouldn't go. Said they wouldn't pay good money to hear a Negro sing."

"But aren't you a Southerner?"

"You bet. But our Jesuit chaplain at the Academy put us straight on that point. Wait till I tell him how I fumed with my friends about their silly prejudices!"

* * *

The two stood waiting for the Greyhound bus to unload and take on passengers for New Orleans.

"Look, son, at that Negro preacher dressed up as if he were a Catholic priest," the Jesuit's mother whispered to her priest-son.

"Why Mother, that is a Catholic priest." With that, he walked over to the Negro priest, shook hands and talked awhile. The mother watched out of the corner of her eye partly disapproving. Then to her horror, she saw her son bring the Negro towards her.

"Mother, I want you to meet a friend of mine. Father ———, my mother."

She held her hand out graciously and shook the Negro priest's hand. "I am happy to meet you, Father."

They chatted until the Negro priest boarded the bus. Turning to her son, the lady said, "I don't think I could have shaken his hand if I hadn't seen you do it. He was very charming, wasn't he?"

* * *

The church usher had served long and faithfully, but now parishioners had to find seats for themselves frequently. The young visiting priest was standing near the back of the church when three ladies from out of town approached him with, "Father, would you be so kind to find us a seat?"

With a nod of his head, he escorted them to a front pew.

Returning to the back of the church he came face to face with a well dressed Negro gentleman. Their eyes met and the priest could see the question—"Any seats for me?" in the man's face. Looking towards the segregated section for Negroes, the Southern Jesuit saw that it was not only filled but packed. Two seats beyond this section was a pew with one white man in it. The priest ushered the Negro to this pew.

"Would you mind letting this man sit here please?" he asked the sole occupant. The white man looked at the Negro, smiled and moved over. "No, Father."

The Jesuit walked back again to the rear of the church thinking that he had done an act of charity. Two days later, the pastor, a priest from another section of the country, scolded the Jesuit for being over zealous!

* * *

Anyone who says NOTHING can be done for the Negroes in Dixie because of political, religious and social pressure might review recent trends. The above incidents are true. Like a pillar of fire they light up the dark night of the South.

Publisher's Galley

ORGANIZED LABOR.—By Harry A. Millis and Royal E. Montgomery. McGraw-Hill, New York, 1945. xiii-930 pp. \$6.00

This is really half-a-dozen books in one. It is the most comprehensive single volume in the field. This volume, third in a trilogy entitled THE ECONOMICS OF LABOR, all by the same authors, comes seven years after the others published in 1938: LABOR'S PROGRESS AND SOME BASIC LABOR PROBLEMS and LABOR'S RISKS AND SOCIAL INSURANCE.

Montgomery is Professor of Economics at Cornell. Millis has the wider practical field experience; his record is impressive: Professor of Economics, University of Chicago, 1916-1938; Chairman, Board of Arbitration, Men's Clothing Industry, Chicago, 1919-1923 and 1937-1940; Member NLRB, 1934-35 (old board before Wagner Act); Impartial Umpire, General Motors-UAW contract, 1940; Chairman, NLRB 1940 to July, 1945. The team shows both scholarship and experience.

The present volume "touches all the bases" in the area of organized labor study. Every major problem is noted. Special sections or particular facets of the union labor picture are treated more thoroughly elsewhere in specialized volumes, but there is no single volume now on the market which equals this for completeness of coverage.

Section one, the first five chapters, is a complete book in itself on the history of American labor organization. Chapters VI and VII present a neat treatise on trade union structure and government; VIII to X, on union policies and practices, rival Slichter's great work; XI and XII, on labor law and the courts, stand on a par with several of the single volume treatises; the section on conciliation and arbitration, XIII and XIV, is a full and rounded exposition; and the concluding chapter, XV, on company unions and representation plans would make a thin but competent volume.

There is exceptionally good documentation throughout the book. It shows an extraordinarily wide and profound knowledge of the literature—general and specialized works, industry and management publications, labor journals and organs, government documents and statistics, professional and technical journals. In addition to a clear and helpfully elaborate table of contents, there are two good index lists arranged according to subjects and according to names. One defect that has caused disappointment to this writer is the lack of a collected bibliography. It would add much to the

book if the many references, listed at page bottoms, were gathered somewhere in one spot for easier reference.

The book is the most nearly up-to-date treatment known to this writer. And among the standard manuals—Taft, Lester, Daugherty, Yoder, and others of this class—the present work is now pre-eminent. The other authors mentioned above have each their special virtues, and for special purposes their works are valuable because of their various approaches and viewpoints. Yet if the question were asked "What single volume among them seems best for general use?" this writer would have no hesitation in fixing straightway on Millis and Montgomery. It should be among the first purchases of any student or teacher in modern labor problems.

Mortimer H. Gavin, S. J.
Institute of Social Sciences

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UNITED WORLD — Scott Nearing Island Press, New York, 1945, v, 260 pp. \$2.50

This book is a plea for a socialized federal world state. The state would be primarily a materialistic society; all practical emphasis is put on the material well-being of members. There is allowance made for something beyond peace, bread, and freedom, but once the material order is left the goals become extremely vague.

"Long range results in social organization will depend for their success upon the use of those generalizations which have been formulated with such painful efforts across the centuries. These generalizations include truth, love, beauty, justice, discipline, freedom, efficiency. Such concepts describe more or less abstract relations between man and the universe, man and nature, man and man, and social group and social group. They are not absolutes but rather broad statements of attitudes and methods of approach."

Religion, of course, finds no place in this demi-paradise of "worldism," for religion is one of the historical forces that have always been a weapon to kill social progress.

With a pathetically dazzling display of wide reading the author labors in logical fashion to construct his mathematically proportioned temple to humanity. It is too bad that he has overlooked a foundation.

His ideal is not Russian Communism. It might have been, "but after the fateful Congress of 1935, with its drastic shift in program and policy, it became increasingly evident that the Third

Socio-Economic Books in Review

International might lead as far as another war, but not beyond it. Its policies of reformism and expediency would cripple it in a major crisis, as similar policies crippled the Second International during the crisis accompanying the War of 1914."

The author asserts that unified political and social philosophy is not essential at the beginning of the world state. But since the dispossessing of the owning class is absolutely necessary for the new state he at least implies that a certain amount of philosophical unity is a desideratum.

With verbose repetition he proclaims that now is the acceptable time for "worldism" to make a great stride, even though it may not be possible to achieve the final goal at present. The time is propitious because the phenomenal advances in technology, transportation, and communications have prepared men for "worldism." Then, too, men have been learning in the last 100 years how to administer a world state. Their chief tutors have been the corporations, cartels, and international organizations like the Postal Union.

Gregory C. Huger, S. J.

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THE WAGNER ACT: AFTER TEN YEARS.—Edited by Louis G. Silverberg. Bureau of National Affairs, Washington, D. C., 1945. 126 pp.

Eleven friends of the Wagner Act, including its distinguished sponsor, gathered late in 1945 under the editorship of Louis G. Silverberg, a former Director of Information for the National Labor Relations board, to compile this *fest-schrift*. Because they are all friends, the book is a balanced encomium of the Act.

After an introduction by Senator Wagner, Leon Keyserling and Warren Madden present the background and early history of the NLRB. Charles Fahy and Malcolm Ross discuss treatment of the Act by the courts and by public opinion. Development of unionism, the mushrooming of organization within the automotive industry and the general good effects of the law, as well as management opinion of the Act and a forthright economic defense of the Act are other chapters.

Most significant, perhaps, is William M. Leiserson's brief study of proposed amendments. Mr. Leiserson's clear statement of the Act's twofold purpose: 1. to vindicate the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively, and, 2. to prevent only those unfair practices which interfere with these rights, needs the emphasis it receives.

Francis J. Corley, S. J.

FRIENDSHIP HOUSE.—By Catherine De Hueck. Sheed and Ward, New York, 1946. 157 pp. \$2.00

A hundred years ago in a meeting of students an unbeliever rudely interrupted Frederick Ozanam with the challenge: "You, who pride yourself on being a Catholic, what are you doing for the poor?" Ozanam was embarrassed for the moment, but he found an answer, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. His slogan "Let us go to the poor" has given the answer to Dorothy Day and Catherine de Hueck in their attempt to meet the challenge of the communists in our own times.

Dorothy Day described her work in *House of Hospitality* (Sheed and Ward, 1939). Now comes the Baroness Catherine de Hueck (Mrs. Eddie Doherty) to tell her story in *Friendship House*. Miss Day used a diary form, but the Baroness strings together a series of episodes. Both women went to live with the poorest of the poor in obedience to the will of God revealed in external circumstances. They deliberately chose not the "poverty with security" of a religious order but the "poverty without security" of the slums. Miss Day went to the whites but was ready to admit Negroes, the Baroness went to the Negroes but was ready to admit whites. Each now has houses in many cities.

Both books seem little likely to invite the criticism that is sometimes visited upon the personalities of these two women or upon the atmosphere of their houses or something in the spirit of their work. These two lay-Catholic projects should be known to all Catholics interested in social problems.

Thomas S. Bowdern, S. J.

MUST WE FIGHT RUSSIA?—By Ely Culbertson. John C. Winston Company, Philadelphia and Toronto, 1946. 62 pp. (double column) \$1.00

Must we fight Russia? This is an ever-present question, and anyone with an audience has voiced an answer. Ely Culbertson, the contract bridge originator and more recently an author of systems of International Organization, has made this question the title of a modern double-column booklet and has devoted its 62 pages to his answer.

Mr. Culbertson's solution to the problem when stripped to its naked elements is not a new one. It is an overbalance of power in favor of an Anglo-American bloc that has the support of most of the small members of the UNO. This Anglo-American bloc will be so strong that Russia will not risk a test of arms. This idea is not very different from one offer-

ed by Clarence Streit in his book *Union Now With Britain*.

In case of a conflict between Russia and the Anglo-American bloc, e.g. refusal to accept the result of a Security Council decision or a judgement of the World Court, the line-up of forces would be so great in favor of the Anglo-American forces that Russia would not dare to risk certain defeat.

Mr. Culbertson goes on to state that this arrangement will be satisfactory with Russia because she will have the opportunity to continue her great experiment and develop her Communist State without having to spend half her labor and resources on armament."

Here is the weakness in the thinking of Mr. Culbertson and most of the others who have examined the Russian question. To look upon Communism as a great experiment and as something nationalistic, to be confined to the ever-expanding borders of the USSR, is an ignorant folly. The Communist State is no experiment as far as the Communists are concerned, and it is of absolute and inherent necessity a world-wide movement toward a universal classless society—the marxian philosophy demands this. Stalin has not changed the ultimate goal of Marx and Lenin, he has only changed the means to attain it—successive sovietizing of one state after another until finally the U. S. A. and Great Britain weakened from within and besieged from without by Communistic forces will come to terms with the USSR. This adaptation of a changing means to a final goal is in the best tradition of Marx's dialectics. Communism and the Russian State are inseparable. The identical leadership, or rather domination, of the Politburo and the Communist Party is sufficient proof of this.

We must fight Russia because we must fight Communism. We must fight Russia now in a shrewd and clever diplomatic and commercial battle. And we must be victorious on this present battlefield—Europe, China, Korea, Turkey and Iran—or we must be prepared to fight an atomic war in the not too distant future UNLESS Divine Providence brings about by internal dissension the destruction of the Communist power: which is a worthy and recommended intention for prayer.

Mr. Culbertson's booklet is brief and clear and to the point. It is based on an inadequate appreciation of the Communist philosophy, but it is representative of the "balance-of-power" thinking on the solution to this problem.

Timothy L. McDonnell, S. J.
Alma College

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS AND THE SOCIAL ORDER.—By Wilbert E. Moore. Macmillan, New York, 1946. xii, 555 pp. \$4.00

THE SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF AN INDUSTRIAL CIVILIZATION.—By Elton Mayo. Harvard School of Business Administration, Boston, 1945. xvii, 150 pp. \$2.50

Professor Moore's book is apparently a textbook in industrial sociology which, as he states, has grown out of a course given at the Pennsylvania State College. The book's purpose is to study industry as a modern society in its own right as well as industry's relations with the larger society of the community.

The first two parts of the book present Professor Moore's quick, but careful, surveys of the field of industrial sociology and the development of modern industry. The third and fourth parts treat of managerial and worker organization within the industrial plant. These are the longest portions of the book and in some respects the most satisfactory. Each is a thorough presentation of industrial structure and function in the two fields of management and labor.

More important, if less satisfactory, are parts five and six, which deal with Industrial Relations and Industry and Society, respectively. The section on industrial relations considers labor organizations, collective bargaining and industrial conflict. Only about a dozen pages are devoted to preventive and remedial work on conflicts. The treatment of grievance procedure covers only two pages; nothing is said about suggestion systems, labor-management committees, industrial councils.

The sixth part treats of extra-industrial relationships. The treatment is good, but mention might have been made of the social implications of such industrial phenomena as technological improvement, unemployment, layoffs, wage structure, balance of industry within a community. It would be unfair to Professor Moore not to remark that he may have had good reason for omitting these topics and that his book, whatever may be thought of these deficiencies, is an excellent survey of a highly complex subject.

Professor Mayo's little book is the second of a series of three; the first was *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, 1933; the third will be *The Political Problems of an Industrial Civilization*.

The two comprehensive recommendations made in this book are derived from Professor Mayo's distinction between an established and an adaptive society. The old non-industrial (established) society

was static, highly organized; communities were stable; family life, secure and permanent; occupation, traditional; the worker acquired social as well as craft skills through apprenticeship. The modern industrial (adaptive) society is dynamic, complex but poorly organized; occupation, community and family life are unstable; social skills are nowhere imparted or acquired.

Recognizing that "we are technically competent as no other age in history has ever been and we combine this with utter social incompetence," Professor Mayo makes his first recommendation. To education, and specifically to the social sciences, which he indicts as having been completely derelict to this responsibility so far, he entrusts the job of developing and teaching social skills.

The second recommendation is that the social sciences adopt root-and-branch the inductive techniques of the physical sciences, and that the data gathered and correlated after many experiments form the basis for a solid body of social knowledge. One specific study which he recommends is a study of communication, "the capacity of an individual to communicate his feelings and ideas to others, the capacity of groups to communicate effectively and intimately with each other." Throughout the book Professor Mayo returns to the problem of group tensions on the community, national, and international levels.

The writings of Professor Mayo and his associates show that much can be done by such methods, but positivist social sciences can never deal adequately with the problem of man.

Francis J. Corley, S. J.

THE SERVILE STATE.—By Hilaire Belloc. Henry Holt and Company, New York. xxviii, 189 pp. \$2.50.

How does one review a classic? Better to state, perhaps, that all of Ours with the faintest desire to understand the political and economic and financial situation of 1947 should digest this volume, now in its first American edition.

"That evil thing," laissez-faire capitalism, according to Belloc, is naturally and essentially unstable and must tend toward something else. It trends toward one of three permanent arrangements: Distributism (called Property), Collectivism and/or Slavery. This slavery or Servile States is "an arrangement of society in which so considerable a number of the families and individuals are constrained by positive law to labor for the advantage of other families and individuals as to stamp the whole community with the mark of such labor."

Quite simply, our monopolistic capitalism strongly leans toward the return of slavery as the condition of the poor. Of course, the slavery will be cushioned by a large degree of security in employment, provisions for sickness and old age, etc. But Mr. Belloc does not think that any increase of security or comfort is a sufficient good to be bought at the price of liberty.

This is a scientific thesis, maintained with scientific impartiality and scientific calm. It is written with calculated dullness. Only on page 130 does the author let himself go with a "This fool." A better description still is that it is an admirable scholastic treatise "Aquinas Redivivus de Re politica." It is a work of genius, in which the greatest Catholic of our times saw the England and America of 1947—back in 1912. When all the little and big prophets of our day are forgotten tomes, people will be reading this pivotal volume, because of its grasp of essential reality. Read and re-read it!

Joseph F. Cantillon, S. J.

IN HIM WAS LIFE.—By John P. Delaney, S. J., America Press, New York, 1946. xi-179 pp. \$2.75

One might at first seem to have to apologize for reviewing Father Delaney's book in the ISO BULLETIN. But the work deserves notice on many counts. First of all Father Delaney has long been one of the most social-minded of American Jesuits. After giving ISO its initial impetus in New York in 1939, Father Delaney continued on the staff of *America* from 1943 to 1945. Besides contributing articles on national and international affairs, and writing editorials on religion, liturgy, retreats, church and state relations, he found time week after week to provide material for his column, "The Word," on next Sunday's Gospel. It is these fifty-eight sermonettes, which appeared in *America* during 1944 and 1945, which comprise the text *In Him Was Life*.

Father Delaney's sermonettes are simple, close to reality. True to his views, he brings in the importance of the Church's social and economic ideals whenever he can. Look up his commentary on the Gospel for the Sixth Sunday after Pentecost (Mark 8:1-9). See how he instances Leo XIII's "On the Condition of the Working Man"—the evils which gave rise to it, the rallying cry for a great social crusade it soon became.

The peculiar value of this book is that it can and does provide the spark for a short Sunday sermon or discourse on a

great variety of topics—all intimately connected with the Mass and our daily living: marriage, the family, care of children, money and recreation, pain and suffering, the everyday job.

For religious and the laity the book can similarly serve as a springboard for excellently prayerful thoughts during Sunday Mass or for a quiet period of meditation.

Since 1945 Father Delaney has been in the Philippine Islands, teaching in the Ateneo de Manila.

Arthur A. Barth, S. J.

RURAL LIFE AND THE CHURCH.—

David Edgar Lindstrom, Ph. D. The Garrard Press, Champaign, Ill., 1946, 205 pp. \$2.50

Dr. Lindstrom, Professor of Rural Sociology at the University of Illinois, brings to this book the spirit of his own rural background plus the experience of years in research, teaching and field work. His earlier work, *The Church in Rural Life*, 1938, was so well received that the edition was exhausted. Popular demands on the part of rural leaders prompted him to write this revised edition which is up to the minute in portrayal of conditions, yet packed with material of permanent and practical value.

After a foreword by Msgr. L. G. Ligutti, its eight chapters cover: The People and the Land, Groups in Rural Life, The Institutions in Rural Life, Farmers' Organizations, Government and the Farmer, The Farmer and His Community, The Impact of Rural Life on Urban Life, Significant Rural Life Trends. Chapter Seven, The Impact of Rural on Urban Life, should be of particular interest to city readers since it shows the religious, moral, social and economic effects of migration from country to city induced by low income on family-sized farms.

The book is well documented and supplied, at the end of each chapter, with bibliographies for further reading. Using *Rural Life and The Church* as a guide and summary, and following up on the suggested readings, a reader or a discussion group can gain a fairly comprehensive idea of the small farmer's significance to the Church and the Nation, and a key to proven methods for bettering the farmer's status.

Rural Life and The Church is not a great book in either the literary or the scholarly sense; but it is a very excellent book, deserving a wide reading. Every rural lay leader and his pastor should become familiar with its contents.

Anthony J. Adams, S. J.

THE FIELD OF LABOR ECONOMICS.

—By Carroll R. Daugherty in *American Economic Review*, p. 652, Sept. 1945.

A DIGEST

I—Six CRITERIA for judging the adequacy of labor textbooks and labor education.

1. They should be *Complete* and *Comprehensive* in two senses:

A. Should cover all the items of major labor importance, *scil.*

a. "the efforts of employees through self-organization to adjust the problems;

b. the efforts of employers to meet the problems;

c. the relations between organized labor and employers in these efforts; and

d. the approach of government to the problems."

B. Should present all the reliable data relevant to an understanding and analysis of the major items.

2. The material should be not just Descriptive but also and primarily *Analytical*, taking special account of Economic Theory.

("Every labor problem exists in a frame of reference determined by economic as well as other forces. Every effort and every proposal to 'solve' a labor problem requires appraisal in economic terms and with the use of economic-analytical methods." —p. 653)

3. The course should be *Integrated*.

("Every labor textbook and course can and should have a unifying central theme [or group of themes] that gives greatly added meaning to the factual material and to its analysis. This necessary integration is of two sorts:

i- There should be an *Internal Consistency* of material, and
ii- there should be an *Integration of Material* with general social, political, and economic developments."—p. 654)

4. It should contain "Practical Stuff," —including matter ranging from "stories of strikes and examples of restriction of output by unions to visits to industrial plants and union meetings and the holding of labor relations "clinics" or "institutes"—p. 654)

5. It should stimulate further *Reading* and *Research*, *scil.* about how Collective Bargaining operates, and what produces successful

programs of labor relations.

6. The *Presentation* should be attractive, well-organized, interesting style, use of visual aids.

II—Suggested College Curricula in Labor Relations.

"Four semesters is a minimum and six are to be preferred. Courses should be Elective. 'Plenty of economic analysis through integrating courses in practical theory should be given with the labor courses'."

A. FOUR SEMESTER PROGRAM

(1) The problems of labor

(2) Unionism

(3) Employerism and collective bargaining

(4) The government and labor

B. SIX SEMESTER PROGRAM

(1) The problems of labor

(2) Unionism

(3) Employerism

(4) Labor Relations

(5) Labor relations and the government

(6) Protective labor legislation and social insurance

III—Bibliography

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Vol. I - Labor's Progress and Some Basic Labor Problems, pp. 584, 1938

Vol. II - Labor's Risks and Social Insurance, pp. 453, 1938

Vol. III - Organized Labor, pp. 930, 1945

How Collective Bargaining Works by Harry A. Millis and others, pp. 986, 1942, Twentieth Century Fund

Economics of Labor by R. A. Lester, Macmillan, 1941—"best use of economic analysis in discussing labor problems"

Wage Determination under Trade Unions by J. T. Dunlop, Macmillan, 1944, *Economics of Social Security* by S. E. Harris, McGraw-Hill, 1941

Henry J. Wirttenberger, S. J.

Labor Representation in Management.

Complete Handbook on Labor Representation in Management. \$2.50

J. Weston Walch, Publisher, Box 66, Pearl Street Station, Portland 6, Maine. Very good.

Debate Handbook on Labor-Management. \$2.50

Mid-West Debate Bureau, Jacksonville, Illinois. Good, but not too good.

Reference Debate Handbook on Labor-Management Relations. Not yet published.

The H. W. Wilson Company, 950 Uni-

versity Avenue, New York 52, New York. Should be good.

A Report on President's National Labor-Management Conference, November 5-30, 1945. Bulletin No. 77 (Free)

Mr. V. A. Zimmer, U. S. Department of Labor, Division of Labor Standards, Washington 25, D. C.

Labor refused to state just what it wanted.

Also write to:

Bureau of Labor Statistics for further information.

HEINEMAN, ROBERT K.—"How we Know That Management is the Foreman's Business." *Factory—Management and Maintenance*, September 1946, pp. 96-99.

McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, Inc., 330 West 42 Street, New York 18, New York.

Lists at some length specific functions of management, cf. other articles v.g. p. 280.

The Collective Bargaining Agreement in Action, Personnel Series No. 82.

American Management Association, 330 West 42 Street, New York 18, New York.

Has one section on management's rights.

Policy Declarations of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, May 2, 1946.

T. W. Howard, Department of Manufacture, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington 6, D. C.

Management's Right to Manage: A statement by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce on the debate question.

To order this pamphlet address same as above. Both are free. Ask for four or five copies.

What to do About Management Prerogatives, Research Institute of America, 292 Madison Avenue, New York 17, New York.

Andrew L. Bouwhuis, S. J.

Under the editorship of Richard Pattee, the National Catholic Welfare Conference has begun publication of a Pan-American news letter called INTER-AMERICAN SOCIAL ACTION BULLETIN. The first number appeared in August, 1946, and is printed in four languages: English, Spanish, French, and Portuguese.

The first number is a survey of social activities in most of the Central and South American nations, as well as brief statements about Canada and the United States. The report from Canada includes the extremely important letter of Cardinal Villeneuve on religious neutrality

which was occasioned by the well-known pamphlet of Father Levesque and the later pamphlet by Father Gaudrault. The Cardinal's letter should be read in connection with Harry Lorin Binsse's article "Fight over Neutrality" in the August 16 *Commonweal* and the letters in *Commonweal*, September 6.

The Catholic Social Guild has resumed publication of its BULLETIN which was discontinued several years ago. The BULLETIN will be printed exclusively for members of the guild and will not interfere with continued publication of the *Christian Democrat*, which is in its twenty-sixth volume. All of the excellent guild publications can be secured for

an annual subscription fee of 7s. 6d. Special subscription rates for the *Christian Democrat* are 3s., and for the annual Year Book, 1s. The August issue of the *Christian Democrat* includes an excellent four page leaflet giving an account of the Italian Christian Democratic Party which was founded in 1919 by Don Luigi Sturzo.

ISOccasions

The Institute of Social Order offers its heartiest congratulations to the rector, faculty, and student body of **Weston college**, which celebrates this year its 25th anniversary.

Father L. G. Weitzman, S. J., professor of sociology at **West Baden college**, was one of the principal speakers at the Columbus meeting of the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems held Dec. 9 and 10 at the Neil House, Columbus, Ohio. His topic was, "An Appraisal of the Economic System." He pointed out the good points enumerated by Leo XIII and Pius XI as well as their objections against the system. He showed how valid are their objections today.

Father Weitzman initiated the Cana conference in Detroit. Two conferences have already been held, one at Sacred Heart convent for **University of Detroit** alumni and their wives, the other at **Mercy college**. The number of couples was limited in both instances to 25. All who attended the conferences were enthusiastic over the project and are sponsoring two conferences to be held in the early part of 1947.

By special request Father Weitzman gave a retreat to a number of executives of **General Motors** and of the **Ford company** at **Manresa, Detroit**.

At the annual convention of the **American Catholic Sociological society** Father Edward Dowling of the **ISO Central Office** presented a report on Cana conferences, and Father L. P. McHattie of **St. Louis university** outlined an organized curriculum of sociology for under graduates. Father Leo P. Robinson, **Provincial of Oregon**, was elected president of the Society, and Father David W. Twomey was elected a member of the executive council. Father Ralph A. Gallagher continues as executive secretary. Father Twomey also read a paper on the **Modern American Family**.

Through the initiative of Bishop Michael J. Ready, of **Columbus, Ohio**, a series

WHAT JESUITS ARE DOING

of lectures to the clergy of the six dioceses of Ohio has been inaugurated. Father E. A. Conway, S. J., gave the first lectures of the series during November. His topic was "Prospects for Peace Through the United Nations." Father John Courtney Murray will deliver the February lectures on "Religious Liberty." Father Conway has recently been appointed to the faculty of **Saint Louis university**.

During the Christmas vacation a small group from the **Industrial Relations committee** met at **Cleveland** as guests of Father Welfle and John Carroll university to plan a curriculum for an academic course in Industrial Relations. Present at the meeting were Fathers McKeon (Syracuse), Gallery (Scranton), Deters (Cleveland) and Brown (Saint Louis).

Father Anthony J. Achee, instructor of Tertiars at **Grand Coteau, Louisiana**, arranged a Christmas party for all of the employees and their families at **Saint Charles college**.

The committee to study social trends in legislation at **Alma College** is beginning its activity work now that state and national legislatures have reconvened, under the chairmanship of Mr. Richard

First ISO Institute is being held in **Covington, Kentucky**, at the request of Bishop Mulloy from February 7 to 12. It is modeled along the lines of a Summer School of Catholic Action, but emphasizing social topics. Watch for an account of it in the **March ISO BULLETIN**.

Roberts. A Negro social worker was the first lecturer to address the **Alma college ISO committees** after the Christmas holidays.

Father Francis X. Weiser, pastor of the **Holy Trinity parish** in **Boston**, is in charge of all Catholic war relief for the entire state of **Austria**. His parish recently contributed \$7500 to **War Relief Services**.

At the personal call of the **Provincial of the New Orleans province**, Very Reverend Harry L. Crane, twenty Jesuit priests gathered at **Spring Hill college** with the faculty of the college for the first Province convention of the **ISO**.

The purpose was to organize the **Southern province** for **ISO work** along the lines of the national organization. The quality of the men attending, their sincere enthusiasm and practical mindedness for intensive work in the social order, the revelation of the many important works already functioning under capable leadership, inspired all with a new love for the **ISO**.

After thorough discussions of the problems of the South it was decided to focus our energies for the present on two committees: **Industrial Relations** and **Interracial**, with attention to developing two others: **Rural Life** and the **Spiritual Ministeries**. **Loyola university** at **New Orleans** volunteered to be the active center for **Industrial Relations** because their faculty gave them men qualified to handle these questions by frequent consultation; and **Spring Hill** was chosen as the center for all **interracial studies** and programs.

Father Chapman will be chairman pro tem until Father Twomey returns to the province for the **Industrial committee**; Father Foley will be chairman of the **Interracial committee**; Father Mulry, of the **Spiritual Ministeries**; and Father Levett, of the **Rural Life**.

The minutes of the meeting with a special letter exhorting all in the province to take an active part was sent to every member of the province by Rev-

erend Father Provincial. It was hoped the province could hold two general meetings each year; one during the Christmas holidays at Spring Hill, and one in June at Grand Coteau. The convention selected with the advice of Father Provincial, one man to be in charge of ISO work and organization in each house of the province.

Union officials, 85 in number comprise the entire student body of the labor school at **Canisius College, Buffalo**, which is under the directorship of **Father John L. Shea**.

There are evidences that **West Baden** is becoming ISO-minded. This is particularly marked since the appointment of two moderators: **Father Hodous** for the Theologate, and **Father Vogel** for the Philosophate.

Because of increase in enrollment at the **Holy Cross school of Industrial Relations**, four new teachers have been added by **Father Thomas E. Shortell**.

So great has been the demand for **Father Smith's "Spotlight on Labor Unions"** that a second printing has been ordered.

At the election of officers for the American Catholic Economics association, **Father Leo C. Brown**, director of ISS, of **Saint Louis university**, was renamed to the position of secretary of the Association. **David McDonald**, secretary-treasurer of the United Steel Workers of America (CIO), was named a trustee of the economics association.

The first part of a "Study Aid for Economics," prepared by **Father Raymond F. X. Cahill**, of **Holy Cross college**, has been published by the college press.

Apostleship of the Sea

The Apostleship of the Sea, a Catholic welfare organization for seamen, completed arrangements for a national organization at a meeting in New York January 7-9. Among the twelve men present at the meeting were **Father Aloysius Mulry**, of New Orleans, and **Father William Smith**, of Brooklyn.

Father Mulry has also been cooperating actively with **Father Joseph McDonough**, C. SS. R., who is in charge of the Apostolate of the Sea, which cares for sailors who swarm the more than

16 miles of docks in the port of New Orleans.

Father Mulry is also pastor of the **Immaculate Conception church** in New Orleans where he has intensified the already splendid social work which is being carried on in that parish. To coordinate the various social work projects he has employed a lay social worker, **Mr. Vincent Keenan**, who directs all parochial welfare activities. **Father Mulry** is assisted by a generous corps of volunteer lawyers, doctors and nurses.

Loyola School of Social Service

Beginning next September two new schools of great social import will be started at **Loyola university in New Orleans**. **Father William D. O'Leary** will open a new school of social services. At the present time the only Catholic social work school in the South is the one-year school at Our Lady of the Lake college, San Antonio. This new school should have a tremendous influence upon social welfare work in the South. The other school will be a Institute of Industrial Relations to be organized by **Father Louis J. Twomey**, who is at present, studying at ISS in Saint Louis. At the same time **Father Twomey** will take up his duties as chairman of the recently organized New Orleans province Industrial Relations committee, of which **Father Charles C. Chapman** is at present chairman pro-tem. Both of these projects have the hearty endorsement of **Archbishop Rummel**.

Degree in Industrial Relations

After completing his studies at ISS, **Father William J. McIntosh, S.J.**, has or-

ganized at **Loyola university in Los Angeles** a curriculum leading to a degree in Industrial Relations. At present the course is restricted to freshman and sophomores, but it will be opened to the higher years as students advance. Most of the concentration upon Industrial Relations will be postponed until the senior year when general education, especially training in philosophy, has been completed. At present thirty students have entered upon the course and many inquiries are being received. **Father McIntosh** writes: "Eventually it should become a popular major even though in this area there seems to be a strong dissatisfaction with labor's side of the picture, especially with union organization." In connection with the curriculum **Father McIntosh** has organized a students' Industrial Relations club.

The recently elected governor of Massachusetts, **Robert Fiske Bradford**, has named **Father Thomas E. Shortell** to a five-man industrial commission which he has recently appointed.

Curricula in Public Administration

Both **Saint Louis university** and **Detroit university** have recently announced establishment of curricula in public administration. At **Detroit university** students working for the degree in public administration take courses in American government, as well as specialized studies in government control of business, contemporary economic problems, statistics and personnel administration. **Father Robert C. Hartnett, S. J.**, has been in charge of the course organization at **Detroit**.

ISO Forum for March, 1947

THE CAUSES AND PREVENTION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Among the contributors:

Rev. Charles E. Bermingham, Rt. Rev. Msgr. Edward J. Flanagan, Hon. J. Edgar Hoover, Louis Kraft, H. L. Lurie, Arthur M. Williams, and others

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